

Testemunhos na mídia: o relato do sofrimento

Testimonies in the media: the report of suffering

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Resumo: *Propomos neste estudo investigar o papel que o testemunho dos indivíduos comuns assume na construção narrativa dos programas populares. Nossa análise está centrada nas narrativas construídas em torno da história de três mulheres, em programas de auditório do SBT e da Record, sendo nosso interesse o modo como as mulheres testemunham a própria vida e seu sofrimento e também a forma como os programas tratam esses testemunhos e constroem uma narrativa em torno deles. Nossa análise revela não só uma estrutura comum na narrativa midiática do sofrimento, como também o quadro das relações estabelecidas, os papéis e as performances desempenhadas nestes programas e o que dizem de nossa sociedade.*

Palavras-chave: *Programas populares; Sofrimento; Testemunho; Televisão*

Abstract: *We propose in this study to investigate the role that ordinary individuals testimony assumes in the narrative construction of popular programs. Our analysis is centered on the narratives built around the history of three women in*

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SBT and Record auditorium programs, and our interest is the way in which women witness their lives and their suffering and also the way the programs treat these testimonies and build a narrative around them. Our analysis reveals not only a common structure in the media narrative of suffering, but also the framework of established relationships, the roles and the performances that are seen in these programs and what they say about our society.

Keywords: *Popular Programs; Suffering; Testimony; Television*

The desire (and even the need) to tell about what was lived, of remaking the narrative of our origin, is part of our humanity since the beginning; to this movement, we join the interest in stories told by the other. The fabric of the experience - our own and other's - is something that is attractive to us, especially if it is surrounded by suffering. In the last century, particularly in the last decades, the development of the media came to enhance this desire and the possibilities of construction and circulation of narratives of self. The television especially adds particular resources for this type of production, which can be analyzed under different perspectives, exploring the television logic, sociability, the market dynamics and even the psychoanalytic bias.

In this text, we will talk about the narrative built around the story of three women, in television programs broadcast by SBT and by Record, in a way they build their life testimony. These women have in common the pursuit of their mother, from whom they were separated at childhood. More than the spectacularizing of suffering, the transformation into a merchandise, or the banalization of emotions, what is interesting for us to analyse is the outline of the media narrative, the board of established relationships, the roles and performances that were given. This analysis seeks to investigate the procedures of television production, as well as portraying aspects of life and values of a society.

For a better understanding of our path of reading, it is important to highlight two framings that north the present analysis and constitute parameters of our research work⁵: the concept of “popular media”; the emphasis in the word of the common people (the story of the experience on behalf of ordinary people in the field of media).

What we are calling “popular media” or, in the case of television in Brazil, “popular programs in TV”, is characterized both for the presence

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in scene of a common people, representing popular classes⁶, and the treatment of problems of the daily life in big cities, especially in peripheral neighborhoods and related to different forms of violence. Such programs are, as a general rule, marked by an approach based on formal exaggeration, emotional appeal and dramatic performances.

It is true that the presence of “common people” or “low income people” on television is not new - but they used to appear a lot less, and in very specific moments and places, with their marks of status, as humble workers, criminals or representing folk arts. In the last years, however, this presence has intensified. The causes are numberless, a response of the media to the criticism of expropriation of the word popular; the depletion of the existing television models (the television of specialists, the television that talks about itself, according to the classification established by Umberto Eco⁷); the expansion of acquisitive power of certain layers of popular classes in the beginning of the 21st century (the so-called “low income class”). Well, this audience already existed; the news is that it starts to exist more strongly as a consumer audience, provoking a bigger interest and attention on behalf of open TV channels and focusing in changes in the way of representing it. Since then, individuals of popular classes were present in different emissions taking the place of inferior; a new reality gives them a new Protagonism and seeks to establish a more proximal dialogue between the channel’s schedule and a “popular” audience⁸.

Numberless shows of different genres, developed their own way of promoting the insertion of the presence and the word of common people, both in the context of journalism and in other types of show - auditorium program, variety, reality shows, talk shows, etc. The model we present here is about programs in which individuals come to testify on

6 We understand that there isn’t a “common citizen” in the singular, and that the collective we call “popular classes” is heterogeneous and unstable. We are referring to different segments of low class, marked by precarious jobs, restricted access to education, health and residence.

