ENTANGLED TEMPORALITIES IN THE Global South

TEMPORALIDADES ENREDADAS NO SUL GLOBAL

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"We need to [...] *devespucianize* and *decolumbize* Americas and *decabralize* Brazil", as once said by Oswald de Andrade, in 1950, referring to the modernist decolonization project that began in the 1920s. The neologism "decabralize" evokes both the reversal of the conquest of Brazil by Pedro Álvares Cabral and the act of decabralizing the project of modernity imposed by the European world. By developing critical thinking on European cultural hegemony, our great philosopher of the anthropophagic movement not only challanged the colonialist project, but also alerted us to the revolutionary act whose principle was to abolish "the patriarchal capitalist system in order to recover – through technological achievements – a new era of a sacred idleness – the indigeneous leisure that was repealed by the Europeans with the introduction of slavery and the production system – into a new space: the Matriarchy of Pindorama" (Schwartz, 2002, p. 145). From this perspective, Pindorama - "the name of Brazil's land in *'nheengatú',* the indigenous 'general language'" (idem) - was not exactly a time crusher space, but a space where temporalities could be *anthropophagicaly* entangled.

A leap in time – from the middle of the last century to nowadays, when we have been experiencing the so-called "21st century" for nearly 20 years – allows us to think about not only the actuality of Oswald de Andrade's thinking, but also the still constant challenge of understanding, within the framework of the strategic formation of a Global South, the temporal and spacial dynamics of a modernity that are not reduced to closed cycles and/or determinisms. The anthropophagic metaphor – a cultural and, therefore, political, ethical and aesthetic cannibalism – remains alive and necessary; it is a challenging element and it overlaps several possible modernities because it is immersed, at all times, in the savagery of capitalism itself. For that matter, to *decabralize* Brazil, as Oswald de Andrade proposed, means, above all, taking into account the dynamics of the global capitalism scenario, recognizing the power and affect disputes and,

at the same time, to articulate a space of utopian temporal resistance associated with the desired Pindorama of Pau Brasil.

In the first dossier published by CONTRACAMPO, whose subject-matter is "Entangled Temporalities in the Global South", and now in this second issue, the challenge is to think about the dynamics of a global capitalist movement which is inseparable from ethical and aesthetic gestures which produce creative frictions in this context. In other words, it is about an effort to understand that the political and economic principles are not separate, at any time, from mobilizations and expressions, also political and, moreover, cultural. Therefore, what we called on the editorial presentation of the First Volume, "complex conjunctions and disjunctions of ethnoscapes, mediascapes, financioscapes, technoscapes and ideoscapes " (as posed by Appadurai) are categories that can only be problematized from the recognition of an interlacement between the political and the aesthetic. The temporalities that, as proposed by Mbembe, we understand as "entangled" are inevitable parts of this crossing that overlaps powers and affections. In other words, what we have been suggesting, in these two volumes of our dossier, is that the discussion about the so-called "Global South" and its temporalities calls into question the production of a geopolitical system in which the disjunctive times entanglement – in the light of policies and aesthetics – are crucial.

On this Second Volume, we return to the Diasporic Question as an emblematic theme, if not foundational, in order to contribute for an understanding of the spacial displacement as a producer of temporal dynamics that become entangled in the experiences of the actors from a possible "Global South". When discussing migration through the social uses of the media by Senegalese migrant subjects, Liliane Brignol and Nathália Costa allow us to see, in particular, the hybridization of time notions in a celebration act. In "Senegalese Diaspora and Technological Mediation: Observation of Magal of Touba in-between Times and Places", the appropriation and use of technologies are vectors of the authors' reflective movement. The same occurs in "An Analysis of the Campaign *#MyRefugeeFriend:* Experiences of Interculturality and Cosmopolitanism on Christmas Eve", by Sofia Zanforlin. Through a case study of a campaign launched by the NGOs called Migraflix, the author makes us think about a specific cosmopolitism and cultural consumption which, we suggest, can be understood

as a product/producer of time displacements and entanglements, according to what we have been treating in the last two dossiers of this Magazine.

Luãn Chagas' contributions, in " Radiojournalism As Space For Disputes In The South Global...", are central to an effort to place the media - in the case of radio - as a territory where the senses and the times are woven. The cartography of the sources at a radio station in Rio de Janeiro helps us understanding the subjects articulation on the dynamics disputes in the Brazilian journalistic scenario. In the following article, "'You Can't Buy My Life': Calle 13, The Representations Of The Continent In The Latin American Musical Narrative And The Ambiguous Puerto Rican Context", it is the music that also structures the link between times, spaces and production of meaning. Thinking about music as a place of tensions breeding and ideological disputes, Ivan Bonfim argues that modernity and national identity are essential elements that move the temporalities intersections on the context of the Global South.

In the same Caribbean territory, Cuba arises through the experience of a Madonna's fan. Thiago Soares, on the reflective argument carried out in "Madonna, Warrior like Cuba", contributes for the understanding of how, in a socialist country, a particular way of globalization and negotiation of flows of transnational capital reveals itself. In that space, also woven by its own temporalities, the tensions are understood as part of a resistance dynamics, a process comprehended as specific to the Cuban state regime.

The State, or the idea of a nation state, also essential in the constitution of the extended geography that Global South represents, appears as a fundamental aspect in the political life of Zimbawe. In "Valorization, Personality Cult and The militarization of Nation State under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe: a public-private media gaze", Josyah Nyanda shows how media also emerges as an important agent in the militarization process of a State, ruled by a civilian at first. The military interventions are recurrent ghosts, when not the bodies, in the political experiences of colonized countries; a significant trace interwined with the temporary dynamics that entangle such geographies.

Alda Costa, Thaís Braga and Lídia Rodarte in "Time And Narrative In The Pará Amazon: The Plebiscite In Pará Through The Perspective Of The 'Reader Space'", show how the emotional and political frameworks shape the narratives about the foundation of the Carajás and Tapajós states, an important indigenous territory in Brazil. The developmentalism, not only in Brazil, but also as it is

conceived in the majority of the territories framed by the "civilization x savagism" binarism, is an important vector for the problematization the powers and temporalities formed in the Global South. On the other hand, Brazilian Amazonia, also assumed as one of the central places in which the anthropophagic gesture is progressively collapsing to the savagery of the capital – consequently as a constitutive space of a territoriality surrounded by the cruelty of the power dynamics of the contemporary capitalist system – presents itself as a productive field for thinking about the main problems that cut across the Global South.

Finally, Marialva Barbosa and Cristine Gerk, in "Journalism, memory and testimony: an analysis of the present", discuss testimony as a historical tool of production of journalism and the journalism testimony about itself. The distended present that we live helps questioning the stories, particularly journalistic ones, which bring the same present as axis of the narration process.

Along with this dossier, the free theme articles section leads us to the field of memory. In this accelerated time, we all know, the growing of social media is a challenge. This way, the algorithmization of everyday life narratives is a matter of not only temporary nature, but also political. This way, it becomes important to understand in which level the news professional, themselves, wouldn´t be contributing with the multiple Facebook agendas. This is the main aspect of our last article "From headlines to posts: formation of multiple agendas in social networking sites", by Adriana Barsotti Vieira.

This edition, as we also mentioned in the previous volume, is part of (and also a result of) the Project "Literary Cultures of Global South" (DAAD). The project constitutes an international cooperation project developed since 2015, by PPGCOM/UFF, the Tübingen University and other associated universities, such as UNAM/Mexico, WITS/South Africa and Jawaharlal Nehru University (India). By suggesting a discussion on the Global South and its entangled temporalities, *Contracampo* celebrates this very important partnership that intends to build dialogues and questionings through horizontal processes.

In one of the several meetings that took place during the research developing process, Dhananjay Singh, professor at JNU/India, reminded us in one of his speeches that, in India, the "Modernity started with Buda." This phrase of huge impact shows the constant challenge of developing researches on the Global South. As an extended locality, which we tried to reinforce in the previous volume, Global South encompasses several temporalities that become entangled

in the same measure that knowledge and experiences intersect. For this reason, we also suggest considering that the anthropophagic gesture challenge - the "decabralization" of Brazil – coincides, in a certain way, with the (de)colonization – remembering Mignolo – of the knowledge construction processes, practices and ways of living.

There are several modernities in the Global South, which, from the academic point of view, require, in our understanding, the dialogue and the exchange of knowledge, with an emphasis on the complex systems and the relational processes; an essential proceeding to the understanding of our ways of living, today, in a world traversed by globalization, absolutely unequal and multilayered. Our expectation, this way, is that these two volumes published by Contracampo minimally contribute to the understanding of this matter.

We acknowledge the Contracampo editorial team, the authors and the referees involved in the editorial process of the two volumes of this dossier. And we wish all a productive and pleasant reading.

Prof. Dr. Sebastian Thies (Universität Tübingen) and Prof. Dr. Fernando Resende (Universidade Federal Fluminense)

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Senegalese Diaspora and Technological Mediation: observation of Magal of Touba in between times and places

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Abstract

In this article we seek to discuss the entanglement between media and contemporary migration as a starting point for understanding how the dynamics of network communication permeate contemporary diasporic experiences. By means of an exploratory exercise situated in a context of diversification of migrant groups in Brazil, this paper aims to reflect on the relations between diasporic experience and the uses of social media by migrant subjects observing the religious practices of Senegalese migrants in Rio Grande do Sul state. We highlight the centrality of the appropriations of mobile technologies and the Internet for the formation of transnational and hybrid notions of time and place during the celebration of Magal of Touba.

Keywords

Introduction

From where can we observe the dynamics of transformation of the place of culture in our globalised societies? In his most recent texts, Jesús Martín-Barbero (2006; 2014; 2015) writes about two key aspects that impact our position in the world today: The revitalization of identities and the revolution of the technicalities. Like Milton Santos (2004), who considers the simultaneous possibilities and perversities of globalisation, Martín-Barbero sees cultural diversity as a place of resistance, negotiation, interaction and potential for transformation in light of the homogenizing globalization processes because, as the author states, "what reactivates identities as engine of struggle today is inseparable from the quest for recognition and meaning" (Martín-Barbero, 2014, p. 24).

This cultural diversity is a source of reflection and theoretical questioning throughout Martín-Barbero's trajectory, and is resumed as one of the main points from where to study the processes, practices and the media today. In this proposition, migrants and Internet users are two indicative categories of modes of being in the contemporary world and are much closer to each other than we can assume from a dualistic perspective that opposes displacements between territories and communication flows. This is the instance in which, according to the author, the *urbanias* and citizenships are intertwined:

> Every day the experience and narratives of immigrants mix more intensely with those of the Internet users. Thousands of displaced people and migrants – inside and outside of each country – make sense of the city they inhabit by writing about it in chat rooms and hypertext content across the web in which individuals and groups communicate with their families who remain on the other side of the world. That happens through circulation of stories and images that narrate (and are narrated) to continue their narrative among their people and to be taken into account by those who make decisions that affect them. (Martín-Barbero, 2015, p.27) [1]

In another attempt to understand the cultural dimensions of globalisation, Appadurai (2004) proposes to bring media and migration together as diacritical interconnected signs of a moment of rupture. According to the anthropologist, "electronic mediation and mass migration mark the world of the present not as technically new forces but as ones that seem to impel (and sometimes compel) the work of the imagination."(2004, p. 15) In the sense proposed by the author, people

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[1] Original text: Las experiencias y narrativas del inmigrante se entremezclan cada día más densamente con las de los cibernautas. Millones de desplazados y emigrantes – dentro y fuera de cada país– practican la ciudad que habitan escribiendo relatos en el chat o en hipertextos de la web, desde los que individuos y comunidades se comunican con sus familiares que quedan al otro lado del mundo. Y ello mediante la circulación de historias y de imágenes en las que cuentan, se cuentan, para seguir contando entre la gente y para ser tenidos en cuenta por los que sobre ellos toman decisiones que les afectan. (Martín-Barbero, 2015, p. 27).

and images in displacement and, therefore, outside the certainties of the local limits, act in deep and unpredictable ways in the reframing of modern subjectivity.

In our work, we seek to look at the entanglement between media and contemporary migration, to discuss how the logic and dynamics of network communication permeate and are permeated by diasporic experiences. Our starting point is the comprehension of diaspora as a metaphor to consider the multiple identity displacements and belongings in increasingly multicultural societies. As proposed by Hall (2003, p. 25-6), we believe that the issue of diaspora makes possible to shed light on the complexities, the multiple identities and temporalities that constitute us.

Particularly, in this article we start from the understanding of the role of the Internet and dynamics of network communication in the trajectory of migration and in the daily lives of migrants in general. This work falls within a context of diversification of migrant groups in Rio Grande do Sul - and migrants from Senegal among them. Among our goals, we seek to present part of an exploratory exercise of observation of religious practices of Senegalese migrants in Rio Grande do Sul, to identify relationships between diasporic experience and the social use of information and communication technologies by the migrant subjects.

The present work is part of the research project "Network Communication, difference and interculturality in social networks of Senegalese migrants in Rio Grande do Sul"[2], developed since 2014. This research focuses on new flows of transnational migration to southern Brazil, aiming to investigate social network of Senegalese migration through an ethnographic approach to their practices and processes of communication, built on uses of social media as well as interpersonal and intercultural communication

In this research framework, we follow the perspective of the social uses of media (Martín-Barbero, 2002), which leads to the construction of a methodological pathway based on a qualitative approach by focusing on participant observation, meeting with the migrant subjects, listening to their accounts, considering their everyday experiences and understanding their practices and processes.

As methodological procedures in the scope of the broader research project, we combine media monitoring, contact with the migration support network, observation online and participant observation in events and activities promoted by groups and associations of Senegalese in three cities of Rio Grande do Sul which are the focus of the research (Porto Alegre, Santa Maria e Caxias do Sul). On the second stage of the research, we conducted interviews with migrant subjects, as

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well as informal conversations and group interviews, simultaneous to the observation procedures.

The municipalities were chosen because of the strong presence of the migrant group from 2010 onward, especially in Caxias do Sul (city located in the state's mountain range known for its industrial development) and in the capital Porto Alegre, where presence of Senegalese migrants recently increased. We chose Santa Maria, despite being a city where the presence of migrants is still small, because this is the location of the university where the research is being developed, besides some specificities for the field work such as the support networks existing there as well as religious and cultural events, such as the Magal.

For the purposes of this article, we focus on participant observation of the Magal of Touba party in 2016, held in the cities of Porto Alegre and Santa Maria. To complement the information obtained during the observation, we had informal conversations and conducted interviews with migrants during religious celebrations.

Experiences of diaspora and technological mediation

Proposed by Gilroy (2007) as a social ecology of identification, the diaspora is understood as a concept that transcends its original meaning of dispersion of peoples, breaking away from the fundamental power of territory in determining identities. It is a challenging idea for it highlights sub and supranational relations and dismisses the idea of primordial identities established by culture and by nature. "By joining the diaspora, identity can instead be driven to contingency, indeterminacy and conflict"(Gilroy, 2012, p. 19).

However, discussing diaspora does not mean taking this notion as a synonym for migration, as Grimson (2011) alerts, as we understand that displacements do not necessarily imply the existence of an identification or a sense of belonging, as well as migrations do not promote, necessarily, the encounter between cultures. These dynamics are more complex and conflicted than what we can assume from a hasty reading.

Diasporic experiences, in the way that we seek to formulate here, carry with them a sense of crossbreed of cultural exchanges, of the impossibility of pureness. Returning to Hall (2006), there is a false dilemma that permeates globalisation and the issue of identity: either we live a return to our roots (and strong local trends) or we are assimilated by homogenization. However, there are more than two points included in this questioning. There is also the element of *translation* (Hall, 2006), which points to the possibility of identity formations that go beyond national borders, formed by people scattered around the globe, in constant negotiation

between their culture of origin and the new cultural traits they are submitted, composing the translation (*idem*). Therefore, these identities are "(…) irrevocably, the product of several stories and cultures interconnected, which belong to one and, at the same time, several 'houses' (and not one ' house ' in particular)"(Hall, 2006, p. 89).

Thus, as Hall (2003) suggests, it is important to start from the diasporic perspective as subversion to the model of nation and nationalism – today, more supported by supranational neo-imperialist formations. Also, as Gilroy (2007) points out, diaspora "(…) is a especially valuable idea because it points to a more refined and more malleable sense of culture than the characteristic notions of rooting (…) It makes problematic the spatialization of identity and disrupts the ontologization of place"(Gilroy, 2007, p. 151).

Therefore, thinking about how contemporary identities articulate in a world of constant exchanges and flows is a challenge. It is important to understand that these exchanges produce spaces in which identities can relate to, merge or even reject one another. What previously seemed to offer solid ground for thinking the identity (nationality, class, gender, race, ethnicity, for example), undergoes structural changes, producing senses of fragmentation of these always plural identities. Hall (2006) argues that these changes also affect our conception of ourselves, in a movement of displacement of the subject. Talking about identity, therefore, meant "(…) talking about roots, i.e. customs and territory (…)." However, talking about identity nowadays also requires to understand it as networks and flows, migration and mobility (Martín-Barbero, 2006), elements that, in relation, produce less fixed senses of existence and belonging in the world.

It is important, as we have said, that we do not fall into the vague argument that migrants carry with them a genuine and untouchable "culture" (Grimson, 2011) that convey continents. Migratory experience involves a series of negotiations – starting from the customs and culture of migrant subjects which also involve the new associations developed by them during their migration experience. Diasporic communities online, for example, not necessarily carry the same culture or prevail in maintaining a continuous identity, as Matellart points out (2009). Thus, diasporic experiences around the world (permeated also by the uses of the Internet) work in maintaining and sharing common identity elements, but also create conflicts and contradictions, as well as blend and modify other elements put into circulation through the social uses of internet.

The search for information, as well as the process of interaction and network relations, characterise this quest for identity and community bonds by migrants. Through the notion of mediations (Martín-Barbero, 2001), we understand that the

ways the individual interacts with the medium – and with messages – permeates all meanings apprehended by he or she, the personal experience and the social context, in "the way subject and technology relate" (Brignol, 2013, p. 83). Thus, new elements are added to those constituent of the mediations. Such new elements make possible to realize the importance of daily life in the subjects' communication experience.

To understand the cultural aspects of the Internet, we need to understand the concept of social uses of the media. This communicational model of interpretation of the relationships between individual and culture, which starts from a methodological displacement, is one point of view of our research. The uses are thought, from the perspective of mediations, as appropriations and the subjects' very own notions that interfere and reconfigure their communication experience. Regarding mediation of technicity, we base our reflections on Martín-Barbero's ideas (2014), for whom the place of the subject's own culture is displaced within society from the moment technological mediation turns from a tool to structure because,"(…) the technology refers today not only, and not so much, to the novelty of the apparatus, but also new models of perception and language, the new sensitivities and scriptures"(Martín-Barbero, 2014, p. 25).

Communication technologies have an important role in migrants' daily lives. Despite technological limitations and socioeconomic inequality, the diversity of social uses of these technologies, from the mediations point of view, demonstrate the variety and capacity to produce meaning marked by the relationship with identities – or, according to Brignol (2013), that such social uses are "demanded by identity experiences" (Brignol, 2013, p. 83). It is the very migrant condition that produces particular modes of consumption and media uses, centered mainly in relations with the country of origin and the creation of networks of sharing and conviviality between migrants who share a migrant experience (Cogo; Gutiérrez; Huertas, 2008). As part of the active audience they are, migrants interpret information and appropriate it according to the uses they intend to make of the media in their context.

Concerning the issue of migration, the concept of transnationalism also helps to consider the multiple relationships with places of birth and of passage, as well as their interactions with the flows. The use of ICTs in the migratory context from transnationalism "allows links, connections and interactions that somehow transcend the territorial limits" (Brignol, 2010, p. 37). The appropriations of technologies by the migrant community may vary widely, from identity affirmation to the common use of basic communication services, among people who share the same nationality (Elhajji; Escudero, 2015). These uses are also important part of

the migratory experience, mainly because they allow individuals to organize cultural and political networks, acquiring a sense of belonging and citizenship - be it local, transnational and global - through various appropriations (*idem*).

The very concept of diaspora can be a starting point for understanding the identity relationships of those subjects who experience migration: these same relationships are being reframed through communication network environments. So, the very migrant condition is part of the configuration and reconfiguration of modes of routine/temporalities of Internet access patterns, as well as appropriations and social uses of the media with the specificities of "places and spaces of dwelling (shared to a greater or lesser extent), duration of working hours, the modes of migration (individually, in family, etc.), purchasing power, language skills and their own media culture developed by immigrants in their countries of origin"(Cogo, 2007, p. 68). Thus, a series of identity elements are put in circulation - traversed by different conditions of use, temporalities of appropriations and negotiations of identity meaning - , from the social uses of media (and, more specifically, the Internet). Living the diaspora today - their constant exchanges and flows between there and here - means to consider another element inside this experience: the dynamics of uses and appropriations of the spaces of communication on the internet by entire communities or individuals in diasporic experience.

Context of migration in Rio Grande do Sul

The coming of Senegalese people to Brazil has impacted the panorama of contemporary migration. EFE Agency, with information provided by federal police, reported that by 2012 the number of African migrants in Brazilian territory (including countries other than Senegal) increased by 30 times. Rio Grande do Sul is one of the Brazilian states that receives most of these migrants. Recent calculations by the International Observatory of Migration (OBMigra), under the Ministry of Labour in Brazil, showed that, from 2015, more than 800 temporary job positions were granted in Rio Grande do Sul to migrants who lived/live in the country. A report by the National Council of Immigration (CNIg) informed that more than 200 temporary and permanent work permits were granted to Senegalese in Brazil in the first quarter of 2016. Authorizations are granted by the Ministry of Labour, which acts in conjunction with the Ministries of Justice and Foreign Relations on policies for access and residence of migrants [3]in Brazil.

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[3]According to the OBMigra, migrant is the "typology for the group of individuals whose specification of classification indicates longer stay of foreigners in Brazilian territory or the departure of those who

We know that such numbers indicate only official statistics and are far from indicating the effective presence of this migrant group in the state. Information gathered by organs and institutions that support migrants in the country, for example, indicate other elements on the presence of Senegalese people. The Centre for Assistance to Migrants (CAM), based in Caxias do Sul (Rio Grande do Sul), recorded over 1,900 migrants served by the center. This is 2014 data and, since then, the presence of Senegalese in these cities changed according to migration flows, increasing and dispersing as migrants adapt to the country. Biggest city in the mountain range of Rio Grande do Sul state, Caxias do Sul has a strong presence of Senegalese,a local association and a *dahira* or religious centre, as well as support groups [4]for migrants who promote traditional parties and religious celebrations.

Other municipalities also receive Senegalese people often. Passo Fundo, for example, a municipality situated in the northwest of the state, receives groups of Senegalese migrants since 2000 (Herédia; Pandolfi, 2015). Porto Alegre, capital of the state, also has strong presence of Senegalese, so much so that it holds traditional parties, religious and cultural celebrations organized by the migrants for at least three years now. The Association of Senegalese of Porto Alegre has several members and is in high demand by Senegalese who live in the country and also Brazilians who act as collaborators, as well as by the media in serving as a source of information.

Herédia and Pandolfi (2015) indicate a profile of Senegalese migrants residing in the region (this profile is observed also in other municipalities mentioned previously): in general, this migrant is male, young and single, and the majority is committed to send remittances of money to families that remained in Senegal (in various areas of the country); their strongest motivation is to seek work, heavily influenced by the economic aspect; most of them are Muslim (tied to the Mouride brotherhood[5]) and most of their work experience is in trade (Herédia; Pandolfi, 2015). A similar profile was found in our field research.

One of the most noticeable observations among researchers and observers of the phenomenon of Senegalese migration in Brazil is the large formation of

remained for a longer period of time. It encompasses asylum; deported , expelled or extradited foreigners; refugees; refuge applicants; diplomats and their families; foreigners with visas or in the process of residence permit; family reunification; Portuguese with equality of civil and political rights; foreigners covered by the Agreement of Residence of the Mercosur and Programa Mais Médicos (More Doctors Programme)" (Complete 2016 Annual Report available at: http://obmigra.mte.gov.br/index.php/relatorio-anual).

[4]Besides CAM, Caxias do Sul has the group "Senegal, Ser Negão, Ser Legal" (Senegal, Being Black, Being Cool), founded by a Senegalese residing in Brazil since 2010. Besides this one, other members (Brazilian and Senegalese) assist in actions organized by the group.

[5]In Senegal, the practice of Islam takes the form of religious confraternity (Moreno Maestro, 2005). The Mouride brotherhood is the majority in the country and was founded by Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba at the end of the 19th century. It is Sufi-inspired and its religious center is in the holy city of Touba. We explain better about Mouridism in the following pages of this article.

networks and intercommunication flows among these migrants. These networks are built from factors such as localization, regionalization, friendship and interconnections. They work in a circular format, allowing formal and informal exchanges (at work and in the religious aspect, for example), displacing and incorporating the migrants' relationship with Senegal while living and working in another country (Tedesco; Grzybovski, 2013). In addition to providing guidelines for staying in the new territory, these networks offer spaces for creation of associations and to promote their national culture (a small space in which Senegalese values, roots and cultural attributes may continue to be respected, valued and appreciated, even though they are no longer geographically in the same space).

The transactional aspect of Senegalese migration enables the creation of networks also heavily influenced by the religious aspect. The Senegalese who migrate to Brazil identify themselves, in their majority, as followers of the Muslim religion. Islam was developed at the center of Arab culture, in the Arabian Peninsula (where is nowadays Saudi Arabia) and the term *Islam* (from the verb *aslama,* submit) means "submission", while the word *muslim* means "submissive".

Its main prophet is Muhammad (translated into Western culture as Mohammed), and Islamic religion spread from *the Quran*, revealed and dictated by Mohammed around the years 600 AD (according to the Christian calendar). The *jihad* (translated as "holy war") is one of the fundamentals of the religion in the work of convincing followers. It is, along with Judaism and Christianism, one of the major monotheistic religions in the world (having *Allah* as its only God and Muhammad as main prophet). In Africa, the religion spread, until the 18th century, mainly through trade and immigration (Gonçalves; Koakoski, 2015). Even though trade caused the "Islamisation" of many countries in West Africa, Senegal as a country of Islamic religion has a more specific characteristic: the Muslim brotherhoods, which had a peaceful and syncretic tone and adapted to some characteristics of African societies (Gonçalves; Koakoski, 2015) (Gonçalves; Koakoski, 2015).

The Mouride brotherhood , one of the most popular in the country, was founded at the end of the 19th century by Cheick Amadou Bamba. As Maestro (2006) states, members of the Senegalese brotherhoods agreed to make vows of obedience to their *marabouts* (spiritual leaders), considered heirs of the *baraka* (divine tolerance). Thus, Senegalese brotherhoods classify themselves as elements of belonging among the population, being the Mouride the more active between

Senegalese. Inspired by the Sufi[6], this brotherhood represents, as Maestro (2006*)* points out, a response to the disruption of wolof society[7]. For Senegalese people, the Islamic practice is associated to a quest for freedom from French imperialism (and colonialism). Therefore, the descendants of the Cheick Amadou Bamba are the marabouts and the holy city to the Senegalese Muslims is the city of Touba, which represents the continuity of Bamba's doctrine. "In Senegal, the mourides are elements of a civil society whose autonomy is measured by the urban dynamics of Touba, which is today the second in population after the agglomeration Dakar-Pikine-Guédiawaye"(Maestro, 2006, p. 32). [8]

According to Romero (2017), the Mouride Brotherhood is the latest among those created in the African Islam universe. However, as the author explains, it is considered "the religious brotherhood of greater impact in West Africa and in a context of the diaspora of this religious organization in Europe, United States, Asia and Latin America"(Romero, 2017, p. 277). The author also stresses the understanding of Islam as a social phenomenon related to historical, cultural, social, economic, political and symbolic dynamics. The marabouts phenomenon, for example, is considered an archaic element, "related to the realm of 'tradition' of an 'exotic' Africa which, at all costs, tried to reinvent itself from modern values taken as universal." (Romero, 2017, p. 279) It was from Cheick Amadou Bamba's actions that the relationships established between "islamised" Africa, starting from Senegal, were bind also to the movement of transnational migration known as "Islam mouride circuit"(Romero, 2017). Such element is surrounded by social and historical tensions originated from colonial and colonialist policies that are part of the Senegalese context. Therefore, as Romero (2017) stresses, "the interpretive relevance of Mouridism comes from the context emerged from the relationships between Islam and colonialism as social phenomena, providing an analytical key to understand the complexity of migration, by the religious point of view" (Romero, 2017, p. 280).

Observation of the Magal of Touba in southern Brazil

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[6]The predominant religion in Senegal is the Islamic religion, originating of the Muslims in the country and which have Sufi origin (like the Mouride brotherhood, exemplified in this article). The special feature of the expansion of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa was the development of Sufism, a doctrine which is characterised by the introspection and the esoteric, with the aim of approach to God through the education of the soul and transformation of the ego, as described by Reiter (2017). It is defined as a system of beliefs with particular methods of learning and understanding how to control the ego and the soul, as Babou (2007) defines.

[7]The population of Senegal is divided into a few main ethnic groups (wolofs, peuls, serer, mandingue, diolas, soninkés, for example) and other smaller groups. Among this diversity, the ethnic group *wolof* is the most present, with majority of the population of Senegal identifying themselves with them.

[8]"En Senegal, los mourides son elementos de una sociedad civil cuya autonomía se mide por la dinámica urbana de Touba, que es hoy la segunda en población después de la aglomeración Dakar-Pikine-Guédiawaye" (Maestro, 2006, p.32).

Young black migrants born in Senegal roam the streets of Porto Alegre (RS) chanting in Arabic, carrying images of the religious leader Cheick Ahmadou Bamba, leaving the city market towards the Church of Our Lady of Pompeii, in the center of the southern capital. They distribute food and coffee for those who watch from the sidewalk. The meeting for prayer and thanksgiving happens also, in a very similar format (although with a smaller number of participants), in Santa Maria, a municipality in the central region of Rio Grande do Sul state. It is 19 November 2016 and these two cities connect with devotees all over the world on this day of religious celebration of the Muslim Mouride brotherhood. It is the *Magal of Touba*, or Grand Touba party, which takes thousands of followers to the holy city of Touba, located in Senegal, but also gains importance in many other cities around the world, marked by the presence of the Senegalese migration.

In common between the celebrations held in those places, we see the importance of mobile technologies, mainly for production of images of themselves and sharing on social networking sites, as well as the monitoring of the rituals with the cell phone and the transmission of the party through network communication. The same religious celebration also generates content for pages produced in Brazil that function as migration media. They integrate the experience of the Senegalese webdiáspora [9] and expand discussions and migratory experiences on websites and pages on social networking sites.

In that context, we observe two channels of communication created and managed by Senegalese migrants residing in Brazil during the coverage of the Magal of Touba: SeneBrasil TV [10] and ToubaBrasil TV Rio Grande do Sul [11]. Both channels are host on the social networking site Facebook, referred to as the most used among the Senegalese migrants interviewed for this research, along with mobile messaging apps such as Whatsapp and Imo. Both function as vehicles of production and dissemination of content related to migration. The observation of these channels allows us to assess that the senses that the Senegalese seek to build are related to discussions on the migration issue, to issues involving citizenship, political and social participation, to moments of integration and celebration of their culture, and, mainly, to the production of content related to Mouridism and religiousness. For this reason, the two channels have followed, transmitted and reported the realization of the Grand Magal.

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[9] We developed this concept in previous work. It recognises the importance of ICTs and the Internet in the experience of mobility and approaching the logic of network communications to dynamics of migration, with the production, circulation and consumption of a set of communication environments that put in conflict, in tensioning and approach a series of identity elements in a globalised world.

[10] Facebook page: www.facebook.com/Sene-Brasil - tv-1544172842544055. Official website: www.senebrasil.com.br

[11] Page URL on social network site Facebook:
https://www.facebook.com/profile.php?id=100010155188464&fref=ts

Magal, in Wolof language, means "to honor", "to commemorate", "to celebrate". According to Maestro (2006), there are different types of *magal* in the mouride community. However, the most important one is the "Grand Magal of Touba" that basically represents every year the pilgrimage of the mourides to the holy city of Touba (second largest town after Dakar, located in the central region of the country). It is estimated that, each year, more than three million followers of Mouridism participate in pilgrimage to Touba.

Even though the city of Touba is the central spot for the celebration, it also happens in Senegalese communities dispersed throughout the world. This day makes reference to the exile of Cheick Ahmadou Bamba in Gabon, during the conflict against imperialism and French colonialism in the region. The Grand Magal is, basically, a day of gratitude. So, all the followers to the Islamic religion are welcomed in the holy city of Touba with party and celebration. One can find homes with open doors for pilgrims to rest, families offering free food on the streets, and the different forms and ways of celebrating the religion in the country. Similarly, the other mouride communities dispersed around the world, that aren't going to Touba, also carry out their celebrations with collective prayers and chants, and distribution of food.

Since Brazil is the country that has received the greatest amount of Senegalese migrants in the last decade, their main religious celebration also happen here. In Rio Grande do Sul state, the Magal has happened in several cities with strong presence of Senegalese, like in the already mentioned examples of Porto Alegre and Santa Maria.

In the capital, the religious celebration gained repercussion in the local and state media with the production of a report aired on Jornal do Almoço, RBS TV newscast, affiliate of Rede Globo Television of Rio Grande do Sul. We also observed the presence of photographers from other media groups. The reports gained prominence on SeneBrasil TV web page on the day following the event. On the same day, the event was covered by SeneBrasil TV team, which made a live broadcast of the walk, from the Public Market to Pompeia Church in downtown Porto Alegre through its coordinator's page on Facebook. The same video was then presented in full during the party, which last all night in the church hall, with the *Khassidas*[12] performance. A lunch was served shortly after, along with speeches from authorities of the migrant community and guests, ending with a dinner for migrants and guests who packed the place.

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[12]In the *dahira* (space for mouride celebrations), as Romero (2017) explains, the recitals of *Khassidas* are performed with the *Kourel Khassida*, a group of singers who recite the teachings written by Cheikh Amadou Bamba.

A Brazilian photographer, collaborator of the Association of Senegalese of Porto Alegre, participated in the event, making photographs that were then published on SeneBrasil TV web page. In addition, producers of SeneBrasil TV channel covered the event and made interviews, videos and pictures, with details of both the religious ceremony and the party backstage featuring security, cleaning and organization teams.

Besides the channel's coverage, many of the people present used smartphones to record the event, especially in most exciting moments of celebration. The production of *selfies* and sharing of content produced in social networking sites are part of the very dynamics of the party, expanding it from the dynamics of network communication, allowing migrants in other cities - and even family members, friends and fellow countrymen in Senegal - to follow and share the religious experiences.

Figure 1

Arrival of the procession of the Magal of Touba to street Barros Cassol, downtown Porto Alegre (Photo: Liliane Dutra Brignol)

In Santa Maria, Magal differed a little from the same party held in other cities because of the small presence of Senegalese in the city. Today, there are few Senegalese residing and living in Santa Maria. They all know each other and share similar experiences of work, routine and religious practices. The celebration of culture during the Magal was pretty strong: they all dressed in traditional festive robes and looked excited during the *Khassidas* recital.

Figure 2

The Senegalese organise the Magal and invite the Brazilians to celebrate in Santa Maria (RS) (Photo: Alessandra Jungs of Almeida -- MIGRAIDH UFSM)

The party took place in the Centre for Solidarity Economy (in Medianeira neighborhood) and was attended by a smaller group of people (in comparison to the same event held in Porto Alegre). The party was prepared by the Senegalese, but they had the support of the research group "Network communication, identities and citizenship" (UFSM, CNPq). At the end, there was distribution of food to all attendees, similar to what happens during the party held in Touba and in all places where the Mouride brotherhood is present.

Early on, Brazilian visitors received a simple notebook made by the organizers containing the most important details about the religious festival. On the notebook, there were also explanations on the emergence of the festive date, of the Mouride Brotherhood, and the teachings and stories of and about Cheick Amadou Bamba. Everyone could sit and read the material and talk among themselves, until the moment that the *Khassidas* were distributed for the beginning of the recital. In this moment, the non-practitioners of the religion remain in respectful silence, observing the expressions of the followers of Bamba. Each member took their turn to perform the recital of *Khassidas* and all followed paying attention to the other's readings. Many recorded videos of the moment, and many photos were made with cell phones. The photos were shared online at the exact moment in which they were made. Most Senegalese also talked to other mourides (in Senegal or in other countries), through their cell phones, throughout the celebration.

After the recital of the *Khassidas*, the organizers presented a video about the seven dimensions of the Magal, from culture to religion, from work to the economy. A representative among the Senegalese explained the video step by step, not only translating it (the video was in French), but also explaining the aspects that

underlie the Magal. The seven dimensions explained on the video are: the spiritual dimension; the festive; the social; cultural; economic and the international dimension.

After the video with images of the celebration in the city of Touba, the organizers received questions from Brazilians about the celebration, the religion and its practice, answered by the Senegalese. At the same time they were performing their celebration in Santa Maria, the cell phones of the Senegalese received messages from several other areas of the planet where other Senegalese performed the same celebration.

In between times and places in the Magal of Touba

The exploratory exercise we made, walking the streets with the Senegalese migrants, in an effort to approach and share part of the rituals and symbolism of the Mouride brotherhood during the Magal of Touba, provided us insights for challenging the notion of diaspora, its mediatic entanglements in the various social uses of communication technologies as well as its implications, on Bhabha's terms (1998), on the in-between of migrant cultures.

