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FOREWORD

CMC magazine presents, in its 51st edition, the first part of the Dossier "Latin-American Communicational Thinking – challenges and perspectives of de-westernization of the Global South", coordinated by researchers Ana Cristina Suzina (Loughborough University) and Paola Madrid Sartoretto (Jönköping University). See, next, the presentation of the editors about the articles that comprise that dossier.

In addition to the dossier articles, the magazine brings other articles that discuss the relation between communication and consumption. In the article "Journalism and knowledge of the objective reality of the 21st century", Rafael B. R. de Souza discusses the news praxis as a form of knowledge immersed in a class society, and, for that, takes on the perspective of ontology of the social being in Marks to debate the possibility of knowledge of objectivity, investigating the peculiarities of journalism in the conceptual building of material dialectics. In "between algorithm and curatorship: radiophonic scheduling, music genre and repetition", the authors investigate the process of construction of radiophonic musical scheduling, increasingly tensioned between two poles: human curatorship and algorithmic mediation of automation softwares. Finally, in "Digital Work: the organizing role of communication", Rafael Grohmann proposes theoretic basis to understand the digital workspace from the communication perspective. To do so, he discusses the process

of creation of platform of works beyond the so-called "uberization" with race, gender, class and territory divide.

We wish you all a delightful reading!

Dossier Latin American Communicational Thinking: challenges and perspectives of de-westernization of the Global South

Volume I: Reunions and Strangeness

Ana Cristina Suzina and Paola Madrid Sartoretto

Reflecting on the Latin American communicational thinking, under the perspective of movements like the decolonization, de-westernization or recolonization, leads us to an exercise of simultaneously looking towards past, present and future. Looking towards the past because, if there's any coincidence between the many approaches that discuss the so-called Latin American school of communication, is that the research, teaching and communication practice in Latin America come from a spirit of resistance (see, for instance, SUZINA, 2021). On one hand, people sought to make a rupture with a globalized literature with universalizing pretensions, that did not comprise the explanation of contextualized phenomena in the Latin American context. On the other, there was a desire to value local knowledge production, including an emerging academia and knowledge rooted in social practices. It is important, then, to observe the academic practice present to ponder on how this school perseveres in this exercise and look towards the future to understand how the developments in 70-80 years of history inspire paths that can be shared and strengthened, and/or reveal problems, new or persisting, that need to be solved.

Personally, for us, editors, Brazilian researchers with a base in Europe (United Kingdom and Sweden), editing a dossier on Latin American communicational thinking is also an exercise of strangeness and re-union. Strangeness because we find ourselves as Latin American when we study communication in Europe, understanding that the communication studies on which we elaborate in graduation are predominantly invisible in the field of Communication at the Global North. There, we got in touch with a perspective of the field of communication that is not understood as perspective, but as the entirety of the field, constituting the metaphoric North of sociologies of absences and emergencies (SANTOS, 2002). And also there we met the strangeness of not belonging to the field in which we have always circulated freely and the limitation of only having a voice when we speak of the particular, the local, the regional.

The dynamics of strangeness and reunion, that are inserted in the relation between center and peripheries, are the focus of the de-colonial research and are present in several texts of the Dossier. They are articulated and nourish a historic path of the field of communication in Latin America, in its 'critical dialogues between knowledges and cultures… Mediations between popular, industrial and political cultures… Mediated cultural migrations… Heterogeneity of temporalities and practices… Performance insurrections… Barroque aesthetics… Bastard experience of *coolture*… A communication that makes the well-live possible…" (RINCÓN; MARROQUÍN, 2020, p. 53).

The decolonial research is frequently considered engaged (CUSI-CANQUI, 2012; KILOMBA, 2008), and adjective also frequently used to describe the Latin American school of communication (BERGER, 1999; DORNELLES, 2007) and other movements of knowledge liberation, as Paulo Freire's oppressed pedagogy and the Latin American intercultural philosophy (FORNET-BETANCOURT, 2007). In this sense, we add to Clemencia Rodriguez when she confesses that the feeling that "we have always studied that way" (2020, p. 38), when speaking of an approach to communication through the social and cultural

practices present in people's everyday life. Another reunion. And another strangeness, considering that what changes, between metaphorical North and South, is only the type of engagement.

The same way hegemonic colonial literature is projected through the image of de-territoriality, it also hides an engagement with the maintenance of that hegemony. There are many mobilized resources in this sense and the gears of an academic capitalism are the most recent ones. Boaventura de Sousa Santos talks about the abyssal line of knowledge that makes invisible and erases peripheral experiences and proposes insurgency as a strategy to claim the epistemological protagonism in social sciences (SANTOS, 2002; 2007). Capitalist hegemony about academia draws that abyssal line through the commoditization of knowledge, submitting it to the evaluation of market, the market appeal of research, following trends instead of questioning, and, thus, intensifying the hierarchy between center and periphery.

The different dynamics of marginalization affect academic production and the epistemological perspectives of intellectuals and minority groups coming from or localized in institutions of the Global South, in particular. Recent critical studies show that the legacy of coloniality and white supremacy surround academia, resulting in the under-representation of non-Western and non-White researchers in the international flows of publication and citation (CHAKRAVARTTY et al., 2018; RAO, 2019), evidencing the absolute dominion of epistemologies coming from the United States and Western Europe (see WASSERMAN 2020). Nonetheless, the strong prolific tradition and production of the region, analyses show the marginality of Latin American studies of communication in Western academia (ENGHEL; BECERRA, 2018; GANTER; ORTEGA, 2019).

In this context, different efforts of dialogue were historically made, such as the realization of international conferences of IAMCR in Argentina (1972), Venezuela (1980) and in Brazil (1992, 2004), in Mexico (2009) and in Colombia (2017) and ICA in Mexico (1980, 2000) and in Puerto Rico (2015); collaboration between Latin American and

European associations in communication, ALAIC and ECREA; in addition of different bilateral initiatives between Latin and Western countries. More recently, the contribution of Latin American research for the constitution of the field of studies of communication has been retrieved and valued (PERTIERRA; SALAZAR, 2020; STEPHANSEN; TRERÉ, 2019), adding and raising opportunities of collaboration.

In this sense, thinking from the South and from Latin America is thinking in dialogue with North and South, but especially with what we are, what we live, from what we ar. Dialoguing, in Paulo Freire's perspective, means to thing "with" the others; "[is] the "we think" that establish what "I think", not the other way around" (FREIRE, 2013, p. 57). As suggested by Jesús Martín-Barbero, it also means to think outside dualisms, to consider ambiguities, and formulate thinking with narratives capable of comprising the world we live in; "we need to go beyond reasoning and illustrating to telling", as Omar Rincón summarizes (2018, p. 11). Within this perspective of dialogue, the de-colonial and de-westernization posture is inserted as an attitude of authentic questioning and intellectual curiosity that has as main objective to see erased experiences and epistemologies and pushed beyond the abyssal line, in a perspective that "is not understood as a faraway echo of what Europe thinks, but the own expression of a thought that thinks the peripheral condition of the Latin American people and their traditions" (FORNET-BETANCOURT, 2007, p. 30).

When we revisit, along with the authors of this Dossier, the communication studies in Latin America, we reunite traditions, aspects and perspectives that open up and diversity their scope and theoretical and epistemological horizons. We have a deep gratitude for the generosity and the commitment of dozens of referees colleagues, that went over the 34 submissions received and helped us make necessary decisions in the choosing of ten contributions, that will be distributed in this and a second volume, to be published later on.

Composing this first part of the Dossier, Vera Martins and Rosane Rosa lead us through a journey "to the south of references", in which

they describe their own experiences and challenges looking for de-hierarchizing processes of knowledge production. The authors tell a research experience in the area of communication and feminist and gender studies, performed with women from Brazil and Mozambique, discussing aspects related to the choice of authors and the mobilization of concepts in a South-South dialogue.

Other two articles continue this reflection. Camilla Quesada Tavares, Michele Goulart Massuchin and Leila Lima de Sousa ponder on "who we recur when we speak about gender in Communication?" Through the analysis of 155 articles published by Qualis A1 and A2 publications in the field of Communication and Information, between 2000 and 2019, in Brazil. In her reflection, the authors discuss challenges faced in the search for new epistemological perspectives. In turn, Dorismilda Flores-Márquez presents a revision of publications about internet, digital communication and culture, in Mexico, in the period between 1981-2019. Through the analysis of 725 texts, the author proposes a timeline to identify the main themes and key researchers, the steps of investigation and the bonds with the Latin American communicational thinking and other traditions.

Afonso de Albuquerque and Thaiane de Oliveira are engaged in the discussion about the (in)visibility of Latin American research in communication in the international scenario, adding a level of reflection when provoking us to think about the re-colonial, in which, on one hand, the studies of Communication in Latin America are confronted internally and externally with a movement of neoliberal globalization and academic capitalism and, on the other hand, preserve a vigorous circuit of academic exchange, based on the open access of intellectual production.

Finally, Martin Quintana Elgueta, Cristian Tejeda Gómez and Fernando Carias Pérez present a study of an initiative of educommunication in Mapuche Williche communities in Chile. The interpretative analysis of documents and interviews suggest two distinctive characteristics of a de-westernization strategy of communications, that are the educational

political commitment as a local legitimating tactic and the transition from the denial to the valuation of the indigenous cultural multiplicity.

Between reunions and strangeness, this set of texts lead us through a path of vitality. The resistance of pioneers seems to maintain present, through the questionings and a tireless research to get close to realities and evolve with them – maybe because structural inequalities and cognitive injustice equally persist. More than a movement, de-colonization and de-westernization are processes that seem intrinsic to the studies of communication in Latin America, in its constitutive efforts of positioning before other epistemologies. The numerous contributions sent to this dossier and the decision of this publication *Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo*, which we are thankful for, of sheltering 10 of them into two volumes, is a striking evidence of this vitality and the wealth of this debate.

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Sumário

Artigos

Artigos

Ao Sul das referências: Reflexões decoloniais para desierarquizar os processos de produção de conhecimento

South of the references: Decolonial reflections to desierarchize the processes of knowledge production

Vera Martins[1]
Rosane Rosa[2]

Resumo: *O artigo apresenta uma reflexão a respeito de uma experiência de pesquisa na área da comunicação e dos estudos feministas e de gênero, realizada com mulheres do Brasil e de Moçambique, que privilegiou a utilização de referenciais teóricos decoloniais. O texto discute aspectos relacionados às escolhas de autoras(es) e apresenta os conceitos: axé (SODRÉ, 2017) e disponer de una misma (TZUL TZUL, 2016), para evidenciar a potencialidade dos referenciais decoloniais para democratizar o processo de produção do conhecimento. Nesse contexto, afirmamos que os estudos que promovem o diálogo entre países do sul global, a partir da incorporação de referentes teóricos decoloniais, contribuem para reposicionar, socialmente, os sujeitos e de nutrir o processo de teorização com as experiências de sua gente: autoras(es), pesquisadoras(es) de todos os níveis, comunidades, coletivos e movimentos sociais.*

Palavras-chave: *Produção do conhecimento; referências decoloniais; estudos feministas e de gênero.*

Abstract: *The article presents a reflection about a research experience in the area of communication and feminist and gender studies, carried out with women*

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from Brazil and Mozambique, which privileged the use of decolonial theoretical references. The text discusses aspects related to the choices of authors and presents the concepts: axé (SODRÉ, 2017) and disponer de una misma (TZUL TZUL, 2016), to evidence the potentiality of decolonial references to democratize the process of knowledge production. In this context, we affirm that studies that promote dialogue between countries of the global south, based on the incorporation of decolonial theoretical references, contribute to the social repositioning of subjects and to nourish the theorizing process with the experiences of their people: authors, researchers from all levels, communities, collectives and social movements.