7 According to the distinction that became classic, between Paleotelevision and NeoTV (ECO, 1984).

8 It is worth mentioning, however, that the audience of these so-called “popular” shows (segments of class C, D and E) and are also watched by a middle-class and high-class audience.

their own life, their dreams and wishes, something very close to “intimacy television”, named by Dominique Mehl (1996). They are shows that outline the daily life, with non-fictional confessional drama.

The shows analyzed here do not focus on socially relevant events, but they bring small narratives that portray specific people’s life story. They are stories lacking a power of emotion beyond the people who experienced it (they are not bearers of an evident social or political dimension), however, they reveal a lifestyle and a social scenario that is certainly not exclusive of these characters.

Methodological outline

With the goal of investigating the role of testimony of common people in the narrative construction of popular programs, our first step was to identify, within the schedule of the main Brazilian television channels⁹ - Bandeirantes, Rede Globo, Rede Record, RedeTV! And Sistema Brasileiro de Televisão (SBT) - the shows in which the common people fills the role of witness, being invited to narrate their own story. We found a board of 14 shows¹⁰, which led to the necessity of limiting our corpus. For that, we’ve selected two channels that invest more strongly in the popular format - SBT (four shows) and Record (six). Then, we made an analysis of content of the shows¹¹, seeking to identify, within them, the parts in which the common people were the main character. We found 27 shows¹² - ten from SBT and 17 from Record.

9 Observation made in November 21st, 2016.

10 *Brasil Urgente* (Bandeirantes); *João Kléber Show* (Rede TV!); *Caldeirão do Huck e Esquentá* (Rede Globo); *Programa do Ratinho*; *Domingo Legal*, *Programa da Eliana*, *Casos de Família* (SBT); *Xuxa Meneghel*, *Gugu*, *Hora do Faro*, *Domingo Show*, *Programa da Sabrina*, *Cidade Alerta* (Record).

11 Due to the difference in format, we excluded from our corpus the newscast *Cidade Alerta*, from Rede Record.

12 Within a show, we call “segment” specific sequences with defined structure, easily recognizable and normally with their own name, logo and jingle.

TABLE 1 - SBT and Record's selected shows

Channel	Program	Selected show
SBT	<i>Programa do Ratinho</i>	DNA Test
		Miracles of Faith
		Coming home
	<i>Domingo Legal</i>	The princess and the commoner
		Building a dream
	<i>Programa Eliana</i>	Sueli in your house
		Renewed Beauty
		Family asks for help
	<i>Casos de família</i> ¹	Delivery to you
		Complete program
Record	<i>Xuxa Meneghel</i>	Knock Knock
		One day of Diva
	<i>Gugu</i>	Gugu's cab
		Bus station
		I am back
	<i>Programa da Sabrina</i>	People from Brazil
		Pause for Love
		Sabrina was here
	<i>Domingo Show</i>	I survived
		A Sunday's Dream
Princess and Me		
<i>Hora do Faro</i>	Twist hour	
	I want you back	
	I confess I've lived	
	Makeover my husband/wife	
		What do you gain with that?

1 The program *Casos de Família* was not divided into segments, but it presents, in every episode, an average of three different cases about the same theme.

In the analysis of content of the programs, we identified suffering as the main theme which the common citizen was called to testify, and which could be occasioned by physical violence (domestic or decurrent

of urban criminality); by the precariousness of life conditions (residency, medical assistance); body issues (illness, aesthetic); love and marriage problems, and, finally, complicated family and neighborhood relations.

After mapping different testimonies of suffering, we looked for segments that dealt with the same form of suffering, enabling a comparison in a common grid. We found, then, in Programa da Eliana e do Ratinho, on SBT and in Hora do Faro, at Record, segments dedicated to the promotion of encounters with family members where the narrative was built from the story of suffering of the participants, due to the absence of a family member. In the segment Coming Home (Programa do Ratinho), the suffering is given due to the distance of a family member, and in the segments, I Confess I've lived (*Hora do Faro*) and Delivery to You (*Programa Eliana*), the suffering comes from not knowing the whereabouts of part of the family. In order to make our analysis easier, we chose segments that promoted the same type of reunion. Among the segments available on Youtube¹³, we chose those dedicated to a daughter looking for his mother.

Our analysis of the three segments came about based in the identification of the following elements: proposal of the segment and synopsis of the case; sequence and structure of the segment; scenic resources; image of the host / second narrator; narration of the suffering. We begin with a quick synopsis of the segments, and then, we will deal with the other elements.