In the eyes of Brazilians who saw the group of Senegalese from a distance during the walk in the streets of Porto Alegre one could see estrangement, curiosity, solidarity, sympathy, prejudice. In part, the reactions and comments, as well as the approach of journalistic reports made by the local press, reproduced what Hall (2016) examined as naturalization of difference and of the construction of a racialized Other. They were clearly trying to understand what the images meant or how the prayers could be translated. It was possible to hear comments like: "Who is that in the picture?","I like them, I feel sorry for these people" or "It must be something about the Black Consciousness". We even witnessed shouting insults from someone who observed from the sidewalk and repeated: "It'll sink the ship", in an association to the images of slave ships that marked part of the forced black diaspora and the story of colonization that constitutes our country.

Among the Senegalese, especially those responsible for the activity such as the presidents of the associations and those responsible for the *dahiras*, we noticed an attempt to bring the Brazilians who participated in the celebration closer throughout the day. On the other hand, inside the hall where the party was organised, in Porto Alegre, the Brazilian visitors were welcomed by a team who explained about the importance of Magal, received an ID badge and a specific place where to sit. The care with the translation of the video and the fraternization environment between Senegalese and Brazilians also marked the activity in Santa

Maria. It is interesting to observe that the location chosen to perform the celebrations in both cases belong to the Catholic Church.

The presence of mobile technologies and the live broadcast of the Magal of Touba in the context observed, as well as the circulation of images of the celebration around the world, refer to the notions of co-presence and mobility, highlighting the transnational nature of Mouridism itself and its resignifications from the colonial past of Senegal and its diasporic dimension. The exile of Ahmadou Bamba and the role of religion as resistance in light of the French rule is remembered, while the ceremony is renovated as a mark of the migrant presence in the Brazilian context and in other countries of migration.

Therefore, the Magal can be considered a transnational event for it carries a sense of sharing – the same practices, recitals, and customs are experienced in different cities around the world, on the same day, with the sharing of information and photographs over the internet. Not only those who were physically present participated in the recital of *Khassidas* in Santa Maria and Porto Alegre, but also those connected via Internet, for example by sending audios with the recordings , usually over Whatsapp, to other fellow Senegalese who performed the Magal in these and in other cities.

The technological mediation in the religious experience of Senegalese migrants brings implications also for the senses of multiple temporalities. The Magal of Touba refers to Mouride tradition, to the return to the city of Touba and the occupation of a symbolic and territorial place in the cities that receive the Senegalese migration. Walking the streets, sharing food, and propagating the memory of Bamba are all parts of the ritual, which goes through adaptations in each city the Magal is experienced, at the same time it is expanded or resignified by the sharing of common meanings in the dynamics of network communication.

The migration media, such as SeneBrasil and Touba Brazil TV, integrated to a network articulation with other mouride communication channels, expand the circulation of images of the Senegalese diaspora. These refer to flows and timeless time of the digital networks of communication (Castells, 2015). The space of flows, of which Castells speaks, does not exist without a fixed location. "It is made of knots and nets; that is, places connected by networks of electronic communications in which information flows interact and circulate, ensuring the sharing of time and practices processed in space" (Castells, 2015, p. 80).

Thus, Magal of Touba cannot be analysed from the notions of originary or initial subjectivities, but, in Bhabha's terms (1998), as articulation of cultural differences. As the author states, "This side of the psychosis of patriotic fervor, I like to think, there is overwhelming evidence of a more transnational and

translational sense of the hybridity of imagined communities" (Bahbha, 1998, p.24) Senegalese migrants transit between the time of religious tradition and the time of the networks, between an imagined return to the city of Touba and an appropriation of the place in the cities of Santa Maria and Porto Alegre.

This is a moment of gathering deeply marked by the notion of a diasporic experience and aesthetic, in which the traditional robes and images of the marabouts mix to digital images and the presence of smartphones. In this process, one is neither there, nor here. It is a new, like an "insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present"(Bhabha, 1998, p. 27). It becomes unproductive and, even, impossible to search for an original authenticity. The power of the Magal of Touba is precisely in its hybrid, transnational, and diasporic nature.

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An analysis of the campaign
#MyRefugeeFriend:
experiences of interculturality
and cosmopolitanism on
Christmas Eve

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Abstract[1]

We propose a study of the campaign *Meu Amigo Refugiado (My Refugee Friend)* launched in December 2016 by Migraflix. It consisted of the reception of refugees by a Brazilian family for the Christmas dinner. After the meetings were held, we sent specific questionnaires to both the refugees and participating families by e-mail. The hypothesis is that the campaign's attention can be explained by the context of the so-called global refugee crisis, guided by the national and international media, and by the empathy that this theme can arouse. From the analysis of the answers, we realize that the commitment to the refugee cause is translated by the moral appeal to the atrocities propagated by the media as by the possibility of contact and exchange with foreigners possessing a civil history of struggle and overcoming.

Keywords

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1   Paper presented in the Diaspora and Media working group, 2017 IAMCR, Cartagena, Colombia.

1 Introduction

This paper is tied to the post-doctorate research[2] on the Migraflix NGO (www.migraflix.com.br), a "nonprofit social action" which promotes the realization of "cultural workshops, food distribution services around the world, motivational lectures and events organized by migrants and refugees". The events are shared via the website and aim to "economically "empower" the migrants, to integrate through the richness of life experiences and knowledge, to promote different cultures and world views"[3]. The investigation coordinated by the post-doctorate research group aimed to keep track of the events promoted by the collective, which were: workshops directed by migrants, aiming to build diversities, cultural consumption and inter-cultural exchanges, three events of the *Dream-makers Createathon: facilitando os sonhos para novos brasileiros[4]**, aiming to capacitate refugees who are interested in becoming entrepreneurs, and, lastly, the 2016 campaign *#MeuAmigoRefugiado[5]**.

To this paper, we propose a case study of the campaign "*Meu Amigo Refugiado*" that was released in December 2016 in the main cities of Brazil by Migraflix, with the support of the UNHCR[6] and in a partnership with an advertising agency, the NBS[7]. The campaign consisted in a Brazilian family hosting refugees during their Christmas dinner. The interested family had to subscribe to the campaign website[8] and would then choose the refugee from a list of the candidates' profiles. Overall, the Migraflix campaign successfully organized 35 meetings between families and refugees, 23 of which were in São Paulo, 10 in Rio de Janeiro, one in Brasilia and one in Fortaleza. The campaign had an impressive reach: in two days after it's publishing in the social media and in the national media, more than 550 Brazilian families had already subscribed to the website to host refugees in their Christmas dinner. The total number of subscribers was of 2.426 people interested in hosting refugees in their dinners. This number is explained by the media repercussion. The campaign generated around 135 news reports in different national and international media, according to the clipping provided by the organization. The website www.meuamigorefugiado.com.br had, from December 5,

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2   Post-doctorate research group called "Migration, Communication Experiences, Interculturality and Cultural Consumption in São Paulo: a study of Migraflix", made possible by the Post-grad Program in Communication and Consumption Practices, ESPM – SP, directed by professor Denise Cogo.
3   Information shared by Migraflix and made available to this researcher by the organization.
4   TN: literally, "facilitating dreams to new Brazilians".
5   TN: literally, #MyRefugeeFriend.
6   UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for the Refugees. See www.acnur.org.br
7   Advertising Agency NBS – www.nobullshit.com.br
8   Http://meuamigorefugiado.com.br/en/

2016 to January 5, 2017, 84.147 user accesses, while 21,6% of those have returned to the website later on.

After the meetings, specific questionnaires were sent, via e-mail, to the refugees who participated in the event, as well as to their hosting families, through a partnership between this research group and the Migraflix organization staff. Our hypothesis is that the attention attracted by the campaign, both because of its repercussion in the national media and because of the involvement of Brazilians who subscribed to the program, can be explained by the context of the so-called global crisis of refugees, repeatedly brought up by both the national and the international media, and by the empathy that this theme is capable of bringing up. The moral appeal of the atrocities shared by the media as well as the cosmopolitan experience made possible by the contact and exchange with foreigners who possess a personal history of fighting and overcoming explain the commitment to the refugees' cause.

This hypothesis meets the discussion developed by M. Nussbaum (2002), who states that in the global connection era the cosmopolitan *ethos* became a moral necessity, since we can no longer be alien to the global humanitarian crises shared via the flows of image and information that circulate in the transnational communication media. As a consequence of the experience of contemporary international migrations, M. Agier (2016) pleads the idea of a common cosmopolitism, which includes those whose daily experiences are situated in the border, both geographical and cultural. Both authors identify the media as a device capable of making the exchange of common experiences and sensations possible. Thus, the citizen of the contemporary world is linked to the advent of global media, which makes it possible for him/her to be aware of and follow real-time events and atrocities. The concept of cosmopolitanism in the contemporary context would lead, according to those two authors, to cultivate the good will of locals or nationals in order for them to become empathic to foreigners, thus cultivating a sense of responsibility, especially towards foreigners in a state of vulnerability, putting aside their own identity group or social distinction. In this scenario, the foreigner, in this case the migrant or refugee, is welcome, not so much as a foreigner, but more as a "cosmopolitan teacher" (Nussbaum, 2002), who teaches us through an experience as citizens of the world, an argument that is in tune with the proposal of the events promoted by Migraflix. This paper's general objective is to observe how these events are situated from the perspective of building diversity, of cultural consumption and that of the concept of cosmopolitanism. Our specific objective is to apprehend the meaning attributed to both the asylum and the refugee status by

the Brazilian participants, as well as the way in which the refugees build their involvement in the Migraflix events.

It is important to clarify that, in this paper, we will talk of "refugees" as defined by the idealization and development of the *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* campaign, even though we know that not all among the participants have the refugee status, some of them being applicants. The data concerning those who are in fact refugees recognized by the Brazilian government and those who are still applying for such a recognition was not shared with us by Migraflix. However, we should keep in mind that the invitation to participate in the campaign was distributed to the migrants through a partnership between UNHCR and Migraflix. Thus, we have chosen to use the general denomination "refugee", since we believe that the differentiation stated above does not affect the aforementioned general objectives of this research.

2 Cosmopolitanism and global diversity

In order to start a discussion on cosmopolitanism, Martha C. Nussbaum (1999) refers to the Stoic philosophers and uses the concept of *Kosmou Politês* or world citizens to argue that in each of us there are two communities, the local one of our birth, and the human argument and aspiration, that is, the community of all human beings. Vertovec and Cohen (2010) also attribute the origin of the concept of cosmopolitanism to the Greeks, stating that there was a tension between the cosmopolitans, and their attraction towards exoticism, and the locals, who were attached to the familiar, that which is known and stable. To the authors, the cosmopolitans were perceived with mistrust by the locals, "figures of emulation, envy, hatred and fear". In this same path, Merton and Gouldner point out the distinction between locals and cosmopolitans. To these authors, the influence of the locals is measured from the links and relations they build, while the cosmopolitans are influential because of the knowledge they bring, or that which they know:

> "Cosmopolitans enter some local group as strangers, equipped with special knowledge, credentials and social status obtained elsewhere, outside the local group setting. What matters to them is not the *number* of people they meet, but the *kind* of people with whom they can share their knowledge about things. Cosmopolitans are accepted by the locals, because the locals credit that which they do not possess themselves, to develop their own neighbourhoods." (Merton e Gouldner *apud* Ossewaarde, 2007, p. 371)

In this conception, which comes from classical sociology, the concept of cosmopolitanism is linked to an experience of class status of the bourgeoisie: the

cosmopolitan has a "commitment with grades, credentials, professions and career" (Ossewaarde, 2007, p. 371). To R. Sennet (2013), the epithet of contemporary cosmopolitanism would be linked to the World Economic Forum, representing the victory of global over local. Cohen and Vertovec concur with the idea that the cosmopolitan experience would only be available for an elite, for those who have resources to travel, to learn other languages and to absorb other cultures: "This, historically, has often been true. For the majority of the population, living their lives within the cultural space of their own nation or ethnicity, cosmopolitanism has not been an option." (Cohen and Vertovec, 2010, p. 280). Furthermore, the authors point out the association between cosmopolitanism and cultural consumption, since they are both linked as habits of the elite, or of collectors of experiences and cultural artifacts around the world, the so-called "cosmopolitan tourists":

> "Cosmopolitan tourism includes the search for varied experiences, a delight in understanding contrasts between societies rather than a longing for uniformity or superiority, and the development of some skill at interpreting cultural meanings. It is a trend arguably based on exotism, commodification and consumer culture." (Cohen and Vertovec, 2010, p. 282)

However, the same authors also point out that in the contemporary world, the experience of cultural and linguistic diversity is omnipresent and the ability to communicate with Others and to understand their cultures is available to all, at least potentially. The Global Tendencies report, published in June 20, 2017 by the UNHCR, attests that a total of 65.3 million people have been displaced because of wars or conflicts since the end of 2015. Still according to the report, this is the first time that the number of forced displacements has surpassed the number of 60 million people around the world[9]. In Brazil, the number of recognized refugees has grown by 12% in 2016, reaching the number of 9.552 people of 82 nationalities[10]. This reality leads to a wider diversity of people sharing experiences between locals and foreigners, from the work environment to the street corners, in the markets, in the neighbourhoods, in schools. In this context, Cohen and Vertovec work with the concept of cosmopolitanism as tied to the contemporary global experience, thus describing an *ethos* "of citizens of the world, a way of treating oneself and the Other". To Ulf Hannerz (1990), cosmopolitanism means a desire to become involved with the Other, paired with the concern of being in contact with different cultures. Therefore, the concept of cosmopolitanism leads to different

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9   See http://www.acnur.org/portugues/noticias/noticia/deslocamento-forcado-atinge-recorde-global-e-afeta-uma-em-cada-113-pessoas-no-mundo/. Last accessed June 23rd 2017.

10   See http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/direitos-humanos/noticia/2017-06/numero-de-refugiados-reconhecidos-sobre-12-no-brasil-em-2016. Last accessed June 23rd 2017.

interpretations, without being disconnected from its Greek root, that of the Stoics and of Odysseus, the traveling God interested in humanity, nor from the consumption habits of a globalized elite. However, today, the concept also incorporates the notion of a cosmopolitanism of those from below (see Matthews, Lins Ribeiro and Vega, 2012), brought to life by those marginal to the "elite" society.

It is in this manner that authors such as R. Cohen, S. Vertovec (2010) and M. Agier (2016) advocate a new meaning of cosmopolitanism: the everyday cosmopolitanism or ordinary cosmopolitanism, that we will call, in this paper, "common cosmopolitanism". We have chosen to work with the particular conception of cosmopolitanism as developed by Agier.

2.1 Common Cosmopolitanism

Agier discusses the concept of cosmopolitanism in his work *Borderlands* (2016), in which he addresses the question of borders both physical and subjective as linked to the contemporary experience of migrants and refugees. The author agrees with the first meaning of the word cosmopolitanism, associated with a globalized experience of the elite, and made complex by different financial capital flows, technocrats, market leaders. He also points out that other senses of cosmopolitanism can be cited, such as those who travel without financial support from big corporations, but are called citizens of the world because of the fluidity with which the move and associate to social projects, often through volunteering. This last group is called by Agier the "cosmopoliticals": "though they may call themselves 'cosmopolitan', what we observe in their case, is that this means setting out a political position about the world and its governance that is more or less representative, democratic or universalistic" (Agier, 2016, p. 75). From the ascension of international migrations and the so-called refugee crisis that is happening nowadays in both developed and developing countries, Agier introduces the idea of common cosmopolitanism in order to think the global experience of everyday encounters with otherness, or those who experience "border situations".

> "These three most common usages of the 'cosmopolitan' word and idea do not describe the cosmopolitan condition in the sense of a lived experience, everyday and ordinary, an experience of sharing the world, no matter how inegalitarian and violent this may be. My different conception of cosmopolitism is drawn rather from the experience of border situations, in the broad sense in which I have used the term. But I can, I believe argue coherently that cosmopolitism is the experience of those women and men who experience the concreteness and roughness of the world. This ordinary experience of the world is the experience of crossing borders, a situation that can extend in both time and space. And it is in border situations that the relationship with

the other is put to the test, with an unknown who is also the embodiment of what the world is for those who find themselves there, arriving at the border." (Agier, 2016, p. 76)

Agier adopts an amplified notion of border, that includes the crossing movement of formal limits, and the encounters with otherness in border situations, more clearly linked to the experience of international migration: "it is starting from this situation of double 'de-identification' of the migrant (who no longer corresponds to the identity of his society of origin, but equally not to that which the society of arrival assigns him)" (Agier, 2016, p. 77), but not only: "all those who, taking up and transforming the very languages that have confined them to the margins (rome, black, refugee, stateless, for example), claim or impose their 'presence in the world' because this world is both more accessible and more closed than ever before" (Agier, 2016, p. 8).

We also need to add that this so-called "accessibility" and "proximity" is attributed by the author to the mediatization of contemporary society and to media events that go from those that connect international audiences, such as the World Soccer Cup and the Olympics, to situations that affect many parts of the world, that range from the avian flu/bird flu to terror attacks. Agier explains that the mediatized experiences of these events suddenly become symbols and give us, for a brief moment, the sensation of belonging to the same world. This happens, according to the author, through image and information flows, responsible for creating a cosmopolitan "consciousness".

> "The common point of these forms of global society is their virtual aspect. The society seems to rest in nothing more than the perception of mediatized event, or even just a media one, which unites us. On a planetary scale, but just for a moment, and without this consciousness corresponding to any real shared experience." (Agier, 2016, p. 75)

Thus, the author argues that slowly a new condition is being formed around the world, which he calls "common cosmopolitism", brought up from the encounters of the so-called "marginal lives". To Agier, in this globalized and hybrid world the experience with the unfamiliar is uncertain and shared daily, and this condition is born in the borders. "These are border landscapes, in which encounters and experiences bring into relation a here and elsewhere, a same and other, a 'local' fact and a 'global' context (simply meaning someone or something that comes from 'outside')" (Agier, 2016, p. 8). In this way, we aim to think the campaign *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* as an experience of common cosmopolitism between people who cross borders, linguistic, cultural, geographical, and share a moment. This experience is fed by a media imaginary that exacerbates images and information of

the so-called refugee crisis, and turns the global spotlight on the refugees. Could there be a media production or mobilization of empathy? Or do these subjects who meet in Christmas dinner share that which Agier calls cosmopolitan consciousness?

3 Presenting Migraflix – intersections between media and entrepreneurism to refugees

Migraflix (**www.migraflix.com.br**) is introduced as a "nonprofit social action" which, through advertising in its own website or in social media, promotes the realization of "cultural workshops, food distribution services around the world, motivational lectures and events organized by migrants and refugees". The events are advertised in their own website and aim to "economically "empower" the migrants, to integrate through the richness of life experiences and knowledge, to promote different cultures and world views"[11]. The Migraflix services are offered both to people who subscribe to the workshops via the website and to companies. The communication media used by Migraflix are all located on the Internet, and the communication and content-sharing flows are key to propagating the events promoted by the NGO. It was only in the campaign analyzed by this paper that Migraflix has used the services of a press office, through a partnership with the advertising agency NBS. The Migraflix website informs that their team is composed of 16 members both Brazilian and foreign who live in São Paulo, and it was created during the first semester of 2015. At the head of the team is Jonathan Berezovsky, an Argentinian of Jewish origins who lives in Brazil. According to the team, 80% of the value obtained with each workshop goes to the migrant, and the rest goes to the maintenance of Migraflix, a nonprofit social project.

Our research aimed to understand how these experiences are developed from inter-cultural encounters between Brazilians and migrants and how these events are seen from the perspective of cultural consumption and building diversity. Ever since this research has started following the group, they have noticeably grown and, beyond the workshops, have developed new activities with new partners, such as the Impact Hub São Paulo[12], with which they organized the event *Dream-makers Createathon: facilitando o sonho de Novos Brasileiros*, with the

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11   Information shared by Migraflix and made available to this researcher by the organization.
12   Global community of Impact entrepreneurs which, in São Paulo, reunites business and entrepreneurship projects, social investors, freelancers, activists, creative workers and consultants who aim to inspire and develop projects with a positive impact on society. It manages a platform with over 16.000 Impact entrepreneurs around the world. Http:/saopaulo.impacthub.com.br/. Last accessed August 7th 2016.

support of UNHCR, the UN agency for refugees, and of Sebrae[13*]. The event aimed to "map problems and propose solutions beyond the reach of the State", as explained by the material sent by the Migraflix team, as well as "to reunite new Brazilians – migrants and refugees – to the local community of creative minds, social entrepreneurs and *makers*, who will raise awareness, discuss and propose solutions to the challenges of integration of this population in the biggest metropolis of Latin America". Migraflix is presented as an innovative projet and, in 2016, won the United Nations Global Compact.

Today, Migraflix offers different activities with migrants and refugees in São Paulo, aiming to consolidate itself as a "nonprofit social business" whose aim is to "*empower the migrants economically*". Aside from the activities that aim to facilitate inter-cultural exchanges, Migraflix has been noted for its promotion of entrepreneurism as a way of promoting the refugees' financial independence. Thus, an alliance is made and diversity becomes a means of cultural, personal and economic enrichment, while the appropriation of media channels is used for promotion, propagation and mobilization of affects. In this context, the cosmopolitan is both the refugee who teaches and the Brazilian who seeks that interaction.

4 *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* – introducing the campaign and the methodology employed

The campaign *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* was released by Migraflix in December 5, 2016. A total of 2.426 Brazilians have applied to host refugees during their Christmas dinner or during their Christmas lunch with their families. The campaign was released via social media, in a page of the social media network Facebook[14], and through a website created especially to the event: **http://meuamigorefugiado.com.br/inicio**. The campaign consisted in the reception of refugees by a Brazilian family during their Christmas dinner. An interested family could subscribe to the campaign's website and choose the refugee from a profile list presented in the website (see the link above). After the encounters, semi-structured questionnaires were sent to the refugee participants and to the families that hosted them via e-mail, in a partnership between the Migraflix team and our research team.

Both questionnaires were sent via e-mail, to refugees and host-families. The

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13   TN: SEBRAE – *Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio às Micro e Pequenas Empresas* (lit.: Brazilian service of assistance to micro and small enterprises).
14   https://www.facebook.com/meuamigorefugiado/.

general objective was to understand what motivated the refugee to participate in the campaign, as well as what motivated the family to host a refugee. Our specific objectives were to generate a socio-economic profile of the refugees and of the host-families, to understand the reasons for their involvement in the event, as well as how they heard of the campaign. The questions sent to the host-families aimed to understand the type of commitment they had with the project and how they were informed of the theme. Concerning the refugees, however, the idea was to map what motivated them to participate in this kind of event, how they felt during the experience and if they had the intention of participating again. The questionnaires were as follows:

Meu Amigo Refugiado

Post-event questionnaire (to be sent via e-mail to the refugees)

Identification:

Age:

Gender:

Country of origin/Nationality:

Religion:

Where do you live?

With how many people do you live?

Do you have any higher education? What level of education?

Are you employed/What is your occupation today?

Do you have any Brazilian friends?

Do you frequently meet Brazilian friends?

Do you think it is important to have contact with Brazilians? Why?

Questionnaire about the experience:

What did you think of the idea of the project?

What motivated you to participate?

How do you describe the experience?

How did you feel in the house?

What did you talk about?

Do you think you will keep in touch with these people outside of the project?

Would you repeat the experience with other Brazilian families, in other occasions?

Meu Amigo Refugiado

Post-event questionnaire (to be sent *via* e-mail to the families)

Identification:

How many people are there in your family?

In what neighbourhood do you live?

How many people from your family/friends have participated in the event?

Questions about the experience:

How did you learn about the campaign?

Why did you decide to participate?

Did you know the difference between refugee and migrant?

How do you stay informed about the subject of asylum/refugees?

What opinions concerning the refugees did you have beforehand?

Explain what motivated the refugee's choice

What did you think of the experience?

Do you plan to keep in touch with the person who visited you outside of the project?

Would you recommend the experience to someone else? Why?

The questionnaires were sent via e-mail to all of the participants, both migrants and Brazilians. Out of a total of 35 meetings, 23 happened in São Paulo, 10 in Rio de Janeiro, 1 in Brasilia and 1 in Fortaleza. Out of all 70 questionnaires sent, we have received answers from 17 refugees who participated in the event (three of them live in Rio de Janeiro, 14 in São Paulo), and from 6 members of the Brazilian families (all of them from São Paulo and all answered by women). We know that this kind of research often meets with difficulties concerning the number of answers. However, due to the short span of time available to us, as well as the difficulties of distance, vacation periods during which many leave their homes, which would, for instance, make it hard for us to make proper interviews, this method has showed itself to be the most reliable. The final data processing work consisted in structuring the results into elements of theorization that reveal something about the focus point chosen in the initial problematization phase of this research. In our case, the questionnaires allowed us to assert the influence of the media in the decision of participating in this campaign and, at the same time, to identify the complex process of negotiation of multiple belongings in the society of which the migrant is now a part, the inter-cultural process.

5 Analysis and Results of the Questionnaires

As we have said before, out of the total of questionnaires sent, 17 refugees and 6 Brazilian families that participated in the event have answered the

questionnaires. We have decided to use two methods of data tabulation. The first was a quantitative method, aiming to establish the profile of the participants with the categories of gender, country of origin, age, studies, if they are employed/unemployed and what they work with. The second method chosen was qualitative, it was done by reading the individual questionnaires and by comparing the answers. The same procedure was followed for the questionnaires answered by the Brazilian host-families. In order to optimize the analysis, we will focus, on this paper, in the qualitative aspects of the research and in the analysis of the answers provided for the open questions of the questionnaire.

5.1 Refugees' profiles

From the quantitative analysis of the questionnaires, we have obtained data concerning the nationality, gender, age, level of education, current occupation and the city where he/she lives. Out of the 17 answered questionnaires, the most common nationalities were Syrian and Colombian, with 3 migrants each. They were followed by the countries of Haiti, Cuba and Congo, with 2 migrants each. The rest of the countries, with one migrant from each, were Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Morocco and Venezuela. In respects to the gender, 7 migrants have identified themselves as female, and 10 as male. Most of them live in São Paulo, 14, and 3 of them in Rio de Janeiro. The ages vary from 23, the youngest, to 44, the oldest. Four of them are unemployed, 3 teach their own languages, two work as salesmen/women, and four of them sell food of their own home country, from which three own their own business. Out of the 17 questionnaires answered, 11 stated that the migrant had higher education, 2 that he/she had vocational education, 1 that had a high school level, while 3 migrants have not answered this question.

5.1.1 Analysis of the refugees' answers

The first aspect we will emphasize is the fact that the experience of participating in the Christmas event *Meu Amigo Refugiado* is pointed out as a positive experience by all those involved, including refugees and Brazilians. Among the refugees, all of them claim that not only they appreciated the experience, but that they also recommend it and would participate again in a similar experience. The second aspect concerns that which motivated the refugees to participate in the event. Most answers point out the possibility of exchanging with others, of meeting others or of amplifying their contact network as their main motivational force. To

ease their loneliness, to express their own ideas and to get to know the local culture also figure as motives for their participation. Two of the migrants, who have already participated in other Migraflix events, point out that they would participate in any event promoted by the NGO.

The third aspect that we will emphasize in the analysis of the answers of the refugees is the fact that the meeting with the Brazilian families, both on Christmas dinner and lunch, is narrated as a moment for the refugee to own their own speech, that is, he/she has a personal and political story to tell, his/her life story which, most of the times, is also linked to the story of their own country of origin. One of the refugees interviewed, born in the Ivory Coast, says "*I was motivated to participate in order to teach the Brazilians that we did not live in the woods, eating wild fruit to survive, that we have a life just like them, except in a less developed way*". And she concludes: "*It is a very important project because it is important to bring people from different cultures together, besides the fact that the Brazilian people is already very mixed (many are African-Brazilian) and it will allow them to know a bit more about their roots*". The refugees say that they feel happy simply for being able to tell their story to people who want to listen to them, and that they also transform this occasion into an opportunity to demystify prejudices or to nurture an interest for certain cultural aspects of their countries. Beyond the idea of putting cultural prejudice into perspective, one of the answers emphasizes the importance of deconstructing stereotypes surrounding the concept of asylum: "*I think that we have to come up with other philosophies for the matter of the central idea of REFUGEE. It is necessary for there to be more debates, meetings, ideologically sensitive campaigns, etc. in order to unlock the concept of refugee*". Lastly, we can point out that in general the refugees see the experience as an opportunity to build ties, to build *networks*, in order to, maybe, get a job, to be pointed to a job opportunity or simply to amplify their social networks, as stated by one of the interviewed, who came from Haiti: "*It is nice because that way we can infiltrate further*".

5.2 The Brazilians' profiles

Only 6 questionnaires were answered by Brazilians. All of them were answered by women from São Paulo. Only one of them shared her age, 29 years old, and they all lived in different areas of the city, such as *Pinheiros*, *Morumbi*, *Centro*, *Vila Andrade*, *Vila Silvia*, while one of them did not answer.

5.2.1 Analysis of the Brazilians' answers

Out of the six questionnaires that have been answered by the Brazilians who subscribed to the event, all of them were unanimous in asserting that the experience was a positive one, and that they would repeat it in other holidays and would recommend it to others. Two of the questions were how the participants heard of the campaign and how they received information concerning matters linked to asylum or refugees. The campaign page in the social network Facebook[15] figures as the answer in five of the six questionnaires returned to us concerning the question of how they heard of the campaign. Other media were pointed out aside from the Internet: two mentioned the radio, without specifying the station, one of them the TV, again without mentioning the station, and another one specifically mentioned the news website of the Globo Group, G1. According to the report made available to us by the Migraflix organization and done by the advertising agency NBS, partner of the NGO for the organization and promotion of the event, the Facebook page created for the event figures as the third most visited medium, with as much as 16.508 views. The social network page loses only to the website created for the event, with 21.201 visitors, and to the Google search, with 20.117 searches. It is interesting to point out that, in spite of the fact that the G1 is the most accessed news page in Brazil, according to the Alexa ranking, the Estadão, a news website owned by the Estado Group, has had 5.914 views of its news report concerning the campaign, whereas the G1 report had only 2.248 visitors.

Concerning the "asylum" and their idea of "refugee", most answers emphasize the idea that these are "*people who need help*", since they left behind their family and their possessions. Concerning the matter of how they receive information on matters linked to the refugees, the answer was unanimous: they all get information through the media, through news reports on television, in newspapers and in on-line websites. One of the answers mentioned the experience in a project called "*Portas Abertas*"[16*], organized by a Christian organization that helps victims of religious persecution, and the book *I am Malala* as a source of information and as a means to approach the subject of asylum/refugees. We have to point out that both the book and the story of Malala were widely broadcasted by both national and international media. Concerning what motivated these people to receiving refugees in their homes, the answers are associated to the idea of what a refugee is, since all of the answers emphasize their need for help, for hospitality, for amplifying their contact networks in a city "*as hostile as São Paulo*", as well as the bringing together of different cultures, while one of the answers mentions their own experience as a migrant in Brazil as a factor of empathy with the refugees.

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15   See: https://www.Facebook.com/meuamigorefugiado/?fref=ts
16   TN: literally, Open Doors.

Concerning the experience itself, it is interesting to notice a difference in the tone of the answers provided by the Brazilian participants, since five out of six answers referred to their personal beliefs and expectations. We will emphasize three of them: "*Maybe I won't become a super hero, nor will I win the Nobel Peace Prize, but I know that I can help, that I can love, that I can adopt, and if I do that to someone, it will be way more rewarding than a trophy in my cupboard*", reveals one of the interviewed. Another states that "*it was amazing to be able to share our Christmas with people from another nationality. We have learned some words of their dialect, we have cherished the food that they brought, as well as the integration moment. It was a way of restart a personal effort of helping those in need*", or, as stated by another participant, "*For me, it was the best experience of my life, something I will never forget, it was an experience that really touched me, that brought out the best of me*".

Therefore, according to these excerpts, the experience seems to unravel a sort of self-discovery, enabling the participants to learn something about themselves more than about their guests. If we compare the points of view shared by the refugees, who emphasize the fact that their story is intertwined with that of their countries, or who perceive the experience as a way of broadening their networks, the Brazilians seem to see the event as a means to feel better about themselves and to ease their conscience, that is, as a morally positive attitude, and, why not, quite narcissistic, since it seems to be an experience that elevates them in their own eyes, as well as in those of their families, and that reverberates in their social circles. All six of the Brazilian participants who answered the questionnaires have chosen the refugee that they would host in their homes based on the profiles listed in the campaign's website, while one of them seems to criticize the methodology established by Migraflix: "*I haven't chosen Xxxx. I sent a message to him and a few others, saying that it didn't matter who I would host. In fact, I find it very strange that we can choose a person in what is almost a dinner menu. Either we are open to receiving anyone with love and care, or we are not.*"

6 Global Media and Common Cosmopolitanism

Martha C. Nussbaum (2002) argues that in the era of global connection, the cosmopolitan *ethos* has become a moral necessity. With the globalized media, corporations and governments can no longer keep atrocities a secret, they can no longer bet on the ignorance of people as they have in the past, ignorance is no longer an alibi. To maintain a clean conscience, cosmopolitanism would mean, following Nussbaum, to cultivate the good will of locals and nationals so as to make

them more empathic of foreigners, so as to cultivate a sense of responsibility towards foreigners in need, in spite of their identity or belonging or social distinction. In this case, to Nussbaum, the foreigner, the migrant or the refugee will be welcomed, not as a foreigner, a stranger, but as a cosmopolitan teacher who teaches others how to be citizens of the world, who manages to detach him/herself from any identity, such as Jew, *bourgeois* or black, and who reconstructs him/herself as a cosmopolitan citizen. "The foreigner teaches the locals, in their intent of becoming citizens of the world, in order to establish a critical distance towards their own local group and to open themselves to the foreign and its difference" (Nussbaum, 2002).

Thus, it is interesting to point out that the experience of the *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* campaign has the potential to transform the refugee into this "cosmopolitan teacher" mentioned above, since their personal story intertwined to that of their country becomes a sort of class taught to the Brazilians who host them in their homes for Christmas dinner. This impression is emphasized when we observe the answers given by the refugees concerning their motives for participating in the event. Demystifying prejudices, informing others of the culture of their countries of origin were among the reasons stated. Likewise, the migrants' desire of amplify their contact network with the locals is in harmony with the argument presented above, stating that by sharing their life stories, the encounter between migrants and locals can be facilitated. This brings us back to Agier's arguments (2016), since he identifies the migrants and refugees as borderland beings, who, in the daily practice of a marginal life, live the experience of a common cosmopolitanism.

On the other hand, in their involvement in the event *Meu Amigo Refugiado*, the Brazilians have had the opportunity to make peace with the moral predicament of responsibility towards the refugees suggested by the contemporary media. The media figures as the entity that orchestrates this debate to the Brazilians, as stated by all of the answers to the questionnaires. The media is also used by Migraflix to publicize events such as *Meu Amigo Refugiado*. As suggested by the media, the answers of the Brazilian participants have identified the refugee as "someone who needs help". Their involvement is also the result of a media mobilization of empathy, and hosting these people in such a specific date as Christmas Eve thus becomes the key to a moral commitment to humanitarian international causes, that is: to the exercise of common cosmopolitism. Therefore, the fundamental question is: can the contact with people from other cultures represent something close to what Agier calls *cosmopolitan consciousness*, which would signify a genuine interest in the Other, resulting in a change of attitudes? Or would it be only a superficial and

fleeting involvement as an answer to media stimuli?

7 Final considerations

In the Brazilians' answers to the questionnaires sent, we have found a mixture of personal necessity and of a desire to get involved in a humanitarian cause that is currently on-trend. We would risk to state that there is a certain ambiguity in the relation between the Brazilians and the refugees in the event that we analyzed. Both personal interest and sensibility are involved, and it would be naive to assert the opposite. However, we have observed that the very presentation of the campaign in the website might suggest the fading or generalization of individualities, of cultural particularities in a "dinner menu" of people and of personal stories of suffering. Thus, under the tab "Get to know Olga/José/Hussein", all personalities fade behind the "refugees" stereotype, and Congolese, Cubans, Colombians, Haitians, etc. are all blended together to become artifacts, powers of an experience linked to tourist's cosmopolitanism, and linked, therefore, to cultural consumption, as explained by the authors Cohen and Vertovec: "the massive transfer of foodstuffs, artworks, music, literature and fashion. Such processes represent a multiculturalization of society, but also the advanced globalization of capitalism" (Cohen and Vertovec, 2010, p. 284).

To Nussbaum, taken as an *ethos* of global citizenship, cosmopolitanism can be described as an intellectual attempt to understand the common denominator – humanity – dispersed in a world of chaos and cultural diversity. In our specific case, from the appreciation of cultural diversity as an element of distinction and sophistication, the refugee and the migrant are come to being perceived through and for their cultural specifications, their exoticism, of the knowledge that differentiates them and that they carry with them, bringing us closer to the capitalist experience of cultural consumption, or, because they grant humanity, originality and bring with them the possibility of exercising empathy to social causes. Thus, initiatives such as *#MeuAmigoRefugiado* may be seen as new mechanisms of negotiating belonging. That is how we can qualify Migraflix and events such as *#MeuAmigoRefugiado*, since they transform the refugees into teachers of experiences and personal stories, further making them owners of their own stories, capable of touching and of being role models. Experiences of interculturality and cosmopolitanism in the sense of exchange and contact with human argument and aspiration, as thought the Stoics.