Keywords: *Knowledge production; decolonial references; feminist and gender studies.*

"Invoking these laws
I beg you Exu
To plant in my mouth
Your verbal axé
Restituting me the language
That was mine
And was stolen from me".
(NASCIMENTO, 1981)

Invocations

This excerpt of the poem "Padê para Exu Libertador" of the Afro--Brazilian intellectual Abdias Nascimento, locates us in relation to the communication strategies that emerge from the African ancestry premises that persist in the Brazilian territory, sustaining the political action of resistance of Afro Diasporic communities. Exu is the lord of possibilities, because he rules the communication among all forms of life, in a complex articulation between technologies, human and natural resources, without any hierarchic order dictating his action. The de-naturalization of hierarchy is in the political basis of the de-colonial thinking, introducing a disorder in the Western linearity, and, with that, giving visibility to other senses of the world (OYĚWÙMÍ, 2017).

The senses of this poem are the inspiration for this text, that seeks to present reflections on the use of theoretical de-colonial references in the realization of scientific research. Their ponderations are centered in the articulation between the field of communication and feminist and gender studies and are supported in a research experience that were in between Brazil and Mozambique[3]. This is a writing product crossed by memories of an experience of intercultural research, which is inserted in the scenario of communicational discussions and are geared towards the uses of social media made by women on the Internet. This use was

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[3]   This research was developed not in the area of the doctorate-sandwiches carried out in 2017-2018 at the Pedagogical University, in Maputo, not in the area of the Abdias Nascimento Academic Development Program - Edital 02/2014 - SECADI / MEC / CAPES.

studied in both countries, through the analysis of stories made by wo-men in the fan page "Vamos Juntas?" on Facebook (Brazil), and in the group Algo Mais (Mozambique).

This research, its processes and results, was guided ethically and po-litically towards the south. And, when we think and write this term - South - we take into consideration, at least, two dimensions of signi-ficance: one is geographic and talks about the physical map, locatable home of the institutions that hosted the study, of the researchers that developed it and the people of the community that interacted as parti-cipating subjects of the investigation; the other dimension is political, where south is a space of memory, is an epistemic birthplace, it is social resistance, it is our point of view, it's a place of feeling, it is a perspective of an existence that crosses the lives and texts upon which we are going to reflect. In this sense, during all the investigation we have been aware to our practices, in order to avoid – and we hope we did it successfully – the reproduction of a geographic essentialism. Because of that, in the field of theorizations, we invite you to walk with us in the process of investigation of those ideas that are a product of political decisions of problematizing the hegemony of those who always have a "north".

Throughout all the process that involved the investigations – which lasted 3 years and 9 months –, we chose to present in this text two mo-ments. The first, that aims problematizing and discussing about who is authorized to produce knowledge, and from which social place will take place a critical reflection about the choice of the authors for the theoretical reference. The second moment is the presentation of two concepts, forged in the de-colonial intellectual context and employed in the research: *axé* (SODRÉ, 2017) and *dispor de si* (TZUL TZUL, 2016). By presenting them, we want to show the potential of de-colonial references as a resource to de-hierarchize and democratize the process of theoretical production of knowledge.

Methodologic gaze

The reflections that will be approached in this texts were articulated to think about the reality of Brazilian and Mozambiquean women through a feminist approach. The theoretical field of feminism was profoundly modified by the decolonial gaze of many intellectuals, such as, for instance, Maria Lugones (2014), Gladys Tzul Tzul (2016) and Carla Akotirene (2019). They introduce, beyond the problematization of gender, other elements through which is possible to reflect about an idea of femininity, of being born female and come to be designated as a woman in situated contexts. They claim that elements of class, culture, race and religion should be considered without hierarchizations among themselves, applied to each context and articulated to the desires and projects of these women. Far from meaning a question about how fundamental the feminist theory is, this process of questioning complexified and deepened the debate, as well as revealed the hegemonic face and conservative aspects of this theory, conceiving a more just and equal approach:

> When we don't see debate and discussion as antagonist and bellicose forms of communication, we can practice them as rhetoric means to clarify practical and theoretical differences and to pay respect to different feminist voices and perspectives as something that strengthen us and do not weaken the distinctive fights. FIORENZA, 2009, p. 43).

In this context of reflection, in this article, our methodologic gaze will come from the feminist critical hermeneutics (FIORENZA, 2009). We were inspired in the hermeneutics of suspicion to talk about the issue of the choice of authors and the hermeneutic of creative imagination to reflect about the already mentioned concepts.

In the hermeneutic of suspicion, recommends the author, we should not take the texts "literally", but rather, analyze what role they play in the interest of dominance. This exercise can be emotionally tough, because we already interiorized the authority of the academic text, and it demands, than, that we face our emotions, anxieties and fears. In the words of Fiorenza (2009, p. 198):

> A hermeneutics of suspicion cannot be confused with a hermeneutics of discovery, that assumes that in the world there is some order that can be discovered if we become aware of the different disguises used to uncover the Truth and conceal the reality.

Thus, this hermeneutic spin enables a surveillance over the dominant strategies of production of meaning and make visible the roles and values implied in, for instance, dichotomic and hierarchized peers, such as masculine/feminine, superior/inferior, us/them. In turn, in the hermeneutics of creative imagination, the author recommends seeking to generate utopian views still not accomplished, or not fully accomplished. In this exercise, one can look in the texts to "dream" with a world of justice and well-fare and find, in the imagination, the space of memory and possibilities.

> Thanks to our imaginative capabilities, we can put ourselves in other people's shoes, connect ourselves with our feelings and take place in their decisions and fights. The historic imagination allows us to see the struggle of women in the past and establish connections with our own struggles. (FIORENZA, 2009, p. 202)

In her conception, this spin is concerned in bringing up the capacity of conceiving change and noticing how situations can be transformed, as well as celebrating the people that brought change (FIORENZA, 2009). Both hermeneutics guide the reflexive construction of the two items of text coming next.

> *"Olorum*
> *Pai nosso e teu*
> *Exu*
> *de quem és fruto alado*
> *da comunicação e da mensagem".*
> *(NASCIMENTO, 1981)*

DOSSIÊ

Who can be called an intellectual?

The selection of theoretical references for the development of the research is one of the methodologic procedures that ask a reflection from researchers that involve an alignment with the established goals, but which also implies – even if not always consciously – a stance of political position on the investigation. In the experience of research Brazil-Mozambique over which we ware supporting the elaboration of this text, the process of deciding which references would compose the theoretic body went through different moments. In the beginning of the studies, we started in the field of Communication and Feminist and Gender Studies in a very wide form, and then we considered the possibility of making a cut-out exclusively feminist and with women authors. Finally, when the de-colonial studies started to compose our way of problematizing and thinking of paths, we were called to complexify (GANDARILLA, 2016) our choices.

It was in this moment that the hermeneutics of suspicion emerged as a path for the construction of this complexity, since it invites us to demystify the structures of dominance inscribed in the texts, but also in our own experiences, including those as researchers (FIORENZA, 2009). This movement of suspicion allowed us to authorize ourselves to choose for South American, African and a few authors from the global north, as long as, in their works, there were a sensitive dialogue with the south, or their reflections pointed towards critique on the hierarchic relations implied in the north-south relations.

We want to detain ourselves a little in this affirmation about "authorizing oneself", because this process is fruitful for a reflection on the adoption of decolonial theoretical references. Fiorenza (2009, p. 198) warns that "us women do not know if grammatically masculine texts are directed towards ourselves or not. That is why we need to think twice and ask if something talks to us or not". This hegemonic form of text production produces an effect of putting ourselves, as women, outside of the context of production of knowledge, gesture that we internalize through numberless social mechanisms of oppression. Then, a feeling

of not belonging – we are often not aware of it – calls us to seek for paths that legitimate us and support us in this place and using "established authors" is one of this mechanisms.

When we suspect about this feeling of not belonging, and its products about our scientific work as women, and, more specifically, women of the South, we have the possibility of drafting other paths. Therefore, the first movement, usually, is the one of presenting the "established authors", to, then, produce and extensive and exhaustive refutation, with feminist and decolonial bases, for instance. An attentive reading of suspicion hermeneutics (FIORENZA, 2009) shows us this is a trap. The "confrontational" elaboration, that seem to be a mandatory path for us that want to put thoughts in the center of our research that inhabit the social margins of the academic thinking, in reality evidence that we are still gravitating around an "ideal North" and employing our creative and intellectual energy in a subordinate way. It also means that we do not come from our own "cosmoperception" (OYE⊡WÙMÍ, 2017), but we are reporting ourselves to the hegemonic thinking, seeking acceptance so that then our elaborations can be worthy of existing in a theoretical universe. This type of understanding is one of the goals of the decolonial thinking.

This is about, according to José Gandarilla (2016), restoring the complexity of the world through a criticism to the modern/colonial thinking and its systems of universal categories, hierarchized and homogenizing, to refuse the place of immobility of subjects categorized by the colonial project. It is this system that supports the attribution of generified social roles and takes women out of the field of scientific reasoning. According to the author, the problem is in the universal categories – as the subordinate – that enclose people into predetermined labels, hiding their practices and knowledges and silencing their voices and not recognizing them as their interlocutors.

The author warns that recognizing the marks of the colonial projects go through the need of understanding its classificatory power and the constant reduction of complexity of the other – that gets limited to a

fixed category: woman, indigenous, black – of its ethics and its practices, devastating, thus, human diversity. Therefore, the challenge is to migrate from universal categories to universalizable categories. In this sense, it should happen a negotiation – democratic and collective – with the groups that represent human diversity and that would give us social conditions to propose useful categories of analysis, that would have power to become universalizable (GANDARILLA, 2016). In the author's point of view, categories such as equality, reciprocity and horizontality could be taken to discussion, because they are carried of this power to generate more ethical and aesthetic answers to the challenges of social transformation.

In this line of thought, two authors – Bell Hooks (2017) and Giovana Xavier (2019), American and Brazilian black intellectuals, respectively – point how decolonial critiques can translate into elements to be incorporated in research practices. The first author raises, among others, two aspects. She says that the format of text must be object of reflection, because it is a political option as it promotes more or less access to that content. In this perspective, Hooks (2017) invites us to revise the style of writing, refusing the academic flowery vocabulary that is reproduced into highly abstract elaborations, in a specific jargon and references that are obscure and hard to read. She also says that is necessary to go back to a style closer to the popular form of speech, in order to promote the ample circulation of knowledge, so that it can be an acted resource for the promotion of transforming practices.

Another relevant aspect defended by the author is the construction of an "expansive point of view" of theorization (HOOKS, 2017). This affirmation emerges from the questioning about who is and who can be nominated as an intellectual and claims a notion of shared authority in every process of production of knowledge (scientific research, teaching context, etc. Coming from examples of the feminist context, the author says: "It is that the production of the feminist theory is a complex phenomenon, that it rarely is so individual as it seems to be and generally is born from an involvement with collective sources" (HOOKS, 2017, p. 87).

In that same direction, Giovana Xavier (2019) questions the privilege of academic theorizations in relation to oral narratives as theoretical references and as place of knowledge production. The author defends that is necessary to look towards other spaces – outside the university bounds – to understand the diversity of knowledge that society is conceiving. These other spaces can include social media, because "in a country that treats academic culture as a privilege, the use of this direct communication tool is inserted into a process of creative writing that has the goal of qualifying points of view of black women as knowledge" (XAVIER, 2019, p. 17). Therefore, she claims the recognition of another intellectuality to

> [...] Evidence an approximation between who we are and what we produce. The answers to this innovative form of communicating the scientific knowledge transit from acceptance and recognition to rejection and a decommitment An awakening of extreme affections that reveal disputes of narratives both in academia and in the public space about knowledge of who is authorized to produce it. (XAVIER, 2019, p. 17)

Through our research experience, privileging the use of decolonial theoretical references to think about the uses of social media by Brazilian and Mozambiquean women, it is possible to say that this practice can promote a more equivalent and fair relation between theoretical productions, experiences and goals of researchers and people that interact as participants of the context where we fit our investigation investigating.