Coming home: the fighter Elsa

Unlike other segments presented in Programa do Ratinho, Coming Home is hosted by the reporter Fábio Marcos, on Fridays. With an average of 20 minutes of duration, the segment promotes the reunion of people that, traveling to other regions of the country, had been away from their family members. The episode of Coming Home we analyzed was broadcast May 12th, 2015 and had 23 minutes of duration. It talks about

13 During the YouTube selection we didn't have the concern with the choice of programs with close dates of exhibition.

Elsa's story, woman living in São Paulo who does not see her mother for 14 years.

The segment begins with Fabio Marcos arriving to Elsa's house, who receives him with surprise and emotion. The character is then, presented to the viewers through a simulation, through which we see her struggled childhood and also the problems she faced with a teenage pregnancy. Afraid of the child's father, Elsa runs away to São Paulo and doesn't come back to her hometown, the town of Catarina, in the state of Ceará. Through the simulation, we also witness her difficulties in a new city, how she meets the man who would become her husband and the violence she suffered during their marriage. After the separation, she receives the diagnosis of breast cancer, goes through the entire treatment by herself, which motivates her to look for the show to reunite with her mother, dona Francelina.

At the end of the simulation, the participant received the news that she will go to Ceará to visit her mother and does not contain her excitement. After that, we watch Elsa, amidst laughter and tears, pack her bags and travel with Fábio to Ceará. Her reunion is not immediate. The reporter talks to dona Francelina about her daughter, while Elsa watches everything inside a car. So that she would not suspect her daughter's return, Fábio asks Francelina to teach the viewers how to make a *co-cada*, since she earns her sustenance by selling candy. While her mom is focused on preparing the candy, Elsa enters the kitchen and surprise her. When Francelina looks back and recognizes her daughter, she immediately stops everything she's doing to hug her.

Francelina: [while they hug each other] My kid, is that you?

Elsa: It's me.

Francelina: [crying] I need to thank all these people, my god. You came from so far, you, to make such a thing. To bring my kid back to me! My god! Oh my god!

Elsa: This day, mom, it had to happen the way I always dreamed, I always dreamed about it!

The segment ends with their reunion. We see a long scene of the both of them hugging with an emotional musical background and the narration of Fábio Marcos, highlighting the ending and victory of Elsa over life's obstacles.

Delivery to you: a 40-year-old journey

With the purpose of promoting reunions of people that do not see each other for a long time, mainly family members that were distanced, Delivery to You has an average of 50 minutes of duration and is presented by Eliana and Walter Peceniski, founder of GoodAngels, a non-profit organization specialized in looking for missing people. The segment analyzed was broadcast on March 22nd, 2015 and had 56 minutes of duration. It tells the story of Alaíde, who was separated from her mother and sisters when she was four and was delivered to the land owner where her family lived. Almost forty years later, Alaíde still has the desire of meeting her family members once again.

The segment begins with Eliana on stage making a brief presentation of the case that will be shown, reinforcing Alaíde's suffering for being away from her family. Later, there is an external video, when Walter Peceniski meets Alaíde, in her house, where she tells her story and gives him the few details she has (like a piece of paper that is a type of birth certificate). In the next scene, Eliana receives Alaíde on stage with a hug. In the interaction between both of them, Alaíde tells more details on her life story and the host asks questions, emphasizing the more dramatic moments and aspects. A clip is showed, simulating three situations of Alaíde's childhood - her father's love with his daughters; the death of the father, bitten by a snake; the passing of the three daughters.

Then, Alaíde and the host (and viewers) watch the trip and search conducted by Peceniski until he found dona Alice, Alaíde's mother, in a rural settlement in Mirante do Paranapanema, in São Paulo. The images show Walter's encounter with dona Alice, the questions he asks and the invitation to come to Eliana's show to receive a delivery in the segment Delivery to You. All moments are marked by suspense, with a

lot of pauses, in which Eliana brings doubts about Dona Alice coming to the show.