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Radiojornalism as space for disputes in the Global South: cartography of sources in CBN Rio radio station

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Abstract

How is media space occupied in radiojournalism as a place of dispute for meaning by social voices? The article analyzes the programming of CBN Rio over a week with the mapping of the selected sources to discuss the social themes. To do so, one starts with concepts of geography, such as space, place and territorial configuration to understand the dynamics of dispute in the journalistic scenario in the Global South. It presents a spiral cartography with high areas of discussion from the perspective of primary sources and low zones with secondary ones. The study seeks to contribute with possibilities for dialogue on research that links the geographies of communication and the diversity of sources in radiojournalism.

Keywords

Introduction

How do the different social voices dispute meanings in the occupation of the media space? What disputes between sources permeate television, radio, print, or web journalism? With these questions, the present article seeks concepts of Geography, such as the lived space (Massey, 2009; Holzer, 2012; Santos, 2006; Silveira, 2004), territorial configuration and place (Santos, 2006) and dialogues with (Pooley, 2016) in the dispute of meanings of mediation (Martín-barbero, 2004) to carry out a mapping of sources in radiojournalism. The scale of analysis (Herod, 2011) is about sources selected within 24 hours of programming over a week at CBN in Rio de Janeiro.

The goal is to look at the ways in which social voices are distributed in the news and how events dictate events, whether in a primary or secondary form (Hall et al., 1999) and with different forms of access (Molotch and Lester, 1999). The hypothesis is that considering CBN's All News radiojournalism as a space that has a place under construction, the dispute follows the economic and political pattern of society's power relations.

In this way, it presents a cartography of the selected sources and seeks to contribute to the dialogue between the geography of communication and studies on the diversity of voices in radiojournalism. The analysis demonstrates a map of the radiojournalistic text constructed live in All News format. Unlike the informational construction in inverted pyramid or standing in the classic model, or lying in webjournalism, the study proposes a spiral format, with a cartography that has high areas of discussion from the perspective of primary sources and low zones with secondary ones.

Space and place: radiojournalism in the Global South

The constitution of space as something lived as a product of interrelationships, sphere of multiplicity and under construction is the starting point for the discussion about the relationship between geography and communication. According to Massey (2009), although the concept is considered little explicitly, it becomes necessary to incorporate the ways of being in the world with the dynamics of spatiality and the ways of dealing with this challenge. The trajectories that compose the society as a whole explain the political and social forms in the daily and global practices, which sustain the understandings about the world. For the author, this makes open space, never closed, like history in the formation of connections from the human interaction with the other, as the product of relations

in potential connections from the multiplicity: "A space, then, which is not neither a container for ever-existing identities nor a completely closed holism. It is a space of unpredictable results and missing links" (Massey, 2009, p. 32).

The three initial propositions of the author for this understanding do not conceptualize space as something static or crystallized, but rather involved by the existential perceptions with different dimensions. In the flow of ideas and disputes of meaning, we consider the three propositions of Massey (2009, p. 29): I) space is the product of interrelations, is constituted through interactions, from the global to the most intimate; II) space is a sphere of possibility of multiplicity, of plurality where trajectories coexist, of heterogeneity, of encounter with the other; III) space is in continuous construction as a product of relations-between embedded in material practices that are always in the process of being made.

To think of space as the product of interrelations escapes the individualist liberal aspects that conceptualize it from identities already previously constituted, which does not allow the encounter with the other and its reformulations from the relations-between. Massey (2009, p.30) proposes a relational understanding of the world that makes the concept a product of these interrelations: "Space does not exist before identities / entities and their relations". This presupposition that involves "relations-between", as a constitutive process, allows us to locate in the object of discussion of the article the question of geography in the encounter with communication and more specifically the relations developed among the sources in radiojournalism.

The diversity of voices in society in different political, economic, religious and social spheres is a normative challenge of approach to communication. From Alexis de Tocquevile (2004) and Stuart Mill (1991)[1] to Martín-Barbero (2004) and Bahktin (2006) highlight the need for pluralism, diversity or otherwise polyphony in the construction of discourses and is in the normative values of the journalistic community (Zelizer, 2004). The approximation of these aspects, not only in a liberal normative sense, but in the perspective of the diversification of world experiences and interpretations of events (Alsina, 2009) is in Massey's (2009) consideration of space as a sphere of possibility of multiplicity. Questions such as difference, heterogeneity and different points of view are in the geography and constitution of the concept as an escape from a single view on the world, be it from the west or from the classic liberal figure of white, male, and heterosexual man.

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[1] Classical theorists of pluralism such as John Rawls (2002), Stuart Mill (1991) and Alexis Tocqueville (2004) place debate at the heart of the support of individual freedoms and the very construction of democracy. Tocqueville (2004) comes to correlate pluralism in the press and pluralism in democratic life.

The multidisciplinarity of trajectories becomes a condition of interrelations, since it depends on the recognition of spatiality and, consequently, on the coexistence of others in a historical perspective as well as of future potential (Massey, 2009). Likewise, there is the third point in considering space as always in process, as an opening for the future that escapes the structural stability of the modern. Not recognizing the future as something given or previously thought leads, in the author's view, the opening of a field for political struggle with the necessary social engagement in its multiple needs. The interactions in space, the flow of possibilities of connections, and the importance of recognizing multiplicities, mean that they never have complete simultaneity.

Milton Santos (2006) defines the space as a set of fixed and flows, which will allow to differentiate the concept of territorial configuration, and later, of the place. For the author, the fixed elements are related to the objects, what the human being fixes in each place and that allow actions of modification in the environmental conditions lived by the society. Already the flows are the results of the actions crossed or installed in the fixed ones, that alter their significations, the values and that also they are modified. The interaction between fixed and flows allows us to understand the formation of space and become an object for geography where the former is increasingly artificial and the second most diverse, large, numerous, rapid and under construction.

The space then differs from the territorial configuration. The first is permeated by social relations, the encounter between diversities and the broad forms of studies on the indivisible, solidarity and contradictory set of objects and actions in which history happens. The second is formed by the natural systems of a country, an area in which men impose their interests. While it brings together the materiality of the environment, the other animates and gives life to this set of systems (Santos, 2006). Looking at our object, radio materiality and the exploration of electromagnetic waves can be considered a territorial configuration of the medium in society. Journalism, practices and news content that permeate interests and disputes, relationships and impressions, interpretations of the world encased in themes and events constitute the space lived in this territory.

Space, in this sense, becomes somewhat diffuse, and as Holzer (2012) states, divided between the communicational space of interpersonal relations and media space, the news and the presence that the social actors exert in that medium. This is what Milton Santos (2006, p. 213) says by moving the place of something structured and stable, to a "tense reality, a dynamism that recreates itself at every moment" surrounded by globalization and location. The constitution of place in geography, its meanings and its insertion in the near and global aspect,

simple and complex, provides perceptions beyond localism, or else to summarize the world as something localized. The place is the world lived, the experiences that the cultural landscape makes possible, the dimensions of technology and living, politics and disputes of meaning.

Santos (2006, p. 213), further argues that "each place is, in its own way, the world", and it is possible to recognize the exclusion of a strip of society in the disputes of meaning when we refer to the discourse of news as place. In this interaction mediated by symbols, the geographer himself recognizes that situations can only be fully apprehended if one considers the intersubjective relations that characterize it, that is, it is in the presence of the other that we construct our understanding of social relations and events. The different shared points of view are in the negotiations that are expressed at all times by interests defended within the media space.

For the author, the media as space, as part of the place and the daily life, with all dynamism of interaction and intersubjectivity are part of the construction of sociality that, from its intensity, delineates the proximity. Something that assists in this argument is based on Muniz Sodré (1988) regarding the spatial relation as a guarantee of the communicational possibilities in all the multiplicity that can represent. Thus, in the coexistence of diversity with the proximity that guarantees the dynamism of the understanding of the media as a place and mechanisms of alterity in the space of media communication, it is possible to understand the selection of certain groups that speak and those who do not speak in the media.

It is then possible to compare the comprehensiveness of the communications, their technological sophistication and amplitude with the definition of big city in Santos (2006). The spaces they have, the paths they take and the distances they cover are aligned with the encounter with modernity, with the connection of distant points. At the same time as luminous, both the big city and the communications (like space) take to the interior what happens in the great centers. The same experience of the newly arrived migrant in the big city, which leaves the culture inherited in the interior, has the radio listener who tunes the stations with the model of journalism that comes from afar.

Just as in the big city, the spaces conquered in the media by the slow men are still few and in the margins, not understood in their totality. The presence of the poor in the sociability of cultural matrices in the great centers enriches the socio-spatial diversity by taking with them the experiences of the form of work and of life. Santos's (2006) conception can also be adjusted in the selection of sources in radiojournalism. In the concept of place, cooperation and conflict are bases of life in common, a daily shared by the actions that each one exerts, in the

individualization of social life and in the confrontations between the organization and the spontaneity (Santos, 2006). This is the picture of a reference that everyone will have of the world, of the "irreplaceable theater of human passions, responsible, through communicative action, for the most diverse manifestations of spontaneity and creativity".

When we move the definition of place as something specific material and put it in the news discourse, the globalization of the places provided by contemporary modernization is broadened. New technologies, corporate mergers, distribution of content in communication networks and the professionalization of sources to raise awareness of journalism are all examples of this. In this way, communication can be defined as a complex global place, by the profusion of vectors, from those that represent hegemonic logic and those who seek alternatives to the system or fight against this hegemony. In journalism, for example, the diversity considered as normative is not reached by a series of factors already mentioned by Gans (1980) and Hall et al (1999). The presence of the poor still has a segregating character, encased in specific themes in issues such as security or interactions without a primary character.

The road to the future that Santos (2006) points to the city and its places is the presence of the poor. It is the slow men of the cities who increase and enrich diversity, their experiences in the daily life of the neighborhood, the application of public policies, the resources they are destined for, the division of labor, the infinite variety of jobs they possess. It is in the absence of mobility that these social agents obtain the strength to see the most diverse spheres of society, to seek in interaction and communication out for the lack of "all types of consumption, material and immaterial consumption, also lack of political consumption, lack of participation and citizenship".

The look at the city and consequently for the programming of the radiojournalism itself in a perspective of space recognition implies the formation of a scale, here understood as a zoom of the researcher on a certain object. In our case, the study on the sources in CBN Rio is only part of a set of social actions that involve the lived space of communication within the territorial configuration of the radio. With this hypothesis, using the concepts of geography, the scale presents itself as categorical in the sense of analyzing the presence of the social voices that constitute the disputes of meaning about the events. Herod (2011) presents the study on scales with a critique of materialists and idealists, with the flaws of their conceptions of the concept with a structuring of spatiality. This consideration, which runs away from the arguments that the scale is pre-existing, allows it to be considered as something that must be created, subject to conflicts.

For the author, there are multiple spatialities of scale, which were thought from their form as area, territory or in the socio-spatial dimension that limit their approaches to diffuse social forms that do not ignore the formation of networks. Thus, they do not constitute pyramids in a closed hierarchy, but as mosaics, varying historically and geographically. Among the "deepening and enlargements" on the concept of scale and its use, based on Taylor and Smith, Herod (2011) states that the various uses have led to a sharing of common points of view. Among them are: a) the consideration of scale as socially constituted, a social production or even a social construction; b) conceived the scale in terms of sand, with geographical limits on particular spaces, a definition of points to be studied; c) considered the scales fluid, which although fixed by the subject, cannot be immutable. For Herod (2011), this view may limit the relationship between different scales as some actors move from one spatial resolution to another, or as the control of a scale that may have changes between subjects.

Criticism of the notion of scale still holds the arguments based on Moore (apud Herod, 2011), of the distinction on the scale as a practical category and a category of analysis. Three issues highlighted as a "non-substantialist approach to scale" by Herod (2011) help us to define the study of radiojournalism as a space and focus on sources as a scale as a category of analysis: I) the claim of the scale of visualization as epistemological, without considering it from its ontological character, which allows to see social processes and phenomena without needing the recognition that there is a prior internalization of such scale; II) the argument that even without an ontological hierarchy, people believe that these scales have real consequences on the behavior of individuals; III) the ontological, prior and prior recognition of scale does not necessarily mean that they do not play a role in the way people interact in the world.

The concepts of space and place as something lived go back to the recognition of scale as a choice of the researcher on approaches at a particular point of study in cartography about that environment. To claim the scale on the selection of sources in the events covered by radiojournalism is to see social processes without prior recognition of their approach; in which society knows the consequences of non-diversity as the data points out at the beginning of the article on reforms; and that forms of interaction in the world and of interpretation of events involve the diversification of experiences in relations between fast and slow men, between civil society and reforms, between journalists and sources.

The geography of journalism

Journalism, understood here in the case of radio, participates in the production of reality, in the construction of meaning about events, but not in isolation, but in conjunction with other agents and social institutions (Meditsch, 2010). The socialization of knowledge and the importance of recognizing journalism, among other instances, present in the social construction of reality is in the study of the disputes of meaning between different social actors. According to Hall et al, the news are social products of a) bureaucratic organization of the media; b) structuring of news values; and c) the construction of news that passes through the process of identification (gatekeeping) and contextualization of cultural maps of meaning (Hall et al, 1999).

It is also necessary to consider the concept of news as "a social representation of everyday reality, produced institutionally and manifested in the construction of a possible world" (Alsina, 2009, 299). Social representation that manifests itself in different interpretations of the world in which the relations between journalists and sources are involved. For Shoemaker and Vos (2011, p. 173) it is in the source and media channel that the flow of information reaches the audience. In both cases there are sections, with gates on their fronts that control the entrance or not of the events and the perceptions existing on them: "Consequently, among the most important sections of the source channel are the sources' ability to observe, their long and short-term memory, and their decisions about what kind of information to give to journalists" (Shoemaker and Vos, 2011, p. 173).

However, it is necessary to consider in this regard the so-called source revolution and the institutionalization of social voices in communication and the formation of a solid industry of communication advisory services (Chaparro, 1994; Shoemaker and Vos, 2011). This situation goes along with the intensification of the profile of the journalist sitting (Neveu, 2006) and absent from the stage of events (Lopez, 2010). The situations in this case are part of a context where the training of journalists in Brazil and in countries such as Argentina, Spain, France, Germany and the United States has directed a considerable percentage of professionals to work at the service of sources. This process significantly changes the relations between journalists and the selection of professionalized and non-professionalized sources.

According to data from the Profile of the Brazilian Journalist of 2012[2], 45% of professionals are crowded in the media and 58% outside. Of this number, 68.3% work directly for sources in the press office or radio news agencies that have business and marketing relations. Data from 2004 presented by Sant'Anna (2009),

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[2] The synthesis of the Profile of the Brazilian Journalist can be accessed at: http://perfildojornalista.ufsc.br/files/2013/04/Perfil-do-jornalista-brasileiro-Sintese.pdf

after analyzing the Annual Report of Social Information (Rais) of the Ministry of Labor and Employment, reveal that only 5% of Brazilian journalists work in radio stations. Thus, the logic is the same one pointed out by Reese (2016) that it is necessary to understand journalism from its unpredictable contours and not only within organizational containers and limited in tradition.

The flow of abundant information with the news aggregators, the "repackaging" of information, the restructuring and reordering of news work (Reese, 2016) alongside issues such as curation and the gatewatching process (Bruns, 2005) provoke new forms to analyze the media content. Not necessarily with a deterritorialisation, but following Haesbaert's (2006) argument on reterritorialization, in which the changes carry old dilemmas in which innovations do not always lead to the diversification of voices and contents. Thus, even in Reese (2016), the current characteristics of work routines need to take into account the multiple forces that interfere in the media and question how this influence can interact between levels of analysis.

The example presented by Reese (2016) is in recent studies on political campaigns that reveal that journalism is an "assembly", a space of institutionalized relationships in which the structure of hierarchies still exerts influences. The possibilities in organizations that recognize the social mission in the profession, the diversification of experiences or in the very sources that provide information for traditional media and directly to the interested public are examples of the continuous potential of journalism as part of democracy.

The organization of a news network to cover space and time (Tuchman, 1983) is reinforced by Gasher (2009) in an analysis of local news production in which journalists locate and identify places where sources are considered more " reliable and plentiful, "such as government offices, buildings, police stations. For the author, this attitude leads to a map of the social, political and economic sphere and builds a sense of place in particular communities. In this sense, the construction of news leads to relations of belonging, in the determination of stories that produce connections between their communities and distant places.

Nielsen (2009, p. 26), using a framework analysis, reveals that in articles on immigrants the subject is approached in a distant, third-person logic with sources of agencies or groups speaking for them. For the author, "journalists refer to immigrants, but rarely address them directly". The study also shows the flood of information coming from outside sources in arguments that are reinforced in politics, legislation, official bodies and community organizations in an unofficial tone that does not always preserve new voices. What Howe (2009) also identifies in

dependence on few sources, linked to elites and official bodies, even with the diverse set existing in society.

Institutions and actors with economically and politically privileged roles, inside or outside the State and that make up the hegemonic role in society are understood in the term "primary definers". It is these actors who are at high levels in the hierarchy of credibility and define the subsequent treatment of information in society. According to Hall et al. (1999), the need for credible, authoritative and objective sources with institutional positions or as experts of these situations leads to the dichotomy between the rules required in objectivity and the dependence of primary setters, often from sectors of society.

Among primary sources or primary and secondary definers (Hall et al, 1999) one must also consider the inequality of access in the promoters of events. According to Molotch and Lester (1999), the sources as promoters have a) habitual access to the media, as official sources, businessmen and high positions of the government; b) disruptive access, when movements and organizations need to generate problems for the powerful as manifestations, blockades of ways; c) direct access promoted by journalistic investigations.

As a classification of the sources for analysis in our article, we start with the absence of studies that clarify the types of social voices used in the case of radiojournalism. In the case of radio, Ferraretto (2014) proposes a division between internal sources (reporters, editors, special envoys) and external (press services, news agencies, internet), something increasingly diffuse at the time of the selection. Thus, Lopez (2010) states that internal and external are increasingly intertwined in the information flow and have three levels: a) primary - consulted in the field in the unfolding of events; b) secondary - agents that analyze events; c) tertiary - when the information reaches the newsrooms by other means of communication, advisory services and agencies.

In order to understand the relationship of meaning dispute between social voices in CBN Rio's All News radio journalism space, we propose a classification already used in previous work (Kischinhevsky and Chagas, 2017) based on authors such as Gans (1980) , Wolf (2009), Pinto (2000), Lage (2001), Schimitz (2011) and Rutilli (2014). The categorization allows us to look at the specific form of selection of sources in the gatekeeping process (Shoemaker and Vos, 2011) and to perform a cartography of the distribution of voices in CBN Rio's daily radiojournalism coverage.

Based on the bibliography used on the various classifications used in journalism theories, they are divided as follows: **Officers** - Occupants of elected positions and officials of the Executive, Legislative, Judiciary and Public Prosecution

Offices, municipalities, foundations and public companies, at federal, state and municipal levels; **Corporate** - Associations representative of the commercial, financial, industrial, agribusiness, services, corporations, consultancies, executives; **Institutional** - Members of third sector organizations, multilateral organizations, social movements, trade unions; **Witnesses** - Characters who witnessed news-value events attributed by communicators and reporting chiefs; **Popular** - Common people, who are often represented on the news as victims of a particular situation - a crime, an injustice, an inefficient public policy - or use tactics of spectacularization to gain visibility and demand improvements in their daily lives; **Specialists** - Professionals with recognized scientific knowledge or specific knowledge about a particular field around which a journalistic coverage is being developed; and **Notables** - Celebrities, artists, athletes, communicators, people who perform or have performed activities of great social recognition, on which the values of news are attributed.

Cartography of sources in radiojournalism

The Brazilian News Center (CBN in portuguese) has 25 years and integrates the Globo Radio System with four own stations in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia and Belo Horizonte, as well as 27 affiliates present in 20 states plus the Federal District. According to the metrics presented by Ibope Easy Media in the company's Media Kit[3], there are 122,170 listeners per minute in the four major group frequencies. This represents a number of 1.8 million over a month with an average audience time of 2 hours. In the May-July 2016 data[4], Ibope mapped the record of 1.5 million unique users per month on the site, 14.5 million pay-TV subscribers, 1.2 million app downloads and 8.2 million downloads of podcasts.

It is interesting to note, in view of the positions of Santos (2006), Martín-Barbero (2004), Massey (2009) and Holzer (2012), the dispute for news space between sources, as these use and are used in the media, or else, how fast men occupy places at the expense of slow men. Martín-Barbero (2004) proposes a map that allows to traverse the cultural matrices of communicative mediation and to avoid the unique thought about the technologies, of the usability of these and of the transformations that the traditional mediators face. It is necessary, according to the author, to think in new senses of the social and social uses of the media, especially with the entry of new actors, social movements and other agents in the civil society.

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[3] Data available at: http://s.glbimg.com/pv/an/media/documentos/2015/06/25/CBNmai15.pdf
[4] Data available at: http://s.glbimg.com/pv/an/media/documentos/2016/10/27/Midia-Kit_CBN_set-16_25_Anos.pdf

The map of Martín-Barbero (2004) helps to understand the presence of the subaltern sectors of society in the media. To go through these new meanings of social and media uses, CBN's radio journalism becomes here a place in which we are interested in analyzing the disputes of meaning that are present in the space occupied by the sources. Something that Milton Santos (2006) also puts in the definition of proximity that interests the geographer from the presence of people in the same extent, in the interrelationships and in the identity that the totality of the relationships makes possible, besides a specific or drawn fence.

The analysis proposed here was carried out with two methodological procedures. The first involves the collection of the CBN Rio radiojournal in the week of June 26 to 30, 2017, focusing on the local production of the radio station in the capital of Rio de Janeiro. It is considered that the selected days represent the daily production of the broadcaster in the search for diverse subjects. The second was the division of data by source categories, the thematic fit where they are inserted and how events are dictated. It was possible, from this, to carry out a cartography between primary and secondary sources that reveals the dispute for the space and place of the media in the construction of meaning.

The presence of official sources is verified in 50% of the programming over a week. In the 62 moments in which they were heard, 55 times they appeared as primary agents (Hall et al, 1999) in the conduct of the topics addressed by the journalists. Most of them are involved in politics (19), security (14), transit (16), education (2), health (3), economics (1). In the policy editor's office, Mayor Marcelo Crivela was heard on issues such as the graduation of community entrepreneurship, resource cuts for samba schools, the increase of IPTU. The Federal Supreme Court was quoted in the case of the suspension of the appointment of the son of the mayor to a position in the first step of the city hall on suspicion of nepotism. The State Government and the Legislative Assembly appear as central agents in discussions on fiscal adjustment, approval of the spending ceiling for the tax recovery agreement, the payment of servants and the discussion on the financial crisis in Rio de Janeiro.

CBN Rio also has its coverage of city traffic based on sources such as the City Hall, Military Police and Traffic Department. The Police was the main source in the subject of public safety in matters such as exchange of shots in Mangueira shanty town, the death of a student earlier in the week. In this area, the Federal Police was heard about the suspension of the issuance of passports due to the lack of resources, in addition to the speech of a Lava Jato prosecutor with arguments related to the lack of resources of the Federal Police for major operations and the Fire Department with false ticket alerts for fire insurance. In the cover of the

General Strike held on Friday (30), public security agents were the main organs heard on the progress of the demonstrations and the blocking of access roads to the city.

The specialized sources were present in 16% of the programming in subjects like health, economy, history, politics, sport, education and law. In all cases, they acted only by commenting on actions from official or institutional sources without appearing as primary agents that led to new approaches. The splitting of debts of the Individual micro entrepreneurs, the defense of the social security and labor reforms, the fiscal adjustment of the State Government and the actions of the strike that prevented the traffic, were among the topics discussed during the week. The comments institute the flow of the All News radiojournalism model, establishing parameters of entry of these voices at certain times and guarantee the progress of the debates in the programming (Meditisch, 2001).

The popular sources were present in 13% and in only two cases were agents of events as primary definers: the case of dancers who won a scholarship in the United States and organized a raffle for the trip; and the group of demonstrations organized on June 30. In the latter the activities had only mentions and were not heard in full on the claims. This indicates the disruptive access to the news, where this type of source launches of spectacularization tactics or actions that affect the powerful in the closure of streets (Molotch and Lester, 1999). Interactions via WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter are cited in comments from sources coming from official sources, without the use of voices or interviews in the program. In cases where they were heard, sources such as drivers caught in traffic jams were identified because of demonstrations by motorcycle taxi drivers earlier this week and the General Strike on Friday (30).

In the case of institutional sources (13%), in 10 moments the performance was perceived as a primary definer in the writing. The League of Samba Schools in the criticisms to the cuts of funds on the part of the Municipality of the River; the Union of Insurers provoked a discussion about the theft of cargoes that affect the economy of the State; the Truth Commission experiencing financial difficulties; the Doctors' Union on impaired hospital care. On the day of the General Strike, the Syndicate of the Aviation and the Union of Bankers were heard on the claims contrary to the social security and labor reform.

Witness sources (4%), based on issues such as security in the case of a hostage of an assault on a post office in Tijuca and the ambulance driver of the Acari Hospital, were only commenting on issues already addressed, which characterizes the search for this kind of voice by journalists. The corporate (2%) and notable ones (2%) also appeared in topics such as economics, innovative

entrepreneurs from Startups in Rio communities, and cultural actions such as book launching and the documentary about the Black Rio group, respectively.

The analysis shows a source search profile for its credibility hierarchy, as pointed out by Hall et al (1999) and Reese (2016). The contest of meaning by the voices is divided into who has the political and economic power to dictate and promote events. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of issues such as politics, security and transit, in which the main voices occupying the space of radiojournalism are agents of the state, such as the municipal, state and federal governments, justice and public security agencies. The intensity of the deepening of the information depends on the official logic at the expense of the diversity of voices that can comment on several subjects. The fiscal adjustment and the vote on the spending ceiling in the Legislative Assembly is an example: as long as the Government and the deputies take turns in the arguments, there are no servants, teachers, workers heard on the subject.

The proposal is a cartography that characterizes the spiral model of live radiojournalism text. Unlike the inverted pyramid, the program coverage demonstrates a selection of the sources performed in the different themes in a continuous format, divided between High Zones (HZ) and Low Zones (LZ). The spiral would be in a continuous news construction, but not in the clock proposal, as already pointed out by Medistsch (2001) in the studies on the radio language. The occupation of space that points to Figure 1 has in the HZ 1, 2 and 3, the official and institutional sources that can act as primary definers of events in different subjects, from health education, from politics to economics, which are in reports, notes , live tickets, interviews and other formats.
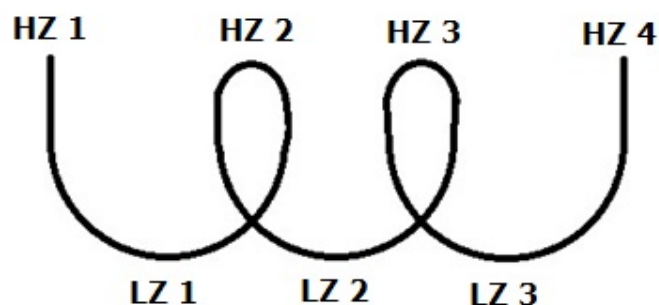

Figure 1: self elaboration

The LH 1, 2 and 3 correspond sequentially to the positions of expert, witness, notable, and business sources. The logic here is the presence to comment on the actions that are at the top and always come after the action dictated by official sources, such as the Government, STF, Police, among others. The promotion

of events by the official sectors with direct access to the media provoked repercussions and the need of specialized commentaries with the support of sources who defended reforms, in the case of the economy and of the companies. This space represents a line that is dispersed between different themes, such as sports and specialized commentators who follow the actions that football teams and confederations, as institutionalized agents, are doing.

Finally, the High Zone 4, which is not discussed again, is made up of popular sources that may even have disruptive access to the organization of events and acts, but do not necessarily influence the continuity of coverage. The approach is not the claims, but the problems caused by the way of seeking visibility with public action. Even so, in this case only the institutionalized subjects, like the unions, managed to express the motives of the acts. The occupation of space by popular sources has a high intensity in the promotion of events, but not yet in a condition of equality with the sources present in the first positions of the hierarchy of credibility used in this selection.

Final considerations

The presence of the other, the otherness and the search for diversity through the experiences of the poor in large and small cities, the meeting of multiplicities, constitute the organization of space. Considering radiojournalism as a media space (Massey, 2009), the level of diversity and access only draws spatial dynamics from the unequal relations between fast men and slow men (Santos, 2006). The study of CBN over a week and the mapping of these sources in the dispute of meanings is part of a continuous effort to combine the concepts of geography, from a perspective of the Global South as periphery of capitalism, of journalism in the construction of news in everyday life. It also demonstrates not only the division between the occurrence of certain types of agents, such as official rather than popular ones, but also of the encounter between different voices and the possibility of diversity present in the news.

The space as the product of interrelationships, the sphere of the possibility of multiple paths, the encounter with another and of a continuous construction allied directly when considering journalism as an institution in democracy. Although the configuration of the territory considers the CBN as a concession present in the hands of one of the largest media oligopolies in the world (the Radio Globo System), the relations between journalists and sources are expressions of daily life, power disputes and force exercised by social groups. The construction of news in radiojournalism, in the specific study on the arguments and presence of voices and

social interest, is implied by interactions that result from the encounter between the agents in a space permeated by the economic and social logics of the periphery of capitalism.

In the proposal of the spiral as a journalistic text and cartography of positions of power in the dispute for the space of radiojournalism, although in an exploratory and initial study, it represents an exercise of thematic fit that reveals who has the power of speech as primary agent. The promotion of events and the occupation of this space prioritize official voices in matters that directly concern the most diverse social strata. If we look at this difference in the same way that Santos (2006) among fast and slow men, the popular sources, the opinions and arguments of unprofessional agents in their relations with journalism are still not heard with all the necessary resonance that expresses the riches that they have.

With the approach of authors of geography on space, territoriality and place it becomes possible to think of the diversity and plurality of sources in journalism, not only in its normative aspects, but in the multiplicity of experiences necessary for the construction of the news. It is necessary, however, to consider the professional challenges that newsrooms spend at a time of intensified seated journalism (Neveu, 2006) and the decrease in the number of professionals in newsrooms (Lopez, 2010). On the other hand, it represents a course to be followed in the studies on radiojournalism in order to map dynamics of the struggle for access to the voice, for the presence and the possibility to argue against the current political and social turbulences.

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"You Can't Buy My Life":
Calle 13, the representations of the continent in the Latinoamérica musical narrative and the ambiguous Puerto Rican context

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Abstract

The present article reflects on the complexity of the sociocultural context involving Puerto Rico and the Latin American identity. To do so, I construct a contextual analysis about the representations mapped in the musical narrative of *Latinoamerica*, by the group Calle 13. From a multidisciplinary perspective, I apply theorists such as Lefèbvre (1980), Quijano (1993; 2000), Hall (1998) and Janotti Jr. (2005) to discuss music products in the media sphere, constituting themselves as spaces that, when related to themes like Modernity and national and cultural identification, engender historical ideological tensions and disputes.

Keywords

Introduction

We are immersed in a global pop culture. We identify ourselves with a universe of innumerous references from music, movies, television and every possible media. We share signifiers that overcome borders, generations, gender, religion, etc. Contemporary culture is composed by a web of significants and signifiers woven together in a temporal dimension formed by political, social, cultural, economic and historical structures whose characteristics are visible and detectable on the sources of media processes.

How can music reflect ideological disputes related to identity construction and political and social hegemony? I tried to investigate this question through the song *Latinoamérica*, by the Puerto-Rican hip-hop *Calle 13*, from the 2011 album "*Entren los que quieran*". The work was released in a decisive moment for the political future of Puerto Rico, a Free State associated to the United States of America (as a semi-autonomous territory). Under a multidisciplinary perspective, I have done the analysis of the representations of Latin America in the musical narrative[1] in debate and its correlation to the Puerto-Rican situation, talking about how the identitary theme presented here is crossed by projects of social and political transformation.

Musical Narratives, identity and representations

Based on the idea by Napolitano (1998), a historian who studies cultural themes, that the analytical action on a musical creation demands an attention to the text (the lyrics), context and pretext of production, I intended to do research comprising the study of the song *Latinoamérica* and its surroundings in media culture. According to Kellner (2011), cultural products present an ideological dimension relating to struggles and different kinds of interests (economical and financial, political, etc.). One must bear in mind the criticism towards the messages in order to understand how the production, reproduction and mobilization of representations incur in processes of identification, in order to extract the structure of power, the hegemony, and the resistance acts related to the sociocultural climate. This should be understood in a context, in which elements such as time and memory are related to the existing sociopolitical order.

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[1] I have chosen not to analyze the video clip of the song in order to focus more attentively on the musical media production, according to what is known as mass popular music – the audiovisual production of the song has its own interpretation, shown in exquisite imagery, however, it would deviate the attention from historical, social and political aspects that I intended to approach (although it certainly is a part of the media ecosystem to which the song belongs.

Culture and media build a structure of realty which may be thought of as a narrative. According to Ricoeur (1997), these are processes which integrate elements in a web and which work to compose an internal and an external significance, positioning it in reference to a wider web. Morigi and Bonotto (2004), when discussing the narratives in music, considered that they cross the dimensions of the intelligible and sensible experience, and the meanings that it disseminates bring the configurations of the context of generation. They also constitute a source of knowledge related to social investigations and also as a reference on culture, identity and memory belonging to a social group, as in the case of a traditionalist collection of songs.

> […] musical narrative, when expressing collective feelings through a metaphorical and poetical language, is a part of the culture and the history of a people. But because it is of a poetical and metaphorical nature, the musical narrative carries not only a rational significance, but also an affective one (Morigi, Bonoto, 2004, p. 148).

From the musical narrative in a media environment, I have projected the investigation of the representations which composed the song *Latinoamérica* using a multidisciplinary approach. Considering a popular song as a mass product (as a media product) Janotti, Jr. (2004) draws an analytical cartography structured in the investigation of music genre, performance, affection and rhythm which has helped in the construction of this research. Although I have not applied Janotti, Jr.'s structure in a schematic manner, I have used his ideas in the examination of *Calle 13*'s song, with the processes involved in the production and consumption of sonographic media products in the background.

The investigation of the aspects shown in *Latinoamérica* should be focused on the construction of the representations that it mobilizes, widely related to references in the Latin American world. I have applied the concept of representation developed by Lefèbvre (1980) in which the author argues that the power of these sociocognitive structures is in their own existence, a reality/ ideal: they are formulated as a presence in absentia, caused by the existence of affections and knowledge related to them. "Small worlds, both internal (to the 'subjects'), and external (objective because they are social and because they include relationships with the 'objects')" (Lefèbvre, 1980). Representations have, at the same time, social, psychological and political nature. As a way of mediation between two instances they are facts derived from words and social practices, and they realize the illusion of totality in which the social world is based upon: they form contents, they act in the composition of meanings, and because they are related to language, they have a special place in social practices. Lefèbvre (1980) postulates a three-way conception for understanding these representations, connecting life

experiences (subjectivity, social interactions) and perceptions (theoretical institutionalized knowledge) to what is conceived (that which results and structures this contact), implying a dynamic of representative, representation, and represented. The act of representing expresses the conceptions that different social groups have about themselves and about others.

The adherence to certain values is intrinsic to hegemonic positions: every representation has values motivated by what is sensible. According to Lefèbvre, the set of representations whose composition abdicates the sphere of living experiences is formulated as an ideology. The representational abstraction should be understood by the convergence to concrete terms, as institutions, archetypes and symbols – in the case here presented the belonging to a certain identity of national bias. Frith (1996) noted that identity is always an ideal, and that the musical dimension allows for a real experience of what this utopia could be. Values, practices, experiences, ethics, and aesthetics structure a primordial interpretative horizon to understand this relationship. The author argues that music is the cultural product with the highest capacity for transcending geographic borders and defining places, which determines the importance of understanding the dimension of territory that musical expression brings.

"Urban music": the sound myriad in *Calle 13*

Exploring the representations in music production, we focus now on the song *Latinoamérica*, by the Puerto Rican duo *Calle 13*, from the 2011 album "*Entren los que quieran*". The duo was formed in 2004 by the half-brothers René Pérez Joglar (Resident) and Eduardo Cabra Martínez (Visitor) and it had the regular participation of Ileana Cabra Joglar (PG-13). The group recorded five albums between 2005 and 2014 and was awarded with five Grammies and 19 Latin Grammies. In 2015 they disbanded and their former members went on solo careers. The group was known for mixing different genres and styles, such as rap rock, reggaeton, cumbia, candombe, ska, among others. Since it was difficult to label Calle 13 in a single genre, the duo was defined, by part of the press, as "urban music". The term is mostly due to the mix of rap and reggaeton, dominant genres in forming their identity – they are both considered to be periphery musical movements that ended up reaching different social strata after they were appropriated by the cultural industry.

To better understand the issue it is useful to read Janotti Jr. (2004). The author highlights the understanding of musical genre definitions as pieces interwoven in different processes related to contemporary music composing – they

constitute tendencies to establishing value of the products, implying forms of referential definitions connected to values of different tones (aesthetical, cultural, historical, etc.) which Janotti Jr. relates to economical rules (steering of the public to certain niches) semiotics (strategies of production of meaning) and formal and technical (related to reception and production of experiences).