Our recognition finds support in Alejandro Haber (2011)'s reflections, when he invites us to seek to access knowledge in a state of change. According to the author, this type of knowledge is a conversation. But a conversation in certain conditions. Firstly, it happens with subordinate subjects, or with the subordinate face of subjects; it is not instrumental, in other words, that limits itself to retrieve information on how subjects attribute meaning to reality, but a conversation with other meanings of reality; something that call us and that, sooner or later, touch us.

Secondly, it is a conversation with the social movements, communities or collectives, politically mobilized to face the hegemonic system.

Thirdly, it is a widened conversation, including actresses and actors considered irrelevant (HABER, 2011). Once established the desire and the conditions for conversation, it accomplishes a "situation of investigation", in other words, a conversation in which many voices are going to get articulated. In the research experience on how we are reflecting, that meant articulating theoretic voices, these Brazilian and Mozambiquean women, and the voices of researchers, and the research was constituted in a space favorable for the meeting and co-presence, allowing that everyone listens and speaks about belonging, recognition and solidarity.

Celebration of experienced knowledge

The creative imagination proposed by Fiorenza (2009) is acted here as a political resource to revisit the processes of production of knowledge because, at the same time the author calls attention to the construction of scenarios that allow social transformation, her invitation to celebration of those people and struggles already in course distance ourselves from the imaginary that populates the mind with lonely and sterile environments of science labs. The employment of the word celebration introduces sound and color, brings movement and dynamism in this environment, reminding us it is possible to conceive a process of investigation where the knowledge of theorization and experiences of subjects are not wasted on disputes of authority.

Through this approach, the projection of change goes through the visibilization of concepts that result in the de-colonial debate. For this text, we chose two concepts, among many possibilities of repertoire already produced by this theoretic approach, that emerge from contexts of communication and decolonial feminist studies. The first is axé – mobilized by joy and affection – according to the thought of the Communication intellectual Muniz Sodré (2017). The author's reflection is the result of a deep knowledge of social, cultural, economic, religious and political forms of life of Brazilian afro-diasporic communities, who he calls as nagô thinking. And the second concept is *disponer de una misma* (dispose of oneself), thought in the Feminist field by the sociologist Gladys

Tzul Tzul (2016), which employs it from a dialogue with the feminist tradition about the political place of desire. The propositions of these authors are both critiques of the western matrix of thought and propositions of another geographic reason for a political action that promotes social transformation in situations of colonial, patriarchal or capitalistic oppression.

The approach of Sodré (2019), in the support of nagô thinking, begins by locating the process of constitution of a person, given in a community context, within particular interpretative positions, the milestones of political and moral philosophy related to African societies.

> In this line of thought ruled by a cosmology and ancestry, the human being is constituted by collective materials (coming from divine and ancestral entities) and an individual combination of materials, responsible for its singularity. (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 117)

This context institutes another timeline, where dates and facts lose their importance, because they are grounded in the "narrative of an existential experience connected through families, neighbors, acquaintances, everyone in a community" (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 115). In this cosmology, the human being "shares a condition common to animals, minerals and vegetables, as well as the gods, with identical elements" (2017 p. 118).

And this shared condition is established by the axé. The author explains that this concept makes visible the form how the cosmology, organized into philosophies, when it is ripped from its origin, is reorganized and reconfigured to survive, resist and persist in this side of the Atlantic. Sodré (2017, p. 133, highlights made by the author) defines like this: "The word *axé* comprises force and action, quality and state of body and its skills of accomplishment. *Axé* is, in fact, a potential of accomplishment or non-accomplishment, supported in the body". This accomplishment mobilizes the energy of beings: gods, men and ancestors, calling the natural forces of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms. Therefore, axé is a virtuality, the sacred as a transcending

field, that is updated or individualized, asking for a body unity, uniting the word with tone and gesture:

> Experienced as a content, cumulative and transmissible by body media-
> tion, axé holds the cycle of symbolic exchange, of giving and receiving,
> making community codes work, presiding transformations and passages
> from one situation to another. (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 134)

To understand axé, the author points as decisive the understanding of two aspects: affection and joy, because, in the nagô perspective, the order of phenomena is linked to the primacy of sensitive and sensitivities, and distanced from rationalized and intellectualized processes.

> In the core of a diasporic philosophy, as the nagô thinking, the alacrity
> understood as an "existing point" is an affective regency that enables this
> margin within a social context marked for centuries for the continuity of
> politics of servitude. (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 24)

In this context, affection means the exercise of an action about one/another sensitivity – not necessarily a being – that carries contents of emotion and of a particular state of consciousness; in turn, joy is a fundamental form of nagô existence, not as a circumstantial affection, but as a concrete and stable regime of relationship with reality, as an active power of existence of individuals (SODRÉ, 2017). Joy is not a circumstantial affection, but a concrete and stable regimen of relationship with reality, and, therefore, an active power. "That is why there isn't properly a subject of joy. There is the subject of emotion, object of sensation, even the subject of a feeling, but joy is regency, something that enables the existence of subjects" (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 151), and is related, consequently, with the knowledge of practical life.

Therefore, it is the axé, in its manifestations of affection and joy, that lay a base for the social resistance employed by black communities from their communities: "However, instead of a mournful discourse, of victimization or even repression, of everything that had happened, the black literature recognizes the reality of change [...]" (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 152).

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In the reflection of the author it is this relational logic that permeates the forms of community organization of African descendants, giving coverage to their political action, which "is not used to appearing in the ethnologic lenses and is visible in the mobilization of the resource for the consolidation of internal alliances to the group and in the tactics of approximation with the hegemonic global society" (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 172). However, even invisible, this mobilization exists supported in manifestations of axé and joy.

Axé is an energy that crosses the political action,

> At the same time, individual and collective, but also at the same time pre-individual and impersonal. There is the axé of gods, of natural elements, of alive individuals and ancestors, therefore, there is multiple intensities organized in the field of communication of a common. It is crossed by a syncretism of affection, in addition to practices of elaboration and absorption […]. (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 134)

Therefore, axé is inscribed in the dynamic of continuity of existence to conform, not a mournful and victimizing discourse of everything that happened, but a liturgy that recognizes the reality of change.

In that same critical branch, we find a dense feminist theorization, impacted by the decolonial approach, given towards the conditions located of women to make visible the marks of transformation, product of action against injustice, inequality and oppression, opening, thus, the spectrum of understanding about feminine experiences. In this context, we highlight Tzul Tzul's (2016) ponderations, that bring a reflection about the notion of social transformation, in which the author calls attention to the fact that, generally, we don't take into account that, at the same time something is transformed, something is conserved. This thought is a criticism to the revolutionary idea of transformation, that is necessary to destroy and get rid of everything there is and rebuild from the ground up. In this approach, for instance, often the use of digital social media is questioned in its legitimacy and effectivity as social fight. It is necessary to remember that the use of social networks is one of the faces of the historical weave of movements, that gets updated and

expands possibilities, as well as promotes access and opens space for subordinate voices.

For the author, social transformation comes from the impulse of the human capacity of producing and reproducing collective forms of living in the world, from another form that is not about dominance, exploitation and deprivation: "[...] The transformation ceases from being centered in the totality of relations of domination, opening a space for the possibility of (de)forming, (re)forming what exists through located and specific collective effort" (TZUL TZUL, 2016, p. 172).

When thinking about the distinct circumstances of this condition located in the feminine, the author talks about the challenges of the intersectional debate. She understands that the path is to find similarities in the forms of oppression, without ceasing to recognize and reinforce the set of particular and specific variations. In other words, working with the notion that there cannot be an abstract feminine, but rather a located feminine. Tzul Tzul (2016) emphasizes that is necessary to recognize, even in this located condition, that women and men can hide and break domination, since they can read their rules and not only face it upfront, but also play with them.

According to the author, what is at stake is the collective fight, from the condition of women, so that they can dispose of themselves. From that, it is essential to recognize the strategic field of fights, where a series of tactics are established to organize life, with efforts in the sense of breaking the power and symbolic order. In addition to that, there is the purpose of escaping the certainty of discourses and practices that insist in constituting or obligating women to the adjustment of the dichotomy victim/heroin.

It is about refusing the idea that women always were oppressed in a devastating way, to then find and make visible the varied forms that they propelled and make their skills work, mainly in the community outlines of life reproduction (or in networks). "[...] In no way I believe the political act of resisting is only found crossed by suffering and pain.

But, well, the struggles of women and men must be interpreted from the imagination and creativity […]" (TZUL TZUL, 2016, p. 198).

As the author highlights, there is a strength of women that comes from everyday world (relations) and gets invisible by the analyses of liberal roots, because this perspective disregards the world of life reproduction. So, it is necessary to study the bonds of women with other women, "because it is mainly in the relationship between women where we enable the recognition of desire and find the strength to unfold them" (TZUL TZUL, 2016, p. 176).

The author brings back the notion of impulse and power of the feminine desire as a form of subversion of the limits imposed by the patriarchy in the different spheres of life: "Thinking from desire, more well, put in another place the hardships and allow us to analyze more the conventional forms of how to prescribe the way in which women can liberate themselves (the rights, the participation, the collectivity of the land)" (TZUL TUZL, 2016, p. 180). The limits are accomplished as an impossibility of dispose of oneself and the desire as a propeller of liberation and individual and collective participation. In the author's words,

> [...] To think about the desire feed, or at least put in another ways, the common forms through which women are produced within the weaves with other women and with other young men, calling us to redefine the terms of balance. (TZUL TZUL, 2016, p. 181)

Therefore, Tzul (2016) reinforces the need to, beyond studying the limits imposed and impossibilities, gear the efforts of understanding to the fights against boundaries. Which doesn't mean denying or ignoring the set of difficulties and symbolic and factual costs of difficulties, but rather not limit oneself nor let them be immobilized by it.

> [...] Disposing of oneself means basically to have the possibility of unfold the desire in situated conditions. The conditions in which we exist establish boundaries and simultaneously open possibilities, the unfolded desire in this sense is something as the individual and collective energy, capable of eroding and moving those boundaries and opening the possibilities of disposing of oneself. (TZUL TZUL, 2016, p. 190)

The author reinforces that it is not about omitting the circumstances in which we are inserted and that limit us to the capability of dispose of ourselves but recognizing and affirming that we are not a mechanic determination of people and structures with which we relate, we are capable of negotiating and acting strategically in situated conditions. In this sense, the challenge is to manage our individual trajectories and keep producing a collective struggle to create conditions of possibility to live in "community-communal weaves" – or in networks – and have a concrete and affective base to solve our issues.

> *"I offer you, Exu,*
> *The ebó of my words".*
> *(NASCIMENTO, 1981)*

Delight in words

The concepts of *axé* and *disposing of oneself*, in the context of our research, were fundamental to think about the desire of women of widening the understanding about their reality. They brought perspectives and reflections that opened space for our meeting with these subjects silenced by the colonial thought in another place. This place is no longer only the place of resignation – or an episodic rebelliousness as told by the books of official history –, but people that were in a constant process of tension, confrontation and undertakings to transform their condition. In the case of women, the gesture of apprehending transcultural practices, that dispute the senses of a whole narrative, means, again, to reposition them in a category of human.

That form of organization-movement elaborates and systematizes knowledges within a "think-live", without intellectualizing, in other words, without making the thought a cognitive sphere separated from common life. "Not being essence, but movement of thought, the idea only exists as it is *communicated*, in other words, as it is *linked* to other ideas" (SODRÉ, 2017, p. 95, highlighted by the author). In the context of our research, the understanding of communication as condition for

existence was important in the understanding of resources available through social media, for the struggles and accomplishment of women's desires. These media have enabled communication because they promote the circulation of emerging ideas from different groups of women, simplifying their link to the practices and experiences, expanding spaces of acceptance and belonging of women.

The delights and obligations to Exu, the orisha of communication, must be placed in crossroads. This place which, since a western perspective of order and linearity destabilized by the possibility of doubt, in a decolonial vision, is covered of opening and power, a celebration of the encounter. It is the power conceived by this opening that can reconnect us with the complexity of knowledge of people from the global South. We say that the studies that promote the dialogue among countries of the global South, through the incorporation of different decolonial intellectual references, are a form of socially repositioning the subjects and democratizing the production of knowledge.