In the video, dona Alice appears to be suspicious about Peceniski's invitation, she smiles, covers her face with her hands and expresses doubt with the word "Oh my god", but she accepts coming to the show. The moment of the reunion arrives. Eliana asks Alaíde to hide and dona Alice is invited to come in. They have a long conversation, Eliana asks dona Alice to tell details of her life and motivates him to try to identify the possible delivery sender. The three simulations are shown to dona Alice, who begins to get more serious, quiet and contemplative. Eliana invites dona Alice's son to come in (it appears she started a new life after her first husband's death and the separation of her daughters) to be with her in the moment she opens the box; the old handwritten paper reveals personal information about the person sending the delivery, Alaíde. Then, they show a video where Alaíde, filled with emotion, talks to her mother. Crying, dona Alice asks if Alaíde is there. Eliana asks Alaíde to come in, and finally mother and daughter hug each other. As the subtitle summarizes: "40 years of distance couldn't make this mother and daughter forget one another".

I confess I've lived: the dream of having a mother

With an average of 60 minutes, I confess I've lived is one of the most successful segments of the show Hora do Faro and it exists since 2013, when the host Rodrigo Faro was still in Melhor do Brasil. The segment promotes the gathering of family or friends that haven't seen each other for a long time, with Humberto Ascencio as the responsible for searching the person missing. With 1 hour and 27 minutes of duration, the analyzed segment was broadcasted in June 19th, 2014 and talks about the story of Noemy. Because she got pregnant very young, Noemy's mother trusted her newborn child to an aunt and disappeared. Thirty-two years later, Noemy still dreams of meeting her mother, knowing whether she was alive.

As in the other segments, Noemy is also presented in her house. However, who is going to visit her is the host himself, Rodrigo Faro.

In an outdoor scene, he briefly tells her story and the reason she was there. The host's discourse shows something recurrent throughout the segment: a strong feeling of suspense to let the viewer on the edge of their seats regarding the reunion. Noemy is very touched by Faro's visit. She talks about her past answering the host's questions, who promises to help her. Unlike other segments from SBT, *I confess I've lived* does not use the tool of simulation; however, it also goes back to the past through childhood photos of Noemy and parts of their conversation that bring out important moments of her life.

Noemy is invited to go on stage and follows the search of Humberto for her mother. The investigator walks around the town of Belém, asks for information, and ends up going to Tailândia, Pará's countryside, where Noemy's mother lives. When she arrives to the house, Humberto meets a woman, Damares. At the same time, on stage, Faro is talking and asking questions to Noemy about who this lady might be, and she answers she might be her sister.

The sister Damares and the niece Beatriz arrive on stage to meet Noemy and it's a very emotional moment, filled with long heartfelt hugs. Again, scenes of Humberto, who continues to walk around town looking for the mother, who wasn't home and is only found in the fourth and last part of the show.

The scene is cut to the stage, where Noemy says, in tears, how much she loves her mother and that she forgives her for abandoning her. Then, the host invites her to sing a song for her mother. When Noemy is singing, her mom appears behind her and they hug and cry together. While this is happening, Faro narrates the emotion of the reunion, highlighting the 32 years without seeing each other.

After the hug, Noemy says she's very happy, that it was everything she could dream of and that she has no words to express how she feels. Faro asks the mother: "You never forgot her, right?", and she confirms: "Never, never". She says she loves her daughter, from the bottom of her heart, and she never stopped loving her. Rodrigo Faro ends the show giving Noemy a picture frame with pictures of her mother, her sisters and her niece.

Narrative analysis: common structure

After describing the three cases, our next step was to identify the structure of narratives. The analysis of que sequence of segments allowed us to find a common matrix where he can show an interest instrument in the analysis of reunion shows in general. Such scheme can be divided into five steps: a) Host or reporter introduces the case, still alone; b) presentation of the character that requests the reunion; c) narrative of the character's story, since their separation (some with dramatic simulation); d) Journey of the "detective" looking for clues; e) moment of the reunion.

These five topics seem to be very similar regarding the content and dynamics involved:

- a. The role of the host or reporter stands out in the presentation as the narrator of the story, responsible for conducting the narrative asking questions directed to the participants.
- b. The character is presented in their daily lives, reinforcing the lack of a mother. The presentations happened in the participant's home, a place of intimacy, that is unfolded throughout the narrative;
- c. The narrative of the story reveals itself as being an appealing strategy for the viewer, that sees the story being acted and becomes a witness to what is being narrated. Through that, the participant relives her story and gets moved with what is being shown;
- d. The trip, the search for the loved ones, is the climax of the show, the moment of biggest suspense that will culminate, or not, in a "happy ending";
- e. The moment of the reunion, despite the suspense created, ends with a happy ending. It's important to highlight that the reunion always happens in the final minutes of the segment and does not last more than five minutes¹⁴. It's the moment of positive emotions,