So, in a broader sense, Calle 13 can be included in the hip-hop movement, whose musical expression is hip-hop, but it also includes break dancing and graffiti (Azevedo, 2001; Barbosa, 2005). Rap has emerged as a form of expressing resistance by the black population in the USA in the 1960's and 1970's but from the 1980's on it was incorporated into the mainstream (and market) culture. However, several aspects of the genre have remained attached to an imaginary ideal of oppression and rebellion, which is a factor for its popularity among periphery social groups in several parts of the globe. The manner of enunciating the verses seeks a direct, fast and blunt way of conveying the message (RAP stands for rhythm and poetry). Its power as a cultural expression is based on its origin as well as its appropriation by several different societies, and the combination of music and speech gives rise to a wide array of meanings. Its essence – the core of cultural attributes – has kept the need for mobilizing representations allusive to the original themes, such as social oppression, the hardships of living on the outskirts of large cities and racial discrimination.

The economic and cultural repercussion of Rap music lays in its capacity of touching the audience and reaching the social dimension as well as aiding in the construction of recognizing an identity based on individual and collective experiences translated into music. Self-recognition in rap means to recognize oneself in a history of inequality shown in a cultural product born in the margins of the mainstream discourse. The process of sense making in the consumption of rap is different depending on the location, and in the case of Calle 13, Latin hip-hop is the main reference, being recognized in any large city of the continent.

The theme of life in Puerto Rico and the use of elements from Latin American music genres are evident in their work mainly through elements of reggaeton. *Reguetón*, as it is known in Spanish-speaking countries, is an adaptation of the word reggaeton. It appeared in the 1960's and 1970's due to the transnational flux of people through the Caribbean, Latin America and the USA. It originated mainly from the Jamaican rhythms reggae and dancehall and it has a great influence from Afro-Panamanian musicians from the 1980's. The cultural exchange in the migration waves of thousands of Puerto-Rican citizens to the city of New York allowed the rhythm to arrive in the islands. According to Molina (2015), the genre, similarly to rap, can be considered a "hidden transcription", because it uses "native

tongue, idioms, satire and masked cultural codes to present a different perspective of the Latin experience in the USA" (2015, p. 122). Reguetón flourished in the recording sessions made in *marquesinas*, home studios in the areas around San Juan and other cities. The genre has become successful in uncovering social problems in the population, even to the point where it reaches the middle class and the elites.

The understanding of the main musical influences of the duo is relevant for the analysis of *Latinoamérica*, not because it confirms the musical trajectory of Calle 13, but especially because it is an aesthetically different creation. The work has a sonority and a theme close to the movement *Nueva Canción Latinoamericana*, also known as "protest songs" from the 1960's and 70's. The vocal lead Residente has stated that he was inspired by the Argentinian singer Mercedes Sosa when he wrote the song.

Nueva Canción successfully integrates local and international cultural elements. The influence of different cultures from different countries has brought visibility for popular music from Argentina through Mercedes Sosa and Atahualpa Yupanqui, from Chile through Violeta Parra, from Uruguay through Alfredo Zitarrosa and Los Olimareños, and from Mexico through Amparo Ochoa. The dialogue among different heritages enables the construction of projects of artistic integration with a continental bias, with national and regional identities at play. It stimulates the building of transnational networks of new configurations of politics and culture.

The renovation and updating of the repertoire of folk music allows for the traditional sounds to remain, but with innovations brought about by contemporary references. There is the appropriation of social themes, such as the denunciation of the hardships faced by urban and rural workers, which contributes for a more pronounced politization. Most of the Latin American countries in the 1960's were ruled by dictatorial governments and many musicians were persecuted. In addition to that, *Nueva Canción* exposed the relevance of cultural domain in the discussion of revolutionary strategies: popular music is seen as a means of expressing ideas and art as an instrument of awareness, of intervention in the public space and the massive broadcast of political ideals.

Complex identities: Latin America and Puerto Rico

The understanding of the narrative told in *Latinoamérica* demands a study on what exactly is the Latin American identity, and the complex relationship Puerto Ricans have with the main land. I have transversally examined the issues involved in the constitution of the universes of Latin America and Puerto Rico in order to

understand this identity in the midst of historical interpretations and political processes. Ultimately, I have advanced the questioning of the reasoning behind structural Cosmo visions.

Latin America: heterogeneous unity

In order to try and understand *Latinoamérica* by Calle 13, it was necessary to examine the historical and sociopolitical process of formation of Latin America and study the mixed elements in the identitary formation sung by the Puerto Rican musicians. According to Rouquié (1991), the group of countries colonized by Portugal and Spain, in opposition to Anglo Saxon America, was labeled Latin due to the influence of France and French language upon the elites of the New World. However, the Latin strata of society was that of the oligarchs and those in power, and "*los de abajo*" (native populations and trafficked African slaves) were very distant from power, and had a negative perception of it. Colonization, initially, was marked by the disputes between the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, with markedly different processes, especially in view of the more mercantilist and less religious character of the Portuguese. However, Fernandes (1998) stated hat, economically, the differences were almost nonexistent: the Latin American elites had the same motivation and acted similarly.

> An aristocratic, oligarchic or plutocratic organization of society would always mean an extreme concentration of wealth, social prestige and power in the hands of a few privileged people. Consequently, the political institutionalization of power was achieved by the permanent exclusion of the people and the conscious sacrifice of a democratic lifestyle. (Fernandes, 1998, p. 95)

The settlers kept a social order of subservience to the interests of the metropolis. Exploration, as time went by, became secondary, because of the less developed economy of Iberic countries, which were financed mainly by Venice, Holland and Great Britain. After the independences in the beginning of the 19th century, the former financiers became "partners" of the newly created nations, at the same time when the United States became the power nation of the continent. In this context, the elites had a pivotal role in affirming the position of Latin America in the world.

> The effort needed to alter the whole infrastructure of the economy seemed to be so difficult and so expensive that (…) the elites in power preferred to choose a secondary and dependent economic role, accepting as an advantage the perpetuation of the economical structures established in the previous regime (FernandeS, 1998, p. 98)

The establishment of multinational corporations in the 19th century in the beginning of corporate capitalism was seen as an impulse for development but it also positioned Latin America in a role of servitude in the global economy – modernization is encouraged, but not autonomy. According to Fernandes (1998), lagging and the "unbreakable" bonds with the economically powerful nations are the portrait of the region. Rouquié (1991) considered that traits such as concentration of land ownership, singularity of modernization processes and prominent regional contrasts are characteristics of the region. Their unity might be observed in a "collective destiny forged by parallel evolutions, the same cultural belonging to the Western world and a multiform dependency to a unique center in the same continent" (Rouquié, 1991, p. 30).

The case of Puerto Rico

The origin of Puerto Rico as a political unity in the historical background of the formation of Latin America dates back to the 19th century – with the defeat of Spain by the United States in the war of 1898 the islands became a North American protectorate. Their citizens, since 1917, have American citizenship and they have the right to vote in American elections provided that they reside in American territories. In 1952 Puerto Rico became an unincorporated territory, which, according to Baggio (1998), grants a certain autonomy but also keeps a certain colonial dimension in their relationship, for the islands are neither a state in the federation nor are they an independent nation. Although they are allowed to have a Constitution, the government of San Juan is subject to the Congress of the United States through a territorial clause: their sovereignty is subject to American legislative and the islands' powers are revocable.

According to Meléndez (1993), the USA have implemented from the beginning of their presence in Puerto Rico an agenda of "Americanization": aiding the development of political, economical and social institutions in accordance to their own interests. The measures were implemented with two prerogatives: the irreversibility of the annexation of Puerto Rico to the USA, and the need to attach Puerto Rican society to the USA. This Americanization was based on the "notion of superiority of American society and Anglo-Saxon race (…). Puerto Rico, of 'tropical' and Latin lineage should be immersed in the Anglo-Saxon 'spirit'" (Meléndez, 1993, p. 56). These measures ranged from the establishment of economic relations to attempts to impose English as the official language, which strained the relations between government and subjects, and fanned the flames of the independence movement.

American administration was strongly against the independence movement, saying that the project was both undesirable and infeasible. Among the justifications given were the small size of the territory, a "scarce and undeveloped" population, the lack of natural and technological resources, a supposed incapacity to self-determination in government together with the "Latin tradition" of non-democratic governments and the incapacity to military self-defense, according to Meléndez (1993). With the non-incorporation to the USA, the islands are in an institutional limbo: they are neither annexed to the power to which they are "associated" nor do they have any prospect of being a sovereign nation.

> Puerto Rican reality has peculiar elements in the context of Latin America: a country twice colonized, in different periods, by two countries with different cultures. Puerto Rico is deeply contradictory: they have a mixed and creole culture, with strong roots in Spain and in Africa, and also an economic and political subordination to the United States. How to remain Puerto Rican without political sovereignty? (Baggio, 1998, p. 8)

The view of Baggio on the complex Puerto Rican identity allows us to reflect on the representations of Latin America in the text we are analyzing here, for the disputes between those in favor of independence and those in favor of annexation keep shaping local reality. In 2012 a referendum was held, with two questions: on the first, about the change of the territory's legal status, 54% of the population demanded the end of the model of freely associated state; on the second, 61% of the population supported the integration to the USA as the 51st State (33.3% wanted the free association and 5.5% were in favor of total independence). The islands' elected leader, Alejandro García Padilla, recommended that the second question should be left blank, as a sign of protest.

However, the referendum was not binding, and despite the sympathetic declarations of the then President Barack Obama, the issue is far from resolved. One of the problems is the resistance of some American Congressmen to allow Puerto Rican citizens free access to the USA. Contrary to the logic of the 2012 referendum, the Puerto Rican Senate approved in 2015 a law that established Spanish as their primary official language, leaving English as a secondary language – in 1993 English had been declared as their official language, even though the vast majority of the population does not speak it.

Another referendum took place in 2017, and 97% of the people were in favor of the annexation. Only 23% of the registered voters participated, which exposed low confidence and low motivation in the electoral process. These two events, in 2012 and 2017, are part of a long list: since 1951, 14 referendums were held. Meanwhile, the United States Congress will not end the quarrel, which leaves

Puerto Ricans as second class citizens. They pay taxes, but they receive fewer funds than the American states, and they can only vote in presidential elections if they are residing in American territory.

Distinct rationalities, different temporalities

The facts previously exposed by the political and economic rationality are extremely relevant to highlight the historical concept of colonialist dimension, in which the Western world, as the universal reference, is taken as the parameter for normality. Quijano (1993) observed that the instrumental reason raised in the Modern Age causes all the other dissonant thinking to be considered non-rational (primitive, backward), and the teleological interpretation of reality induces a perception of an "underdeveloped" or "developing" space, terms that indicate a biological state of inferiority. The relationship between the metropolis and the colonies, since the 15th century, suffers the consequences of the establishment of Modern thinking as the parameter for social subjectivity: modern rationality brings promises of freedom as well as new ways of domination. Everything that does not conform to the "modernization" process becomes a problem for the hegemonic instrumental reason, defined by Quijano (1993) as the association between reason and domination.

The establishment of nations in the Latin-American continent is tensioned by the hegemonic conformation to the Western referential. According to Quijano (2002), it was articulated on four main axes: the colonialism of power and its relation to race; capitalism as a global system of social exploitation; State (and the contemporary Nation-State) as the core of collective authority; and euro centrism as the hegemonic system for controlling subjectivity/intersubjectivity, mainly in the construction of knowledge. In these crossings we are able to see several processes of building of identity – the concept of emotional belonging to a country is the primordial concept for the institution and the legitimacy of a national state.

National identity is a way of organization that has appeared intrinsically connected to Modernity and markedly reproduces itself as the continuity of a pre-modern community. According to Hall (1998), national identity is a discourse in charge of building narratives of a common understanding of what "nation" means. The construction of national identification is supported by emotion, in what is considered to be significant in the illusory understanding of reality. In the case of nationality, the formation of a set of referentials goes through the concept of "national spirit", a cosmovision that may establish as primordial the conformation of a sovereign political structure that expresses the desire for self-determination of a

people. Like every identitary dimension, it is a delimitation of "us" and "them", an indication of alterity.

Here we can begin to understand the representations in *Latinoamérica*, a process that begins with the knowledge that the sociocultural multiplicity in the continent is one of its main elements. Quijano (1993, p. 23) states that the latin-american identity is "a complex history of coming up with new historical meanings stemming from legitimate multiple heritages of rationality". The different groups that make up latin-american societies bring different perspectives and interpretations of reality supported by their own cognitive matrixes. Their composition is a social and historical process that originates particular manners of consciousness about time, memory, self and others. Time, which in the history of Europe and the USA is perceived as a sequence – Kant's unstoppable march of the human spirit – in the history of Latin America fuses together sequence and simultaneity.

The amalgam of temporalities may be apprehended in the process of the mixing of the races, a common trait in Latin population. The different religious beliefs are syncretic, the cultural heritages are mixed together, and musical rhythms influence one another and fuse together in new ones. However, hegemonic systems of power – political, economic and sociocultural – reflect the historic colonial makeup of the territory of Latin America. The attempt to escape this structural configuration (or, in a way, create an alternative) in a localized situation – the semi-autonomous state of Puerto Rico – is the main basis for the narrative contained in *Latinoamérica*.

Representations in *Latinoamérica*

In terms of sound, *Latinoamérica* sourced its references directly from the movement Nueva Canción. Although the vocals by Residente are mainly sung in the style of rap, there are several varieties of singing, and special appearances by Totó La Momposina, from Colombia, Susana Bacca, from Peru, and Maria Rita, from Brazil, which are examples of the importance of melodic singing. In addition to that, the combination of orchestra and folk instruments from the continent (such as *marimba*, *charango* and *cajón*), played by the Argentinian musician Gustavo Santaolalla, produces a sound with lyrical nuances that seem to get closer from an ode to nature, which is many times sung in the lyrics, turning away from the urban tones in most of the group's previous works. The dimension of the senses is heard in different moments, when the percussion dominates the melody and emulates a beating heart.

The work has a first person narrator, as if Latin America itself were singing its history. The voice of the continent focuses in three main themes: a) people's struggle; b) the consequences of exploitation; and c) the strength of nature. These themes motivate the formation, reproduction and mobilization of meanings in a historical and contemporary panorama, integrated by customs and traditions: it is from these social and cultural practices that collective characteristics and ideals can be seen. Social, cultural, political, historical, and economical references are not shown in a chronological line, but they are distributed along the song, forming a particular universe of reality, in which the importance of events is given by the territory itself.

I have observed the formation of eight representational matrixes of meaning, composed by social and natural events, processes or phenomena textually described: social and economic exploitation; nature/climate; geography; resistance/courage; customs/culture; politics/history; community; and mercantilization. The first verses show two dimensions essential for understanding the narrative and the representations we have mapped:

Soy, soy lo que dejaron
Soy toda la sobra de lo que se robaron
Un pueblo escondido en la cima
Mi piel es de cuero, por eso aguanta cualquier clima
Soy una fábrica de humo
Mano de obra campesina para tu consumo

In these first verses, the Puerto-Rican singer simply states "I am" and then completes his thoughts by saying "I am what they have left behind; I am the leftovers of what they have stolen". The first statement is an affirmation of a Latin American identity, and then, as a consequence, to be formed as a result of exploitation. Then, Residente alludes to the people's resistance, but also to the view of workers as disposable individuals in the gears of production. This perception is a constant: the resilience of Latin people in the face of the disrespect of their rights and the low value of their lives in the sum of power relations, especially in the economic and political spheres.

The situation is synthetized later in the verse "I am the raw flesh of development", that highlights the consequences of instrumental rationality in the notion of economic development, in which seeking market value obscures the exploitation of inequality –keeping these socioeconomically inequalities is the basis of this project. The denial of a purely material existence, based on consumption, is evident in the affirmation of the importance of nature in the Latin way of life, and in their customs and beliefs. The chorus, sung by Totó La Momposina, Susana Baca

and Maria Rita, tries to make it clear that in the strength of nature resides the core of resistance and the strength of the people from the continent.

Tú no puedes comprar el viento
Tú no puedes comprar el sol
Tú no puedes comprar la lluvia
Tú no puedes comprar el calor
Tú no puedes comprar las nubes
Tú no puedes comprar los colores
Tú no puedes comprar mi alegría
Tú no puedes comprar mis dolores

On the subject of nature, there is a dynamic of topophilia – the natural resources of the continent are seen as divine gifts. The lyrics talk about the elements – rain, cold weather, mountains, the Sun, wind, the ocean – as unique and special natural manifestations. The sun that shines on the continent is the brightest, the wind gently combs their hair, the snow is the mountains' make-up, the lungs breathe the purest of airs, etc.

The political undertones are the main theme, and in the final part this message is stronger. In relation to the characteristics of performance such as those cited by Janotti Jr (2004), the process of "corporification" of the voice is more notable in the singing, implied in the interpretative personalization of the sound message. Music takes over emotion in the extent that Residente's singing becomes stronger when he talks about the community ties that give strength to the Latin American people and allow them to survive exploitation, giving them the ability to face the hardest of adversities (in the metaphor of *marullos*, the tides) – the body of the singer, in his intonation and rhythm, is an important part in the structure of the message. The apex is the valorization of the courage of those who fought against authoritarianism, in a direct reference to Operation Condor, an action of political repression and State sponsored terrorism coordinated by the South American dictatorial regimes and the CIA. The power in the North is the hidden interlocutor whom the singer addresses:

Trabajo bruto, pero con orgullo
Aquí se comparte, lo mío es tuyo
Este pueblo no se ahoga con marullo
Y se derrumba yo lo reconstruyo
Tampoco pestañeo cuando te miro
Para que te recuerde de mi apellido
La operación Condor invadiendo mi nido
Perdono pero nunca olvido (¡oye!)

The closing verses are sung by the guest singers, and Maria Rita (the only Brazilian) sings in Portuguese ("voices of one single heart"). The panoramas are

conjoined: the call to action against inequality and exploitation is also a call for the *borícuas* to integrate themselves to the Latin-American space, interpreting the story narrated here as their own.

Vamos caminando
Aquí se respira lucha
Vamos caminando
Yo canto porque se escucha
Vamos dibujando el camino
(Vozes de um só coração)
Aquí estamos de pie
¡Que viva la América!
No puedes comprar mi vida

The Puerto Rican "latinidad" in Calle 13

It is symptomatic that the last verse in *Latinoamérica* is "*you can't buy my life*", especially considering that the song strongly criticizes the rationale behind the consumerist society. However, the political affiliations of Calle 13's members allow us to deepen the analysis of the representations about the context of the island. Half-brothers René Pérez Joglar (Residente), singer and writer, and Eduardo Cabra Martínez (Visitante), musician, come from a politically active middle class family in San Juan. Residente's mother, Flor Joglar de Gracia, is an actress who was a militant in the sovereignty movement *Juventud Independentista Universitaria*, she married Reinaldo Pérez Ramírez, Visitante's father, a lawyer who was also a musician and writer, and who was president of *Juventud Independentista* and a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (he also participated in international brigades in Nicaragua, during the Nicaraguan revolution, and in Cuba).

The political view of Calle 13 seems to have been reinforced by Residente's experiences as a student in the USA and in Spain. The singer openly supports independence and has given several interviews in which he has criticized the difference in treatment towards his fellow countrymen. In Residente's opinion, the United States have an agenda to keep Puerto Ricans away from the rest of Latin America, which can be observed in the media products that are exported to the islands and in an educational system that is intended to whitewash the Latin heritage. Ever since their first hit song, *Querido FBI* [Dear FBI], in 2005, that criticized the American Bureau for the assassination of leftist leader Filiberto Ojeda Ríos, the position of Calle 13 against the neocolonial relationship is blunt. However, in "*Entren los que quieran*" (2011), the theme of independence is more apparent.

Right before the referendum in 2012, the vocalist sent a letter[2] to the then president of Argentina, Cristina Kirchner, affirming to speak for the countrymen who "fought for the independence of Puerto Rico, for those who are still behind bars because of that, for those who lost their lives in this fight and for those of us who are now carrying their torch". In the same period, in an interview to the Belgian newspaper "*Mondiaal Nieuws*", he exposed his opinion on the relationship between the islands and the Latin American continent:

> Many Puerto Ricans don't understand why I want to make a connection between Puerto Rico and Latin America. We are born like that, with the invaders in front of us, and we are raised with that. The USA wants to sell us Latin America as a fucked-up continent. But it is well developed, a lot of things work better there than in Puerto Rico[3].

In 2017, in an interview to the website "*El Reportero*"[4], René Joglar questioned the North-American inertia and arrogance towards the islands. "They don't do anything. What are they going to do with Puerto Rico, which is, for them, nothing but a small island where there are only lizards and monkeys?" In another conversation[5] with the press, during a promotional event for his solo work, he said:

> We can't depend on the United States. We don't want to be that half of the couple who needs to ask for money and permission to the other, for everything. We already know that Washington abandons their states when they are in trouble: it happened to New Orleans, to Detroit, to Michigan. Imagine how important they think an associated free state is.

Taking the tripartite concept by Lefèbvre (1980) – we can state that the life experiences lived by Calle 13 have an expressive impact on the production of *Latinoamérica*. They were raised in a family of independence activists; they had contact with ideas, customs, and values that are distant from the American ideology, especially linked to the interests of the local economic and political elites. The conservative view, in favor of the USA, is in opposition to the independence ideals, more related to left wing groups – the case of their father is example of that.

The formation of one's political views is frequently influenced by the social environment a person comes from. In addition to the independence movement heritage, in the case of Calle 13, we can also observe the preoccupation with formal

[2] Retrieved from: https://www.clarin.com/politica/calle-cristina-colonial-puerto-rico_0_rJ3WDHXhvXg.html

[3] Retrieved from: https://www.mo.be/artikel/puerto-ricaanse-calle-13-klaar-om-europa-te-veroveren

[4] Retrieved from: http://elreporterosf.com/residente-comparte-su-vision-sobre-la-independencia-de-pr/

[5] Retrieved from: https://www.elconfidencial.com/cultura/2017-05-05/residente-rene-perez-calle-13-separacion-disco_1377460/

education and the artistic vein. Residente and Visitante come from the working middle-class from Alto Trujillo neighborhood, where they lived near artists and musicians. Given the choice, the half-brothers chose the artistic path through formal education: Eduardo studied at *Conservatorio de Puerto Rico*, where he joined an instrumental group in the *Bayanga* project, which allowed him to tour abroad, mainly to the Caribeans, Central America and the USA; René, after graduating from the School of Visual Arts in San Juan, got a scholarship in the American Savannah College of Art and Design. After that, he went to Barcelona, Spain, where he got involved in cinema.

The international period for Residente and Visitante seems to have given rise to the perception that, being a state with no definite legal status, Puerto Ricans are fundamentally incomplete. The contact with people who have national identities resulted in an experience of radical alterity symbolized by the foreign individual; however, Puerto Rican natives cannot define themselves through a national identity. They have less rights that the North American citizens, and culturally they do not see themselves (and they are not seen) as part of the United States. Language, customs, music, memories: in the case of the *borícuas*, these elements come from a universe of Latin symbolism. It is possible to outline, at least in part, the process of empathy by the members of Calle 13 in relation to the Latin American dimension: musicians with roots in the independence movement, who were raised in an environment of cultural effervescence, and who, in their international experiences, beyond sharing cultural references with people from different countries, also are considered to be foreign by those who control them politically.

This wide array of references evokes, in *Latinoamérica*, the production, reproduction and mobilization of representations based in a communal ideology, opposed to the individualism of instrumental reason which sustains the exploitation in their colonial and capitalist forms. In this ideal continent, people live in a cooperative manner, supporting each other in the face of adversity. There is also a communion with nature, in a way that it even helps define a people's identity. This is one of the main political claims of the song: there is a metaphysical relation between people and land that makes this place different from all the others – although it is not expressed; it is a clear allusion to the idea of *Pachamama* [Mother Earth]. Due to this entanglement, one can celebrate the goals scored by Argentinian soccer player Diego Maradona against England in the 1986 World Cup or to feel compassion towards the victims of persecution during the dictatorial regimes in Latin American countries. At the same time, it is not possible for the

"other side" to buy the clouds, the wind, the colors, the joys and the pain: they cannot buy these lives.

Final Considerations

Analyzing musical works in a media perspective is to outline a path in which many elements cross: objective aspects, such as the ideas expressed by the lyrics; and subjective dimensions, perceived in the effect they cause. Musical works bring identity elements, historical context, concepts of life and of the world, to be understood as well as felt.

Musical production, in the condition of cultural and media objects, present ideological structures and express several symbolic struggles. Sometimes they bring explicit positioning on a given subject, as is the case of *Latinoamérica*. Considered to be an ode to the continent, the song has a purpose to create, domestically, identification between Puerto Ricans and the continental environment. The approximation to the movement *Nueva Canción* in its way of articulating the political and artistic spheres is evident especially by the change in musical style by Calle 13 for the production of the song.

The relation between individual and collective identification, and music, may be one of the principal forms of visible manifestation of the differences in cultural contexts. When it cites the ideological differences among Latin Americans, *Latinoamérica* comes as a narrative about an exploited territory which, however, is rich in the union of its natural characteristics and the strength of its inhabitants – "*un pueblo sin piernas pero que camina*" [a people without legs but who nevertheless still walks]. But, when focusing on the continental spectrum, Calle 13's aim is on their small territory: in spite of their bonds to the USA, their heart – always present in the song through percussion sounds – repeals the world view represented by the powerful USA. In this sense, making Puerto Rico independent is ambiguous. The conquest of sovereignty, in the more modern meaning of the word, both presupposes and results in the approximation to a mythical conformation that unites the peoples, from Mexico to Tierra del Fuego. In a sense, the idea that it would be possible to have a structure that unifies millions of people under one identity, as it is presupposed by the discourse that sustains any Nation State.

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"MADONNA, WARRIOR LIKE CUBA"

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Abstract

Through the practices of the main fan of the US singer Madonna in Cuba, we investigate how cubans deal with the presence of Anglo-American icons of pop culture on the socialist island. A set of tensions about the presence of fan objects in the country is pointed out revealing a particular form of globalization that seems to negotiate the flows of transnational capital with the singularity of the Cuban state regime. From the memory of the fan, an itinerary takes us to the TV program Colorama, a kind of "cuban MTV". It postulates that the cultural consumption of Madonna artifacts on the island can be perceived as a dynamic of resistance, negotiation and solidarity of communities of fans that connect also through the social network Facebook.

Keywords

Introduction

At On Mondays, precisely at 11 pm, the 14-year-old Alberto Arcos sits in front of the black-and-white television set in his living room in Holguín, east of Cuba, to watch the show Colorama, an electronic magazine for the youngest, focused on releases of national and international music videos, shown by Tele Rebelde. The year is 1992, Cuba goes through what historians call the "Special Period"[1], that is, the historical moment of the end of the Soviet Union, the crisis of socialism and the "abandonment" of the country by the "socialist bloc", resulting in an isolation of the island in the international politics games. With the economic embargo of the United States in full force, Cuba goes through one of the moments of greater closure of products of first necessity. Lack of everything in the "tiendas", from milk to toilet paper, from meat to deodorant.

While watching Colorama, between a Latin music video and another, Alberto sees a video in which feathers open (as in a kind of cabaret show) and men (some black) stand like statues in haughty poses among women also static and works of art. You hear a start keyboard, the creation of a suspense, and then a blonde woman, face-to-face, singing in English: "strike a pose" - with her hands framing her face, in a kind of one-sided manual snapshot. This is the video clip of the song "Vogue", directed by David Fincher. The blonde singer is the American Madonna and the first verse of the track seems to narrate that difficult moment in Alberto's daily life: "Look around / Everywhere you turn is heartache / Look around / You try everything you can to escape / The pain of life that you know (Life that you know)". In the song, the refuge of the pain of life is healed with a trip to the dance floor. The nightclub turns into a liberation metaphor. In the daily life of Alberto Arcos, in a small Cuban city, the refuge was television. More precisely the television program with video clips.

It is in this context that Alberto's interest in Madonna begins. In his television, in the countryside of Cuba, the teenager watches the music video "Vogue" in which the singer portrays classic divas from American cinema, in a tribute to the "give good face" tradition and the pose in the media culture of Hollywood. "Vogue" is an all-black-and-white clip, with contrasting photograph accentuating the shades of gray and the art direction that attempts to highlight Madonna's face and poses. The glamour of the blonde woman, the gestures, the

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[1] During the "Special Period", according to Chomsky (2015), "the Cuban government has introduced strong economic reforms, including opening up to foreign investment, allowing some forms of private companies, facilitating remittances and promoting tourism. (…) Social inequalities have increased and phenomena associated with pre-revolutionary poverty, such as prostitution and begging, have resurfaced. (Chomsky, 2015, p.195)

look. Madonna seems to be an attempt to derive from the impositions and constraints imposed by political and historical contexts on that young Cuban.

As the television set in Alberto's house was black and white, he watched all the video clips in "black and white", as I am reported by the main fan of Madonna on the island[2] and creator of the largest page of Facebook dedicated to the singer in the Cuban context - "Madonna Cuba" - which has existed since 2015, and has 788 followers in March 2017. "Only when I had access to a color television ten years later did I realize that 'Vogue' was, in fact, a black-and-white video clip. For me, all the clips I saw in Colorama were black and white", recalls Arcos. Alberto's interest was Madonna, of course, but it was on the same Colorama television show that he watched Michael Jackson's "Thriller", Lionel Ritchie's "Hello" as well as music videos from Tina Turner, Janet Jackson, among others. Cubans were most interested in the American artists not only because of the difficulty of seeing them, but also for their strangeness and exoticism. Perhaps because of the slightly subversive curiosity of having artists singing in English – some of which could be censored by the Cuban government[3]. In addition to watching Colorama, Alberto Arcos also recorded songs on radio cassette tapes that broadcast more "open" and international songs, especially those that came from signals captured from Florida radios (US), through parabolic instruments in Cuban residences[4]. Madonna's tracks were the first on either side of the tapes he heard, often at night, after studying.

These gaps in the regulations surrounding the life and consumption habits of the Cuban population by government measures trigger thinking about how the senses are re-elaborated interculturally. "Not only within an ethnic group, not even within a nation, but in global circuits, overcoming borders, making national and ethnic barriers porous and making each group able to source itself from different

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[2] In an interview held in person at the Cafeteria La Rampa, in the Vedado neighborhood of Havana, on March 13, 2016, on the occasion of the trip to the field of research "Pop Music in Cuba: Political and Mediatic Coping", with resources obtained through of the edict CNPq / MCTI 25/2015 - Humanities, Social and Applied Social Sciences. The first field trip took place in March 2016, using a methodology of ethnographic inspiration that aims to contact with subjects that integrate that context. During a trip to Cuba in 2015, I had contact with pop music fans (Madonna's and Lady Gaga's) in Havana. These mediators were important so that I could be among Anglophile pop music lovers in Cuba and meet Alberto Arcos, who runs the Facebook page "Madonna Cuba".

[3] The debate over the Cuban government's "censorship" of American cultural products or English-speaking ones is controversial, since official or documentary measures or records of these restrictions are not officially available. However, in the interviews conducted at the two camp trips in Havana with officials of Cuban radio and television stations, I realized that there was a certain fear and a climate of surveillance and apprehension on the part of producers of television shows that "someone might not like or complain" about English-language products. The Cuban Radio and Television Institute (ICRT) was founded in 1962 and is a public institution belonging to the Cuban State, which is responsible for the control and regulation of radio and television stations on the island.

[4] Since the 1990s, with Cuban exiles circulating on the island, there has been an informal trade in antennas in Cuba that captured radio signals from Florida (United States). "The dollarization of the Cuban economy between 1993 and 1995 allowed Cubans abroad to send money to their relatives and Cuba became one of the many countries that depended on remittances from emigrants." (Chomsky, 2015, p. 198)

cultural repertoires." (Canclini, 2009, p. 43) Canclini's recommendation, from the methodological point of view, is that analyzes of anthropological inclination are convergent with the communicational analyzes, since we are talking about circulation of goods and messages, changes of meanings, from one passage to another, and how meanings are received, processed and recoded. "It is necessary to analyze the complexity assumed by the forms of interaction and refusal, appreciation, discrimination and hostility towards others, in situations of assiduous confrontation." (Canclini, 2009, p. 44) When thinking about the relationship between a Cuban fan of Madonna, the main figure of pop music produced in the United States, and the geopolitics between the two countries - historically conflictual since the breakup of relations after the Cuban Revolution, in 1959 - a unique framework of debate on cultural asymmetries in global dynamics is drawn. The question of globalization in Cuba is one of the central points for the debate about the fissures between nation-states and subjects - in the context of a country "apart" from the dynamics of the neoliberal economic globalization process, whose three main "institutional innovations", according to Santos (2014), are: 1. restrictions on state regulation of the economy; 2. new international property rights for foreign investors; 3. subordination of national states to multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization. (Santos, 2014, 31) As defined by Feinberg (2012),

> the Cuban Revolution was largely defined in terms of what it was not: not dependence on the United States; not a domain governed by global corporations; not a liberal and market-oriented economy. As the guerrilla army made its triumphant entry into Havana and the Revolution established itself, a distinct brand of its anti-imperialist ethos became central to the US-based nationalization process of companies that controlled many key sectors of the Cuban economy, including hotels and casinos, utilities, oil refineries and the rich sugar mills. In the strategic conflict with the United States, the "historical enemy," the Revolution consolidated its power through the excision of the US economic presence (Feinberg, 2012, p. 5)

Although in a macro-political and prescriptive sense the Cuban government has demarcated a political and economic separation from the United States, the micro-politics of daily life and the actions of the subjects have always stressed, to a greater or lesser extent, such premises. Considering the mass migrations and intense circulation of Cubans around the world, it is inevitable to recognize that a fan of Madonna in Cuba is inserted in what Appadurai (1997) calls "diasporic public spheres", that is, media imagination, deterritorialization resulting in transnational symbolic universes, "communities of feeling", prospective

identities, sharing of tastes, pleasures and aspirations that seem to negotiate with macro-political aspects as much as to affect the tactics and affections of the micro-politics. It is postulated, therefore, that the presence of icons of the American culture in Cuban territory does not include an imperialist maxim, of cultural domination or ideological imposition of the logics of capital in the flattening of local cultural manifestations, but rather creates a set of tensions of political-cultural orders that manifest themselves in contradictory experiences, insofar as they deal with the history of a Nation and the limits and impositions of living beings. It is thus seen that globalization is not a linear process, much less consensual, insofar as it is an "intense field of conflicts between social groups, states, hegemonic and subaltern interests". (Souza, 2014, p. 27)

Colorama, "Cuban MTV"

The TV show Colorama is one of the central points for understanding the presence of icons of world pop culture in the context of Cuba. Created in 1979 and on air for 36 years, Colorama is named by Alberto Arcos and fans of Anglophile pop music in Cuba as "an oasis" amidst the programming full of attractions linked to the exaltation of traditional Cuban musicality on TV stations. The show, which is informally called "Cuban MTV", can be seen as a cosmopolitan, pop and contemporary breakthrough in the socialist island's television media. It is also shrouded in a certain aura of mystery as producers/programmers were able to play, for example, Madonna's music videos - one of the greatest icons of the "Yankee culture" also detracted from political speeches and billboards on the island. From the report of an in-depth interview with Madonna fan and journalist Alberto Arcos, we recognize the uniqueness of the TV show Colorama in the Cuban media context, as a starting point for thinking about the subjects' confrontations in restrictive environments of spectatoriality and fruition, to discuss the tensional zone of globalization processes that insert subaltern subjects into global logics. (Santos, 2014)

The "closure" of Cuba's media systems to international products, much of what has come to be called pop culture from the capitalist system, triggers a series of internal and external disputes between groups that proposed different views of how the revolutionary government, which began in the country in the 1960s, should deal with "external influences". Thinking about Colorama in the 1970s and 1980s in Cuba, means recognizing a history of gaps and accommodations of "subversive" products in the everyday life of Cubans, implying that although in the

most closed systems of access to cultural goods, in view of given structures and watertight legal sanctions, it is possible to see actions of subjects that tangentiate and problematize the structures. With a focus on film production, Villaça (2006) investigates how the Cuban Film Institute and Art Institute (ICAIC), the first cultural organization created after the Cuban Revolution, was important as a mediating institution capable of finding places of autonomy and negotiation within "rigid" standards of censorship and control. In the case of the Institute, the author postulates that the institution enjoyed relative autonomy in regard to governmental control mechanisms, through the action of the filmmakers and the mediation of the ones in charge of ICAIC, making possible the production of several films ambiguous and critical to the regime, along of the period between 1959 and 1991.

> This autonomy has been shaken at various times by factors such as the restructuring of the State, economic failures and the intensification of authoritarianism in Cuba, especially since the 1970s. Nevertheless, the Institute has been readapted to governmental political demands in a political game of adhesion and resistance to official cultural policy. (Villaça, 2006, p.8)

It is possible to see that the dynamics of control and censorship of contents exhibited in the Cuban context present loopholes that can be visualized as tensive fields of action in which the social and the political are interwoven generating complex plots of resistance. One of the points to understand how the process of closing and subsequent negotiation between institutions of the Cuban government and subjects occupying leading positions in Cuban media institutions was in the creation in 1961 of the Union of Artists and Writers of Cuba (UNEAC)[5]. An organization that will postulate the bases and manage the cultural policies of Cuba, especially in the first years after the Cuban Revolution of 1959, between 1961 and 1968. "In this period, cultural policy is defined much more by practice than by the publication of laws and projects" (Villaça, 2006, p.170), resulting in a visibly porous arrangement which favoured individual actions that endorse or circumvent master guidelines.