Our affirmation is possible because the path of decolonial reflection we walked invited us, all the time, to act on the de-hierarchization of relations established in the research processes, in other words, in the universe of production of scientific knowledge. The path we chose as researchers integrate our political action, that is articulated with all the critical movement to theorization that do not promote capacitation and strengthening of resistance, that have been sustaining life in the colonized south. Our theoretical options took into account that this type of knowledge must support, for instance the liberating activism in social movements and, still, be systematized in such a way that can be shared in a written and spoken form, guaranteeing the democratic access to the process of theoretic construction and the repertoire produced.

The goal of de-hierarchization that moves the decolonial thinking also means a liberating movement within the processes of production of knowledge, because it does not intend to dispute a place in the hegemonic centers of thinking, it does not desire an inversion of poles between north and south. When offering an alternative path, it liberates everyone

that are affected by in a waste of personal and collective resources, implied in occupy and maintain in spaces of domination.

Free from pressure, we can go back to the south. We are capable of nourishing ourselves with experiences of these people: authors, researchers from all levels, communities, collectives and social movements. In conversation, we can produce knowledge, we can communicate ourselves – verbal *axé* – in continuity with different cultural matrixes, connected with the interference of human practices and narratives, in which everyone meets, produces and narrates from their locations, every movement being celebrated. Axé!

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D O S S I Ê

A quem recorremos quando falamos sobre gênero na Comunicação? Aspectos de colonialidade e decolonialidade a partir da bibliografia utilizada nas pesquisas da área

To whom do we call upon when we talk about gender and Communication? Aspects of coloniality and decoloniality from the bibliography used in research on the field

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Resumo: *O objetivo deste artigo é discutir, a partir das referências bibliográficas utilizadas em artigos que apresentam uma intersecção entre Comunicação e Gênero, como aspectos de colonialidade e decolonialidade aparecem na produção científica da área. Para isso, analisamos 155 artigos publicados nos periódicos Qualis A1 e A2, da área da Comunicação e Informação, entre 2000 e 2019, a partir da abordagem bibliométrica, com base em análise textual e de redes. Com essas estratégias, procuramos identificar as temáticas dos trabalhos e os autores mais utilizados nessas pesquisas. Nosso argumento é de que os fenômenos carecem de novas perspectivas epistemológicas, mas isso esbarra em diversos problemas, tais como o foco das referências advindas de países da Europa Ocidental e Estados Unidos.*

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DOSSIÊ

Palavras-chave: *Comunicação e gênero; bibliografia; periódicos científicos; Sul Global; estudos decoloniais.*

Abstract: *The main purpose of this article is to discuss how aspects of coloniality and decoloniality appear in the scientific production of the area, based in the bibliographic references used in articles that present an intersection between Communication and Gender. To support this debate, we analyze 155 articles published in Qualis A1 and A2, in the area of Communication and Information, between 2000 and 2019, using the bibliometric method, combined with textual and network analysis. With these strategies, we seek to identify the themes of the works and the authors most used in this research. Our argument is that the phenomena lack new epistemological perspectives, but this comes up against several problems, such as the focus of references from Western European countries and the United States.*

Keywords: *Communication and gender; bibliography; scientific journals; Global South; decolonial studies.*

Introduction

The area of Communication and Gender, in Brazil, has been growing since the 1970's (SOARES, 1994), with the growth of the number of graduate programs and studies published in scientific journals in the last few years (TOMAZZETI, 2019; ESCOSTEGUY, 2019; MASSUCHIN; TAVARES; SILVA, 2020). Despite already having an indication about these networks of authorship and the main objects of study and the most used methods and techniques in these research, the field still needs investigations dedicated to observing, in a systematized form, where these phenomena are anchored theoretically and epistemologically. Thus, we come from the presupposition that a network of references mobilized by authors help us understand tendencies, theoretical and methodological choices and the advance of the field itself. Therefore, this text has the goal of mapping the most used themes and bibliographies in research on Communication and Gender published in Brazil.

In the traditional literature about gender – strongly influenced by researchers of Western Europe and United Stated – there is the recognition that the main currents of thought present limitations to understand the phenomenon in a wider sense, anchored in different realities. That is because most of the production is based in a quite different reality from the one faced by poor, black, lesbian, country women living in countries considered peripheral, such as in the Global South.

In Brazil, research developed by Gonzales (2011), Carneiro (2011) and Bairros (2014) put in evidence the necessity of dislocating gender studies to incorporate the intersections between gender, race, class and sexuality, in the composition of power and inequality hierarchy. This is an asymmetry identified not only when we talk about gender studies, but in all levels of social life, according to those who defend the bias of decolonial and post-colonial studies, arriving in Latin America in the 1990's (BALLESTRIN, 2013). Thus, they defend the use of this analytical lens to also understand the gender issues and inequalities present in these societies (LUGONES, 2014; MENDES; FONSECA, 2020).

But we wonder whether Brazilian research recur to decolonial perspectives to understand the phenomena involving communication and gender? With the intent to answer this question, this study analyzed the themes and references used in 155 articles published in national publications with Qualis A1 and A2, in the area of Communication and Information in Capes[4,] through the bibliometric method, between the years 2000 to 2019. In total, 10 publications within this scope published articles about this theme in this period: *Cadernos Pagu*, *Comunicação*, *Mídia e Consumo*, *Dados*, *E-Compós*, *Estudos Feministas*, *Famecos*, *Galáxia*, *Intercom*, *Matrizes* and *Opinião Pública*.

The articles were mapped by members of the research group Communication, Politics and Society (COPS), at Universidade Federal do Maranhão (UFMA), campus Imperatriz, and the indexation content (title, author, university, abstract and keywords), as well as bibliographic references employed in each article, were collected manually and put in an Excel spreadsheet. After the collection, a complementary research was performed to include the country of origin and the university of the most cited authors in these studies. For this text, we will use data referring to the keywords and bibliographic references.

In turn, the data analysis was performed in two steps, through two different software. The first one consisted in the analysis of keywords, with the aid of the software Iramuteq, which allowed the creation of the similitude analysis (SALVIATI, 2017), showing which were the most present themes in the studies and to what they were associated. In turn, the second part is a result from the extraction of bibliographic references used in research, through network analysis, enabled by the software Gephi.

The bibliometric analysis (NARIN; OLIVASTRO; STEVENS, 1994; MACHADO JUNIOR *et al.*, 2016; GUIMARÃES; BEZERRA, 2020) allow us to understand the production of a country on a certain theme, through a micro or macro scenario (MACIAS-CHAPULA, 1998; OLIVEIRA, 2019). From this systematized mapping, we can have

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4   The mapping was carried out considering the officially valid Qualis (2013-2016), since there was still a division by large areas and the "As" strata were composed only by two categories - A1 and A2.

a panorama on how Communication and Gender studies are framed in Brazil, considering the debate on coloniality and decoloniality of theoretical and methodological perspectives. The agenda of decolonization and de-westernization of research has been getting attention for at least two decades, but its impact in international production in the area of Communication has been fairly limited (ALBUQUERQUE, 2020; ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020), as we will see next.

The text is divided in the following manner: in the next topic we present the empirical results of bibliographic mapping, indicating analytical patterns and research gaps verified through the main references, networks of citation and themes. Next, we will talk about the decolonial studies that could be more well-mobilized by Brazilian research considering the sub-area of Communication and Gender. Finally, we will present conclusions, where we discuss on the difficulties crossing the visibility of publications in the Global South, especially regarding the insertion in the list of relevant international publications, because they are considered coming from peripheral, third world countries, effects of what the studies identify as "coloniality of knowledge".

The optics of gender studies in Communication through a bibliographic analysis

In order to understand the references mobilized in the works integrating this article, we believe it is interesting to know what this research are about. To do so, we present the similitude analysis from a write generated considering the keywords of 155 publications. This type of analysis allows us to infer "the structure of text construction and the themes of relative importance, from the co-occurrence between words (SALVIATI, 2017, p. 69). From it, we perceive that the gender category that predominates the analysis is female, approached by the theoretical cutout of feminism, however, a good part of the studies does not discuss intersectional aspects or through the bias of consubstantiality (HIRATA, 2010). In our corpus, only 11 articles present intersectional discussions.

And notedly, despite the expansion of studies that contemplate other gender categories and the arrival of new approaches in the studies of the area in the last decades as the focus on sexuality and masculinities (GROSSI, 2004), they still do not have prominence comparing to the female category (and its derivations, as feminine, feminism, femininity, etc.).

Image 1 - Write of similitude of the keywords of the published articles.
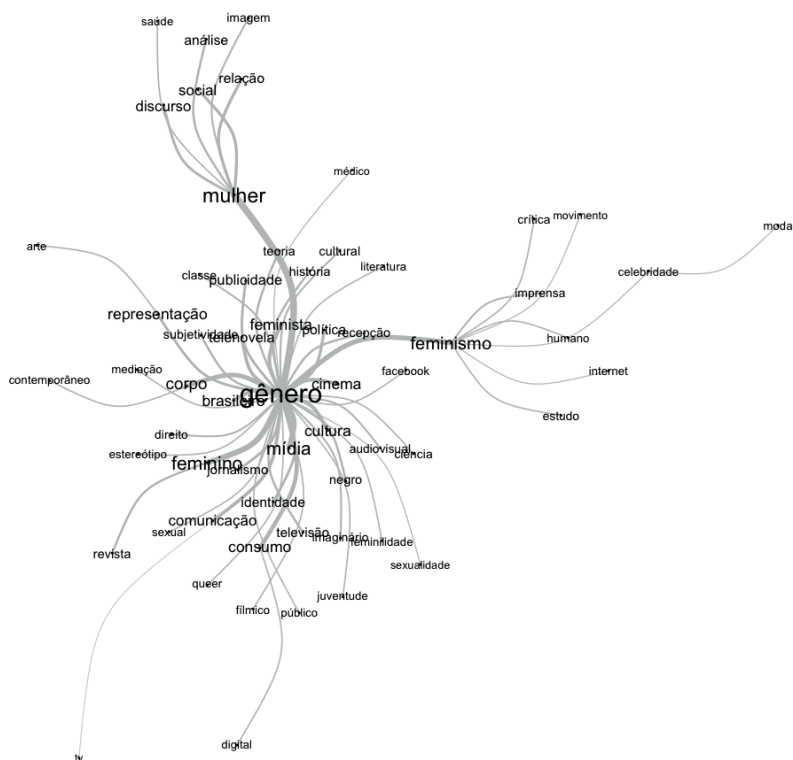
Source: File of the authors (2020)

In turn, the type of study talks about, in its majority, representations built by the media discourse, which is a quite frequent methodological cutout in Communication, both in a national perspective (ESCOSTE-GUY, 2019, 2008; SARMENTO, 2013) and international (DOW;

CONDIT, 2005). Since we are talking about Brazilian publications, in addition, most articles are written in Portuguese and refer to the Brazilian context, hence the importance of the word. If on one hand, that represents a growth in the studies of Communication and Gender about the scenario of Brazil, on the other it indicates the centrality in specific cases and the low presence of comparative research, which is not a characteristic of only this field, being a challenge for the research in Communication in general (WIRTH; KOLB, 2004).

We also highlight the terms cinema and film, appearing as a subarea and object, respectively, in a fairly relevant manner. In this sense, the studies on audiovisual have been offering fairly central considerations in research about gender crossing different issues, such as intersectionality, representation and the critique to sexualized bodies (VEIGA, 2017), just as the analysis from a political perspective, with studies about coverage and representation of female politicians (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2014), which will be clearer with the observation of the used references.

In relation to the references that were catalogued in the 155 articles, in total were 3.464 citations, which generates an average of 22 references per work. From this data, we consider in this article that the references can give relevant indication on how aspects of coloniality and decoloniality appear in the scientific production of the area. Moreover, they show traces and paths which published research dislocate, from choices made on literature used as theoretical, epistemological and methodological basis. As the authors referenced can be the same or even from different works, we had the total of 2,007 unique authorships. Thus, the network of authors is related to all the authors cited, being catalogued here only once; while the network of citations is referring to all the time in which the authors were cited, including different works from the same author. The first is related to the number of authors, while the second one is related to the amount of times this author appeared in the references. Table 1 systematizes the result considering the total of authorships and citations.