14 Coming Home had 23 minutes of duration and the reunion happened at 21min28s. Delivery to you had 56 minutes and the reunion happened at 53min36s. I confess I've lived had 1:27:00 and the reunion happened at 1:22:00.

where suffering gives place to happiness, relief, gratitude. Words give place to gesture, the hug being the biggest expression of emotion experienced at that moment. It's important to highlight, however, that the reunion wraps up the journey with an abrupt manner, and the show ends without showing the viewer what comes next. In short, the programs are concerned more with the story and drama of the search; the emotional reunion is only an ending (just like the "happily ever after" of fairytales).

Regarding scenic features, we perceive a lot of similarities between the three segments, having the soundtrack and close ups (first plane detail plan, close up) features used in the three segments in a way to involve the viewer with what is being narrated. To reinforce the emotion of characters and their suffering with the absence of the loved one, the edition privileges the dramatic soundtrack, the moments of crying, the silences, the suspense, the capture of the face of suffering, of commotion, of the joy of the reunion.

The concern of rebuilding the past is another narrative element that is commonly employed. On both SBT shows was used the feature of simulation as a form of resumption. In Record's segment such reconstitution is made through Noemy's childhood pictures and her story. Another tool used both on Record's segment and in Delivery to you was screen division, enabling the viewer to follow the participant's reactions on stage while they watched the journey looking for their loved ones unfold. At the end, we could highlight the use of subtitles in the three segments, framing the events and offering keys of reading for the viewer.

We also analyze the image of the host, who appears as a second narrator of the story. In the three segments, the hosts are responsible for the conduction of conversation. They highlight the facts they consider important, often making repetitive questions and sentences, to reinforce the information. Suspenseful sentences beginning with "I wonder" are also frequently used.

We perceive that the questions demand the participants to reveal more than their stories - they demand emotions, they want to understand what

is going on in their head and in their “hearts”. The presenters orient the story of the participants, direct their narration and performance. Eliana and Peceniski motivate Alaíde not to hold grudges, to feel first and think later. None of the two seem to condemn dona Alice, but they encourage compassion with her story. Faro also motivates Noemy to forgive her mother and tries to redeem her as he asks her: “You never forgot her, right?” And the mother confirms: “Never, never”. Fabio, in turn, insists in reinforcing with his questions the love between mother and daughter and highlighting Elsa as a hard-working woman worthy of the show’s assistance. In the end of the segment, he highlights: “Elsa came back home to see so many people she loved, who were far away in her worst moments. Elsa is a winner and deserves every day from here on out to be as happy as this one. Congrats, Elsa!”.

It’s interesting to point out the fact that the hosts (Fábio, Eliana, Faro) seek to identify with the role of the audience, sharing the expectation about how the story will unfold. What is told by the participants is faced with surprise, as if they were listening to that content for the first time; they keep the suspense, creating doubts about the possibility of the reunion. Faro and Eliana show great involvement with the story of those women, since they hug them and get emotional with them.

Witnesses of suffering and happy ending

Analyzing the terminology of the term “testimony”, Seligmann-Silva (2003a) explains that, in Latin, testimony can be determined by two words: *testis* and *superstes*. The first one indicates the testimony of a third party in a law suit. In turn, the meaning of *superstes* indicates a person that has been through a test, therefore, a survivor, the Greek concept of “*martir*” being very close to this definition. Testimony in this second sense has to do with surviving, coming from a once-in-a-lifetime event, radical, facing death from which is necessary to say. Good examples of that are the testimonies of post-World War Two, where victims are called to testify about the Holocaust. Facing the atrocities lived and the near-death experiences, the survivors live the harsh task of building

the memory of the experience, of translating through language the experience lived. Testify, in this sense, becomes a moral obligation of only to those who are gone, but also to future generations. As Seligmann-Silva explains, “the person who testifies relates in an exceptional manner with language, it breaks the seal of language that tried to cover the “unspeakable” that sustain it. Language is nothing more than the trace - substitute and never perfect and satisfactory - of a lack, an absence” (SELIGMANN-SILVA, 2003a, p. 48).