It is worth highlighting the context in which, according to Villaça, two groups drew different "conflicting cultural policy proposals" on how the Cuban government should deal with the production and circulation of cultural products - including foreign ones - in the country. A first, "dogmatic", presented a proposal close to the guidelines of Soviet Socialism Realism[6], which, in turn, was aligned

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[5] http://www.uneac.org.cu/.
[6] Socialism Realism was, in practice, a state policy for aesthetics in all fields from literature to design, including Soviet artistic and cultural manifestations (painting, architecture, sculpture, music, cinema, theater, etc.). It is directly associated with Orthodox Communism and Stalinist orientation or inspiration

with a conciliatory policy, in the revolutionary guidelines. These were "communists before the Revolution who were part of the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), which reluctantly supported the revolutionary movement and Fidel Castro, but then decided to support the Revolution and the government". (Villaça, 2016, p. 171) The second group, called the "oppositionist", was composed of communists who were against the guidelines of Socialism Realism and also opposed to the full adoption of the parameters of the Soviet regime in Cuba and also by non-Communist intellectuals sympathetic to the policies of the M-26, the revolutionary movement that established the Communist Party of Cuba (CCP) as the only party in the country since 1965.

It is noticed that in this porous context of formation of bases of the cultural policy in Cuba, there were symptoms of the two proposals - although formally the Cuban government in this period tried to break with the "proselytizing and ideological diversion" of those who defended cultural policies less centered on the formation of a solid cultural base based on the values and guidelines of Cuban and Latin American cultures. The departure of "dogmatic" Communists and the entry of "oppositionists" into the Revolutionary Government took place gradually, slowly and tensely, at first, dragging on for a long period of seven years (between 1961 and 1968), resulting in sometimes unexpected and unexplained measures, such as the closing of literary supplements and independent book publishers, the remodeling of publications that debated cinema aesthetics, for example, the prohibition of foreign (Nouvelle Vague) and national films, the censorship of abstractionist aesthetic proposals, and musical styles such as rock and, more closely, groups that sang in English, like the Beatles and the Rolling Stones[7].

One year before the first debates on the Union of Artists and Writers of Cuba, more specifically on August 6, 1960, began the nationalization of television and radio in Cuba, which was actually the intervention of the Revolutionary Government in the American companies that monopolized Cuban media systems: Cuban Telephone Company and its subsidiary with foreign capital, Equipos Standard de Cuba SA[8]. In 1962, the process of governmental management of the media was completed with the creation of the Cuban Institute of Broadcasting (ICR), later

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regimes. The style of Socialist Realism is associated with the official aesthetic created by Andrei Jdanov, commissioner of Stalin, responsible for cultural production and propaganda. A goal of this totalitarian propaganda, often successful, was to convey to the people the idea of the omnipresence of the great leader, present everywhere, knowing everything, and therefore it is necessary to fear him.

[7] The censorship of the Beatles and the Rolling Stones on the island only increased the subversive character of those who heard these artists in Cuba. Fans of the Beatles began to create contact networks to import discs and clandestine recordings of shows for sharing in homes that had video cassettes in the 1980s, as reported by Ernesto Juan Castellanos (1997) in the book "The Beatles in Cuba." Several bars in Cuban cities, even under the "distrustful" look of the state, paid homage to the Beatles, such as the Amarillo Submarino (Spanish for Yellow Submarine) in Havana; Yesterday, in Trinidad and the Beatles Bar, in the resort of Varadero.

[8] For further information: https://www.cubanet.org/otros/television-cubana-radio-con-imagen/.

called the Cuban Radio and Television Institute (ICRT), the "tormentor" of many artists who say they are censured by government directives[9]. Although measures appeared as the guiding principles of a cultural policy that would attempt to implement the strength of Cuban and Latin American cultures, it is perceived that isolated actions of subjects in distinct historical contexts stress such norms and open flanks by which part of the people of the island try to see Anglophile pop culture. It is in this way that one tries to understand the tensions with the Cuban censorship in the Colorama show – mentioned by Alberto Arcos as "their window of contact with the international pop culture".

Russian Madonna

Colorama was first aired on Cuban television in 1979 as a kind of "radio with pictures", as several interviewees report. It is a show dedicated to music videos, musical numbers and national and international artists' charts. Until 1984, the show was live, featuring pre-recorded video inserts throughout its half-hour of viewing. "It was in 1985, with the arrival of Sony Betacam format equipment to the island, that the recording and editing of dramatized spaces and musicals on Cuban TV was generalized". (Peidro, 2013, p.1) Umatic format was lost with the change of equipment, according to the author. Others, he says, were purposely "forgotten".

> There was an orientation by the PCC's Ideological Department to eliminate the programs in which artists emigrated from the country. Soon in the 1990s, the purchase of new tapes by TV stations was reduced [so that shows with actors, musicians and artists emigrated in the Special Period were not reexhibited]. Many shows carried out in the 1980s have been lost because the media on which they were recorded cannot be reused. (Peidro, 2013, p.1)

While worried about emigrant Cuban artists as a "bad examples" for citizens living on the island, ICRT managers ignored the pop culture icons airing on television. Not only did Madonna, but Spice Girls, Backstreet Boys, Mariah Carey, U2, among countless others, have their videos shown on Colorama. It was in 1998 that the young Alberto Arcos became a fan of Madonna, when he saw a live performance of the track "Frozen", in the same Colorama in which he had watched the "Vogue" video. "Madonna was dark-haired, had a daughter with Carlos León, a

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[9] On a specific episode of censorship of a reguetón music video and the tenseness of this musical genre with the Cuban government and the ICRT, see: SOARES, Thiago and PEREIRA, Simone Luci. Reguetón em Cuba: Censura, Ostentação e Rasuras de Políticas Midiáticas. Disponível em: http://www.compos.org.br/data/arquivos_2017/trabalhos_arquivo_VKL3HT7NAE5QXFGEAJFY_26_5410_14_02_2017_10_51_34.pdf.

Cuban dancer, the father of her daughter Lourdes Maria. There were a series of connections of that mutant artist, with 'several faces' and hair colors, and the island of Cuba. I realized how Madonna reinvented herself and how we, Cubans, also learned to reinvent ourselves", says Alberto Arcos, who began to become a reference in the search for and disseminate information about Madonna in Cuba. Other fans called, on landlines, to Alberto, so he could pass on information about Madonna's career, new videoclips' releases or gossip about her personal life. First in hometown Holguín, then in Havana, when he had already migrated to the capital in search of studies and employment. Alberto worked at Radio Ciudad, located between Calles 23 and N, in the neighborhood of Vedado, Havana, in 2016, and was a kind of central figure to spread Madonna's news in Cuba.

How did Madonna's videos end up on Colorama? It is a "mystery" for Alberto himself - who recognizes the need for the Cuban government to actually censor some works, not international artists, that brought affective and edifying messages (such as the songs of Madonna he liked, "Vogue" and "Frozen"), but the very production of "bad" Cuban songs that denigrate the image of the woman - he refers to the reggaeton[10]. The idea of protectionism in Latin music, according to Alberto, was always questioned when discussing the restrictive guidelines of the government in international pop music forums. According to him, the screening of international video clips at Colorama occurred "without warning" and it was always a "frisson" to wait for the show, which generated comments throughout the week among his friends, mostly fans of international artists. It seems that the Cuban television programming obeyed a pattern similar to that described by Villaça in relation to cinema: an exhibition policy that is defined much more by practice than by laws or measures, since even during the decades of 1970 and 1980, when the restrictions of international attractions were intensified in Cuban state broadcasters, Colorama showed musical numbers from different countries.

Producer Marta Pita, one of the programmers responsible for Colorama during the 1980s and 1990s, explains the quota mechanisms that existed within the show: "seven music videos were allowed in each program, four of which were from the socialist countries and three of Latin artists. " (apud Suarez, 2014) This fraction, according to the producer, was part of a policy of internationalization of the Cuban citizen, who needed to "get in touch with other cultures, especially those that brought socialist values." Still, not all Latino artists could be screened. Spanish

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[10] There is an internal tension in the consumption of music in Cuba as much refusal of some natures of foreign music, as the American pop music, but also the reggaeton, peripheral Latin music, is rejected by part of the organs of control of the media systems, but also the public, who accuse the music of denigrating the woman, talk about sex and consumption - such as the funk carioca and brega in Brazil. However, part of the Cuban youth is fond of reggaeton.

Julio Iglesias, Brazilian Roberto Carlos, Argentine Alberto Cortez, Venezuelan Jose Luis Rodriguez "El Puma," the Puerto Rican José Feliciano, and of course the Cuban singer Gloria Estefan, who had emigrated to the United States, were banned to air in the Colorama. According to Marta Pita, these artists were considered "alienated" and, therefore, examples of Latinos not to be followed, for dealing with subjects such as love and "worldly" relationships. Specifically about Julio Iglesias, the producer remembers the first time they exhibited a music video of the singer in the year 1991, because, according to her, "a head of state who was in love with a woman wanted to dedicate the song to her and said that would take full responsibility for the music going to the air". The song was "Me Olvidé de Vivir", released by Iglesias on the album "Begin the Beguine" in 1978, and only thirteen years later played on a Cuban official station[11].

One of the most interesting things of Colorama's programming lies in the possibility of filling the space of four weekly music videos from countries of the socialist camp (notably the Soviet Union, Poland, East Germany, among others). Something that, of course, was mocked by the production of attraction. In the relation that Marta Pita had to issue weekly to the Cuban Institute of Radio and Television (ICRT), she justified that, for example, the Australians Bee Gees and Air Supply were "Poles"; the American Michael McDonald was from the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and Madonna (as well as all the blond singers) were from the Soviet Union. "I was very scared, every week was a tension if someone suspected that we were putting artists from the United States," she said. Marta Pita quotes the remarkable presence of English-speaking artists from Australia (Bee Gees, Air Supply, Men at Work, Divinyls). The only time, according to the producer, that she was called to give an explanation to the Cuban Radio and Television Institute (ICRT) was when she exhibited the video "I Touch Myself" of the Australian band Divinyls, which made mention of the fact that a woman "touches herself", bringing clear hints to masturbation. According to Pita, government criticism came under the vague argument that "it was not a video to be shown on state television". She says she apologized and "nothing happened".

The producer justifies not only circumventing the artistic logics of Colorama, but also the dissemination systems. During the 1990s, the Special Period of food restriction in Cuba, Pita assumes that exchanged food for advertisement in the final credits of Colorama. The main highlight was for the Coppelia Ice Cream

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[11] Part of Julio Iglesias' refusal by the Cuban government was its intense relationship with Miami in the United States, and therefore with Cuban exiles "on the other side", largely critical of the island's post-Cuban revolution in 1959. For further information: http://www.diariodecuba.com/cultura/1444430222_17424.html.

Company, which provided ice cream and cake boxes for the production of the show and, in exchange, had its name quoted in larger letters in the final credits. "This caused a big tension as well. Many asked me why the Coppelia name was credited with in Colorama. Would an employee of an ice cream parlor work on a television show?", says Marta Pita.

Still on the productive dynamics of Colorama, the producer explains that when some official who had contributed to the Cuban Revolution and its developments died, it was necessary to do the military honors of some action. She was given guidelines to suspend the screening of video clips and create videos with choreography and erudite music themes, such as Chopin, Mozart and Bach, in memory or honor to the leader. According to Pita, when Cuban colonel Pedro Benigno Tortoló, one of the people responsible for the government of Cuba on the island of Granada in 1979, who established a leftist government on the Caribbean island, returned to Cuba as a hero, they produced clips with songs of revolutionary artists such as Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés. The producer had special attention when Colorama was broadcast before or after some speech by Fidel Castro. "Certainly the officers would be very attentive to what was going to be aired at that moment. So we always had to show videos with revolutionary songs by artists like Mercedes Sosa", she notes.

Social network of fans

Alberto Arcos's contact with Madonna's music videos through Colorama and his subsequent process of distinction in the context of the singer's fans in Cuba was also linked to his career as a journalist. Alberto joined the University of Havana to study journalism in 1996 and in 2016 he was working on Radio Havana Cuba (www.radiohc.cu), at the time of the interview for this research. Alberto Arcos's relationship with the media is taken in the search for Madonna's material in Cuba as a metaphor for the very disposition of fans of international pop music in the Cuban context. In the year 2015, continuing the project to publicize the work and personal life of Madonna among Cubans (first taking calls and then meeting face-to-face with other fans), Arcos creates the fan page "Madonna Cuba" on the social network Facebook. The first post, with the profile photo of the page (an image of Madonna), dates from April 21, 2015. It is evidenced that Arcos has privileges of access to the internet in Cuba, since the Country has one of the lowest indexes of the world's private internet access (only 3% of the population has broadband Internet access in the home, often pirated).

The descriptive text of the page says only: "Cuba also has fans to praise the Queen of Pop"[12]. There is the contact of Alberto (alberto@rhc.cu) and also a possibility to send messages to him. It was through this chat that in January 2016 I had the first contact with Arcos, explaining that I was doing research on Anglophile pop fans in Cuba and requesting an interview, which would happen two months later, on March 16, 2016, in the Cafeteria La Rampa, in the neighborhood of Vedado, near Havana Cuba Radio, where he worked. Our interview lasted almost two hours, during which we introduced ourselves and talked about Alberto's relationship with Madonna, from his adolescence in Holguín and later to Havana to study, until his militancy to spread the work of the singer in Cuba. I took gifts for him: a DVD of the MDNA Tour; a CD "Rebel Heart" and a shirt with the image of the singer. Alberto is calm, speaks very low, and at times I think he suspected my interest in the subject. Sometimes it was difficult to understand what he was talking about, both by the volume of his speech and by the misunderstandings that seemed to be in his speech. To some extent, I think Alberto minimized his position of privilege in relation to the internet, by working on a radio, which would give him full access, at least in his working hours.

When I noticed that Alberto lowered his voice and tried to escape some subjects, I chose not to insist, not to confront him, respecting his limit of access to information that he wanted to be present in his speech. I realized that Alberto was sort of ashamed of the gifts I gave him, and also of the fact that I paid his bill at the cafeteria. The interview with Alberto Arcos helped me contextualize the fan more historically and biographically. However, due to the time limit and the interviewer's unavoidable shyness, I could not trace any new provisions about his relationship with Madonna. I returned to Facebook and went to investigate chronologically how the narrative proposed by Arcos for Madonna in the Cuban context was presented.

I noticed three large groups of posts that seemed to both introduce the singer to new Cuban fans and also connect Alberto himself with other fans - notably from Latin America and from European countries with Latin mother tongues. Among the main types of posts of Arcos on Madonna are: 1. connections between the trajectory and the poetic of Madonna with the geography or geopolitics of Cuba; 2. Networking with other Madonna fans; 3. Reporting on Madonna's fan condition without access to the singer's products in the Cuban context. We draw considerations and bring empirical evidence to follow:

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[12] Translation to "Cuba tambien tiene fans para distinguir a la reina del pop".

1) connections between Madonna's trajectory and poetics with Cuba's geography or geopolitics: in this group of posts, it is evident from references to Madonna's songs that would "fit in" to talk about Cuba (as "La Isla Bonita"[13] and "Vogue") until references to the trajectory of the singer, in analogy to the history of Cuba. The song "La Isla Bonita", released by Madonna in 1986 on the album "True Blue", is the most recurring connection between the singer's fans and the Cuban context. One notices how Alberto also resorts to a series of clichés about Cuba to make comparisons with Madonna. On July 2, 2015, he posts "Madonna: caliente como Cuba", bringing to the surface the tropical imagery of the Caribbean island. The reference to tropicality follows: "Madonna: Un Sol de Verano como Cuba" (July 19, 2015), "Madonna: Luminaria como Cuba" (August 6, 2015). "Un Rayo de Luz como Cuba" (August 30, 2015), "Un huracán como Cuba" (September 30, 2015).

Concomitantly, Alberto adopts the strategy of referring also to the political singularity of Cuba to compare with Madonna. On July 21, 2015, he posted a photo of the singer with the caption: "Madonna: Única como Cuba". Cuba's unique place in world geopolitics seems to be a good key for the journalist to exalt his page as "unique" in the Cuban context. On July 16, 2015, another political reference that connects Madonna with Cuba through the lens of Arcos: "Madonna: Sin Miedo como Cuba", making a veiled reference to the anti-Cuban policy of embargo and restrictions implanted by the United States. In the month of Madonna's birthday, with a photo that resembles Madonna's own warlike configuration, journalist Alberto Arcos attests: "Madonna: Guerrera como Cuba" (August 4, 2017), bringing up the imaginary fighter, present in the image of the album "American Life", when the singer appears on the cover in an image reminiscent of Che Guevara. There are a number of photo postings of Madonna in military outfits, especially in the performances of the track "American Life", when the artist adopted a beret, buskin look and militaristic aesthetic.

Also associating the healthy and energetic lifestyle of Madonna to the sporting trajectory of the socialist island, we can see posts that appear to be in this universe: "Madonna: Recordista como Cuba" (August 23, 2015) and "Madonna: Indomable como Cuba" (September 2, 2015). Leaving the political reference to enter a personal dynamic still connected with the island of Cuba, is the posting of January 31, 2016, in which, before a photograph of Madonna's daughter, Lourdes Maria, the journalist states: "Lourdes, la hija de Madonna es una auténtica bella cubana" ("Lourdes, the daughter of Madonna is an authentic Cuban beauty") (January 31, 2016), establishing the reference that the first daughter of the singer

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[13] Available in: https://www.facebook.com/Arcos73/posts/859154647491058.

is the result of the relationship of Madonna with Cuban dancer Carlos León. This set of posts helps to situate the page before a double addressing, from the narrativization of similarities between the singer and the history and politics of Cuba and the private affective bonds from her daughter.

2) Networking with other Madonna fans: this set of posts is often based on shares that Alberto Arcos makes of pages dedicated to Madonna in other countries, in the Cuban context. The journalist's preference for sharing content from Latin American and Latin American-speaking countries, located in Latin America and in Europe, is perceived by the Spanish language. Comes from Mexico the largest number of posts sharing (a total of eight) of the pages "Madonna Mexico", "Madonna MX" and "The Royalty of Pop." With four posts, in second place, the page "Madonna Official Group - Peru" appears, followed by three posts of "Madonna Venezuela". It is noticed that Alberto Arcos also hierarchizes the pages, making posts highlighting some of them, due to its historical importance. When referring to the page "Divina Madonna - Spain", the author emphasizes that the page is very faithful to the "queen of pop", being, along with Madonna, since the extinct Orkut social network in the early 2000s.

The Latin American Madonna fan network formation perspective narrows as of June 6, 2015, when Argentine fan Alejandra Silvia Ludueña suggests that Alberto publish posts featuring the page "Madonna Cuba" in the forum page "Lucky Star Madonna Fans Club Argentina". Surprised, he posted, one day later, thanking Alejandra, that in 24 hours, the page "Madonna Cuba" had 70 "likes". From this contact comes the collaboration of Argentinean fan Lesmack Mesa Parente (from the fan club Madonna Argentina), who gives an illustration of Madonna to Alberto and is duly credited "Arte Madonna by Lesmack (Argentina)". There are sharing posts of English-language sites (Madonna Australia and Material Girl PR-England), Chinese (Madonna China) and Turkish (Madonna Türkyie Official - Turkey). None from the United States.

3) Narrativization of Madonna's fan condition without access to the singer's products: on June 18, 2015, Alberto Arcos surprised the "followers" of the page "Madonna Cuba" with critical content in her post: "Cuban fans within this island we are anxious and disillusioned because there is no way to even see the clip of 'Bitch I'm Madonna'. No downloads, no low quality, no access. Everything is blocked.

Youtube does not even appear. Amen"[14]. It is the first time that the journalist uses a critical tone referring to the blockade to Internet and the slow speed, in the Cuban context, including mentioning the possibility of censorship to YouTube that "neither appears". Five days later he regrets, in a post dated June 23, 2015, in which, with a frightened photograph of Madonna, he writes: "This is #Madonna's face to know that her Cuban fans in the island have not yet watched to her latest video 'Bitch I'm Madonna'. YouTube cancels video access in my country. Blocks. Will Madonna know that?"[15]. In this same post, a dialogue begins with fans from other countries where Alberto reports the difficulty of being a fan of Madonna in Cuba. For the Spanish Paolo Salas, he testifies at 09:09 pm on June 23: "Dear friend, you can not imagine the suffering of the Cuban fans to see things of our queen." Russian fan Diego Gregoraschuk gives Alberto a suggestion at 9:22 pm on June 23: "Wow, boy! What if you try to see through Vimeo or some other network? There is the Rutube, Russian network. Or else, I come up here and share it with you. Are there things about Madonna in Cuba? Magazines, records, if something edited?", asks the Russian fan. Alberto responds at 11:28 pm on June 23: "Nothing comes here or, if you would send it, it would get lost on the way. But I admire your attitude", referring to his friend's proposal to upload the video on a Russian social network so that Alberto and other Madonna fans in Cuba could watch the music video "Bitch, I'm Madonna".

Final considerations

How to discuss the political affections of fans of singer Madonna in Cuba, faced with a history of geopolitical disputes between Cuba and the United States, but through an agenda that proposes to understand the impasses of interculturality? Affects that are processes that are not easily grouped into the same socioeconomic or cultural series, since they are contradictory, hazy, insecure. Rather than generalize conclusions, we choose to think as phenomena like this help to reformulate questions: what happens to the local, the national and the transnational? What relationships between work, consumption and territory are involved in the articulation between goods and messages? To think about the

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[14] Translation to: "Los Fans cubanos dentro de la Isla estamos anciosos y desilusionados no existe aun una via para poder VER el clip de BITCH I'm MADONNA, nada descarga, nada baja, nada nos da acceso, todo bloqueado, youtube que NO aparece, AMEN". Available in: https://www.facebook.com/Arcos73/posts/885386048201251.

[15] Translation to: "Esta es la cara de #Madonna al enterarse que sus Fans Cubanos dentro de la isla aun NO hemos visto su último video, Bitch I'm Madonna. Youtube cancela las vistas al video dentro de mi pais. Lo bloquea. Sabrá MADONNA esto?". Available in: https://www.facebook.com/Arcos73/posts/885386048201251.

consumption of American products and artists in Cuba means to discuss, in a broader sense, the numerous labels with Asian identification, US consumer goods or the Argentine and Mexican flags. Canclini states: "the relations between market approaches, political nationalisms and daily inertia of tastes and affections follow divergent dynamics, as if they had not been aware of networks that bring together economics, politics and culture on a transnational scale". (Canclini, 2009, p. 21)

> It is about paying attention to the mixtures and misunderstandings that bind the groups, describing how it appropriates the material and symbolic products of others and how it reinterprets them. Not only the mixtures but also the barriers in which they became entrenched. Not only the attempts to combine the differences but also the lacerations that inhabit us. (Canclini, 2009, p.25)

What is a place in globalization? Who speaks and from where? What do the disagreements between games and actors mean, military triumphs and political failures, global diffusion, and creative processes? Important questions to ask in an always diffused context between local contexts and global arrangements. Temporalities and territorialities that are organized, generating singular forms of understanding of cosmopolitanism.

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Valorisation, Personality Cult and the Militarisation of Nation State Under a Civilian Ruler in Zimbabwe: a Public-Private Media Gaze.

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Abstract

Using the public-private media gaze, this paper explores how thirty-seven years of Robert Mugabe's rule culminated in the militarization of nation-state under a civilian ruler. I argue that the civil-military relations in Zimbabwe – at least from the perspective of the public and private media –had the consequent effect of cult of personality and valorization of Robert Mugabe as the only leader suitable to rule Zimbabwe. Even in the face of waning popularity, the military and police ensured that Mugabe continued to hold on to the highest office in Zimbabwean politics. I further posit that post-independence Zimbabwean politics has seen both the military and police overtly and covertly meddling in national politics to the extent of making a farce of elections in Zimbabwe.

Keywords

Introduction

At age ninety-three, Robert Mugabe was Africa's oldest serving President until his unceremonious albeit peaceful departure from power in November 2017 through civil-military intervention code-named "Operation restore legacy". Until then, he had been at the helm of Zimbabwe for thirty-seven years: first as Prime Minister for seven years, and secondly, as the Executive President for thirty years. Using the private and public media lens, I argue that Robert Mugabe's thirty-seven year reign resulted in the gradual militarisation of nation state under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe. This process of militarisation, which spanned three and half decades, was the upshot of the cult of personality and valorisation of Mugabe as the only political leader suitably qualified and 'God-sent' to rule Zimbabwe. The result of this toxic thinking as Lipman-Blumen calls it, was the conscious and deliberate "feeding of [Mugabe's] followers, illusions that enhance his power and impair [their] capacity to act independently, [by] persuading followers that [he is] the only one who can save them or [the country]" (2005, 19). Okey Ndibe, in his novel Arrows of Rain, lampoons this farce of "perpetual leader[s]" and submits that "nobody in the country […] seriously expected His Excellency, after a brutal reign of twenty years, to hand over power to any force less ultimate and compelling than death itself" (2000, 15). My argument thus, stems from a desire to interrogate how the private and public media in Zimbabwe reacted to this kind of thinking that was entrenched in Zimbabwe through Zanu-PF's one-centre-of-power principle. I also seek a more analytical view of the character and consequent effect of this toxic thinking in shaping civil-military affairs in Zimbabwe. I submit, drawing on Simon Baynham (1986, 15) that "in [Mugabe's] personal-rule system, soldiers are among the players of the political game". This had the consequent effect of creating a totalitarian or narrowly dynastic police-cum-military regime ironically under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe.

The name Robert Mugabe, like Josef Stalin of the Soviet Union, Augusto Pinochet of Chile, Charles Chankay Taylor of Liberia, Slobadin Milosevic of Yugoslavia, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire among others, elicits mixed feelings. For decades, his charm and grandeur, charisma and intellectual perspicacity in spite of his age, blinded many people. Consequently, "[e]ven the media [had] difficulty resisting the seductive appeal of [this] wily leader" (Lipman-Blumen 2005, 12). During his 2015 Second State visit to South Africa in 21 years, Mugabe sardonically thanked the media — both private and public — for the "publicity" it gave him over the years. Mugabe's comment demonstrated that he was not averse to the diverse ways he had been portrayed in

and by the media. The Rhodesian media for instance, viewed Mugabe as a terrorist. It demonised him as a militant, ruthless, blood-thirst, power-hungry and unforgiving communist. However, this negative image of Mugabe altered radically in 1980, as a consequence of the conciliatory tone of his inaugural address as the first black prime minister of Independent Zimbabwe. The exhortative tone and spirit of inclusivity in his speech are pellucid when he says,

> [s]urely this is now time to beat our swords into ploughshares so we can attend to the problem of developing our economy and our society. [...] I urge you, whether you are black or white, to join me in a new pledge to forget our grim past, forgive each other and forget, join hands in a new amity, and together, as Zimbabweans, trample upon racialism, tribalism and regionalism [...]" (Mugabe, 1980, 2).

The profound consequence of this speech was immediate. The media, both local and international lauded him as a pragmatic, forgiving and optimistic African statesman. In an interview with David Martin, Mugabe commented on this sudden spin of the media thus:

> 'The change is not in me. I am not the one who has undergone a metamorphosis. The transformation really is taking place in the minds of those who, once upon a time, regarded me as an extremist, a murderer, a psychopathic killer... they are the people who have had to adjust to the change. I have remained my constant self. What I was, I still am'. (David Martin, 1981)

I find Mugabe's words both fascinating and relevant to the thrust of my argument. The words project a man who is constant and consistent in word and deed. They also were Mugabe's inadvertent confession and affirmation of the way the media then and now regarded him.

It is at this point that I propose to examine the current political situation in Zimbabwe with a view to interrogating the notion that there has been militarization of nation state under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe. The examination will be done from two gazes namely, the public and private media lenses. Through these lenses, I will trace the role that has been played by the military in Zimbabwe's political space and how this role consolidated Mugabe's position as the head of state and government over a period of three and a half decades.

Politicised and Partisan Military in Zimbabwe: Private Media Gaze

The active and partisan roles played by the military and quasi military groups in Zimbabwe's political and economic spheres have created the notion that

Zimbabwe has been militarized. These roles were perceived as deliberately and strategically meant to safeguard and perpetuate Mugabe's reign. Moreso, the valorization of Mugabe by the public media, resulted in what Masiwa (2013, unpublished) described as "the curse of a cult of personality", and belief that "no other individual can rule Zimbabwe" except Mugabe. Similarly, in his online article "Military regimes: a third world phenomenon" Warnapala (2009) argues that "[a]ll military leaders emerged on the basis of the slogan that their services are required to restore democracy and good government and political stability". In the case of Zimbabwe, former president Robert Mugabe, clad in designer suits made similar claims. He vowed that he would not step down until he had won his fight against the British and Americans' regime change agenda in Zimbabwe. On the economic front, Mugabe saw himself as the only man who could fight to ensure that the economy of Zimbabwe was in the hands of and controlled by the majority black Zimbabweans. This personalization of power, according to Warnapala (2009), is based on personality cult.

Warnapala (2009) further posits that in a true democracy, the military is neither expected nor is it oriented to intervene in electoral representative democratic politics. This flies in the face of the role that has been played by the military in Zimbabwe. Both overtly and covertly, the military influenced the outcome of elections. It created fears that in the possibility of a Mugabe loss, the military would take over. Mambo (2013) contends that during the past electoral processes, especially in 2002 and 2008, the military played a key role in the elections to ensure Mugabe's political survival. For example, on the eve the 2002 Presidential election, five Service Chiefs from the country's security clusters who make up the Joint Operations Command (JOC) appeared on national television, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) and openly declared:

> Let it be known that the highest office in the land is a straight jacket whose occupant is expected to observe the objectives of the liberation struggle. We will, therefore, not accept, let alone support or salute anyone with a different agenda that threatens the very existence of our sovereignty, our country and our people (Zimbabwe Independent; August 2, 2013).

This open threat on the eve of an important election confirmed already existing fears that Zimbabwe had been militarized. It further enhanced the notion that Mugabe drew his power and authority from the military. The statement and its timing, was not only a direct threat to democracy and Mugabe's political oponent Morgan Tsvangirai but also pointed towards the militarization of nation state. By issuing a threat, the service chiefs betrayed the failure of the military to disengage from politics. The threat succinctly suggests that military disengagement from

politics "is both an elusive goal and a slippery concept" (Welch, Jr 1986, 67) in Zimbabwe. Evidently, "the armed forces remain the eminence grise of politics" as they have failed to "remove themselves from the political stage" (Welch, Jr 1986, 67). Until November 2017, they ominously hovered in the wings of Robert Mugabe and his party Zanu-PF.

However, Muchena (2013), one of Mugabe's military men and loyalists challenged what he perceived as deliberate misinterpretations of the alleged "threats" by the five service chiefs. He avered that the statement by military generals should be understood within the context of Zimbabwe's history of the liberation struggle that shaped its socio-political and economic trajectory. He says,

> Let me put their [service chiefs] statements into context. When those statements were made, the service chiefs said they will not salute a commander-in-chief who does not respect the values of the liberation, therefore, they did not say Tsvangirai or anybody else. It is important to note that the ballot we talk about today came as substitution to the bullet that was used during the liberation struggle and so any Zimbabwean worth his or her salt has to respect the values of the liberation struggle and the principles for which thousands of Zimbabweans died for. (Muchena, 2013; Zimbabwe Independent: July 26)

The attempt by Muchena to justify and explain the utterances made by Service Chiefs on the eve of an important election is a succinct pointer that the Zimbabwean army "is not only subordinate to the party [Zanu-PF], but is meant to be aware of the ideological reasons for this" (Goldsworthy 1986, 119). It also confirms the declaration that was made by the late President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, that "'no army is neutral, no army is apolitical. The armed forces of any country are the product of the class they serve'" (quoted in Goldsworthy 1986, 119). Consequently, to be an officer in the Zimbabwe National Army is to be Zanu-PF, to explain and drive the Zanu-PF ideology and policy and to mobilize the masses to follow the party Zanu-PF through coercive means.

Muchena's efforts to sanitise and deodorise the threats of military takeover by service chiefs on the eve of 2002 elections were just much ado about nothing. Before the general elections of 2008, the political dynamics of civil-military interaction in Zimbabwe were exposed by General Constantine Chiwenga. In what turned out to be disclosure of the politicization of the military and a clearer understanding of the role of the military in ensuring the survival of Mugabe's civilian regime, General Chiwenga dropped a shocker when he openly declared:

> [e]lections are coming and the army will not support or salute sell outs and agents of the West before, during and after the presidential elections. We will not support anyone other than President Mugabe who has sacrificed a lot for this country. (The Zimbabwe Independent; August 2, 2013)

Another military figure Major-General Douglas Nyikayaramba, spitefully described Mugabe's political nemesis Morgan Tsvangirai as a "national security threat" (ibid). Added to this are sensational headlines like "No army salute for Tsvangirai: [says] Mnangagwa" (talkzimbabwe.com), wherein the Minister of Defence argued that no person outside the chain-of-military-command was eligible for salute by service chiefs. These seemingly reckless statements were always strategically placed at critical moments in Zimbabwe's politics of elections. They bordered on threats and created the perception that there had been militarization of nation state under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe. Added to this is the fact that as a truly remarkable political tactician, Mugabe played the dumb show in all this. He did not used his position as Commander-in-Chief of Zimbabwe Defense Forces to reprimand these military men whenever they meddled in civil-political affairs. Therefore, Mugabe's Princely style long-lived personal rule survived through employment of coercion, violence, and other harmful and unfair political means. In the case of my argument here, the military resorted to "intimidation, suppression and purges" to ensure Mugabe's survival in office (Goldsworthy, 1986, 103).

In a story entitled "Minister says no obligation to salute Prime Minister", The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) (2009) captured Defence Minister declaring that Service Chiefs do not commit their loyalty to the Prime Minister (Morgan Tsvangirai). Rather they commit their loyalty to the structure of the military headed by the President who, in the chain-of-military-command is at the apex as the Commander-in-Chief. A combination of Chiwenga's and Nyikayaramba's utterances with the Defence Minister's arguments speaks to the question of personality cult. But, who can blame them when even the Global Political Agreement signed by Robert Mugabe, Morgan Tsvangirai and Arthur Mutambara personalized offices, thereby contributing to the whole culture of personality cult? Article 20.1.6 on the Composition of the Executive declared: "There shall be a President, which Office shall continue to be occupied by President Robert Gabriel Mugabe", and that "There shall be a Prime Minister, which Office shall be occupied by Mr. Morgan Tsvangirai"; talk of personality cult in a document that became part of the country's supreme law through Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment No. 19.

The military has also entrenched its power in strategic socio-political and economic institutions such as government ministries, parastatals, Commissions and companies in which government has a stake. Goldsworthy aptly puts it when he says,

> governments usually sought to enhance their control by the deliberate use of techniques, [...] in strategies of recruitment,

> promotion and retirement; in the cooption of soldiers into state authority structures, [...] by seconding them to ministerial, bureaucratic or parastatal office; in the dispensation of patronage, perquisites and payoffs; in manipulation of the military's 'missin'; and in the prudential use of militias, gendarmeries and security agencies as counter-balancing forces (Goldsworthy, 1986, 98).

In the case of Zimbabwe, the National Indigenization and Economic Empowerment Board, which oversees the implementation of the country's controversial indigenization and empowerment programme was headed by a retired Major-General. The Editor's comment of the Zimbabwe Independent newspaper (October 12, 2012) reveals that key parastatals and strategic public institutions in which ex-military personnel hold sway include; the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ), Grain Marketing Board (GMB), Minerals Marketing Corporation of Zimbabwe (MMCZ), Zimbabwe Broadcasting Holdings (ZBH), Broadcasting Authority of Zimbabwe (BAZ) and Zimpapers. Ex-military chiefs also have their firm grip on "money-spinning companies" such as Mbada Diamond and Anjin, while a retired Major-General was the Chief Elections Officer at the Electoral Supervisory Commission during the 2002 and 2005 polls. (The Zimbabwe Independent, October 12, 2012).

There seems to be deliberate militarization of key and strategic socio-political and economic institutions. The justification given for this has been that, "when people join the military, they serve the country and state, but when they retire, they are free to join any political party of their persuasion" (Muchena, The Zimbabwe Independent, July 26, 2013). While it is common knowledge that professional ethics dictate that military man should remain apolitical in both word and deed, we still have to concede that politics is ubiquitous, and military officers are political animals that have political persuasions of their own. The problem arises when, still in office, military officers make utterances that betray their political standing. Allegations of militarization of nation state under a civilian ruler in Zimbabwe arise from these appointments, which are perceived as a deliberate political survival strategy, especially when one considers the central roles that are played by these key institutions in Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic spheres. Therefore, for Muchena (The Zimbabwe Independent, July 26, 2013) to dismiss reports of militarization of nation state as "fabrication and imaginations of people who are scared of losing elections" is not only deliberate and convenient blindness to a fact so glaring but also an attempt to down play the gravity of the militarization of public and civil institutions that has taken place in Zimbabwe.

A former freedom fighter Wilfred Mhanda, in his memoir Memories of a Freedom Fighter (2011) appositely puts it when he says,

> In essence, the new state has continued to serve narrow interests, this time those of ZANU-PF, and to entrench its rule. All state institutions and organs comprising state security apparatus, the law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, […] were progressively transformed into instruments that serve ZANU-PF rule through staffing them with loyalists and dispensing patronage. Accordingly, expecting the rule of law to be enforced in present day Zimbabwe is wishful thinking that runs against the grain of common sense. The same goes for expecting the security sector and state institutional transformation to be citizen-friendly rather than serving the narrow interests of ZANU-PF. It is only logical that the latter should resist any attempt to change the status quo. It is naïve to expect their willing co-operation in any policy that will lead to the erosion of their power. (Mhanda, 2011, p.254)

This delineation by Mhanda portrays a state whose civil status has been taken over by the military. This deliberate militarization of nation state has been and still is an ongoing process in Zimbabwe. Mugabe's appointment of nine military men to influential positions of permanent secretaries and principal directors of key and strategic ministries (The Herald, 16 April, 2015) in 2015, showed the highest level of military allegiance to government. This civil-military alliance in political matters offered real assurance that Mugabe's civil rule would survive any attempts at regime change. Only the military could remove Mugabe from power.