Table 1: General data on authors and citations

Quantidade de citações	Quantidade de autores/as	Total de citações
1	1.512	1.512
2	266	532
Entre 3 e 9	198	862
10 ou mais	31	558
Total	**2.007**	**3.464**

Source: File of authors (2020)

From the results, we see that there is not, in fact, an elevated centralization in certain authors of the area, even if in some cases they are highlighted as we will see next. In general, there is a fairly evident pulverization of references, even if they are considered both those inherent to gender studies and the ones treating other subjects. However, as all the work, even within the subareas of communication, dialogue with a central issue – in this case, gender studies –, it is expected that this authors have a bigger prominence because they would be the ones to circulate through all the texts. Out of the 2007 authors that received at least one reference, only 31 had 10 or more citations. Considering that more than one work of the same article can be cited in each article – as it is the case of Pierre Bourdieu, for instance, who appears 46 times, but only in 26 articles – this pulverization becomes even more evident. Although the studies on Communication and Gender are seen as a consolidated intersection, with internal approaches already passible of being defined (ESCOSTEGUY, 2019; 2008; DOW; CONDIT, 2005; MENDES; CARTER, 2008), that does not seem to happen with the basis of research.

This pulverization – despite showing a growing expansion of the area – can also indicate a certain difficulty of having a theoretical background, either mobilizing more authors of gender studies to strengthen the intersection or evidencing those that, within this subarea, already built their paths and proposed theories and approaches for studies in Communication and Gender. This hypothesis is anchored in the fact

that 1,512 authors were cited only once in these studies, which represent 43.6% of the total of citations.

From this initial data, we seek to understand now some key points on the axis coloniality and decoloniality. For that, the Table 1 shows who are the authors that were referenced the most, remembering that it cannot be necessarily the same study, although in many cases we have observed the permanence of citation of certain books or articles. It is the case, for example, of Michel Foucault, which appears, mostly, due to his book *The History of Sexuality*. That is repeated in the case of Joan Scott, with the text *Gender: a useful category of Historical Analysis* and Judith Butler with *Gender Trouble*.

Generally, about half of the authors (16) that appear the most as reference have some type of production – even if in different moments of the academic journey – on gender studies. A good part are reflections in related areas – philosophy, political science, etc. That bring the gender perspective to the discussion. Other references, however, are already consolidated in subareas of communication, as it is the case of the area of Cinema with Laura Mulvey and Teresa de Lauretis, which was already identified by Veiga (2017).

Other citations that stand out are Michel Foucault (60 made in 33 articles, since there are different studies referenced) and Pierre Bourdieu (46 in 26 articles, also with over one study per article, on average), in the top of the ranking of references, and the books referenced are more punctual on the theme in comparison to other authors that have a story more centered and long within the gender studies, as it is the case of Judith Butler, Ana Carolina Escosteguy and Joan Scott. Butler, for instance, has a vast recent production in comparison with the referred authors.

Table 1 - Distribution of citation of the most referenced authors.

Autores citados	Freq. da citação	Origem	Instituição
*FOUCAULT, Michel.	60	França	Collège du France
*BOURDIEU, Pierre.	46	França	Collège du France
*BUTLER, Judith.	31	Estados Unidos	Universidade da Califórnia
HALL, Stuart.	30	Jamaica	Universidade de Birmingham
MARTIN-BARBERO, Jesús.	27	Espanha	Universidade Valle de Calli
*ESCOSTEGUY, Ana Carolina.	25	Brasil	PUC-RS
*SCOTT, Joan.	23	Estados Unidos	Estudos Avançados de Princeton
LÉVINAS, Emmanuel.	23	França	Universidade de Paris
*MIGUEL, Luis Felipe.	18	Brasil	UnB
FREIRE FILHO, João.	17	Brasil	UFRJ
GIDDENS, Anthony.	16	Inglaterra	Escola de Economia de Londres
BARTHES, Roland.	16	Normandia	CNRS
BAUDRILLARD, Jean.	16	França	Sorbonne
ROCHA, Everardo.	14	Brasil	PUC-Rio
*PERROT, Michelle.	14	França	Universidade de Paris VII
*DE LAURETIS, Teresa.	14	Itália	Universidade da Califórnia
* MULVEY, Laura.	13	Inglaterra	Universidade de Londres
LIPOVETSKY, Gilles.	13	França	Universidade de Grenoble
FISCHER, Rosa Maria Bueno.	13	Brasil	UFRGS
*RONSINI, Veneza Mayora.	12	Brasil	UFSM
MAFFESOLI, Michel.	12	França	Universidade de Paris
*McROBBIE, Angela.	12	Inglaterra	Universidade de Londres
*MODLESKI, Tania.	11	Estados Unidos	Universidade da Califórnia
HABERMAS, Jürgen.	11	Alemanha	Universidade Heidelberg
COSTA, Jurandir Freire.	11	Brasil	UFRJ
MORLEY, David.	10	Inglaterra	Universidade de Goldsmiths
*PRECIADO, Paul Beatriz.	10	Espanhol	Universidade de Paris III
*HAMBURGUER, Esther.	10	Brasil	USP
CANCLINI, Nestor García.	10	Argentina	Universidade Autônoma do México
*ANG, Ien.	10	Indonésia	Universidade de Sidney
*ALMEIDA, Heloisa Buarque de.	10	Brasil	USP

Fonte: autoras (2020)

Source: File of the authors (2020)

Another issue that calls our attention on the research is that a significant part of the referenced work are the ones translated to Portuguese,

becoming more accessible. From that, it is important to reinforce that the exercise of translation – in the case of these central authors – say a lot about the position they fill. Costa (2003) reinforces, for instance, the role of feminist magazines – we can also include publishers here – making translations and contributing to the transnational circulation of theories or concepts. However, if on one hand this process is positive so that these studies circulate beyond the barriers of an interdisciplinary field between North and South (COSTA, 2003), one can argue that that can generate – in another form – a guiding of the approach that almost does not have an opposite path (from South to North). It is important to highlight that the politics of citations ends up directing towards this insight, reinforcing what Costa (2003) calls "network of transnational influences".

If on one hand the studies of Communication and Gender already count with a history of at least 20 years of publications in a more evident manner in Brazil, being possible to build even a meta research (ESCOSTEGUY, 2019) that does not mean – necessarily – that this subarea builds its own discussions from the appropriation of foreign literature, since they are the majority among the most frequently referenced. From 16 authors on gender that are on top of the ranking, only five are Brazilian, however, they tend to be referenced in their respective subareas in a stricter manner: Ana Carolina Escosteguy, Veneza Ronsini, Esther Hamburguer, Heloisa Almeida a Luis Felipe Miguel[5].

Another central information to which these data cast a light, approaching more from the decolonial aspect to be debated, is that the studies of Latin American authors – or even from the Global South, looking towards other regions, such as Asia or Africa – despite appearing among the references, they are not causally related to the gender discussion. It is the case of Stuart Hall, a Jamaican, although he has always worked in England; Néstor Canclini, Argentinian author that works in Mexico; and Jesús Martín-Barbero, born Spanish, but raised in

5   In this last case, part of the references is not necessarily on the Gender discussions that the author face directly over the last two 10 years.

Colombia. All of them represent some aspect of decoloniality – either in their original countries or in the one they work at, but they cannot be considered completely out of the axis, in addition to the fact that they do not belong, originally, to the subarea in question. Among the most cited authors, the only exception among international researchers is Ien Ang, an intellectual of gender studies, born in Indonesia and a researcher at University of Sidney, in Australia.

Data also show, on the other hand, the entering of new perspectives and approaches of gender, as it is the case of studies on sexuality, brought by Paul Beatriz Preciado. However, it is important to highlight he is a Spanish author working in France, with work also translated to Portuguese, such as the *Countersexual Manifesto*. In Judith Butler's case, although the author is a representative of queer studies and the discussion on other gender categories, she ends up being referenced and brought to the discussion almost mostly in works about women. To show the centrality of authors that dialogue with the most cited gender studies in research, we present the network in Image 2. It was built considering 16 authors from the subarea of gender that have at least 10 citations.

The write was built through the algorithm ForceAtlas, which spatially represents the bonds between knots. The statistics used was the degree of entry, or, the amount of linking – or, in this case, citation – that each knot has received. As already identified in Table 1, Foucault and Bourdieu were the most cited authors, and are the most centrals in the write, indicating they established strong bonds among themselves and other authors in the list of references. Judith Butler, despite appearing in third place in the list of the most cited authors, presents the biggest degree of betweenness of the network. That means she is a hub that connects different references and theoretical perspectives – the point in common in different works. She is the only reference of gender that directly dialogues with Paulo Preciado, for example, who is dedicated to the studies on sexuality, as previously said. At the same time, she is present in different works that also reference Michel Foucault.

Image 2 – Network of the most cited gender authors in articles.
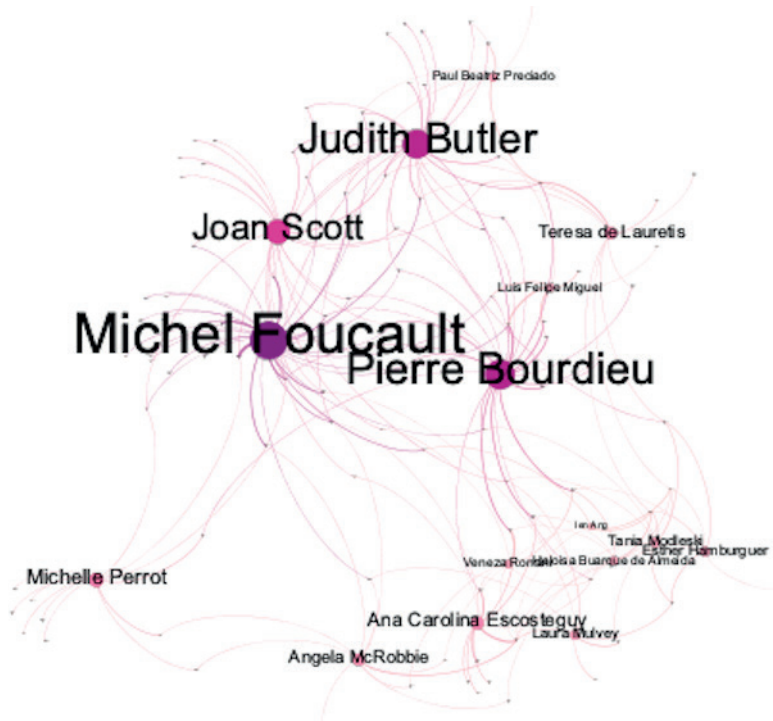
Source: File of the authors (2020)

Bourdieu, on the other hand, is the author that dialogues the most with Brazilian authors in the research analyzed, since he is the main knot linked to Ana Carolina Escosteguy, Heloisa Buarque de Almeida, Esther Hamburguer and, also, Luis Felipe Miguel, who works with the intersection between the fields of politics and media. In general, the authors that appear creating networks and positioning themselves as the most central ones in them are not Brazilian nor they are from other countries of the Global South.

In addition, data show that research on gender are mostly centered in the discussion about feminism, from a heteronormative perspective. Out of the 155 articles that compose the corpus of this research, 121 refer to women as an analytical category. Studies on masculinity, gays,

lesbians, transvestites, transexuals, transgenders, drag queens, sexuality and bisexuality are not as contemplated on our cutout, since all of these categories, together, were present in only 34 articles published in A1 and A2 publications in the area of Communication and Information, between 2000 and 2019, in Brazil. The expansion of the category gender as a historic and social construction that comprises other analytical elements still appears not as problematized and centered in authors with Euro American epistemic basis.