Facing these stories of victims, we establish, according to Dosse, a relation of compassion and resentment. We have compassion for the victim and resent the experience they had. The testimony enables the experience of a strong emotion, to the point we project ourselves in what is experienced by the witness, and their suffering brings sympathy and empathy. Seligmann-Silva (2003b) also highlights the empathy provoked by the testimony of the survivor, at the same time it disarms disbelief. According to the author, even a fictional text of testimony, if presented as authentic, is capable of moving readers, as if it was real. “We tend to give voice to the martyr to respond their need to witness, to try to give shape to the hell they came to know - even if the gusto of the lie prowl their words”. (SELIGMANN-SILVA, 2003b, p. 379)

The idea of a testimony is generally still greatly associated to something exceptional that demands a story, either registered in the History books or in media, it's up to us to respond, in our analysis the reason for which the story of common people, in their daily dramas, emerges in popular shows as worthy of telling.

Thinking about the segments analyzed, we believe the testimony of characters can, to a certain extent, be thought as a survivor speech. Instead of witnessing life and death situations, they witness everyday afflictions, the pain and suffering of absence, the way how they got to survive away from being what was essential, the mother figure. When they seek to give voice to the ordinary citizen, popular programs aim something that brings identification, that makes us similar, being human dramas, the testimonies of suffering and overcoming, popular forms of the popular cultural matrix.

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Still reflecting about the testimony, we must highlight the particularities of the media testimony. According to Frosh and Pinchevski (2009), that includes the appearance of witness in the mediatic scene and consists in the possibility of the media itself to act as a witness, as well as the position of audience components as witnesses. In this sense, we can understand media testimony as those performed in media, by media and through media, therefore, media does not only give testimonies, but also has the capacity of witness and locate their viewers as witnesses of the events described.

More than media production, the authors understand media testimony as a culturally significant phenomenon, that says something about the new modalities of interaction between media and audience. It is about a performed testimony, in which what matters is not only what you say, but the way you say it, the performance of the actors involved, which includes the use of words, body, gestures, posture, facial expressions and even silence. We see that, in the analyzed testimonies, often is hard to translate into words the pain of absence, of abandonment, and gestures, silences and tears become important features in these stories.

Another important aspect is also the way these stories involve viewers and invite them in; as Frosh and Pinchevski say, when following a testimony, the viewer also becomes a witness of what is being narrated. The testimony approaches the audience to the one who is talking, either by identification to what is talked about, or the dramatic and moral content in which this testimony is built.

Looking at the three segments analyzed, we perceive that in the segment *Coming Home* Elsa is called to testify about the suffering that permeates her life and shows not only in her words, but also in her body and face. Their survivor story approaches the hard life she had in Ceará countryside, the moment she saw herself forced to abandon the family life to run away from her ex that threatened her, the ten years of marriage she suffered in the hands of a violent husband, the breast cancer and, during all these 27 years away from home, the lack of contact with her mother. Facing the stories of suffering, Elsa comes as the hero that

overcame all of life had to offer, being in the narrative as an example of overcoming obstacles and courage. As opposed to faith, which is described as cruel, she is characterized as a warrior, a fighter and a winner.

In the narrative, Elsa's performance is initially centered in suffering, her tears, gestures, facial expressions contribute for her story to express the pain of the experiences lived. The reporter also acts in a way to reinforce the suffering lived by her, asking questions, calling attention to her tears and having compassion to her story, projecting himself, as Dosser points out, in the place of the "victim" and manifesting sympathy and empathy. At the end of the segment, Elsa's segment gains new outlines and suffering gives place to the joy of the reunion. The tears are no longer of pain, but happiness, and the hug is the biggest expression of that.

In turn, in the segment *Delivery to you*, we see that Alaíde is called to testify the suffering for being abandoned by her mother and the distance from her origins. The doubts cause anxiety: "Where is my family? I wonder if everyone is ok? I wonder if anyone remembers me?". Suffering is also performed by the mother, dona Alice, in her sad face, in her silences seeing her story being narrated through simulations. We perceive the testimony of suffering not only in the anxious lines of mother and daughter, but also in their gesture (hands in the face, covering the mouth, looking down, looking sideways, tears, sighs).

If in the segment *Coming Home*, Elsa is the lead character and the hero of the story, in *Delivery to You*, Alaíde and Dona Alice are the lead ladies of the story, both being victims of the separation. The testimony of the two have importance in the narrative, being their performance conducted mainly by the host, Eliana, which, in different moments, highlights the lines and gesture of the participants, in order to showcase their suffering.