The media has also exposed budget allocations as subtle ways through which the militarisation of nation-state under a civilian has taken place in Zimbabwe. In an article titled "Why Chinamasa's \$4.1bn budget has alarmed Mugabe opponents", independent journalist Blessed Mhlanga (The Standard, 11 December 2016), captures the former finance minister Tendai Biti describing the 2017, budget as "anti-people and anti-development". Biti (2016) avers that "[t]he fact that two thirds of the budget is absolved by the four votes which include the office of the president (\$187million), defence (\$385m), agriculture (\$293m), Home Affairs (\$384m) is proof that this is securocratic budget that is serving the interests of Zanu-PF". Encompassed in these ministries are the central intelligence organization (CIO), the army and its various sectors, and the police. While agriculture might appear innocently as the economic (food) sector ministry, its innocence is lost when one looks at the history of how food has been politicized and used to win votes in Zimbabwe. Added to this is the fact that the current command agriculture programme spearheaded by then Vice-President now President Mnangagwa has as its nerve-centre, the military. This is tantamount to "purchasing the loyalty of the army" (Decalo 1986, 51), and it seemed to work effectively in ensuring the military's continued loyalty to Mugabe and Zanu-PF.

The private media's obsession with the role of the military in Zimbabwe's political landscape did more harm than good to the already battered image of Robert Mugabe and the military, and led to the notion that in deed there was

militarization of nation state under Mugabe's rule. The army is not only in control but also acts as a political safety valve for the straight-jacketed office of presidency. Evidently, the following headlines, all of which had to do with the July 31, 2013 general elections, pointed toward the private media's claim that Mugabe drew his power and authority from the military and had been an architect in the militarization of the state: "Army gives Mugabe leverage in polls" (The Zimbabwe Independent; August 2, 2013), "Army deploys ahead of polls" (The Zimbabwe Independent, June 28, 2013), "Security forces step up new recruitments ahead of election" (The Zimbabwe Independent; May 7, 2013), "Police embark on all-out-campaigning for Zanu PF" (The Zimbabwe Independent; June 28 2013) "Security reforms: Elephant in the room" (The Zimbabwe Independent, June 7, 2013), "Soldiers move in to save Mugabe" (The Standard; June 30, 2013), "Zanu PF intensifies military patronage" (The Zimbabwe Independent; October 12, 2012), "Zanu PF militarises its structures" (ibid; July 5, 2013) and "July 31 polls: Army versus people" (ibid; July 12, 2013).

What I find disturbing though, is not so much the private media's claim that Zimbabwe has been militarized under a civilian ruler. There is evidence that Service Chiefs openly declared their allegiance and loyalty to the person of Robert Mugabe and not to the state. Rather, it is the realization that in all these claims by the private media, evidence is attributed to unnamed sources. These take various forms and titles namely, 'senior government officials', 'politburo members', 'a Zanu PF senior member or senior police officers', who, for fear of reprisal, refuse to be named. Inexorably, therefore, one is left with so many questions and so few answers as to the authenticity of the information, and existence and reliability or lack thereof of the unnamed sources. This compromise to professional journalism brings to mind Justice Paddington Garwe's landmark ruling in Tsvangirai's treason trial on allegations of plotting to assassinate Robert Mugabe. Hudleston recollects the Supreme Court Judge's ruling when she writes;

> Then Garwe started to review the evidence and turned almost immediately to the credibility of the witness. With regard to the prosecution's star witness, Ari Ben-Menashe, Garwe quickly dismissed allegations made in various press articles and publications attacking Ben-Manashe's general reputation. He commented: 'All that is before the court … are unsubstantiated allegations made in some cases by persons who are unknown. Having carefully considered the evidence, this court is of the view that the allegations suggesting a bad reputation on the part of Mr. Menashe have not been proved'. (Hudleston, 2005, p.134)

The same can be said about the private media's obsession with and reportage on the role that has been played by the army in Zimbabwean politics,

especially in ensuring Mugabe's continued hold to power. Sources remain anonymous and thus the veracity of their information becomes questionable.

Without taking anything away from the battered image of the army as a result of its ugly past and bad reputation in its dealing with any dissenting voices, one still has to contend with the view that the army in Zimbabwe has, in public, tried to portray a professional and positive image of itself. In public fora and national events such as the Official Opening of Parliament, Agricultural Shows, the Zimbabwe International Trade Fair, Independence Day celebrations and Heroes and Defence Forces Day commemorations, the Zimbabwe National Army is the main attraction to the public. It mesmerises the public with its well-rehearsed and choreographed military drills and displays. It is an army that the public does not run away from, an army that portrays itself as a people's army. However, it is what the army does in the cover of darkness, the power behind the power of the office of presidency that the media and Human rights groups have tried to expose to the public and the world. What I find unfortunate is that, until such time the allegations raised by the media and human rights and governance organisations are substantiated with evidence and named reliable sources, they shall, in the words of Justice Garwe, remain unsubstantiated allegations made by some unknown persons.

Where lieth Mugabe's power? Public Media Gaze

Thirty-seven years of Mugabe's personal-rule exposed his chameleonic nature. His life and personality treaded the thin line between "'hagiography' and 'demonization'" (Michael 2004, p.1). Accordingly, Rathbone (2011, p. 338) observes that "lots of authors, almost certainly far too many authors, have made a fist at capturing people, such as [...] Robert Mugabe. But with few exceptions, these have tended to be over-enthusiastic partisan accounts which either indict or praise." In her delineation of Robert Mugabe, Holland (2008, p.155) exposes the Janus-faced and paradoxical nature of the man when she portrays him as "the man [who is always] in the elegant suit", and a freedom fighter who became a tyrant. The Western media, which in the early 80s lauded him as a statesman, now vilifies him as a brutal, autocratic and murderous dictator. These polarities of hagiography and demonisation raise questions about whether Mugabe was a military ruler clad in designer suits or a civilian leader and shrewd contriver who in Machiavellian style masterminded the militarisation of nation state under the cover of Constitutional democracy. Chinua Achebe (1987, 10), in Anthills of the Savannah calls this "the remarkable metamorphosis of His Excellency" whose upshot is "the birth and

grooming of a baby monster". A bit of historical background will certainly place this discussion in context.

Zimbabwe attained independence on 18 April 1980, after 90 years of British colonial rule, and two liberation war movements known in the history of the country as the First and Second Chimurenga Wars. In its 37 years of independence, and in keeping with the provisions of the country's Constitution, Zimbabwe held eight (8) General elections. The last elections were held on 31 July 2013. However, the 2008 general elections were unique and telling in that they produce a hung parliament. They also marked the first time since 1980 that Mugabe and ZANU PF lost an election. Morgan Tsvangirai's Movement for Democratic Change (MDC-T) won 100 seats, Robert Mugabe's ZANU PF 99 seats, Arthur Mutambara's MDC 10 seats, and one (1) seat was won by Jonathan Moyo who contested as an independent to complete the 210 contested House of Assembly seats. Mugabe with 42% of the total votes cast lost the first round of presidential election to Morgan Tsvangirai who got 47%, while Simba Makoni of Mavambo/Khusile/Dawn (MKD) garnered 8%. The fact that there was no absolute winner, resulted in a presidential run-off pitting Mugabe and Tsvangirai. The road to the 27 June 2008 presidential run-off was significant. It became apparent that the military in Zimbabwe was not "politically sterile and neutral" (Huntington 1957, 84). The once covert role of the arm, police and, war veterans and youth militia in ensuring Mugabe's continued grip to power was exposed by their overt and active involvement in the bloody and controversial election. The subsequent signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) by Mugabe, Tsvangirai and Mutambara on 15 September 2008, which ushered in an inclusive government in Zimbabwe also exposed the political history between the military and ZANU-PF.

In his seminal book Military Regimes in Africa (1975) William Gutteridge posits that

> [t]he history of civil-military relations in the embryonic states of Africa since 1960 has exposed more clearly than ever before the range of variables involved in determining military decisions to intervene in the politics of their countries and their possible effectiveness once a decision has been taken. Of primary importance is the composition and nature of the military oligarchy. This will have been affected by [...] the circumstances in which the country concerned achieved independence (Gutteridge, 1975, p.19–20).

In Southern Africa, the armed struggle for liberation in Zimbabwe created and left a legacy of militarisation which is unlike that in neighbouring countries such as Zambia, Malawi and Botswana where there was a peaceful transfer of power from the former colonizer to the colony (Gutteridge 1975). Also by design, the Service Chiefs who head the Zimbabwe Defense Forces (ZDF), the Air Force of

Zimbabwe (AFZ), the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), the Zimbabwe Prison Services (ZPS) and the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), have one thing in common. They all have liberation war credentials. This civil-military relation of consanguinity is aptly described by Philip Martin (2016) in his article "Why Zimbabwe's military sticks with Mugabe: Zanu-PF's blood brotherhood", wherein he avers that

> [t]he military's loyalty to Zanu-PF is a product of deep ideological, personal and institutional ties. The relationship lies at the heart of Zimbabwe's political order, and it will discourage the mobilization of armed groups beyond the state's control for years to come (Martin, 2016).

Recent and past events in independent Zimbabwe have exposed the military "to be the willing instrument of the government of a recently independent state", to borrow from Gutteridge (1975, p.19). I will argue further drawing on Gutteridge that "economic problems, corruption, political schism and general disillusionment have combined to create a climate in which [...] it is natural to accept intervention by the army because it is seen as patriotic by definition and possessed of unusual virtue of rectitude" (1975, 18). Save to say that in the case of Zimbabwe, the military has intervened with the objective of maintaining the political status quo. Lately, this has manifested itself in what can been described as the Robert Mugabe's government's "political approach to problems of public order [...], especially the extent of reliance on the military or police apparatus for intelligence connected with internal security" (Gutteridge, 1975, p.21). This frequent and recurrent use of the army in roles meant for the police is the basis for the development of a propensity for political intervention by the military. It is thus my argument that since 1980, Zimbabwe has witnessed the gradual and later developing into a fully-fledged militarisation of nation state under a civilian ruler. This has been partly due to the deliberate and strategic assignment of the military with both military and non-military roles, due in part to the military's direct and overt involvement in political matters, which have seen the presence of military in both corporate and political and democratic institutions that have a direct bearing on the day to day running of government and the outcome of elections.

In terms of the constituition, Mugabe drew his power and authority as the Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of Zimbabwe defense forces, from the country's constitution which vests such power and authority in the office of Presidency. As such, he had under his wing and chaired the Joint Operations Command (JOC) Zimbabwe. This is a high powered Security Cluster Committee that brings together Service Chiefs from the Army, Air Force, Police, Intelligence and Prison services. Conceptually Mugabe drew his power and authority from the Constitution. Virtually his power and authority rested in these security

sectors. He occupied the top most rank of Commander-in-Chief in the chain of military command. Added to these military and quasi military sectors are the war veterans or former freedom fighters, whose patron was again former President Robert Mugabe, and youth militia who were trained at the infamous Boarder Gezi training camps under the auspices of the national youth service programme. Their allegiance to Robert Mugabe and the party Zanu PF is a matter of ideology and political.

The signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) on 15 September 2008 provided a conspicuous opportunity for the media to expose the source of Mugabe's power. With Morgan Tsvangirai officially taking up the newly created position of Prime Minister, the media – both private and public – went about debating the dynamics of power relations and power sharing between then President Robert Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai. The debate, though highly polarised and partisan made interesting and stunning revelations. In a bid to prove and disprove who had the highest power between Mugabe and Tsvangirai, the private and public media trivialized the debate to the level where it reduced to a numerical count of the duties of the president and prime minister as listed in Articles 20.1.3 and 20.1.4 of the GPA. The GPA listed nineteen (19) functions of the office of the president against ten (10) for the prime minister (GPA 2008, Articles 20.1.3 and 20.1.4). The interpretation of the noble spirit behind the GPA was reduced, like an election, to a game of numbers. Throughout the debate, both the public and private media were blinded by their obsession with power dynamics and creating headlines for lead stories that would sell. Hence, caught in the trap of political and media polerisation, they found it politically convenient to ignore the fact that the GPA was a power sharing agreement and a "negotiated transition pact" (Masunungure, 2009, 4) paving the way for political, Constitutional and electoral reforms which would lead to a free and fair General Election.

The media also overlooked article xx of the GPA, in particular the fine writing in Article 20.1.1, which talks about "Executive Powers and Authority" (GPA 2008). Here, the GPA makes a clear distinction between power on the one hand and authority on the other through the conjunctive word "and" [own emphasis]. Woolf (2000, 3), while admitting that there is a thin line of difference between power and authority, argues that "power is the control you have over subordinates [and] authority is the influence you have over peers". This view is shared by Wayne Mark (accessed on 2013/08/14) who contends that power is the degree to which people will accept your decisions without question while authority is about influence and the ability to convince people of the validity of a decision.

The third aspect that the media overlooked was that the GPA was a negotiated document, and if "history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" as James Joyce (1882 – 1941) once said, then surely the media in Zimbabwe was caught slumbering. It overlooked the historical fact that Zanu PF, led by Robert Mugabe, had a history of, and experience in negotiating with its adversaries, and had learned a great deal from that. The Lancaster House Agreement of 1979 was a negotiated settlement in which ZANU and ZAPU had participated under the banner of the Patriotic Front. The 1987 Unity Accord between ZANU and ZAPU was again a negotiated arrangement; one which eventually created the powerful office of the Executive President in Zimbabwe. Given the exposure to and experience gained from previous negotiations, Mugabe's Zanu PF, I argue, though seemingly a spent force in 2008 was negotiating from a position of advantage.

Conversely, what the public media – both print and electronic – did not lose sight of, was the existence of hidden power. The power behind the power that the GPA, and the Constitution of Zimbabwe were giving to the office of the Presidency – military power or power of the military. While debate on the dynamics of power sharing was raging on, the government controlled public media made a casual assault on civilian authority by introducing an editorial policy which became a mantra and slogan in Zimbabwe. Any reference to Robert Mugabe had to be preceded by his rank, title and mark of identity as "The Head of State and Government and Commander-in-Chief of Zimbabwe Defense Forces". The timing could not have been accidental. Strategically, the message that was being put across the length and breadth of Zimbabwe's political landscape and even beyond was that of civil-military relationship between Mugabe and the army. "Official pronouncements by military juntas about their 'reluctant' reaction" to recognising the appointment of Tsvangirai as Prime Minister, and refusal to salute him betrayed their intervention in the civil political process "as prime actors on their own corporate behalf" and on behalf of Mugabe (Decalo, 1986, 45). It became patently clear that Mugabe did not need the GPA to exercise his power and authority. Rather, he derived his power and authority from the military. Forthwith, the once silent voices of military power became vacuous, as loud and apparent as to be actively and directly involved in Zimbabwean politics.

Zanu PF and military relations in Zimbabwe

The online mission statement of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) clearly spells out that the roles of the ZNA include defending Zimbabwe's territorial

integrity, independence, sovereignty, socio-economic well being, vital interests and participation in peace keeping operations. However, the historical record of the army in post independence Zimbabwe, especially on the domestic scene has left scars and emotional wounds that may never disappear. For instance, the name 5 Brigade, with their distinct red berets is synonymous with the atrocities in Matabeleland and the Midlands provinces between 1983 and 1987. According to Meredith (2002), Mugabe was so explicit about the purpose of this army unit, which answered directly to his army commanders and by extension to himself in his role as Prime Minister. The 5 Brigade, Mugabe said, "was trained by the North Koreans because we wanted one arm of the army to have a political orientation which stems from our philosophy as Zanu-PF" (Meredith, 2002, p.62). Admittedly, Mugabe confessed to the self-seeking orientation and opportunistic utilization of military power in order to further and protect his personal nest and political power. 5 Brigade was Mugabe's baby. He literally owned it. If we take the observation that "[s]oldiers are trained to kill people, not to govern them; sensitivity and subtlety do not thrive in the barracks" (West Africa, 1981), we can confidently conclude that by birthing 5 Brigade, Mugabe had direct control of the means of coercion.

The blood-chilling warning issued by Mugabe during an address in Parliament in 1982, moved the military from the periphery into the political centre stage of Zimbabwe still in her infancy of political independence. He pronounced that "some of the measures we shall take are measures that will be extra-legal [...] an eye for an eye and an ear for an ear may not be adequate in our circumstances. We might very well demand two ears for one ear, and two eyes for one eye" (Hansard 1982). What began as a verbal warning turned out to be an officially sanctioned act of genocide and/or ethnic cleansing. While controversy surrounds the number of people who died during the dark period of civil unrest and the command operation code named "Operation Chinyavada" , lives were lost at the hands of the 5 Brigade, the CIO, Police Support Unit and Zanu-PF youth brigade in what came to be known as the Gukurahundi atrocities. Commenting on the Gukurahundi atrocities, Tsvangirai (2011, 99) recalls asking the question; "when would all this come to an end? Mugabe was a ruthless leader and I could see no signs of any soft spot". Through brute force and the power of the military in what can be delineated in Seegersean terms as "the worst year[s] on record for violence in postwar Zimbabwe" (Seegers 1986, 131), Joshua Nkomo, the alleged father of dissidents and leader of PF-Zapu, capitulated, and his political party was swallowed by Mugabe's Zanu-PF in what is known as the Unity Accord signed by Mugabe and Nkomo on 22 December, 1987. Gukurahundi was the first classic example of the sins of the paramount politician finding their way into the military and vice-versa,

and the gradual growth of Mugabe's personalist ambitions, leading to the militarisation of nation state under a civilian ruler.

Conclusion

Writing in 1963, close to two decades before Zimbabwe attained independence from British colonial rule, Fanon said,

> In these poor, under-developed countries, where the rule is the greatest wealth is surrounded by the greatest poverty, the army and the police constitute the pillars of the regime; an army and a police [are] (another rule which must not be forgotten)... the strength of the police force and the power of the army are proportionate to the stagnation in which the rest of the nation is sunk. (Fanon, 1963, p.138)

These words, though full of pessimism were 'prophetic' in that without necessarily mentioning names are fitting, succinct and precise delineation of the state of affairs in Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic landscape. Mugabe's thirty-seven year reign paradoxically did more harm than good to those that he supposedly governed. What we saw over the years was the gradual militarization of nation state under Mugabe's leadership. State security institutions were used to ensure and guarantee that Mugabe continued to hold on to power. The military openly entrenched itself in the day to day running of the state as evidenced by the numerous military man and women who continue to take over — albeit through official appointments - strategic and powerful positions in government ministries and institutions. The situation was worsened by Mugabe's refusal to name a successor to his throne. This raised speculations that the military aided Mugabe to become Zimbabwe's life president in the same way that Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire turned themselves into military dictators with the blessings and support of their armies. However, the same military that secured Mugabe's position for 37 years, paved his exit in what has come to be referred to as a coup that was not a coup in November of 2017.

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Time and Narrative in The Pará Amazon: the plebiscite in Pará through the perspective of the "Reader

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Abstract

The article aims to identify and understand the narrative configuration on the plebiscite in Pará from the "Reader Space", a section of letters published in the newspaper *Diário do Pará*. According to Paul Ricoeur's perspective, narrative configuration is related to the temporal character of human existence. We adopt Ricoeur's theoretical philosophy and its stages of *mimesis* in the pre-comprehension of the narrative and the technique of analysis of communication, proposed by Motta (2013), as configuration of intrigue. Looking at a sample of 16 reader letters, we observed that the developmental point of view, associated with emotional and political frameworks, structured the narratives on the creation of two States: Carajás and Tapajós.

Keywords

Initial considerations

The novelist Raymond Chandler, when talking about letters in his "Poem for Cissy", says that they will not die from waiting for a stranger to come along and carefully read them, page by page, slowly emerging from the haze of time and change; challenging over the years. As strangers, we set ourselves the goal of identifying and understanding the narrative configuration of the plebiscite in Pará from the "Reader Space" – a section of reader letters published regularly in the *Diário do Pará* until 2016. This newspaper is one of the main political-communication groups in the Amazon: the Amazon Brazil Network (ABN).

Narrative configuration is directly related to the temporal character of human existence. For Paul Ricoeur (2010, p. 93), "time becomes human in that is articulated in a narrative way, and the narrative reaches its plenary significance when it becomes a condition of temporal existence". From this perspective, the narrative carries within itself the mediating function of intrigue, called by the philosopher of concordance-discordance, capable of transforming events or individual incidents into a whole history.

The plebiscite in Pará (December 11, 2011) was held on the decision to create two separate States, Carajás and Tapajós, out of the existing State of Pará. Most of the voters – around 66% according to the Superior Electoral Court (SEC) – voted against the separation. Separatist initiatives in the Amazon go back almost 30 years as a response of the local society to the mesh programmed by the federal government. The reader letters thus become a privileged genre for the analysis of collectively constructed narratives about Pará and about the Amazon.

Ricoeur's hermeneutic circle was adopted as the guiding thread – not in a mechanistic perspective, but to understand human action – constituted by three stages of mimesis. Mimesis I imitates or represents action in order to pre-understand what human action is – its semantics, its symbolic, and its temporality. Mimesis II deals with the configurative dimension that transforms events into history. Mimesis III proposes an intersection between the world of text and the world of the reader.

In order to better understand the structural aspect of mimesis I we look at the characteristics of *Diário do Pará*, one of the major media newspapers in Amazonia, ranked 34th in the country in terms of circulation in 2015 according to the National Association of Newspapers (NAN) and is also directly linked to Senator Jader Barbalho of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (BDMP). To understand the symbolic aspect, we see the reader letters as part of a social response system that produces a broad, deferred and diffused social interactivity (Braga, 2006, p.

27) and which puts different narrative statements into perspective constructed through experience. To understand the temporal aspect, we look at the formation of the Carajás and Tapajós territories from the perspective of development in the Amazon. To understand mimesis II we use the narrative communication analysis movements (Motta, 2013). We extracted a sample of 16 letters published in the "Reader Space" in December, 2011, on the plebiscite in Pará. Lastly, mimesis III came from sharing a new experience through language.

Diário do Pará: Jader Barbalho's newspaper

Castro (2012, p. 180) ranks the ABN (responsible for producing the newspaper *Diário do Pará*) as one of the five most important political-communication groups in the Amazon. The others are: the Romulo Maiorana Organizations (RMO), responsible for rival newspaper *O Liberal*, also in the State of Pará; the Amazon Network and the Calderaro Network of Communication, known as *A Crítica* – both in the State of Amazonas; and the Jaime Câmara Organizations (JCO) based in the state of Tocantins.

Founded on August 22, 1982, *Diário do Pará* supported Jader Barbalho's campaign (BDMP) for State governor while rival newspaper *O Liberal* supported the competition. Veloso (2008, p. 82) explains that during the 1960s and 1970s, Jader had led the local opposition to the military regime as student leader, councilor and deputy of the then Brazilian Democratic Movement (BDM). He won the 1982 election as a fearless young politician in the face of dictatorial power, committed to the changes for which Pará so desperately wanted. *O Liberal* had consolidated itself by supporting the governments of situation and consequently did not offer resistance against the military governments.

Since its inception, *Diário do Pará* has been in direct competition with *O Liberal*. It is the "greatest case of journalistic rivalry in the history of Pará" (Pinto, 2007) and is not only a commercial and editorial rivalry: due to their political differences, one seeks to destroy the other. Still, according to Veloso (2008, p. 83), the RMO's response to Jader Barbalho's rise to power is shaped in the growing relationship with the former governor's political opponents. Some of these opponents started to use *O Liberal* to publicly attack Jader Barbalho. The compensation was made through official advertising. The longest lasting alliance between RMO and a Pará political group was from 1994 to 2006, with the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (BSDP) winning the State.

> There were 12 years of close relations between the toucans and the Maiorana, which was maintained by intense propaganda from the

> PBSD government in newspapers and radios broadcasters. (…) Competence, modernity and integrity were synonymous with how the PBSD ran its journalistic coverage of the RMO. (Veloso, 2008, p. 84)

For Veloso, the search for professionalization over the years has not sidetracked *Diário do Pará* from its main goal of being a campaign newspaper primarily aimed at defending the private interests of Jader Barbalho's family and supporters. Since 2002 an aggressive investment and marketing policy has been employed at *Diário do Pará* to help it gain a foothold in the local and political market "by building a polarized competitive situation [against *O Liberal*] which does not manage content quality, but does create its own local agendas" (Castro, 2012, p.182).

Diário do Pará has 29 branches inside Pará operating within Belém and a further 100 of the 144 municipalities in the State. With an average circulation rate of around 28,000 copies, it has become the ABN's main vehicle, "often used to publicize the political actions of its owners and their families, as well as clashes between the ABN group and the Romulo Maiorana Organizations" (Pinto, 2017, p. 130). For Aguiar (2016, p. 168), the ABN is a typical example of a family business "led by an influential politician who sees communication as more of a bargaining medium in local-regional power relations than as an activity-order".

According to Pinto (2013), *Diário do Pará* maintains its affiliation with the Checker Communication Institute (CCI) for the purpose of differentiating itself from *O Liberal,* which has not had a circulation audit performed since it was found to have presented fraudulent numbers to the Institute. However, the ABN's newspaper does not disclose any data determined by the VCI, only information from the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics (Bipos) – which measures audience, and not sales.

We can therefore see that the communication groups in Pará, ABN and RMO, maintain journalism through *Diário do Pará* and *O Liberal* as "true economic bastions of their political influence", using them "to blackmail companies and the public power to capitalize" (Castro, 2013, p. 441). Castro believes that Pará newspapers are a model of propaganda because they reach the middle class as well as the local elites. Therefore, they become an instrument of political bargaining based on the fact that they have more autonomy to decide what facts will be covered, as well as the approach of the narratives.

Reader letters: from social responses to narrative utterance

The reader letters had been a major part of the *Diário do Pará* until August 26, 2016, when the newspaper restructured itself and adhered to a new way of organizing content. Entitled "Reader Space", the letter section was published daily on the top half of page A2. The bottom half of that same page was dedicated to an opinion column. There was an average of four reader letters published per edition, plus a photograph under the title "City Scenes".

There were an address, e-mail and telephone number for contact purposes as well as instructions to write objective messages up to 10 lines long, with or without photos, and were to include with name, full address and telephone. For printing accusations and/or reports, *Diário do Pará* reserved the right to publish full or abridged submissions, as well as to exonerate itself from liability in case of legal issues.

The reader letters are classified as a subgenre of the letter to the editor genre since the editor is the one who receives the letters and is also responsible for editing and publishing them. We understand genres not only as journalistic specialization, but also as a typical form of utterance. Bakhtin (2016, p. 52) defines genres as typical situations of discursive communication, that is, they correspond to some typical contracts of the meanings of words with concrete reality in typical circumstances; it is an utterance, not a language.

For Corrêa (2014, page 136), reader letters are absent from immediate contact between the sender and the receiver and have the ability to articulate facts that do not coincide with their moment of hatching, getting points of view from the other side of the journalistic stream: from the receiver, from the collectivity. Corrêa states that reader participation through letters is passive, abstract and indirect. She characterizes reader letters as "a democratic space where the reader can contribute even though that contribution is quite restricted" (Corrêa, 2014, p. 139). She also considers that what is most important for readers is the manifestation itself, the expression or the outburst expressed in the letter. She believes readers write letters to newspapers for the satisfaction of participating.

In an interactive perspective, Braga (2006, p. 133) explains that reader letters are a space in which the reader and the journalist can compare perspectives about social events where readers speak with the newspaper, in the newspaper, and eventually about the newspaper. Braga states that reader letters are an example of what he calls a social response system – a system of deferred and diffused circulation (among people, groups, and institutions) that impregnates and partially directs culture through meanings initially produced by the media.

> Once completed, the more direct "economic" (or commercial) procedural process, the "make it happen" process, the products are

> not just "consumed" (in the sense of "used and spent"). On the contrary, propositions "circulate", they are clearly worked on, manipulated, and reinserted into more diverse social contexts. (…) The system of interactional circulation (…) is not only "choosing and welcoming" according to previous cultural criteria but it also generates dynamic social work: answers. (Braga, 2006, p. 28)

Braga explains that the interactivity of the reader letters is revealed when these readers write to the newspaper and react to some position that has touched them as an individual or as part of a group, either positively or negatively. "There is therefore a purpose for the newspaper to express itself and the public shares that" (BRAGA, 2006, p. 145). The poles in interaction are subject interlocutors subscribed to a situational context. These poles are also subjects in experience that affect and are affected by co-presence and symbolic mediation (França, 2006, p. 84). The researcher reinforces that experience in the world does not come without references, that is, it is based on prior knowledge – what Goffman (2012, p. 34) calls a framework: the elaboration of situations according to the principles of organization that govern social events and subjective involvement in them; the basic elements that can be identified; the organization of experience.

Bakhtin (2016, p. 35) says that alternation between the interlocutor subjects is what characterizes utterance as the unit of discursive communication. He believes that the criterion of conclusiveness of the utterance is the possibility of responding to it, or in more precise and broad terms, of occupying a responsive position in relation to it. The totality of the utterance is determined by the comprehensiveness and interpretation of the discursive intention or the will to produce meaning on the part of the interlocutors.

> Every utterance is a link in the chain of discursive communication. It is the active position of the speaker in that or that field of the object and meaning. That is why each utterance is characterized, first and foremost, by certain semantic-object content. (Bakhtin, 2016, p. 46)

He also believes that the interlocutor's individual discursive experience forms and develops in constant and continuous interaction with the individual utterances of others. It is a slightly creative process of assimilation with varying degrees of otherness, assimilability, imperceptibility and relevance of the words of others. The speakers assimilate, re-elaborate and/or re-emphasize other utterances. This means that every utterance is a response to previous ones: it rejects them, confirms them, completes them, draws upon them, implies them as known, and in a way takes them into account.

We understand, therefore, that the reader letters bear in themselves narrative utterances which relate things to each other in an order and perspective,

in a logical and chronological process (Motta, 2013, p. 89). For the author, the narratives are not constructed naively, but, they are configured as an argumentative attitude; a device of persuasive, seductive and engaging language to obtain certain effects of meaning. In France (2006, p. 61), narratives represent sense-ordering practices; concrete interventions in specific contexts developed by subjects – subjects which are inserted into or are part of a broader process: the communicative processes.

Plebiscite in Pará: in search of the Amazon's development

According to the divisional proposals, Carajás would be formed by 39 municipalities from the south and southeast of Pará, these municipalities occupy 24% of the State area. Tapajós would be formed of 27 municipalities from the west of Pará[1], equivalent to 59% of State area. That would leave 78 municipalities for Pará – 17% of the current State area (Braga, 2015, p. 46). The public referendum, known as the plebiscite in Pará, was authorized by legislative acts 136 and 137/2011 and is the first attempt at territorial reshaping since the establishment of the 1988 Constitution. Before that time, the creation or dissolution of new Brazilian states was the prerogative of the Union.

The new territories of Carajás and Tapajós, although not constituted as federal units, represent the division of the Amazon into sub regional units. Becker (1996, p. 97) explains that this division results from the conflict between the technical-political framework of large networks and territories imposed by the State and the sociopolitical network built on the living space of social groups that settled on the Amazon border, also defining its territories.

According to Dutra (1999, p. 115), the demand for political and administrative autonomy for Carajás and Tapajós is often placed on the central power, represented by the government of Pará, for neglecting the municipalities of Pará – mainly the ones farther out from Belém. This negligence refers to the state of poverty and "backwardness" of the underdevelopment which the interior of Pará was subjected to by "'successive Pará governments' that did not allow the region to fulfill its destiny, something that most certainly should happen, an encounter with history which is reluctant to materialize" (Dutra, 1999, p. 125).

We can see that development is associated to what Becker (2001, p. 135) calls a border economy, which defines progress in the Amazon as synonymous with

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[1] In Dutra's words (1999, p. 12), "the traditional Lower Amazonas of Pará comprises the zone that goes from Almeirim to the limits with the State of Amazonas, also covering the municipalities existing in the channel of the Tapajós river. The so-called west of Pará extends to include newly created municipalities, under the influence of the Transamazon and Santarém-Cuiabá highways, outside, therefore, of the fluvial axis that directed the historical colonization".

infinite economic growth and prosperity from the exploitation of natural resources perceived as infinite. One of the main consequences of the border economy is the drastic change of time and space. The relations that took place in the Amazon by river which used to take days and/or months were accounted for in hours.

In the Amazon, different from capital cities, the interior refers to the rural world, although it includes towns and villages. For Paes Loureiro (1995, p. 56), the interior is the place where the tensions in society grow, where human groups are dispersed throughout large spaces and where they are immersed in a vague idea of infinity, more in frozen time than in a contemporary space. Dutra (1999, p. 225) affirms that there is a feeling of inferiority among the elites of the Pará interior in relation to Belém, and overcoming this inferiority goes through the territorial division and, consequently, the recognition of its own autonomy.

Since the Amazon was constituted under the sovereignty of the Portuguese crown, isolated not only from other Brazilian urban centers but also from Latin America, the idea that the Amazonian practices were old, folk and primitive was consolidated. Paes Loureiro (1995, p. 30) explains that the distance in space came to be understood as distance in time: the isolation that covered the Amazon with the mantle of mystery, distance and timelessness, which didn't allow it from exchanging its cultural assets contributed towards its folklore and primitivist vision.

In order to break from the idea of backwardness, the Carajás and Tapajós elites seek to demonstrate that the social problems in the interior can only be solved by establishing a local, regional power; a new central power with characteristics of proximity and belonging (Dutra, 1999, p. 116). Among the main motivations and interests behind the territorial division of Pará is developmentalism which, according to Andrade (2011, p. 25), needs to decentralize public resources and to more consistently stimulate underdeveloped territories that have been neglected by public power. This discourse, in addition to the large territorial dimensions of the States, is used in most projects looking to create new territorial units in the Amazon.

The economic component becomes an important factor in justifying the creation of the states of Carajás and Tapajós. Dutra (1999, p. 226) says that it is not a coincidence that political and business groups from southern Pará encourage the debate for the autonomy of Carajás, which houses the most expressive investments among the so-called large-scale projects[2], concentrated around the reality and meaning of the Carajás Great Project (CGP)[3].

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[2] Becker (1996, p. 63) explains that large-scale projects, also called projects of great impact, are those sponsored and/or financed largely by the State, whose investment is equivalent to or greater than one billion dollars. Moreover, large-scale projects are characterized by the giant scale of construction, the mobilization of capital and labor; by the isolation, since they are implanted, generally, as an enclave – which dissociates them from local forces; by connecting to larger, planetary-scale economic systems of

In fact, the south of Pará has been economically prominent since the mid-nineteenth century; it was a latecomer to the rubber boom. Schmink and Wood (2012, p. 195) explain that natural latex was mined in the area, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that rubber tappers founded villages on the shores of Tocantins and along the Araguaia and Xingu rivers. When the rubber boom came to an end, Brazilian nuts became the main export from the south of Pará. In the beginning of the twentieth century, merchants from Marabá (which applied to be the capital of Carajás) pressured the State government for political autonomy.

Tapajós (its capital city would have been Santarém) got its name from the river with the same name, "the geophysical reference of a space considered culturally distant by groups from a wide strip of territory that the [pro-creation of the state] movement hopes will become autonomous" (Dutra, 1999, p. 151). Since the 1980s, investments in mineral extraction have been consolidated in the port of Trombetas, Oriximiná, where a conglomerate of national and foreign companies called Rio do Norte Mining extracts bauxite (Dutra, 1999, p. 227).

The author lists several reasons for creating the State of Tapajós, which see economic development as a chance for the west of Pará to achieve autonomy. One example is the Tapajós State Economic Feasibility Study, published in 1996, which argues that the territorial separation of the State of Pará is the only way to strengthen the economic potential of Tapajós by promoting coffee production in the industrial sector and overcoming energy shortages and increasing transportation, particularly with the completion of the 163 National Road works known as the Santarém-Cuiabá highway; one of the major highways that runs through the Mid-West of Brazil.

Analysis of narrative communication

So far, Ricoeur's (2010) theory of time and narrative has helped us to observe the pre-understanding of the world of action. These are general characterizations for identifying – structural, semantic and temporally – the capacity and the need for the action to be narrated. In order to observe the symbolic mediations of action, that is, the agency of facts and the transformation of

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which they are part; and by the presence of spontaneous urban centers alongside the planned ones, which is the expression of skilled and unskilled workforce segmentation.
[3] Proposed by the then Vale do Rio Doce Company (VRDC) – today, Vale A/S – and endorsed by the State, the CGP, or "Carajazão", aimed to build a gigantic export corridor in the North of the Country, due to the exhaustion and the high cost of exploring the iron deposits in Minas Gerais, as well as the need to diversify production (BECKER, 1996, p. 67). Three large-scale projects are part of the CGP: the Carajás Railroad and the Tucuruí Hydroelectric, in Pará, and the Ponta de Madeira Port, in Maranhão (MATTOS, 1996, p. 61).

individual incidents into an entire history, we turn to the analysis of narrative communication since Ricoeur's perspective is situated on the philosophical plane.

The analysis of narrative communication is "a hermeneutic technique, a technique of interpretation of the discourses about a reality constructed of concrete and abstract phenomena" (Motta, 2013, p. 124). By this definition, discourses acquire the instance of narrative when they are observed as argumentative devices that produces meaning, and when structured in the form of reports, obeys the interests of the narrator (individual or institutional) in a direct relationship with the interlocutor/recipient/audience.