Studies on gays, lesbians and transgenders – the so-called non-normative genders (COLLING et al., 2012) – are performed in Brazil since the 1990's. In the area of Communication, research developed by Denilson Lopes (2001, 2004), for instance, tension important aesthetic redefinitions performed in the audiovisual field by gays authors and producers, as it is the case of melodrama. They are studies that, for decades, have been proposing a reading among the categories communication, gender and sexuality beyond heteronormativity. In this sense, the "transgender" category emerges as an analytical horizon and an epistemological proposal in an attempt to blur the borders imposed to sexuality, when proposing necessary ruptures between the binary male/female, heterosexual/homosexual (LOPES, 2004), despite still having few studies of this nature published in the publications analyzed in this article.

Finally, from another demonstration of aspects of the process of colonization of the discussion on gender, it is necessary to reinforce the invisibility of the many debates already consolidated in decolonial studies such as those made by Lugones (2020), Curiel (2014; 2020) Miñoso (2014), Gonzalez (2011), Carneiro (2011) and Bairros (2014). If we think from the idea that references are clues on the theoretical and methodological approaches, through "transnational networks" (COSTA, 2003), we can say that this network is almost nonexistent in the point of view of the South, when we talk about Communication and Gender. The authors that are self-proclaimed as decolonial from the perspective of gender appear in an insignificant form if compared to

the others that were cited and that appear in a more systematic form in research. The few ones cited are Sueli Carneiro, with four references, and Lélia Gonzalez, with only one reference. In both cases, they are Brazilian, and one would at least expect a dialogue between them when talking about references to intersectional studies, in the axis of race of social status, for instance, that grew in the last decade.

These data show, therefore, a cut out signaling a portrait about coloniality in studies on gender published in qualified publications in Communication, with a debate centered in the United States and Europe when it is about the main and significant part of all literature cited, considering over two thousand authors. That is, possibly, also related to another discussion, that we will do next, which is about the centrality of authors in universities and big centers of both regions cited and the absence of authors of the Global South occupying spaces of reference in English publications, which, after translation, end up being the bridge to other studies and researches.

The (non) mobilized theories and the invisibility of studies made in the Global South

The process of analysis of references and theories mobilized to problematize the intersections between gender and communication allowed us to identify that the concept "gender" is mobilized as category in the studies analyzed, even if we didn't have measured the intensity of the debate about this aspect. However, authors of the Euro American axis compose mostly the theoretical-methodological reference that sustain Brazilian research. Although some of the cited authors present a relevant contribution for gender studies, the non-action of theoretical perspectives coming from, mainly, Latin American and African contexts, in which the category female and gender are expanded, confronted and problematized from other bases, can indicate that the studies in gender and communication in Brazil carry many aspects of "coloniality of knowledge" (CURIEL, 2020).

Gender seems to be used as an analytical category acted to explain the world situation of subordination of women, without taking into consideration that, in colonized societies, the gender system was imposed as technology to give humanity or not to the subjects (LUGONES, 2014). In addition, one must question whether the model of gender is constituted as a valid system of division in other societies beyond the imposition by the coloniality of Western Europe (OYEUMÍ, 2004; BAKARE-YUSUF, 2003).

Oyewumi (2004) and Bakare-Yusuf (2003), African intellectuals, expose that a good part of research on gender are developed from an Euro American experience. Oyewumí (2004) criticizes feminist studies that come from the discussion on gender as a category used to explain the subordination of women because the concept, beyond being not universal, is also understood by such studies within the "nuclear" family, model of family organization that do not represent many other societies. Gender works, in this division, as the main model of family organization and role division. Within this logic, race and class are not taken as analytical criteria in many Brazilian research, even if this axis certainly crosses this reality.

And, unlike the analytical model thought by White feminism, for instance, putting in evidence gender as the main criterion of difference, African intellectuals problematize the family structure. In addition to African societies, pre-colonial indigenous communities were not based in gender as a system of family and social division (CURIEL, 2020; LUGONES, 2020). The understanding that the system of gender was imposed in colonized societies as a binary category of hierarchization and racial differentiation allow us to observe that the colonized subjects were denied of their humanity, and, in turn, their gender. These issues, however, were not problematized or considered in the analyzed research, even because intersectionality still was not a central theme in research. Although there were a few efforts in this sense in the last decade, they are still small comparing to the total of publications.

Bringing this discussion to the scenario of references, the decolonial feminism, when understanding gender as construction of coloniality, identifies it is intimately related to the hierarchization of knowledge (MIÑOSO, 2014). When problematizing such perspective, Miñoso (2014) clarifies how the colonial power works in different subordinate groups, observing that oppression is also developed through domination through knowledge – the "power of knowledge" that legitimates and hierarchizes certain voices (MIÑOSO, 2014, p. 8). In this case, although many authors were women, we reinforce the presence of two main authors in the ranking of citation and that, since they do not have a space for knowledge of South and a dependence of the European axis, mainly, there is a process of hierarchization that disregards important contexts.

Curiel (2020) identifies the epistemological disengagement as a strategy to counterpose the impact of coloniality in processes of subordination of women in Third World countries. According to her, the *coloniality of knowledge* base *epistemic privileges* and creates the narrative that the knowledge produced in the axis Europe and United States are the only valid knowledge. That is clear when we observe gender references used in the main articles of the area, analyzed in this study.

Despite having Brazilian authors coming from a Latin American discussion, such as Ana Carolina Escosteguy, the predominant theoretical perspective is the Euro American, with authors that work with concepts considered normative or not as tensioned with approaches of the Global South. Judith Butler is the most preponderant example. The author discusses the concept of gender and is mobilized in different works, but apparently the discussion works only as a theoretical-methodological background, since it is not identified as an advance in the understanding of the proper concept. Another point that is important to point out is the lack of authors of the decolonial or post-colonial perspective, reinforced in this topic to show that there are other approaches, however, not as mobilized in the analyzed production, as the data have shown. The boundaries and consequences of the normative bibliography employed in the Brazilian studies of gender are debated next.

Conclusion

The critique to the western perspective of intellectual production is not new, nor focused on only one field of knowledge, but it is still incipient the amount of publications of research and perspectives coming from countries of the Global South in international publications considered as prestigious (ANG et al., 2019). The main reason found to explain this asymmetry is the colonial legacy left by European countries, but Albuquerque et al. (2020) offer an alternative and complementary path of interpretation, related to the process of neoliberal globalization that promotes a homogenization of the research agenda around the United States. In the case of Latin America, the authors argue that its status was relegated when the system of classification centered in the United States was established (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020).

If on one hand there is the difficulty in publishing in international magazines, predominantly in English and with editorial councils dominated by researchers from a few countries such as the United States, Canada and England (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020), on the other we see the construction of a network around western educational institutions, who receive researchers from all around the globe. The insertion in universities considered "advanced" contributes, to a certain extent, to the reinforcement of the adoption of certain theories that are, most of the time, strange to their cultural origins and hardly help them understand the reality of their societies. Thus, the centrality in the West is also promoted by non-western researchers (ALBUQUERQUE, 2020), either when they migrate to these centers, or when they reproduce certain references. Decolonizing the thought is a process of rupture with western bonds proposing an *epistemic counterposition* (MIGNOLO, 2008).

The maintenance of centrality of western universities and institutions results in what Curiel (2020) calls *coloniality of knowledge*, and some aspects of that were identified in the intellectual production of Gender and Communication in Brazil through this study. The few or no mention, in the analyzed studies, to black and indigenous, Latin American, Caribbean and/or African authors can signal that some concepts and

theories are still reproduced without the problematization of the real-
ity of other contexts and that the knowledge gets located through the
experience of women that suffer the impacts of the notion of gender
in another perspective. Mostly, the authors who propose this discussion
are not in the most central universities, the publications do not gain
visibility in international publications and some of them still haven't
been translated, which makes the process of incorporation even more
complex.

Given this context, the intellectual production mobilized to dis-
cuss gender still activates, in its majority, studies produced in the Euro
American axis, in detriment to the intellectual production of referenc-
es developed in the Global South. The hierarchization of knowledge
and the legitimation of the Europe-United States axis as detaining valid
and only models of construction of knowledge resulted in a process of
systematic erasure, silencing and subordination of ancestral knowledge,
a product of cultures that were subjugated by the dominant and hege-
monic cultures.

In Brazil, the search for fleeing an "epistemological ghettoization
made so that studies on gays, lesbians and transgenders seek approxi-
mation to cultural studies in a strategy of visibility (LOPES, 2001, p.
6); The analysis performed indicate the need to surpass borders that
manufacture binary dichotomies centered in the male-female, heterosex-
ual-homosexual categories, even if they are reflecting about decolonial
processes in the knowledge construction. These studies analyzed seem
to not be supported in authors that have confronted the heterosexual
norm as a starting point for understanding sexuality, nor they use Brazil-
ian researchers to make this type of discussion, despite having national
intellectuals studying these issues (COLLING et al., 2012).

Within the analyzed cutout, the most referenced authors were white
and male. By the identification of keywords composing the produc-
tions, we can infer that still prevails a white sense, proposed as universal,
under the category woman – main axis of approach in the studies on
Communication and Gender in Brazil. Lélia Gonzalez, Sueli Carneiro

and Luiza Bairros are Brazilian authors that contributed a lot to problematize the supposed universality of the category woman, proposing analytical intersections of race, class and ethnicity. But even so, their productions were not as retrieved, in the analyzed cutout, to comprise the dimension and particularities of the context of Global South, since intersectional studies are still not as present in the area of Communication and Gender.

The fight against the impacts of colonialism, according to what Escobar (2011) believes, which also goes through the academic production of South itself, crosses the action of subordinate people in the retrieval of elements of reference that constitute them as and while autonomous, political, economic and cultural historic subjects. To do so, it is necessary to mobilize theories that still weren't mobilized, in an attempt to provoke ruptures in the academic intellectual hegemony.

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Estudios de internet, comunicación y cultura digital en México

Internet, digital communication and culture studies in Mexico

Dorismilda Flores-Márquez[1]

Resumen: *Este artículo presenta una revisión de publicaciones sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, en México, durante el periodo 1981-2019, con el fin de identificar diferentes etapas, así como la presencia de rastros del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano y sus líneas derivadas. Para ello, se realizó una revisión de productos en CCDoc, una base de datos especializada en el campo de la comunicación en México. Se registraron 725 textos —libros, capítulos y artículos—, se hizo un análisis de contenido y, posteriormente, una línea de tiempo, para identificar las principales temáticas e investigadores clave, las etapas en la investigación y los vínculos con el pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano y otras tradiciones. Estos hallazgos desafían a otras generaciones de investigadores a reconocer las herencias y a contribuir al campo.*

Palavras-Chave: *Estudios de internet; cultura digital; comunicación digital; medios digitales; México.*

Abstract: *This article presents a review of Mexican publications on internet, digital communication and culture, during the period 1981-2019, in order to identify different stages, and the presence of traces of the Latin American communication thinking and its branches as well. For that purpose, a review of academic products was conducted, in CCDoc, a database specialized in the Mexican communication field. 725 texts —among books, chapters and articles— were*

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registered, a content analysis was carried out and a timeline was made, to identify the main topics and key researchers, the stages of the research, and the links with the Latin American communication thinking and with other traditions as well. These findings open a challenge to newer generations of researchers, to recognize their heritage and to contribute to the field.

Keywords*: Internet studies; digital culture; digital communication; digital media; Mexico.*

Presentación

> *La pregunta de partida es por*
> *cuánto país cabe en los discursos de la academia,*
> *los medios de comunicación y la historia que se escribe,*
> *pero apuntando a un relato de futuro.*
> *Jesús Martín-Barbero*

Los estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital configuran un campo de estudio joven e interdisciplinario: joven, porque se concentra principalmente en las tres décadas más recientes; interdisciplinario, en tanto que la complejidad de los objetos ha sido abordada a partir de distintos campos académicos, e incluso de otros campos del saber y la vida social, como el periodismo y la política (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2000; SCOLARI, 2008; SILES, 2008; TREJO DELARBRE, 1996).