Regarding *I confess I've lived*, we perceive that Noemy has the role of lead character of this narrative, having a very similar suffering to Alaíde: the pain of absence and doubt. Out of the three characters, Noemy is the one who most performs for the cameras. We see her concern with what she let it show and a bigger involvement with what is being proposed

by the host. She gets emotional, but never is desperate. She smiles with Faro's jokes and is patient even with the prolonging of the ending of her story. Even without knowing her mother, all the time she says she forgave her and love her regardless of what happened. The unconditional love for the mother she doesn't know is reinforced numberless times, mainly in her host speech ("Do you love her without hugging her? How beautiful!"). Noemy's wish is that embrace, and her biggest fear is not having reciprocity of her feelings. She questions repeatedly whether her mother also loves her, whether her mother also wants to embrace her.

Finishing our analysis, we highlight as the last aspect the role of shows and also viewers as witnesses of what is being narrated. We perceive that Eliana, Rodrigo Faro and the reporter Fabio assume the role of witnesses in the media narrative, in that they appropriate their character's story. They not only testify that what is being said is true, but they also know details of the character's life and, through their questions and comments, give detail to their journey.

As for the viewers, we perceive that the narrative is always inviting us to witness what is being experienced. We (the audience) also put ourselves as witnesses of this suffering, of the suffering of those who are disposed to expose their intimacy to the camera. Mainly in the moment of the reunion, whoever plays the role of witness is the audience, who was invited throughout the narrative to identify with those women and root for them. We suffer, we cry, we get emotional and, in the end, we witness the happy ending.

Conclusions

Ending our analytical path, we want to rescue some points that are central in the reading of the three segments. The first one is, without a doubt, the decisive role of the host, who conducts the narrative, rescues and establishes their most significant aspects, builds an emotional environment and seeks to establish a affectionate partnership both with the character (in their suffering) and the audience (with their expectations). The interventions and the weaving established by them does not leave

a margin for creations, unforeseen events nor they stimulate the appearance of spontaneity.

It is also very evident how the segments analyzed (and certainly we could extend the result of the sample to other emissions) obey a standard structure, in which the host gives the initial framework and later he presents the character. Then the quest begins, filled with uncertainties, ending with the reunion. Even though the show produces elements of doubt and suspense, it is known everything is going to end well. The ending, however (just like the “happily ever after” in fairy tales) is quick and without any complexity.

The emotion, as we previously said, is the main point. Thorough the host’s performance, through soundtrack, image effects or producing simulation videos, everything works to gain the affectionate participation of the viewer - commotion being the central emotion in Eliana’s show and suspense on Faro’s.

Some aspects regarding the characters of the three shows called our attention, and only a study with a wider range could confirm the recurrence in other segments of the same format. Out of the three stories of daughters separated from their mothers, two are related to a teenage pregnancy and the impossibility to raise a child. In the third story, we have the death of the husband, situation where the widower also gives up her daughters. We can perceive a strong issue of gender in the analyzed sample.

Regarding the testimony, our guiding principle, we got to an ambivalent result: whether it’s true that the segment is all conducted around the narrative of a suffering experience, reported by the person that experienced it, we perceive, however, that the (abandoned) daughters are more interviewees than narrators, which weakens the very notion of testimony. The story already was appropriated and played by the show, and the characters work more as an illustration of the narrated story rather than bring it to life.

Finally, a small aspect that seems to be relevant and also reveals a issue of gender and generation. The three mothers, older women already

marked by the time, by the life of intense labor, present a restricted verbal expression. Despite the host's interaction and motivation to talk, they almost don't talk, and, in their marked bodies, the emotion already does not quickly appear, nor with great intensity. Thus, it is the frail body, and especially the facial expression - which translates more surprise than joy, more resignation than guilt, more tension than suffering - that are presented as true testimonies of a life filled with loss.

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Programas analisados:

- Confesso que vivi: mulher abandonada ainda bebê reencontra mãe. Disponível em: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cCPzNIco23o>>. Acesso em: 3 dez. 2016.
- Entrega para você: mãe e filha que não se veem há quase 40 anos. Disponível em: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D6SK0Cp2VZc>>. Acesso em: 3 dez. 2016.
- Voltando para casa: mãe e filha se reencontram após 14 anos. Disponível em: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TAPdfpcsKwY>>. Acesso em: 3 dez. 2016.

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