Motta (2013) proposes a methodology of critical analysis of the processes of narrative communication to show the plans of the story and the expression. The author proposes a phenomenological analysis of the narrative based on seven movements: 1) understanding of intrigue as a synthesis of the heterogeneous; 2) understanding the logic of the narrative paradigm; 3) emergence of new episodes; 4) revealing dramatic conflict; 5) character: metamorphosis from person to persona; 6) argumentative strategies; and 7) metanarratives. We did not analyze all the movements in all the selected letters, instead we favored those that seemed more evident, that revealed more within the narrative. We were looking to sew together a seemingly fragmented narrative, constructed by several voices, which painted a historical picture that occurred in real life and then given new meaning through the eyes of the newspaper's narrator-readers.

"Against the division of the papa-chibé nation"

The title of the letter uses a popular expression from the State of Pará which has a regionalist meaning: "papa-chibé". This expression refers to the people of Pará (a mix of American Indian and European ancestry) which has a close relationship with flour, one of the most consumed foods in the State, as well as other derivatives of cassava which are used to make most of the typical dishes of the region.

Along with that colloquial and regional expression, the narrator uses the word *nation* and calls the inhabitants of the State, *papa-chibé nation*. We can see the narrator's emotional attachment to the expression "nation", as well as the hyperbolic meaning present in the attempt to equate a federative unit to the entire nation. To emphasize the importance of the plebiscite and to value the main drama of the narrative, the narrator uses the expression "defining the future of the nation of Pará". By placing the division of the State as a defining mark for the future, we see how it engages the reader in the main drama.

The narrator refers to some people in the narrative of the letter. The first of them consists of himself, who possesses an active stance in the fabric of intrigue, since he positions himself as a Pará person by using the expression "as good Pará person", making it clear that it is against the division of the State. The other personas are evoked in a close, informal and even affectionate way, like the expression "sons of the land" which the author uses to name the Pará native. Another two personas typified in the Amazonian imaginary, also evoked by the narrator, are the amazed tourist and the welcoming Pará person, portrayed in the term "hospitable people".

The narrator refers to the plebiscite as a "party of democracy". Through the figure of language of comparison, he evokes positive meanings around the word party, which refers to an event in which people have fun and socialize. Therefore, even though he is against the division, he indicates that having a public vote to decide the issue is a positive solution.

As a convincing strategy, the narrator alternates between the aesthetic effects of meaning and effects of reality. We can see this alternativity in the excerpt "I would not like to see our State divided *by resentments*", in which he appeals to the emotion of the reader, and then in the excerpt:

> I do not believe that the idea of division is the best solution, after all, if it were, other states that created by law would already be self-sufficient, and much smaller ones like Sergipe, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraiba and Alagoas would be more well-developed than ours. (Diário do Pará, 2011)

We can also see the appeal to the rationality of the reader through the use of comparison as a resource, demonstrating the failure of other similar initiatives.

"To separate or not to separate, that is the question!"

Here the narrator claims to seek an independent position through his statement "I prefer not to manifest a position, although I already have a definite position". However, in his narrative construction, he gives clear clues to his own positioning in relation to the division of the State, including his geographical location.

By opting to use the verb *cut* in place of the verb *divide* when referring to the possible division of the State of Pará, the narrator resorts to the drama that the expression evokes, since *cut* means to split in several pieces – and whoever does it, in general, does not do it in a peaceful way. As action, there is an allusion to violence; after all, it is hard to imagine cutting something affectionately. The expression, therefore, is intrinsically covered in a negative aura. On the other hand, the verb *divide* has ambivalence: when something is divided, something is lost, but

also shared. However, when he chooses *cut* over *divide*, the narrator is making a clear position, he even explicitly States that he does not intend to position himself.

The narrator ends the narrative by affirming that he is proud of *this land* and that he understands the difficulties of those who live in Santarem and Marabá. Finally, he appeals directly to the readers, asking for them to take time to think when making a decision. It is clear that he does not reside in either of the two cities mentioned. By stating he understands the difficulties of those who live in those regions, he is choosing an empathic approach as a strategy to reaching out to readers who live in one of the two cities and who might be in favor of the division of the state.

The request for calmness comes across almost as a warning or threat, a strategy that seeks to cause an aesthetic effect of meaning and to instill fear in the reader. After all, the lack of calmness when making decisions can lead to negative results. It is this possibility of negatively affecting the future, chosen in the absence of the serenity of the decision, which the narrator uses as a way of instilling fear.

Debate helps to clarify (one)

In this narrative we see that the narrator places himself in a position of superiority in relation to other plebiscite voters. He does so by taking on the role of counselor, the one who warns and guides towards a path. He also places himself in a position of confrontation, opposed to people of the political class who are responsible for managing the State of Pará and its municipalities, and he directs other readers to do the same: "we shall move forward with vigor, with the passion which ignites us now. On the other hand, we shall write down their 'little names' so that we do not fool ourselves in the next elections". The narrative has an imperative tone to it and produces a point of tension between the people and the political class, which are placed on opposite sides of the conflict.

Debate helps to clarify (two)

Here we can see content like the previous one where politicians assume the persona of the villain, being portrayed as managers "without sources" and in love with power. The people assume the persona of the hero who suffers the adversities that arise from the actions of politicians. The narrator does not use data or strategies that produce effects of reality; nevertheless, he appeals to the emotion of the reader when acting empathetic to the demands of the State.

For a capital in the center of Pará

The narrator of this letter also places himself in a position of superiority over the rest of the population by using the expression "the less-enlightened society". He marks his own position as knowledgeable within the fabric of intrigue, that is, as one who sees the reasons why conflict occurs. The strategy of hero (people) and villain (municipal management) is also used. The narrator explains that is against the division of the State of Pará and uses strategies that appeal to the emotions of readers in order to justify his point of view. He uses terms that evoke empathy but contradicts the position of superiority at the beginning of the narrative by calling other voters *brothers*.

We realize that the narrator is defining people as passive subjects to their own history by saying that "they do not know how to vote, they get caught up in the speeches of the political class". He thus builds a persona that reinforces a figure present in the Amazonian imaginary of the colonial period which Gondim (2007, p. 60) calls "good savage". This persona applied mainly to indigenous people who were portrayed as being incapable of conferring rationality and meaning to their own lives (COSTA, 2011).

Yes, divide the State!

This narrative, as the title suggests, is structured in defense of the division of the state of Pará. Utterances that appeal to the emotion of readers are used to create meaningful effects, especially through the metaphor that the capital Belém is a leech of *future* States, which the narrator described as wanting to "get rid of that parasite". Another convincing strategy is to talk about division as a future certainty. The narrative utterance treats the possible States of Carajás and Tapajós as if they already exist, in this way it does not work with uncertainty, putting the argument beforehand on the winning side.

Who will prosper in the division?

Although short in length, this narrative exposes some central elements within the great narrative woven around the division of Pará. Its main objective is to highlight and reveal the characters in the division. *Farmers, politicians and businessmen* are personified as villains who will take advantage of a possible territorial division and, at the same time, it describes the people as the heroes (but not in a positive meaning); the hero in the tragedy is the one who suffers from the actions of the villains.

Managing is the solution

Like in the previous letter, the narrator uses the government and the political class as antagonists of society. By using the expression *separatists*, even using it as a vocative directly describing the "separatists", the narrator categorizes and frames a type of character within the narrative, and at the same time defines his position as a non-separatist. He pits the arguments of the separatists against the arguments that aim to produce effects of the real. He does this by alluding to newspaper articles and to actions present in real life, outside of the text. While these strategies are unfolding in the narrative, the narrator uses the expression *separatists* pejoratively several times, emphasizing that they must "search for corruption" before deciding to separate the State.

So, we realize that the letter is directed to a specific audience because it dialogues directly with whomever is in favor of the division of Pará, and not with all the readers. The narrator seeks to convince through the strategy of argumentative opposition.

My vote is for the division of Pará

This narrative, which favors the division, uses a conciliatory tone in which the narrator, who actually claims to be from Belém, suggests that readers put themselves in the shoes of those who liver far from the capital. Although not directly mentioning the state government, the narrator suggests that investments in health and education do not reach the population on the outskirts of the capital Belém so, as in other narratives, it also describes public management as an antagonist towards the interests of society – an argument often used to support territorial division.

Plebiscite: all of Pará in one day of decision (two)

From the onset, this narrative shows the clear dissatisfaction of the narrator when he begins his construction of utterances with the word *unfortunately*. The narrator criticizes the polarization created between the political fronts that are for and against the division of Pará which he believes did not further the debate on the issue. The argumentative strategy he uses is to criticize and then point out alternatives for the future of the State. We thus perceive a rationalization of the narrative which seeks to produce effects of reality, alternating between rational and emotional arguments in order to convince the reader.

The narrator also uses a comparison when he states the need to equate the development of Pará with that of other States, appealing to the argument of progress and integration. We also noticed a dramatic effect used by the narrator in

his choice of the word *hostage* to explain the situation of Pará in relation to the other States of Brazil.

Will regions need to say no and no?

Published after the plebiscite had already been done, this is perhaps the one letter that most antagonizes the government and the politicians in campaigns against the division of the State. One difference between this narrative and the others is that the narrator uses the names of the political authorities involved and seeks to dialogue with them; he reports directly to these interlocutors, as we can see in the excerpt: "The time has come for politicians responsible for the No campaign (…) to put into practice…".

The narrator also directs his narrative to the population who chose not to vote: "To these voters and those who unfortunately did not vote, here is my proposal…" Therefore, the narrator is addressing at least two different interlocutors. He likewise assumes a tone of dissatisfaction that runs through his entire narrative and which goes through both the level of abstention at the polls and the disregard that he claims for the public management of the State of Pará. The narrator ends with a threatening tone directed towards politicians who, in his eyes, are figures that are omitted in the narrative and who therefore assume the persona of villain. To the people, he attributes the power to overcome the typified person of the villain by alternatives that he suggests in the own narrative.

Final considerations

To think or reflect on the narrative from Ricoeur's theoretical position is not an easy task considering that his reflections are not reduced to mechanistic models of understanding the narrative, but to the action itself. In other words, people are not things and we must think about acting or human action. Reflecting on the stages of mimesis, however, allows us to observe the different aspects of the narratives on the plebiscite in Pará constructed in the reader letters in the newspaper *Diário do Pará*. We perceive that the interlocutors, indeed, use life experience; they make frameworks and then construct the narrative utterance. This is also true for the collectively built cosmovision from meanings put into circulation by the media. It is no coincidence that the debates broadcast on ABN TV between the political parties who are for and against the division of Pará were mentioned in the narratives.

By choosing a framework, and selecting voices and strategies for structuring utterances, readers seek to convince or lead the audience toward the intended

meaning which is never impartial or disinterested. It reflects a place of speech; their own voice and action in the world of life where these actions take place. By analyzing narrative communication, we seek to reach the intended meanings of readers and find the clues left between the lines of the narrative utterances. This course was based on a guide which consisted of an adaptation of the movements indicated by Motta (2013), inspired by Ricoeur's theory of interpretation and understanding of intrigue. By analyzing letters from different readers, we perceive a fragmented narrative that, despite having as common theme, brought up the story of each reader, their own experiences, approaches and strategies.

About the plebiscite in Pará: we observed the articulation of emotional, political and developmental frameworks. The interlocutors justified the need of creating the States of Carajás and Tapajós so that the interior of Pará could also become developed, an area engulfed by the capital, Belém. At no time, however, they did mention the possibility that Belém might not be as developed as one might think. Leaning on the emotional perspective that Pará would be diminished or shredded was a strategy to convince voters to vote against the division. The same emotional aspect was revealed when, after the division was rejected, the narrator promised revenge in the 2012 and 2014 elections by not voting for the candidates who declared to be against the division.

The political framework was perceived when the interlocutors pointed out the names of political actors who would benefit from the creation of Carajás and Tapajós. Hiding Jader Barbalho's name in the reader letters can reveal intent on the part of the edition since the relation between the mass media and the political agents in the Pará Amazon is very thin. Likewise, when the State government (BSDP) was identified as a headsman from the interior of Pará, it may have been a strategy by the newspaper to attack its political rival. The public vote, in general, was treated as a complement of legislation and that is why it needed the articulation of political agents.

Regardless, there needs to be further studies on the reader letters in the field of communication given the limited literature on the subject. The *Diário do Pará* stopped publishing the "Reader Space" section in 2016, leaving us with the question: would the Internet be the only possible space for the redirection of meanings constructed from the collective experience? If so, it is scary since cyberspace combines both the democratization of information and intolerance and hatred of opposing positions. In the Amazon, particularly, the internet is not even accessible to a large portion of the population, which makes the scenario even more critical. If it is not possible to combine the same and the different in the same space, even in the space of a newspaper; if it is no longer possible to provide

encounters, confrontations, adjustments; if social voices produce only echoes, instead of dialogues, then Communication loses its reason for existing.

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Journalism, memory and testimony: an analysis of the present time

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Abstract

The purpose of the article is to relate journalism and memory, focused on the biggest bond between them: testimony. The analysis is helped, methodologically, by a survey with 103 journalists from Rio de Janeiro, conducted during the first semester of 2017, about their occupation's icons. The result is interpreted by the theoretical support of memory researchers, such as Barbie Zelizer, Andreas Huyssen, Maurice Halbwachs and Philippe Joutard. The testimony issue is studied in two dimensions: testimony as a historical production tool in journalism and the journalists' testimony about themselves, in an accelerated time that privileges present over past or future.

Keywords

Introduction

Nowadays, journalism is intensively linked to the temporal dynamics of the internet, in which there is great information flow. In the logic of accelerated, ephemeral and disposable length, there are limited space and investment in long term for the interpretation of phenomena and groups over time. It happens even when it comes to the journalists' interpretation about themselves. Common memory recovery is difficult, because we live in the dissolution of real present in real time, as Candau (1998) called it.

The society covers up the time considering its particular characteristics (length, flow and transition), and everything is reduced to the instant. According to Candau (1998), real present is complex, temporal, cyclic, and continuous, it has density and is made by heritages and projects. In other words, it is located between past and future, in the length. On the other hand, real time is characterized by its simplicity and temporality. It does not have density, and it is acronychal. Then, it does not belong to a chronological order—before and after, for instance. It is present, its own horizon, and it closures in the instants succession. Its distinction engages the interrupted live time, the instant and the disposable ephemeral.

Real time focuses in the instant itself; the important things are over, without before or after. The tight instants interrupt the temporality. Memory is shaped for consumption, in products of easy absorption and also disposable ones, like series, movies, retro objects. "The real present dissolution in real time translates the journey from a concrete and intimate time experience to an abstract, anonymous and disembodied temporal category[1]" (Candau, 1998, p. 94).

The reaction to every new communicational device is to believe in the prompt overcoming of language and previous tools. It is like length is in replication potential, which is also transitory. Journalism suffers due to the ephemerality in its production method. It is continuously in real time, both in its coverage and in its thinking about itself in real time, but not in real present, inserted in length. In simplistic and superficial coverages, journalists seem to act like controllers of other people's testimony, and they do not take over the position as a witness of History integrally, although they call themselves as such. Even when it is required the journalists think in themselves, in their own past and future, it is difficult to them to replace themselves from the present and tell the story of their group.

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[1] Free translation: "A dissolução do presente real no tempo real traduz a passagem de uma experiência concreta e íntima do tempo a uma categoria temporal abstrata, anônima e desencarnada".

Considering these points as the analytical center and intending to use them in an empirical investigation (still at an early stage), we focus here on the comprehension if the journalists have long-lasting references in their memory as a group. A few results are showed mainly based on the theoretical memory and testimony relation about what we call the journalists' testimony about themselves.

Therefore, this text has three parts. The first one briefly exhibits the search results. In the sequence, we theoretically debate essential issues to think about journalism and memory relation, in order to, at last, set bonds and connections between the journalists' long-term memory based on their profession's icons, trying to understand the meaning of this selection.

Talking about themselves

Between March and April, 2017, 103 journalists from Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, were invited to answer a questionnaire[2]. The questions were sent by e-mail, and they intended to map the interviewee's profile, asking about their name, age, class, university, company where they currently work (if they do), and if they have worked for communication means (which and how long). Afterwards, the interviewees were asked to point out a journalist considered by themselves an occupation icon, and why[3]. The only pre-condition to be able to answer the questionnaire was to have major in journalism.

Among the interviewees, 49.5% are women, and 50.5% men. The majority is between 30 and 40 years old (52.4%). The other ones are between 40 and 50 years old (22.3%), 20 and 30 years old (11.7%), or over 60 (2.9%). The questions about class agree with the previous question, about the professionals' age on the market today, massively dominated by young adults.

Of all, 86.4% are currently on the market, except 10.9% that are unemployed, or freelancers, and 2.9% did not answer the question. Almost all (99%) have worked for a journalistic company, the majority for less than five years (35%). The other ones have worked for a journalistic company from 10 to 20 years (28.2%), from five to 10 years (13.6%), from 20 to 30 years (9.7%), for more than 30 years (1%), and 12.3% did not mention the time. The ones that answered they are working, 48% are current employees of communication means (websites, printed newspapers, magazines, TV channels), and 35% work for press offices or

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[2] The investigation is part of Cristine Gerk's doctoring project. The next step is to interview the referred journalists as occupation's icons, in order to understand their opinions about the occupation values that are still the same and the ones that change.

[3] The answers about the choice reasons weren't analyzed yet. They will be examined based on qualitative interpretation charts.

institutional communication sector. It demonstrates that the sample reflects the opinion of professionals in the field.

On the matter of who could be considered an occupation's icon, 77 professionals were cited, live and deceased. Most of the survey (8.7%) said the interviewees do not have icons. Among the most commonly cited journalists, there are Caco Barcellos (7.7%), Ricardo Boechat (4.8%), Elio Gaspari (4.8%), Eliane Brum (4.8%), Glória Maria (3.8%), and Leslie Leitão (3.8%). All of them are on the market at this moment, in mainstream media. Barcellos is currently responsible for Profissão Repórter program, on TV Globo; Boechat is an anchor on the news and radio programs on Rede Bandeirantes; Gaspari contributes for newspapers as *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*; Brum writes articles for newspapers as *El País* and *The Guardian*; and Glória Maria is a host of TV Globo programs, where Leitão also works, as a producer.

The search for references we called in the questionnaire occupation's icons, but also denominated contemporary journalists' memorable character-icons, had the purpose to understand how far symbols and symbolizations can emerge for the professionals, materializing these representations in a personalist synthesis about what a journalist is. That way, these cited journalists could be near or far from time and occupation, a memory-character part or not of the routine of the professionals that answered the questionnaire.

Among 103 professionals, there are 77 names referred as icons. It means that, first of all, there is no consensus about characters-icons for the group of interviewees, at the moment of the investigation. This interpretation is based on the fact that almost 10% of the interviewees said they have neither a model nor an example for the occupation. Secondly, there is the fact the most commonly cited journalists were in evidence at the time of data collection, from present, on mainstream media. It indicates that the sample does not keep contact to the past, or to the historical tradition of the occupation. This is especially important when it comes to a historical period, in which it is complicated to project the future. Then, we imagine that it is difficult to interact with the past. We appeal to the past when we make plans or analyses about mistakes and successes, in order to trace tracks. Without the past, it is difficult to have the future. And vice versa.

Collective memory

In order to understand these data and their meaning, it is important to turn to essential contributions from one of the main expert on memory, Maurice Halbwachs (1990), who created the sociology of memory and the concept of

collective memory, which is always seen as shared (even if only merely because the language uses). Due to Halbwachs, the comprehension that the subjects are only capable of remembering because they connect themselves to groups was disseminated. The more they are affected by the others, the greater is their ability to remember. Many times, an interpellation is what activates somebody else's memory, in present. To answer a question or images, we replace ourselves in the other one's point of view, or the group's. In other words, memory tends to dissipate when we go away from the group to which it was related.

The more isolated the journalists feel among each other, not engaged in a group, the weaker and more disperse is the construction of a collective memory, or its sharing. The group identity sense is affected if the professional group's sense is not such clear, or if the idea that anyone with a camera in hands or in media on the internet can be called a journalist is disseminated. Moreover, since there has been a decrease in formal jobs, the portion of the population that perform this activity for a living has reduced, as well as meeting points, professional meetings, opportunities to share memories and projects. If there is no long-term present, it seems the group's common past is also vanished, in an absence of characters that synthetize the historical values of their own occupation.

> To make our memory uses other ones' memory, it is not enough they exhibit their testimonies: it is also necessary the memory agrees with their memory, besides the existence of many points of contact between them, so that the remembrance is reconstructed on a common basis[4] (Halbwachs, 1990, p. 39).

In accordance to the author, as a reconstruction, memory does not fix itself in an experience conservation, but in new constructions through a reference material. These groups of references of a certain collective memory mobilized by the subject to remember are called by Halbwachs (1990) social frameworks of memory, and they are sustained on language, time and space. Individual memory is exclusive according with the point of view related to the collective memory. The groups undergo the time differently, in various lengths.

Professional memory can be understood as a collective memory, which also incorporates experiences of groups that do not exist anymore. A lot of what could be seen as past is present nowadays in habits, in a review process. Also, it is important a more holistic perspective. There is no pure group: the groups' collective

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[4] Free translation: "Para que a nossa memória se aproveite da memória dos outros, não basta que estes nos apresentem seus testemunhos: também é preciso que ela não tenha deixado de concordar com as memórias deles e que existam muitos pontos de contato entre uma e outras para que a lembrança que nos fazem recordar venha a ser reconstruída sobre uma base comum" (HALBWACHS, 1990, p. 39).

memories cross each other. Memory is always a dispute and it is more linked to the present than to the past, i.e., to how we see the past, in multiple temporalities.

Memory is alive, dynamics, and unique in each remembrance. In order to be activated, often it is necessary the memory is activated in groups that have "the desire of memory", as said by Namer (1987). An example of a group that uses this intention is the family, which appreciate stories, pictures, objects. The choice of icons from present by the journalists examined points out the lack of interest in going deeper in the occupation memory, through practices that stimulate the rescue of a link to a common past, or the reinterpretation of this past. Memory is what constitutes somebody as a subject, and it is always a narrative. Silence interferes in this constitution.

Testimony

For studying journalism memory and how journalism configures and reconfigures itself, an analysis that embraces the dimension of testimony is essential[5]. Since the social networks and mobile internet, many predictions are made about the future of journalism occupation, but it is hard to make a projection without understanding the actual value of an identity group's past, in the heat of the transformations, and without studying the testimony of the ones that keep track on History changes. The testimony issue needs to be studied in two dimensions: the testimony as a historical production tool in journalism, and the journalists' testimony about themselves.

Nevertheless, the field of testimony or of the narratives has been neglected in investigations about journalism, as Resende (2006) points out. The author raises awareness of the importance the studies address the many ways of narrating the world, since the world compounds and recompounds sociabilities, in addition to be a collective representation. Moreover, Resende (2006) says journalism, mainly when it comes to its basics functions—to inform—, makes a small contribution to narratives construction, in the widest sense of the word. On the contrary, journalism produces stunted reports, since it becomes an objectiveness slave, without the striking presence of a narrator that makes its own mark and its own interpretation about the occurrences. To go deeper in this phenomenon comprehension, it is necessary to see narrative as a problem.

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[5] Concerning on testimony, see: Vaz; Santos; Andrade, 2014.

Expressing similar concern, journalists[6] have warned of the risks involved in the practice, more often every day, of producing articles based just on reports sent by readers through social networks, such as WhatsApp. The texts followed by pictures and videos have better chances to become articles, especially by people that complain abuse of public power or violence as victims. A lot of articles are basically reproductions of the reader's message plus a competent authority's answer, without polyphony or analysis of the past and future of the situation. The truth of each experience, transmuted into seen, captured and shared images, produces a speech that is disconnected from any reference. Therefore, this speech has on itself exacerbated sense of truth.

Through videos and images sent by readers and disseminated on journalistic pages, there is the reinforcement of what we call witness effect, which covers the public's perception as a probable informant, since they are in what is reported. Then, the public identifies the power to capture the image and to transmit it as a reliable information. It is important to be aware this witnesses' production is covered up with sense of truth, considering they have images to prove it. Videos and pictures are unquestionable evidences, but there are subjective productions, angles and perspectives.

The distance between experience and representation is reduced, in order to create certain shared-time illusion. It is a communicational time that exploits especially the moment now, from the origin to death (extended present). In the shared now, via communicational devices, the idea of the other one and I sharing the same time and, because of that, living the same life is created. Ultrapresent communication time creates shared-time illusion.

The compulsion for speaking without a profound meaning, tight here and now, drains the ability of categorize and evolve creatively. Hardly, there are time and investment in the content production that specifies when the job is summarized in report management. The testimony only has a wider sense if it is understood with regard to the group it is part of, assuming an event that was collectively experienced and, then, dependent on the context of the individual and the group they are part of. The remembrance is not closed in itself. As Halbwachs (1990, p. 23) says, "nobody can truly remember, but in society[7]." Every individual memory is a point of view about a collective memory, and this point of view changes according with the held position.

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[6] In the dissertation *Jornalismo e público: reconfigurações no contexto digital. WhatsApp do* Extra *como ferramenta histórico-tecnológica* (GERK, 2016), ten journalists for *Extra* journal said the practice of producing articles based on only one text sent by victims through the social networks is common.

[7] Freely translated: "Ninguém pode se lembrar realmente a não ser em sociedade."

The production method, in a superficial way, is also related to the contemporary time basis, adjusted to the journalist professional daily life. The high competition in digital environment, full of information source, requires active participation in virtual world, mainly out of the need of receiving and processing interruptedly a huge and increasing amount of data. It causes stress in the journalists, due to continuous attention. Reading, in general, is an intuitive scanning, with no time for concentration or text interpretation. In new format, an article is not a unit, but a flow of activities. Deadlines and configurations can be switched according with the feedback. Deadline itself, as a closure reference, changes, since the journalists are online all the time. Sodré (2002) explains that the permanent online presence generates a condensation of temporality in present, as well as confusion between work time, leisure time and studying time.

Besides, in-media testimony allocates to the one that sees the responsibility of remembering and preventing, transmitting a moral obligation and appealing to sense of community. Some practical examples of the testimony culture are the posts (publications) of artists coped with traumas and the known stories about overcoming, that are quickly media success. In November 2016, for example, the African daughter of the actors Bruno Gagliasso and Giovana Ewbank was the target of racist comments over the internet. A lot of known communicational means published articles focusing only on the actors' reports, both oral and written, in social networks or TV programs[8]. Sometimes, they also reproduced the aggressive text that started the situation. Later, it was found out the racist messages author was a 14-year-old black girl. The issue had potential to be wider exploited, on an analytical way, but it was restricted to the reproduction of reports from social networks.

Another current movement is the promotion of testimonies related to the journalists' experiences. Brêtas (2016) analyzed the proliferation of this kind of reports in Brazilian press between 2013 and 2015 and their appearance in mass-circulation means in Brazil.

In the post-modern scenario[9], in which the future is an evitable-risk place, and not of progress or cure, as it was in modernity, the profusion of reports becomes operational. Considering a collection of hazardous possibilities and fear of contagion, the operator, before subject, can elaborate a safer and more stable strategy, to avoid danger that affects other ones. In this new context, past works as a warning model based on suffering experiences that establish individual and

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[8] An example is available at: <http://ego.globo.com/famosos/noticia/2016/11/bruno-gagliasso-sobre-queixa-crime-por-racismo-policia-vai-cuidar-disso.html>.
[9] About post-modernity, see, for example, D'Amaral (2010).

collective identities. The own past is redefined when other people's report is listened, taking into account new frames available in the present.

More and more journalism is impregnated of victim speeches that frequently appear on social networks and are replicated on media with no further development. The victim who comes out in public can be everyone. Our veneration for the victims can be related to the fact we recognize in them our own passivity in front of a present we try to control and adjust all the time, via communicational devices, but that seems to guide us to an abysm without future.

Relation with time

After Enlightenment, when linear time pointed out to the progress and to the nature and future domain, in the XXI century we see the failure of a future project, crisis of utopias and metanarratives to post-modernity. Anyway, according to Huyssen (2000), it is necessary History takes a look at the ruins and make them a construction field. Looking to the past can transform the present, even when the future is discouraging. The relation with the past is fundamental, although it works just like a disruption.

Contemporary world does not stop to register the testimony of common existences and banal events. Memory, in sense of collective tools of documentation and relevant information preservation, must be conserved, on the one hand, in a superabundant data environment and in an environment with lack of information, on the other hand. As already said, narratives are essential to configure remembrances, that are, by themselves, narrative construction. Nowadays, there is information in excess, made only to be consumed, with no connection, empty of profound comprehension. The feeling is the present is coming to an end. Everything is absolutely ephemeral, due to the perception of a fast capitalism, which makes the products obsolete almost instantaneously. This is also the explanation for the register compulsion. A lot of people go to the media hoping to reach longevity in a furtive and accelerated present.

Information does not help the spectators to create bonds, or remember, because they do not last. The superabundance can become oblivion too, since a lot is missed in virtual environment. Furthermore, we cannot disregard the hegemonic media and publicity are in charge of the selection of what to keep and what to forget, in a dispute that maintain power, and the decision, still in journalists' hands, in the end.

"It is truly confusing when memory is called the ability the computers have to keep information: to this last operation, there is lack of constitutive aspect of memory, i.e., the selection[10]" (Todorov, 1995, p. 16).

As Joutard (2015) says, testimony is always an issue, and the naturalization of any testimony is its death. In order to deal with it ethically and in a responsible way, it is necessary to consider it a problem. There is no comprehension with no criticism. The explosion of memories are anchored in the testimony, providing automatically legitimacy to speeches, mainly the victims' ones. However, nothing changes more than the past—it is rethought based on the present. The truth and fundamentals are no searched; versions are enough. There is no debate to achieve consensus, but a dispute of strengths. The journalists always have a position, but it is particularly dangerous if they fall in an absolute relativism, because they are still looking forward a place of legitimacy of the order of knowing, and not just the point of view.

Koselleck (2006) explains the experience is the current past. I.e., there is a fusion of rational elaboration and the unconscious behavior ways, that are not, necessarily, in knowledge. Moreover, the other one's experience is always in the experience. Likewise, expectations are individual and interpersonal. They can be reviewed, while the experiences in which we trust repeat and are confirmed in future, with even their possibilities and failures, in the past occurrences creation. Future is never a simple result of a historical past. The experiences superimpose, they impregnate each other. For the author, the tension is between experience and expectation that generate new solutions.

Nevertheless, we live a historical period in which there is a crisis in experiences space and also in expectations horizon, and both are intimately connected. This assessment in the center of interpretation on lack of memory appeals to the interviewed journalists: while future, which looks like a dangerous place, is hard to predict, past assumes a distant place. Equally, according with the daily professional practice, source reports for the text production are handled with neither past nor future, and no cohesion with groups.

Historically, historians have been seen like the ones that interpret the past. On the other hand, journalists have interpreted the present[11]. In legitimacy crisis, appealing to the past seems like a solution. In the book *Jornal Nacional: modo de fazer*, the anchor and chief editor of the main broadcast TV Globo news William Bonner says that, among the noticeability standards to define the topics worthy of

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[10] Freely translated: "É profundamente desconcertante quando se ouve chamar de memória a capacidade que os computadores têm para conservar a informação: a esta última operação lhes falta um aspecto constitutivo da memória, que é a seleção."

[11] About journalism and History, see: Lacouture, 1978.

coverage, it is chosen what the historian is going to look for into Jornal Nacional archives 50 years from now. Thus, Bonner tries to anticipate the logic of the historian from the future, in order to establish what it is important from the past.

In this regard, there is the argument journalism registers the History, not only by the instant, but thinking about what it is going to be relevant in future[12]. Journalists assume a memorialist position, similar to the historians' position, but with the focus on the present that abruptly becomes History, in a dispute of knowing between both. In other words, journalism as a field is legitimized in this important historical place, even when its value and role are questioned in post-modernity. Journalists, in turn, as subjects inserted in a professional crew, do not feel linked to its own past and legacy, like we observed in the mentioned investigation.

In the master's dissertation previously cited, journalists for *Extra* affirm the use of instruments like WhatsApp has, again, the influence to legitimize the professional as a mediator between public authority and the audience. In front of the public, journalists appeal to both identity and historical values to confirm their relevance, as well as the capability of defining what it is true or bogus in a digital information network. As long as this adhesion to speeches, in practice the group does not see itself in terms of collective, has difficult to elect a character to synthetizes what a journalist is and manages testimonies in a superficial way trying to construct the majority of narratives. So, journalists do not reconcile or align, in the present practice, to the answers from past that defend as the argument to legitimize their activity. Even their position as an intermediary, supposedly appreciated, is weak when there is the movement to the witness whose social status is higher, since the same archive or speech can be interpreted in different ways. The report changes, as well as the person and the context. Refinement is necessary to understand this multiplicity through time.

What does it mean being (or not) remembered?

The identity construction is damaged when the notion of professional group is not so clear, or when anyone with a camera in hands, or any mean of publication, can be called a journalist. Moreover, considering the decline of formal jobs, the part of population that work as a journalist has been reduced, as well as meeting points, professional meetings, and opportunities to share memories and projects.

We miss important bonds: common life sharing, and features of a long-term memory updated by the group with similar memory. If present time is no more

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[12] About it, see: Barbosa, 2016; and Ribeiro, 2003.

shared by the professionals, taking into account the distance reduction between experience and representation, there is also loss at common witnessing dimension.

Maybe that is the reason there is no general memory, in the ideal perspective, about the ones that would synthetize in collective memory what a journalist is. In addition, the individuals remembered by the group are exactly the ones with great visibility on current public scenario of journalism.

Electing more evident names mainly thanks to their present actions, instead of references from a far past and that were important for the construction of the history of journalism, represents an emergence of a time in which here and the moment are symbols of the journalists' own memory. The group's testimony spreads over individual voices, in which events are not experienced collectively, tearing apart as well the sense of sharing a collective memory. Individual memories proliferate in the remembrance of a past that the common senses produced based on testimonies.

Therefore, the proliferation of representative names of an occupational field can mean the contagion of the present time, which produces exponential transformations in job practice, and these transformations may reflect in the construction of a fanning-out common past.

Is there a way to distinguish good and bad uses of the past? According to Todorov (1995), yes. The first step is to interrogate the results of the memory based on humanist criteria, as well as universal values, like peace rather than war. Based on this reflection, memory must be studied through its reminiscences. Todorov (1995) has created an exemplar concept of memory to defend the use of memory as a pattern to comprehend new situations, and not denying the singularity of the occurrences. Taking into account the exemplar memory, it is possible to domesticate the memory, to establish comparison that permit checking out similarities and differences. Mere nostalgia[13] is one of the symptoms of a future projection crisis, and past is seen just as entertainment, and not as an opportunity of a critical analysis. We feel nostalgia for a period of time in which it was possible to imagine the future, but we do not dive in it. The idea is to face new situations, understanding they are analogous, however, to other situations from the past, in order to elaborate future projects.

From this point of view, we may think about the impacts of neglecting the use of the exemplar memory in journalism, even from the perspective of the ones who, through reminders produced by the journalists, make themselves synthesis of professionals' expectations. One way to comprehend and create new tracks is to study what was right and wrong in the past. Journalists' historical values, like

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[13] About nostalgia, see: Jameson, 1991.

mediation, or being society's guard dog, and credibility to disseminate true arguments, could be rescued and remodeled, or work as the basis of a new direction. Nonetheless, we cannot ignore what is worthwhile or not to keep or to throw away, what could be present in the emergence of representative names that portray the occupation. When there is a multiplicity of characters, all inserted in reminders of the contemporary scene of the field, we see the group's testimony about itself is a lot more a narrative in a time that does not allow neither interruptions nor second thoughts.

The nostalgic speech about journalism is common, especially between the journalists themselves, who are apocalyptic when they say propositions like "good times," or "journalism is over." The idea of new productions is in crisis. Then, many times the premises are simply recycled with no reflection. Anyway, nostalgia by itself does not take us to real connections to the past, to the present and future— what we have seen in the questionnaire answers. A nostalgic speech is possible, about a period in which we saw better job valorization, but a more profound analysis about what can be used and what can be dropped from the permanent heritage is necessary.

Zelizer and Tenenboim-Weinblatt (2014) argue memory studies have neglected the journalism, although both are widely related. The authors agree with the idea that, while journalism has still worked as one of the main institutions of contemporary society to register and remember, we need to go deeper in the understanding of how and why journalism remembers. We share this position, since we believe it is important to comprehend how journalists as a group access memory, taking into account their group's past and characters whose representation features better cohesion.

Journalists are interested in memory in many ways: celebrations, landmarks, special editions, and their own appreciation. Besides, collective memory is not only influenced by journalism. As a society, we remember important coverages, journalists and even media itself. In other words, collective memory includes journalism and journalistic events. Both are intimately linked. Although the journalists are not such interested in its group's memory, they cannot imagine their role and its future without memories.

Zelizer (1992) says a few experts in the field of collective memory have considered journalism an important component on their studies. It is time for a change, if we want to understand the directions of collective memory in the XXI century. Everything that affects the field of journalism, the social networks, for instance, also affects the field of memory, and vice versa. In the relation with the new media devices, memory is fluid, hybrid and transboundary, as well as

journalism. In the contemporaneity, it is necessary to analyze how memory transcends national ceiling. Studying the phenomenon also shows journalism' importance when it comes to see itself as global. Consumed-in-niches journalism, because of social media, internet and on-demand programs, creates memories in niches too, for communities with gradually more power to choose what they will consume and what they will remember.