Si bien en los años recientes ha crecido y se ha diversificado el interés por el estudio de lo digital, la pandemia de la COVID-19 en 2020 marca un momento clave. Los periodos de cuarentena en distintos países implicaron el repliegue a los hogares y el traslado de tareas a entornos digitales, en muchos casos, sin las condiciones adecuadas para ello. Esto se tradujo en desafíos y oportunidades y tuvo su correlato en el aumento de estudios sobre la digitalización en tiempos de pandemia. Es pertinente, entonces, hacer un balance del trabajo realizado hasta el momento, que sirva como guía y permita identificar los cambios.

Por otro lado, la presencia de internet y los medios digitales a nivel global permite encontrar elementos comunes, a la vez que se evidencian las desigualdades y particularidades de apropiación. Si bien este campo de estudio se desarrolla en todo el mundo, hay una predominancia de referentes anglo-europeos, que a veces se asumen acríticamente. Conviene revisar el desarrollo de investigaciones en diferentes regiones, para identificar sus lógicas y contribuciones en relación con el contexto, para reconocerlas y diversificar la discusión.

En Latinoamérica hay un intenso desarrollo de los estudios de comunicación, pero su difusión se concentra en la propia región y no

necesariamente gana visibilidad fuera de ella (ENGHEL & BECE-RRA, 2018; GANTHER & ORTEGA, 2019). Esta condición se vive también en los estudios sobre cultura digital (GÓMEZ-CRUZ & SI-LES, 2020).

Las revisiones sobre los estudios latinoamericanos de internet, comunicación y cultura digital han reconocido el crecimiento y las aportaciones, pero también han señalado la necesidad de teorización, desarrollo metodológico, así como perspectivas regionales y comparativas (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2000, 2011; GÓMEZ-CRUZ & SILES, 2020; SCOLARI, 2008; SILES, 2008; SILES, ESPINOZA ROJAS, & MÉNDEZ MARENCO , 2019; TREJO DELARBRE, 1996, 2009, 2013).

El caso mexicano presenta lógicas similares a las latinoamericanas. Por un lado, se aprecia el crecimiento del interés y, por otro, la falta de desarrollo teórico y metodológico, a la cual se suma una tendencia a citar los autores clásicos más que a los contemporáneos (MENESES & PÉREZ SALAZAR, 2016; TREJO DELARBRE & SOSA PLATA, 2009). Esto contrasta con el desarrollo de lo que algunos autores han llamado *pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano* (MARQUES DE MELO, 2011).

Este artículo presenta una revisión de publicaciones sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, en México, orientada a identificar relaciones y aportaciones al pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano. La delimitación en México se sostiene sobre tres razones principales. De entrada, fue – junto con Brasil – uno de los primeros países latinoamericanos a los que llegó internet a principios de la década de 1990. En segundo lugar, uno de los casos más emblemáticos del uso de internet ha sido el movimiento zapatista, que se levantó en 1994 en la selva del sureste mexicano y cuya presencia en la red fue un hito. En tercer lugar, uno de los dos primeros libros publicados en Latinoamérica sobre el tema fue *La nueva alfombra mágica: Usos y*

mitos de internet, la red de redes del mexicano Raúl Trejo Delarbre[2]. Esto configura un escenario que vale la pena analizar.

La revisión incluyó 725 textos – libros, capítulos y artículos -, publicados entre 1981 y 2019, en torno a *nuevas* tecnologías, internet, medios digitales, comunicación digital y cultura digital. Se realizó un análisis de contenido cuyos resultados se tradujeron en una línea de tiempo, como puede verse en las notas metodológicas.

Como se verá en las siguientes secciones, a lo largo de los años se aprecia una transición entre los abordajes tempranos sobre la incorporación de las TIC, la búsqueda de comprender y proveer de materiales teóricos y metodológicos, así como la orientación hacia los trabajos empíricos. También es posible observar rasgos del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano y sus derivados, así como de otras perspectivas, como el pensamiento de McLuhan y el pensamiento complejo. La revisión abre desafíos para el futuro de los estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital en México y Latinoamérica.

El pensamiento comunicacional como encuadre

Entre las opciones posibles para analizar el desarrollo los estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, he optado por una serie de delimitaciones. En primer lugar, no se abordan los estudios de internet en general, sino aquellos hechos desde marcos comunicacionales. Por el carácter interdisciplinario de los objetos y del propio campo, se encontrarán intersecciones con otras líneas y preocupaciones, pero el foco del trabajo es comunicacional.

La perspectiva desde la cual se mira es el pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano, lo que implica identificar, con cierto nivel de claridad, una tradición o un conjunto de tradiciones que comparten determinadas características. Se asume que éstas se construyen en torno al campo de la comunicación, en una región específica, que es Latinoamérica.

2   El otro es *Ciberculturas en la era de las máquinas inteligentes*, del argentino Alejandro Piscitelli.

De acuerdo con Miège (1995), el pensamiento comunicacional no se reduce a la producción científica, sino que incluye otros campos —como el profesional— y las interrogantes de las sociedades. En este sentido, el autor señala tres aspectos: 1) "su estrecho vínculo con acciones sociales (estrategias públicas y privadas, habilidades profesionales, comportamientos de usuarios-consumidores…), y cuestiones procedentes de lugares especializados en la mediación cultural y la transmisión de conocimientos"; 2) la transversalidad entre diferentes campos; 3) la "facultad de integrar problemáticas provenientes de corrientes teóricas diferentes" (p. 110).

En su propuesta, el pensamiento comunicacional se ha construido académicamente a partir de las corrientes fundadoras, la expansión de las problemáticas y las interrogantes presentes. Éstas corresponden a etapas identificables en el tiempo, a partir de la década de 1930. Se identifican de este modo las preocupaciones traducidas en objetos de estudio, teorías y metodologías, que son propias de una época y/o una región y hablan de contextos diferenciados, así como las contribuciones que desde ahí se hacen al campo de la comunicación.

La presencia de Latinoamérica en el mapa de los estudios de comunicación implica tensiones entre la importación de modelos anglo-europeos y las producciones propias, contextualizadas, críticas, que algunos interpretamos como una especie de resistencia creativa, aunque no siempre visible fuera del continente. En este sentido, José Marques de Melo (2011), un académico brasileño que abordó el pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano, planteó que éste "se distingue de sus matrices referenciales, europeas o norteamericanas, por el compromiso que asume en relación al bien común, o sea, al interés público y a las aspiraciones colectivas" (p. 10). Él identificó, principalmente en los trabajos seminales del campo, cierto énfasis en los derechos humanos y la intervención sobre la realidad social.

De acuerdo con Raúl Fuentes Navarro (2011), la idea del pensamiento comunicacional sirve "para reconstruir una historia, en la que ciertos aportes se consideran más valiosos o significativos que otros, para

justificar las perspectivas adoptadas en el presente, y para desde ahí trazar líneas de desarrollo y acción futuras" (p. 44). El autor agrega que "la investigación de la comunicación en América Latina puede muy bien revisarse, en sus trayectorias pasadas y en vistas al futuro, como una larga serie de *retos* tanto internos (científicos, académicos) como sobre todo externos (socioculturales, políticos)" (p. 48).

Por otra parte, Gabriel Kaplún (2013) ha identificado cuatro tradiciones principales en el campo de la comunicación en Latinoamérica: funcionalista, crítica, culturalista y alternativista. La primera de ellas no necesariamente tuvo su propio desarrollo en este continente, sino que importó propuestas teóricas para el análisis de las funciones de los medios. La tradición crítica emancipatoria, basada en la escuela de Frankfurt y los estudios semióticos, se ha enfocado en el poder y las estructuras de los medios. Entre sus figuras clave están Armand Mattelart —académico belga, que radicó por muchos años en Chile— y Héctor Schmucler —académico argentino, que pasó varios años exiliado en México.

Las tradiciones culturalista y alternativista coinciden en varios elementos, pero difieren en otros, una está ligada a la academia y otra a la intervención social. En la culturalista se ha abordado la presencia de lo popular en la comunicación y la cultura, principalmente a partir del trabajo de dos autores clave: Jesús Martín-Barbero —filósofo español, que ha pasado la mayor parte de su vida en Colombia y vivió algunos años en México— y Néstor García Canclini —antropólogo argentino radicado en México. Finalmente, en la tradición alternativista el autor agrupa a distintas denominaciones, como la comunicación popular, la comunicación alternativa y otras. Con el fin de abrir alternativas frente a los medios masivos, esta tradición se enfocó al trabajo en organizaciones no gubernamentales de educación popular, emisoras locales de radio y centros culturales comunitarios. Se configuró más como un campo de intervención que de producción teórica, en el que han convivido activistas, comunicadores profesionales y académicos (KAPLÚN, 2013).

Estas tradiciones principales del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano se han diversificado a lo largo de los años, como puede verse en las publicaciones, los congresos, así como los programas de formación en universidades y de investigación. Esta diversidad puede verse en las asociaciones de investigadores, como la Asociación Latinoamericana de Investigadores de la Comunicación (ALAIC)[3] o la Asociación Mexicana de Investigadores de la Comunicación (AMIC)[4]. En ellas se identifican tanto las raíces que dieron origen a las discusiones, como la fragmentación y la desarticulación que caracteriza al campo académico de la comunicación (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2011). Así, este trabajo orienta la revisión de estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, hacia la identificación de etapas en la investigación y rasgos de tradiciones del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano.

Notas metodológicas

Todo recorte es problemático. Delimitar la búsqueda a México abre otras preguntas: ¿se trata de investigaciones hechas por mexicanos?, ¿investigaciones hechas en México? Estas preguntas abren otras reflexiones sobre cómo ubicar, por ejemplo, a investigadores mexicanos que ahora residen en otros países[5] o a investigadores extranjeros, que han vivido en

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3   ALAIC tiene 19 grupos temáticos: 1) comunicación intercultural y folkcomunicación, 2) comunicación organizacional y relaciones públicas, 3) comunicación política y medios, 4) comunicación y educación, 5) comunicación y salud, 6) economía política de las comunicaciones, 7) estudios de recepción, 8) comunicación popular, comunitaria y ciudadanía, 9) teoría y metodología de la investigación en comunicación, 10) comunicación, tecnología y desarrollo, 11) comunicación y estudios socioculturales, 12) comunicación para el cambio social, 13) comunicación comunitaria, 14) discurso y comunicación, 15) comunicación y ciudad, 16) estudios sobre periodismo, 17) comunicación e historia, 18) ética, libertad de expresión y derecho a la comunicación, 19) comunicación digital, redes y procesos.
4   AMIC tiene 16 grupos de investigación: 1) nuevas tecnologías, internet y sociedad de la información, 2) comunicación política, 3) economía política de la comunicación, 4) estudios de recepción, 5) estudios de periodismo, 6) comunicación y educación, 7) discurso, semiótica y lenguaje, 8) comunicación integral en las organizaciones, 9) historia de la comunicación, 10) teorías y metodología de la investigación en comunicación, 11) comunicación intercultural, 12) género y comunicación, 13) sociedad civil, participación y comunicación alternativa, 14) políticas de la comunicación, 15) comunicación intersubjetiva, 16) estudios de juventud y comunicación; además de cuatro grupos de trabajo: 1) deporte, cultura y sociedad, 2) medios públicos, 3) comunicación de la ciencia, 4) comunicación y salud.
5   Tales son los casos de Edgar Gómez Cruz y Octavio Islas.

México y han producido parte de su obra en este país[6]. En ambos casos se tomaron los trabajos realizados por ellos mientras estaban en México.

La revisión se concentró en CC-Doc[7], una base de datos de acceso abierto, especializada en comunicación, originada en la sistematización documental de productos de investigación sobre comunicación en México, encabezada por Raúl Fuentes Navarro. El proyecto articula el interés práctico por llevar un registro de la producción científica con el ideal de "contribuir a contrarrestar la *fragmentación* que afecta al campo" (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2014).