According to Olick (2014), journalism and memory have suspicious similar qualities: both are susceptible to make mistakes, fallible and ephemeral. Simultaneously, by perspective of memory studies, journalism is also very similar to History: the two are public institutions, they appreciate sources and confirmation rules, and their residues are relatively permanent. Journalists' archives are used as historical sources too, including the testimonies we have mentioned here, applied with no contextualization or further development. In contrast, a lot of studies on memory are interested in validation or authenticity of the experience rather than the professional production, and more in the reception than the production. Journalists need to be examined, as well as the way they work, in order to understand group's memory.

Journalists depend on memory at work. They remember past events and moments of their career. Part of their professional knowledge is to know, or to remember, who they can call and where they can go to. Habits, routines are kinds of memory. What is it noticeable? The answer is based on what it was noticeable in the past and gives the direction to journalists and organizations' routine. Predictable events are easy to be prepared to and to cover up. It is important to know about them when there is the time to understand what it is going to be seen as relevant by the audience.

Journalists also depend on their sources and witnesses' memory. Journalists' memory may fail, as well as the source's one. The comprehension of how memory works is essential to the job practice, and it is essential for the ones that study this issue to comprehend how the institutionalized memories about History are mold. Autobiographical and historical memories of a person are deeply influenced by journalism. These memories influence how we live our days, weeks, years too. Besides, journalism is a constitutive factor of events: they shape these events in a passive and active way.

Journalism's history is an important and interesting part of public memory. Looking into the archives, we can understand not only about previous events, but how they were explored, and compare how the news have presented different approaches about the same theme, checking out the changes in time on the concerns and journalistic methods. Journalism is a central part of collective

memory. Even a bogus news, still a news, founds a daily memory. In modern period, there is no collective memory or culture that is not, even in part, journalistic. Studying journalism's memory is fundamental to understand how collective memory is formed nowadays and how it changes because of the journalism itself. Although there are a lot of data and memories in the virtual environment, probably memory kept by the dominant communicational means is going to be used as archives in future. Studying the memory at journalism is a future project.

As Zelizer (1992) says, journalism is one of the few institutions that encapsulate contemporary memory. The current more relevant processes and contents for memory belong to journalism: testimony, trauma, therapeutic speech, war. Even though, taking into account all the evidences, journalism is put aside as a memory agent, yet by the journalists themselves. How can we analyze a phenomenon if we do not compare it to other ones related to it? It is not an attempt to make the proper characteristics of each phase disappear, but establishing comparison that can highlight similarities and differences. Past representation is not only part of individual identity, but also of a collective one. The emblematic characters of a professional field represent the past, present and future of a group.

"When we constitute a common past, the rightful appreciation of the group can benefit ourselves. The resource from past is especially useful when belongings are required[14]" (TODOROV, 1995, p. 52).

When journalists daily work, with their sources and victimized interviewees, and based only on reports reproduction, they position themselves as victims and talk about their occupation history in a crisis in present, in which there are many third-party accused ones: the internet, the economic crisis, the audience. Nonetheless, the victimization needs to be contested, and we must understand how new memories are formed, in order they are present in the future, taking into account the group's past. Inevitably, time has vestiges from the past. Who can be considered the greatest icon for the journalists? Their memory can.

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[14] Freely translated: "Ao constituir um passado comum podemos nos beneficiar do reconhecimento devido ao grupo. O recurso do passado é especialmente útil quando os pertencimentos são reivindicados".

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From Headlines to Posts: the formation of multiple agendas on social networks

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Abstract

The growth of social media as a means of reading the news poses more and more challenges to network journalism. More than a half of the world population with access to the Internet inform themselves via links shared on social networks, reducing the reach of the headlines traditionally selected by journalists. On social networks, algorithms govern the regimes of visibility of the news, decentralizing the news agenda. This article discusses the extent to which journalists are also contributing to the formation of multiple agendas on Facebook. It does so by means of in-depth interviews and content analysis of posts and front page headlines on the country's top three newspapers – *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo*.

Keywords
Network journalism; Social networks; Agendas.

Introduction

Printed front pages, as well as headline teasers on radio and TV newscasts, presented to the reader, listener or viewer a selection of news stories that journalists considered (and still consider) worthy of attention on that day or moment. In the early days of commercial Internet, in the 1990s, the metaphor of the printed front page inspired the home pages (Mc Adams, 1995), by transferring to the news sites the same concept adopted by newspapers. The main page – the home page – must contain the highlights of the news at that time.

The model of creating a guide to the user in the form of a home page has been effective for two decades on the Internet, but now it loses ground for new forms of distribution of news in network journalism (Heinrich, 2011). More than half of the population with access to the Internet inform themselves via links shared on social networks.[1] In Brazil, the number of users who reported reading news on social networks is much bigger: it reaches 72%.[2] As a consequence, consumption of news has been changing: readers no longer follow a reading pathway from the "menu" offered by journalists in the home pages. Now, journalists are not the only ones who act as editors. They continue selecting stories, both those published on websites and those shared on social networks. However, in these platforms, the algorithms also play the role of "editors", determining the regimes of visibility to which stories previously selected by journalists are submitted based on previous behaviour of users, personal preferences, geographical and commercial interests. The result is a multiplicity of news agendas according to different profiles.

One of the main findings of the *Digital News Report 2016*, a study conducted by Reuters Institute, was the emergence of the phenomenon classified as "distributed news" due to the growth in penetration of social media and smartphones – refered to as the "fourth screen", following cinema, TV and computers (Aguado & Martínez, 2008). More than half of respondents (53%) use their smartphones to read the news. Also, more than half (51%) report reading social media to inform themselves. The study, carried out since 2011, found correspondence between the growth of two indicators: readers use social media on their phones more often than desktops to read the news.[3]

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[1] The numbers are from the *Digital News Report 2016*, research carried out by Reuters Institute. Retrieved December 20, 2016, from http://www.digitalnewsreport.org/survey/2016/overview-key-findings-2016.

[2] *Idem.*

[3] Retrieved November 20, 2016, from https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/Digital-News-Report-2016.pdf

In an article published as part of the *Digital News Report 2015* research, Emily Bell, director of the Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Columbia University, expressed her concern with the fact that Facebook[4] has become "the world's front page"[5]. She noted that "the control of pathways to audiences no longer lies with the organisations which publish news but with the platforms that carry it". The problem, as Bell points out, is that "the free press is now controlled by companies whose primary interests are not necessarily rooted in strengthening public discourse and democracy"[6].

Bell's warning (2015) about Facebook becoming "the world's front page" without having the social responsibilities of journalism, was one of the motivations for this study, whose focus is to compare news stories published by *O Globo*, *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* on their front pages to those shared on that social network. The initial goal was to verify if there was a correspondence between the content published in the two media in order to investigate whether the multiplication of agendas happens solely as a consequence of the performance of the algorithms on social networks. To what extent are journalists also protagonists in this process?

Some key concepts

For this discussion, it is necessary to review some key concepts, such as the theory of agenda setting, proposed by McCombs (2009). The author examined the power of the media to influence public opinion. The theory supports the idea that the public has a tendency to consider those topics conveyed in the press more relevant than others, suggesting that the media influences public debates. Through various studies conducted during the period of the presidential elections in the USA, between the years of 1954 and 1976, McCombs has demonstrated the efficiency of mass media agenda. He observed that the fall or rise of some topic among the concerns of voters always happened after the change of the prominence given to it by the media (2009, p. 31).

In one study, a questionnaire was distributed to a sample of undecided voters randomly selected in Chapel Hill, North Carolina (USA), during the presidential election of 1968. In the questionnaire, the undecided voters were asked to name the key topics of the day according to their points of view,

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[4]Facebook is the biggest social network in the world, with 1.7 billion users all over the planet. Among them, 1.13 billion (or 66%) access the site every day. These numbers can be found in the company's financial statement. Retrieved February 17, 2017, from http://link.estadao.com.br/noticias/empresas,facebook-supera-1-7-bilhao-de-usuarios,10000065340.

[5]Retrieved November 20, 2016, from: https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/publication/digital-news-report-2015.

[6]Retrieved February 26, 2016, from http://www.digitalnewsreport.org.

regardless of what the candidates were eventually arguing on that day. The topics cited in the questionnaire were listed in a ranking according to the percentage of voters who chose them. The study also analysed the content published by nine main sources of information used by those voters – five local and national newspapers, two TV stations and two magazines. The conclusion was that there was "an almost perfect correspondence" between the rankings of topics listed by voters in Chapel Hill and those presented by newspapers during the 25 days prior to the election (McCombs, 2009, p. 23).

However, McCombs relativises the effects of the theory of agenda setting: "Despite its influence on many issues, the newspapers are not all-powerful dictators of opinion or determine their own agenda with total professional detachment from the world around them" (2009, p. 34). The author emphasizes that the media is not our only source of information on public affairs. Personal experience, which includes conversations in various social groups, also contributes to the construction of the public agenda.

McCombs also poses the idea of multiple agendas. By discussing about the future of the agenda in the Internet, the author acknowledges that probably there is "a variety of media agendas and personal agendas with little social cohesion" before the possibility of each individual using a different combination of multiple sources of information (2009, p. 224). But he maintains that there is still a part of the public willing to inform themselves about the most important events of the day, which keeps a kind of common denominator between these agendas.

However, the important news are antagonistic to interesting news, which depend on the ability to entertain the audience (Golding; Elliott, 1979 as cited in Wolf, 2009 p. 205) and are increasingly present on the news of the network journalism, as will be discussed below. The balance between the various topics covered by newscasts is, according to Wolf, one of the criteria that should be taken into account by journalists. Journalists should select news offering a wide range of topics (2009, p. 195 - 217). Gans (1979) found a distinction between "important" and "interesting" stories while Schudson (2010) observed the opposition between "information" and "narrative". The "interesting" ones play a fundamental role in achieving journalistic ideals, since, to inform the public, it is necessary to catch their attention. "Thus, the ability to entertain is on the top of the list of news values, either as an end in itself or as an instrument to achieve other journalistic ideals" (Golding; Elliott,1979 as cited in Wolf, 2009, p. 205). Gans lists a few categories used to identify the news' ability to entertain: stories of ordinary people in unusual situations, stories of exceptional and heroic acts, stories of human interest and stories containing an inversion of roles (as cited in Wolf, 2009, p. 205).

Barthes (2009) refer to these stories as fait divers. They narrate events about out-of-context facts that break with the normalcy of the day. These are news stories without relation with the political reality and that deplete themselves, such as curious facts, unusual accidents, weird events. For Barthes, fait divers combine the ordinary with the extraordinary. Besides, it has an inherent meaning, because their circumstances deplete themselves: it does not depend on the past or generates consequences.

In social networks, however, the balance that should be pursued by journalists among the topics of the news is dismantled by way of navigation links, which are detached from the original context of the edition. Each reader "assembles" his or her own "newspaper", according to their preferences. That already happened in reading of printed newspapers: readers could "skip" the politics section and go straight to the sports section, for example. But in case they wanted to read the politics news later, it would be there, available. The same as in websites and home pages, where the user finds diversity of content. On social networks, however, not every user sees the range offered by journalists, since eligible stories appear in their feed based on their reading habits and previous behavior of friends, among other criteria already mentioned.

The problem is that, as users navigation increasingly migrates to social media, a hypothesis is that the role of journalists as gatekeepers (White, 1999) is losing relevance in the face of major tech companies, of which journalism increasingly depends on for its distribution and to reach out to readers. The gatekeeping theory is another key concept for the study to be undertaken here. It provides the first clues about the selection process of news, although subsequent studies have shown its limitation. White used the gatekeeping theory to show how the editors filter the news, in a continuous process of selection and rejection. In his case study, he focused on the last gatekeeper of the chain: a front page editor, who he called Mr. Gates, who worked at an American newspaper with circulation of 30 thousand copies in a city of one hundred thousand inhabitants. He was responsible for the selection and editing of national and international news from three agencies.

White was interested in investigating the reasons why stories were rejected. Over a week, Mr. Gates wrote down the reasons. Based on them, White concluded that the selection "was extremely subjective and dependent on value judgements based on experience, attitudes and expectations of the gatekeeper" (1999, p. 145). Wolf (2009), analyzing White's study, disagreed with his point of view: he points out that the standards dictated by the professional culture prevailed statistically over Mr. Gate's personal preferences in the process of selection of the news. The gatekeeping theory is also questioned in Breed's studies (1999). From research

conducted with 120 journalists, he came to the conclusion that the company's editorial values and the professional routine in newsrooms had a greater influence in the journalists' decisions than their personal beliefs.

Studies on newsmaking (Tuchman, 1978) also broadened the perspective about the gatekeeping, showing that the process of selection of news is governed in part by productive routines in newsrooms, but also by organizational constraints, by news values shared by the community of journalists, by the gatekeeper's choices and by the various social forces envolved. Recently, Shoemaker and Vos also brought up a new point of view. For them, gatekeeping is "the process of selection and processing of several small pieces of information in limited quantity of messages that arrive to people daily, besides being the central role of the media in modern public life" (2011, p. 11). People trust mediators to be "editors of their worlds". "Journalists probing the environment and act as institutional representatives to the rest of us" (Shoemaker; Vos, 2011, p. 42).

Finally, it is important to note that the formation of multiple agendas mentioned in this study occurs in the context of network journalism. As we live in a network society (Castells, 2009), journalism could not be immune to it as an integral part of society, as noted by Heinrich (2011). The concept of network journalism proposed by Heinrich goes beyond that used by Bardoel and Deuze (2001), two of the first authors to classify online journalism as a new form of journalism. For Heinrich, it means seeing the news organizations as knots of a complex network which also involves common citizens, sources, independent journalists, bloggers and any other actor. In it, all have the possibility to connect with each other, produce and exchange information in multiple ways. Although some knots may have more importance than others, they share the same sphere of exchange of information.

At first glance, it may seem that there is no novelty in Heinrich's concept in relation to previous ones which always contemplated the interactivity as one of the forming characteristics of contemporary journalism. However, the author sees network journalism beyond the Internet. For her, the changes in journalism reach the journalistic process as a whole, with impacts on all distribution platforms, from printed to radio, from television to online journalism. As all of them are part of a network – news sources, journalists and the public – all influence and are influenced by other actors involved in the process, regardless of the degree and the technical support. So, the concept of network journalism ends with the opposition between digital and analog and encompasses online journalism.

Methodology

The aim of this study was to verify some ruptures and continuities in network journalism, following a pathway suggested by Palaces (2003), by means of comparison between front pages and the content distributed by newspapers on their Facebook pages. We analyzed 939 posts[7] published on social network pages *by Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* between January 9 and 14, 2017. We also analyzed 231 headlines published by three newspapers on their printed front pages in the same period. The sample included all publications of news made by the three newspapers on their Facebook pages and on their front pages in that period.

The three papers were selected because they are the country's top three newspapers (Wolf, 2009). In December 2015, *Folha de S. Paulo* was the number one newspaper in the country, with 310.336 printed and digital signatures. *O Globo* was second, with 304.053, and *O Estado de S. Paulo,* on fourth position[8] with 220.387, according to the Communication Verification Institute (IVC). On Facebook, *Folha de S. Paulo* had, on January 2017, 5.807.406 followers; *O Globo*, 5.144.761; and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 3.399.571.

After the data collection, content published on the papers' front pages and the posts shared by them on Facebook were examined. The goal was to check the correspondence index of headlines featured on the cover of the three newspapers on their respective pages on the social network during the period analysed. The headlines and the posts on Facebook were also organized in categories according to the corresponding topics of coverage. From the organization of data, it was possible to find the most frequent topics on front pages and on Facebook pages of the three newspapers. The following tables include only those topics that, combined, accounted for at least 75% of the content published on the newspapers' front pages and on their social network pages. The others were excluded for their low representativity. Some of those excluded from the analysis were, for example, sponsored posts.

The study used the following categories: Politics; Opinion; World; Sports; Culture; City; Celebrities; Crime; Lists; Fait divers; and Health, Science & Technology. Under the category Opinion we gathered printed stories and posts linking to editorial pieces and articles. All the topics presented in the tables are common to the three newspapers, except Fait divers, found only in *O Globo and O Estado de S. Paulo* and Lists, present only in *O Estado de S. Paulo*. In the

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[7]Content shared on Facebook is called posts.
[8]The popular newspaper *Super Notícias* was in third place, with 272.299, and it was excluded from the study because it did not fit the reference profile used here.

newsroom of the Sao Paulo newspaper, there is a guideline for the production of daily lists to be shared on Facebook. As part of the methodology, we also conducted in-depth interviews with the three social media editors in the three newspapers[9].

Multiple agendas

The result of the combination of posts and front page headlines analyzed showed incidence of only 40.7% of content published by newspapers also on their social networks (see table 1). In *O Globo*, we found the lowest incidence (34%) and, in *Folha de S. Paulo*, the highest: there was a 47% correspondence between the posts shared by the paper on the social network and headlines published on their front page. Based on these results, we conducted in-depth interviews with the three social networks editors at the three papers analyzed.

At first, 100% of the content published on the covers of newspapers could potentially appear on the newspapers' pages on Facebook, since there is no limitation of posts per day imposed by the social network. However, in the newsrooms, there are guidelines to publish a post every 15 or 20 minutes, a strategy not to annoy the reader with too much information or to hinder the reach[10] of publications. Social media editor of *O Globo,* Sergio Maggi, revealed that, when the newspaper shortened the interval to 15 minutes, expecting to increase its relevance in the network, it had the opposite effect. The regular reach[11] was dispersed by the excess of publications resulting from the new interval.

As a result, the excess of content on the social network is now avoided. However, even if newspapers published 100% of stories from printed version to the social network, still there would be "space" left on the "schedule" of publication they create for Facebook. According to these results, even if they had published on the social network all of the same stories printed on their front pages, still there would be "space" on Facebook for *Folha de S. Paulo* to publish more 254 posts; *O Globo*, more than 208; and *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 246. This number is obtained by subtracting the quantity of headlines published on front pages of the three newspapers from the total of posts shared by them on the social network in the period.

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[9]This study integrates the author's PhD thesis. Participant observation was also used as part of the methodology of the thesis, with 16 incursions in the newsrooms of *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* between 2014 and 2017.

[10]The reach of a publication is one of the metrics provided by Facebook in their pages. "Reach" means the number of people that were exposed to the publication, without necessarily interacting with it.

[11]Personal interview given on July 8, 2016, at *O Globo newsroom, in Rio de* Janeiro.

The first hypothesis that could explain the low incidence of the content from the printed version to the Facebook page would be the possibility of them becoming "outdated" to be published on the social network after they featured in the front page of the newspaper. However, this hypothesis was rejected based on the methodology used. In the analysis undertaken, the starting point for the verification of the correspondence between contents was not exclusively the printed front page of the day. In the samples, the publications made by the three newspapers on the social network on the day before were also taken into account. Without this, the analysis could have fallen into the trap of assuming that topics such as the interest rates reduction, published on front pages, had not been shared by newspapers on Facebook. In fact, in the example cited, the topic was not shared on social media on the same day it appeared on front pages because the decision was announced by the Central Bank of Brazil on the day before and published on social media on that day.

TABLE 1 – CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CONTENT PUBLISHED BY NEWSPAPERS ON FACEBOOK AND ON THEIR FRONT PAGES*

Newspaper	Number of posts published on Facebook	Number of content on the front page	Correspondence between contents	Index of correspondence between content (in %)
Folha de S. Paulo	324	70	33	47%
O Globo	287	79	27	34%
O Estado de S. Paulo	328	82	34	41%
Total	939	231	94	40,7%

* The table compares headlines published on front pages of the three newspapers from January 9 and 14, 2017, with posts shared by them on their Facebook pages to verify the correspondence between contents. In the category "front page content" we considered also photos and cartoons, as well as text headlines.

A second hypothesis to justify the little correspondence between posts and printed headlines would be a possible caution in newsrooms not to "cannibalize" content from newspapers, for which readers pay, on social networks. This explanation was also rejected by social media editors of the newspapers analyzed. The analysis showed that, in the case of headlines and exclusive stories, newspapers chose to share them after the publication in the printed front page to avoid the so-called "cannibalization". So, what could justify the detachment of the

content published on front pages from that circulating on the newspapers social network pages? Let's hear the editors.

Executive editor of *O Estado de S. Paulo* Luiz Fernando Bovo, responsible for the digital department, claims that the newspaper is just one of the products of the *Estado* Group. He states that the brand is a "content production plant" formed by the paper, but also by the Broadcast agency, Eldorado and Estadão radio stations, blogs and partner websites. Bovo emphasizes that Facebook is a platform of content distribution of the group, and not "the platform of content distribution of the newspaper". Also, he highlights that the public who reads the paper is different than that who follows the brand in digital platforms, such as WhatsApp channels or newsletters. Therefore, he does not see with surprise the low incidence of the content from the printed version on Facebook:

> It's natural that what is on the front page of the newspaper on that day is only a portion of what Estadão published on social networks. Similarly, the newspaper publishes only a tiny part of the content produced during all day by the group. The newspaper is one of the products of the house. And, as such, it has its focus, its identity. It brings the news of the day, but also analysis, columnists, edition. That differentiates it from the web, for example. Each product's audience is different. The reader of the newspaper is not the same who reads bulletins on WhatsApp or who receives the *Estadão Noite* newsletter[12].

Social media editor of *O Estado de S. Paulo*, Gabriel Pinheiro, also indicates an intentional detachment between the agenda of the editors of the newspaper and his. Not even the headlines on the home page of the newspaper front page are guaranteed to be published on the social networks:

> I take into account the thermometer of the site, but also the networks. Sometimes, a topic is not priority for the site despite being on the trending topics. So, there are topics that go to the networks and aren't on the site and others that are in the home page but don't get published on the social networks[13].

Social media editor of *O Globo*, Sergio Maggi, also reveals a purposeful lack of correspondence between the agenda dictated by the editors of the newspaper and that he created for the social networks. He reports that there is no obligation of headlines from the printed front page to be published on the newspaper's Facebook page. Just like Bovo, he rejects the hypothesis of "cannibalisation" of the

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[12]Personal interview given via e-mail, on January 20, 2017.
[13]Personal interview given on February 16, 2016, at *O Estado de S. Paulo* newsroom, in São Paulo.

newspaper and claims that the choices are based on the profile of the public, which would be different from that of the newspaper:

> On Facebook, we try to make the content cooler. Usually, we post the headline of the newspaper, when it is not a topic that already has been published on the day before, and some special or exclusive stories, but we don't have the obligation to publish headlines from the front page on Facebook. We end up not publishing a fair amount of it because they are topics from the day before that, in most cases, are no longer appealing on the next day. But we don't have this concern with the "cannibalisation" of the printed version. It's really rather a choice considering the audience on the social networks.[14]

Assistant newsroom secretary of *Folha* de *S. Paulo,* Leonardo Cruz, responsible for the digital strategy of the newspaper, had access to the results of the content analysis, but did not reply to the e-mail. However, in interview carried out before the data collection, he has defended the need to better understand what the average reader of social networks seeks in order to deliver on demand content and criticized the overconfidence that journalists always had in their decisions regarding the printed newspaper. For him, social media brought a "reality check":

> We've always been very spoiled in the newspapers that come from the printed tradition to believe that all that curation we did and put daily in the paper was much read, much appreciated, very admired. And then, when we conducted research every three, four years, we realized that, actually, people read much less and were much less interested than we thought. I believe social networks are a reality check for all journalists about what people, in fact, are interested into. I follow my mother-in-law's posts. They're far from things that I would share and, I think, they are also far from what the majority of journalists who decide which news stories are more or less important would share and choose. But I need to respect my mother-in-law as an average reader, and try to understand what type of news I can deliver to her so she can share more of my stories than those she does.[15]

It is not only the lack of correspondence between the content published on the front page and on Facebook by newspapers that draws attention in results, but also the distribution of headlines and posts by topics. It also reveals a shift away of news agendas addressed by newspapers on their front pages from those produced by them for the social network.

In *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook page, the two most frequently shared categories were Politics, with 22.2%, followed by Celebrities, with 11% (see table

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[14]Personal interview given via e-mail, on January 18, 2017.
[15]Personal interview given by phone, on July 21, 2016.

2). On their printed front page, the largest amount belonged to Opinion category (30%), followed by Politics (22.9%). It is noted the total absence of the category Celebrities on the cover of the printed newspaper. Among the five most frequently published categories on the two platforms, only three were coincident: Politics; Health, Science & Technology (these three grouped in one single category); and World. It should be noted, however, that the highlights for columnists (Opinion pieces) do not have the same graphical highlight of the headlines and other stories, although it dominates in quantity the number of headlines on the cover. The simplification was made considering that, on Facebook, all posts have the same graphical presentation. In *Folha*, headlines for columnists usually occupy what journalists call "candy", small colored squares of a column all over the front page.

TABLE 2 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT *PAGE OF FOLHA DE S. PAULO* versus *FOLHA DE S. PAULO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics on *Folha de S.Paulo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (30%)	Politics (22.2%)
2nd	Politics (22.9%)	Celebrity (11%)
3rd	Health, science & technology (10%)	Health, science & technology (10.5%) City (10.5%)
4th	Culture (8.6%)	Economy (8.3%)
5th	Sports (5.7%) World (5.7%)	World (7.7%)
6th	Crime (4.3%)	Crime (6.5%)
Total	87.2%	76.7%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *Folha de S. Paulo and* on the newspaper's Facebook page and divided in categories. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between January 9 and 14, 2017.

In *O Globo*, albeit with slight advantage, fait divers occupied the first place among the most frequently shared posts by the newspaper on Facebook (16%), followed by those of Politics (15%). The leading category in the social network is missing from the front page of the printed newspaper, which is occupied mostly by

Opinion (26.5%) and Rio (19%). Among the five most frequently shared categories on both platforms, only two were coincident: Politics and Health, Science & Technology (see table 3).

TABLE 3 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT PAGE OF *O GLOBO* versus *O GLOBO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics in *O Globo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (26.5)	Fait divers (16%)
2nd	City (19%)	Politics (15%)
3rd	Politics (14%)	World (13.2%)
4th	Economy (11.4%) Culture (11.4%)	Health, science & technology (10%)
5th	World (6.2%)	Celebrity (9%)
6th	Health, science & technology (3.8%) Sports (3.8%)	Crime (8.7%) City (8.7%)
Total	96.1%	80.6%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *O Globo* and on the newsp*aper's* Facebook page, divided in topics. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between January 9 and 14, 2017.

Regarding the discrepancy between the topics addressed on the cover of the newspaper and on Facebook, Maggi, *O Globo*, comments that the social media team" is on a knife-edge." "The question of the distribution of content is complicated because, for reach and engagement, we need to post weird stories, but without forgetting that we represent *O Glob*o brand", he says. "So, we're right on the edge, trying to balance the two things," he concludes.

Also in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, the distribution between categories was uneven on the newspaper's Facebook page and on the printed newspaper. The first two most frequently shared categories on the social network by the newspaper were Lists in photo gallery form, which accounted for 17,4% of posts, virtually tied with Politics (17%). In the printed newspaper, the largest number of headlines

belonged to Opinion (30.5%) and Politics (18.3%) categories. Among the five most frequently shared categories in both platforms of the paper, there was coincidence in three of them: Politics, Opinion and São Paulo (see table 4). It is worth noting that journalism in lists format is totally missing from the cover of the newspaper although it is part of the production of the newsroom geared exclusively to the social networks.

TABLE 4 - MOST FREQUENT TOPICS ON FRONT PAGE OF *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* versus *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* FACEBOOK PAGE*

Most frequent topics in *O Estado de S. Paulo*	Front page (in %)	Facebook (in %)
1st	Opinion (30.5%)	Lists (17.4%)
2nd	Politics (18.3%)	Politics (17%)
3rd	Economy (11%)	City (8%) Sports (8%)
4th	World (9.8%) Culture (9.8%)	*Fait divers* (7.3%)
5th	City (7.3%)	Health, science & technology (7%) Opinion (7%)
6th	Sports (4.9%)	Celebrity (6%) World (6%)
Total	91.6%	83.7%

* The table was built from the comparison between content published on the front page of *O Estado de S. Paulo and on* the newspaper's Facebook page, divided in topics. Only contents with more than 75% of representativity were listed. Samples were collected between 9 and 14 January 2017.

It is worth noting that, despite the detachment in relation to content prioritized by newspapers on the front page, the three newspapers have transposed to their Facebook pages those topics considered important according to news values of journalism (Wolf, 2009), demonstrating continuity in network journalism. Among the values present in the news stories, the following stand out: national and global coverage, impact on the nation, the hierarchical level of those involved, and the ability to generate breakthroughs in the news. Here are some examples: 1) the

interest rate cut announced by the Central Bank; 2) inflation in the year was below the target (see figure 1); 3) a scandal involving impeached federal deputy Eduardo Cunha and former minister Geddel Vieira Lima, who received bribes to facilitate credits in the Caixa Economica Federal bank; 4) the farewell address of US President Barack Obama when he left the White House after eight years; 5) the death of philosopher Zygmunt Bauman; 6) the crisis in Brazilian prisions; 7) Minister of the Federal Supreme Court Gilmar Mendes, in charge of the impeachment process of President Michel Temer, takes a ride on the presidential jet; 8) the lawsuit filed by former president Luís Inácio Lula da Silva against a prosecutor of Operation Car Wash[16]; 9) the revelation that the recently installed National Secretary of Youth Francisco de Assis Costa Filho had his assets blocked for misconduct; 10) actress Meryl Streep's speech against American president Donald Trump in the delivery of the Golden Globes.

Figure 1

Source: *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook pages

"Spreadable" posts

Although topics deemed important by the news agenda have been mantained, the newspaper's Facebook page shows clearly the dispute for news with "spreadability" value. Jenkins, Green and Ford (2014, p. 42-44) proposed the

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[16] Operation Car Wash is an investigation of corruption and money laundering involving politicians and contractors. The Federal Prosecutor's Office estimates that those involved diverted billions of reais in resources from Petrobras, the country's largest state-owned company. Retrieved February 17, 2017, from: http://lavajato.mpf.mp.br/entenda-o-caso.

concept to replace the term "viral", which they consider inappropriate because it would indicate a passive behavior of the readers in the dissemination of content. The spreadability paradigm, on the contrary, presupposes an active participation of the audience in the distribution of the news. With characteristics of fait divers, the following "spreadable" posts appeared simultaneously on Facebook pages of the three newspapers in the period of analysis: snow in Italian beach, as predicted in apolcalyptic prophecy; a doctor who performed "surgery" in a child's toy so she would not feel scared (see Figure 2); and a thousands toys similar to those of Kinder Eggs appear in an island in Germany. *O Globo* and *O Estado de S. Paulo* Facebook pages also published the same post about a woman who wore a mask of Chewbacca, a Star Wars character, while giving birth.

Figure 2

Source: *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo and O Globo Facebook* pages

The parturient wearing a mask was the most frequently shared post by readers from *O Globo* Facebook page on January 9, 2017. The doctor who performed "surgery" on a toy was the number one most shared post on *Folha de S. Paulo* Facebook page on January 10, 2017. The snow in Italian town was the most frequently shared on January 12 on *Folha de S. Paulo* (2.833) and *O Globo* (2.076) and joined the list of 10 most shared of the week (see table 5).

TABLE 5 – *RANKING* OF MOST FREQUENTLY SHARED POSTS ON *FOLHA DE S. PAULO*, *O ESTADO DE S. PAULO* AND *O GLOBO* FACEBOOK PAGES*

Ranking	Posts titles	Newspaper	Date	Share count
1st	"Prison is not a hotel and prisoner is not a guest", says Secretary of Justice of Rio Grande do Norte state	*O Globo*	January 10, 2017	9.176
2nd	Amid the action of impeachment, President Temer travels with Mendes to Portugal	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 9, 2017	6.275
3rd	Obama's declaration of love for Michelle	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 11, 2017	5.920
4th	China warns Trump to prepare for military conflict	*O Globo*	January 13, 2017	4.868
5th	Secretary of Youth of Temer administration has assets blocked for administrative misconduct	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 13, 2017	4.686
6th	Philosopher Zygmunt Bauman dies aged 91	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 9, 2017	4.307
7th	Biker walks off after being thrown in accident in São Paulo state	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 13, 2017	3.181
8th	Are you sure you need a therapist?	*O Estado de S. Paulo*	January 11, 2017	3.092
9th	Snow falls in Italian city, as advocated 500 years ago in apocalyptic prophecy	*Folha de S. Paulo*	January 12, 2017	2.833
10th	It snowed two days straight on a beach, as predicted by apocalyptic prophecy	*O Globo*	January 12, 2017	2.076

* The ranking gathered a preliminary sampling with the 15 most frequently shared news stories, combined with the most shared day by day on the Facebook page of each of the three newspapers between 9 and 13 January 2017. The 10 most frequently shared stories out of the list of 15 are displayed here.

Aren't "spreadable" posts the equivalent to the sensational news that beguiled the public at the beginning of mass media or even before newspapers,

starting with pamphlets, as Traquina (2008) points out? Published in Europe in the 16th century, they were "pre-modern form" of newspaper, without regular circulation and dedicated to a single topic, usually monstrosities, miracles and bizarre events (Traquina, 2008, p. 64). Amaral recalls that the process of communication itself is sensationalist, since it deals with physical and psychic sensations and appeals to primitive emotions (2011). The "sensational" in journalism invokes an immediate experience of the reader, as Aguiar highlights (2008). Our senses, such as seeing and hearing, are not only tools to record, but organs of knowledge, Zumthor suggests (2014). Therefore, reception passes through the body. The world belongs to the "sphere of the sensitive, the visible, audible, tangible" (Zumthor, 2014, p. 75).

In the same way that the 17th Century pamphlets could announce the birth of a pig with two heads (Traquina, 2008, p. 64), *O Globo* Facebook page, on January 10, 2017, reported the birth of a baby with two heads, who died soon after birth (Figure 3). It is possible to observe that, four centuries later, monstrosities and weird facts continue to fascinate the public. The day after publishing the baby with two heads story, *O Globo* Facebook page shared another freak show story: a monkey trying to copulate with a deer. As already discussed, fait divers stories occupy the first place among the headlines shared by the newspaper from Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, a continuity of news values of journalism in professional practices in network is observed: the "spreadable" news of the 21st century are nothing more than the sensational, that appeal to emotions. The difference is that word-of-mouth is now measurable: it is possible to know how many readers were reached by them, the number of shares and number of accesses to the link.

The posts shared by newspapers on Facebook also revealed an effort to mobilize the audience (Barsotti, 2014). The concept is based on the fact that journalists are moving away from the ideal of objectivity established by the profession, enabling the shift from the position of distant and "neutral" observer of reality to engage their audience around topics proposed for the debate, by means of polls on the websites, for example. Posts published by newspapers on Facebook confirm the hypothesis of the network journalist as mobilizer of the audience, looking for provoking the reaction or even the action of the reader. Schudson (2010) observed that the ideal of objectivity was built by the American press just before the finding of the impossibility of neutrality of the journalist.

Figure 3

Source: *O Globo* Facebook page

Such practices of sociability with the public occur nowadays mainly on social media. Two examples from *O Estado de S. Paulo* are worth highlighting. On January 10, the newspaper published on the social network a news piece about job openings, under the title "VACANCIES: See 7 open invitations to tender; wages reach R$ 3,8 thousand ". Above the title, the social media team added: "Looking for a job? Take a look at these opportunities." In a post published on the same day by the Sao Paulo newspaper, data of a survey revealed that 76% of young Brazilians dreamed of being the owners of their own business. Journalists asked, on the space for the sharing of the post: "Are you part of that number?" (see Figure 4).

Figure 4

Source: *O Estado de S. Paulo* Facebook page

Final considerations

The content analysis of posts from three newspapers on Facebook and the headlines published on their front pages showed, in the social network, a detachment from the regular agenda of topics they proposed in their front pages. Under the claim that they need to please a particular audience on the social networking sites, newspaper pages on Facebook have allocated space to topics and formats that hardly appear on the covers of the three printed newspapers, such as lists, fait divers and celebrities, revealing an appreciation of "spreadable" news. Although they have surpassed in volume the news deemed important by the professional culture, it is noted that the news with spreadability value are present in journalism since the predecessors forms of newspapers as registered here.

The study concluded that the journalists themselves are contributing to the fragmentation of the news agenda, by circulating on Facebook, in greater proportion than on the printed version, content related to interesting news than to important news according to the culture of professional journalists (Gans, 1979). Despite the detachment between the agendas of the front pages and the Facebook pages of the three newspapers in the social network, it was possible to observe that news deemed important were shared on Facebook by newspapers throughout the week of the research. Therefore, network journalists preserve their role of gatekeeper and still filter the news according to the news values.

Another conclusion points to the fact that social media teams of newspapers on Facebook seek to awake sensations and mobilise the audience by using questions that provoke reactions or even actions by the reader, revealing a rupture in the network journalism. In the social network, the language employed trigers close communication, allowing the journalist to move away from the classical position of observer detached from reality.

When printing everyday and ordinary events on their covers, newspapers build a world vision through their front pages and are vehicles of it, contributing to the agenda setting of the society. What view of the world emerges from the pages of newspapers on social networks? It is a fact, as seen here, that journalists are contributing to the spreading of the news agenda with their strategies of publication in these networks. Of course, the role of algorithms in network journalism cannot be overlooked, a problem that deserves to be investigated in further research. But the results of the study show that they are part of an ecosystem in which journalists also play a leading role.

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