Si bien se trata de una base de datos muy amplia, los productos académicos registrados en ella no necesariamente son todos los que existen. También se asume que las palabras clave que etiquetan estos textos en la plataforma pueden tener limitaciones, sobre todo en el caso de trabajos que tocan distintas áreas y quedan registrados en líneas diferentes a las consultadas. Sin embargo, se trata de un esfuerzo de documentación muy complejo que debe ser reconocido, por su especialización en el campo de la comunicación, su longevidad —el proyecto fue pionero y ha operado desde el año 2000— y su capacidad de integración — incluye productos académicos, como libros y capítulos, que no están contemplados en otras bases de datos centradas en revistas científicas.

En CC-Doc se realizaron varias búsquedas, con los siguientes términos clave: *nuevas* tecnologías, internet, medios digitales, comunicación digital y cultura digital. No se hizo recorte temporal, sino que se revisaron todos los productos registrados bajo estos términos. Para la selección, se tomaron en cuenta libros, capítulos en libros coordinados, así como artículos publicados en revistas indexadas, no indexadas y de divulgación. Se asume que en estas publicaciones se materializan los avances y resultados de investigación y permiten dar cuenta de las líneas de estudio y sus cambios a través del tiempo. La base de datos incluye fichas

6   Tales son los casos de Héctor Schmucler, Jesús Martín Barbero, Cristóbal Cobo y Emiliano Treré.
7   Disponible en: https://ccdoc.iteso.mx/

de todas las publicaciones[8] y en buena parte de ellas se incluye el texto completo. Se recuperaron tanto las fichas como los documentos disponibles. Se eliminaron registros duplicados, así como aquellos que no correspondían a los temas planteados en esta exploración.

Luego de la depuración, se consideraron 725 productos académicos, publicados entre 1981 y 2019. Con los registros se realizó un análisis de contenido (KRIPPENDORFF, 2004). Para ello se elaboró una base de datos, que incluyó año, título, autor/a/es, tipo de producto, tema, teoría y metodología. Esto permitió identificar temáticas, objetos de estudio, teorías y metodologías, así como autores clave.

Con esos datos se elaboró una línea de tiempo que, en la primera fase, a la que corresponde el presente artículo, se enfoca en las temáticas emergentes y los autores clave. Las temáticas emergentes son aquellas que representan una novedad en el campo, respecto a las tendencias identificadas en las publicaciones previas. Estas temáticas se enmarcan teórica y metodológicamente y eso permite asociarlas con tradiciones de investigación que, para efectos de este trabajo, corresponden (o no) a las tradiciones del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano (KAPLÚN, 2013; MARQUES DE MELO, 2011). Los autores clave son aquellos que introducen las temáticas emergentes en el campo y/o logran mantenerse en estas líneas de investigación durante varios años, lo cual contribuye a la consolidación del campo.

Panorama de estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital en México

La revisión incluyó 725 textos, entre libros, capítulos de libros y artículos en revistas, que fueron publicados entre 1981 y 2019. La distribución por décadas puede observarse en la tabla 1. Hay un crecimiento en el

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8   Ésta incluye número de registro, título, autor, editor, fecha, tipo, formato, descripción, materia, fuente y anexos.

volume de publicaciones en las primeras tres décadas y cierta estabilización en la última.

Tabla 1 - Productos analizados, por décadas

Periodo	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2009	2010-2019
Libros	9	11	24	20
Capítulos	17	26	130	102
Artículos	26	63	138	159
Total de productos	52	100	292	281

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Por otro lado, se aprecia una clara predominancia de algunas temáticas que, desde distintas perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas, se abordado en estos casi 40 años. Las y los investigadores mexicanos han puesto mucha atención a objetos de estudio sobre educación, sociedad de la información y juventudes, entre otros que, en cierto sentido, son un reflejo del contexto y las problemáticas nacionales.

Tabla 2 - Temáticas más recurrentes

Tema	Periodo
Educación	83
Sociedad de la Información	39
Juventudes	38
Periodismo digital	33
Movimientos sociales	31
Internet / medios digitales	24
Comunicación política	20
Brecha digital / inclusión digital	19
Políticas y regulación	18
Televisión y convergencia	15

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Más allá de las cantidades, pensar esta revisión como una línea de tiempo permite observar algunos elementos importantes. De entrada, como habían registrado varios autores, hay un interés temprano por el tema en México (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2000; TREJO DELARBRE, 1996). Si bien los textos que abordan de manera explícita a internet se sitúan en la década de 1990, desde la previa hay textos sobre revolución tecnológica, satélites, computadoras, tecnologías de información y comunicación —en algunos casos aparecen todavía como *nuevas* tecnologías de información y comunicación, en otros como tecnologías de información y comunicación y en otros como tecnologías de comunicación—, de modo general, o bien en relación con la educación, el poder, el periodismo y/o la cultura.

Un ejemplo son los dos textos más antiguos que se encontraron en esta revisión. El primero fue "La hora de las computadoras. El estudio de la comunicación en América Latina", publicado por Héctor Schmucler en la revista *Connotaciones*. En él se abordan las dos corrientes que el autor identificaba en el estudio de la comunicación —el desarrollo y la dependencia— en relación con los desafíos que planteaba la incorporación de tecnologías: "Se abre para la investigación sobre comunicación en América Latina un amplio camino para recorrer que encierra un desafío histórico: anticiparse a los acontecimientos y no resignarse a estudiar, retroactivamente, los efectos de los nuevos sistemas comunicativos" (SCHMUCLER, 1981, P. 61). El autor, por cierto, es reconocido como figura clave del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano de orientación crítica (KAPLÚN, 2013).

El segundo texto fue el libro *Las empresas transnacionales en el campo de las comunicaciones internacionales vía satélite: COMSAT e INTELSAT. Cronología selecta de 1962 a 1980*, de Jesús Roldán Acosta, publicado en la UNAM en 1981. No es un trabajo eminentemente comunicacional, pero aporta elementos para comprender las preocupaciones de la época y la orientación crítica desde la que se leían los cambios tecnológicos —que para entonces llevaban varias décadas— en el campo.

En ese periodo se registró una preocupación por el vínculo entre TIC y poder, entre autores como Javier Esteinou, Fátima Fernández Christlieb y Florence Toussaint; así como por los usos socioculturales y educativos de las tecnologías, entre otros autores, como Raúl Fuentes Navarro, Delia Crovi Druetta y Carmen Gómez Mont.

La siguiente década, de 1990 a 1999, se caracterizó por la llegada de internet a las discusiones y la apertura de preguntas y líneas. Un momento clave fue la publicación del libro *La nueva alfombra mágica. Usos y mitos de Internet* , *la red de redes*, de Raúl Trejo Delarbre, con FUNDESCO y Editorial Diana. En éste, el autor presenta una visión panorámica sobre la red y sus diferentes dimensiones e implicaciones en la vida cotidiana. Se trata de un libro considerado seminal en las discusiones sobre internet en Latinoamérica.

Además, hubo una fuerte concentración en el vínculo entre TIC y educación, así como TIC y sus implicaciones para los medios —la prensa, la radio y la televisión. Asimismo, emergieron algunos temas clave, como el movimiento zapatista en internet, realidad virtual, videojuegos, cibercultura y el vínculo entre TIC y mujeres. Continuaron presentes algunos autores como Carmen Gómez Mont, Fátima Fernández Christlieb y Raúl Fuentes Navarro; y emergieron otros como Raúl Trejo Delarbre, Claudia Benassini Félix, Octavio Islas, Fernando Gutiérrez y Jesús Galindo. Algunos de ellos ya tenían trayectoria en el estudio de la comunicación y la sociología.

La siguiente década, de 2000 a 2009 se caracterizó por la explosión del interés en el tema. Crecieron las discusiones sobre la sociedad de la información y las implicaciones de las TIC en diferentes áreas de la vida social. Se posicionaron nuevas discusiones sobre comunidades virtuales, ciberespacio y cibercultura, así como acerca de la relación entre movimientos sociales e internet. También creció el abordaje de los usos de las TIC y emergió el interés por las narrativas y la visualidad, así como por las prácticas comunicativas en plataformas específicas, tales como los blogs.

Algunos textos que se orientaron a plantear fundamentos teóricos y metodológicos, tales como los libros *Viviendo en el Aleph. La sociedad de la información y sus laberintos* de Raúl Trejo Delarbre y *Lectores, espectadores e internautas* de Néstor García Canclini, publicados en 2006 y 2007 respectivamente.

También los siguientes textos: "Exploraciones teórico-metodológicas para la investigación sociocultural de los usos de Internet" de Raúl Fuentes Navarro, publicado en 2001; "Los usos sociales de las tecnologías de información y comunicación. Fundamentos teóricos" de Carmen Gómez Mont, "Tecnicidades, identidades, alteridades: des-ubicaciones y opacidades de la comunicación en el nuevo siglo" de Jesús Martín-Barbero, "Mediaciones tecnológicas y des-ordenamientos comunicacionales" de Guillermo Orozco Gómez y "Hacia la construcción de una metodología para el estudio de las comunidades virtuales" de Edgar Gómez Cruz, publicados en 2002; así como "Comunicología y sociedad de la información: Exploración de un lugar común desde la ciencia de la comunicación" de Jesús Galindo Cáceres, publicado en 2009.

Hubo, además, balances como "La investigación latinoamericana sobre Internet. Brechas digitales y diversidad analítica" de Raúl Trejo Delarbre, en 2004; "Teorías e investigación de Internet en México" de Octavio Islas y Fernando Gutiérrez, en 2005; así como "Campo nuevo, problemas viejos. La investigación mexicana en materia de Sociedad de la Información, Internet, Cibercultura y Telecomunicaciones", de Raúl Trejo Delarbre y Gabriel Sosa Plata, en 2009.

Un elemento importante de esta década fue la tendencia a publicar cada vez más textos con resultados de trabajos empíricos. Asimismo, se registró un vínculo con los debates políticos de la época, en términos de regulaciones, políticas públicas, así como del lugar que ocuparía internet en la vida política y social.

En la década más reciente, de 2010 a 2019, se sostuvo el abordaje de internet en relación con educación y política. También se registró un buen número de investigaciones sobre el uso de internet y redes sociodigitales en campañas electorales, principalmente en torno a las

elecciones presidenciales en México en 2012 y 2018. De igual manera, crecieron los estudios sobre movimientos sociales e internet, a raíz de la emergencia de #YoSoy132 en 2012 y las movilizaciones por Ayotzinapa. Si bien el tema ya estaba presente en las décadas anteriores, en torno al movimiento zapatista, en este periodo hubo un viraje hacia los movimientos en red, por parte de autores como Emiliano Treré y Guiomar Rovira, entre otros.

Se identificó una tendencia a centrarse en plataformas específicas, como Facebook, Twitter o YouTube. Se incorporó también un cuerpo de estudios sobre memes, en relación con acontecimientos políticos. En la línea de internet y educación se sostuvo el interés por las alfabetizaciones mediática, informacional y digital, así como por las competencias digitales.

Entre las aportaciones teóricas y metodológicas del periodo, se contemplan el libro *Internet como medio de comunicación. Teoría y análisis de actos comunicativos en los entornos virtuales* de Gabriel Pérez Salazar y "Apuntes para el análisis de prácticas de comunicación dialógica en mundos virtuales" de Magdalena López de Anda, ambos publicados en 2012; así como *Cibercultur@ e iniciación en la investigación interdisciplinaria* de Margarita Maass Moreno, José Amozurrutia y Jorge González y "Cultura algorítmica y tecnologías del lenguaje humano" de Jesús Octavio Elizondo y Esaú Villatoro, ambos publicados en 2015.

En el período hubo revisiones importantes del estado de la investigación sobre estos temas. Tal es el caso del libro *Sociedad del conocimiento y comunicación: Reflexiones críticas desde América Latina*, coordinado por Delia Crovi Druetta en 2018; "Tras los hilos que tejen la red: Una aproximación a la investigación sobre Internet en las revistas de comunicación en América Latina" de José Manuel Corona y Gabriela Gómez Rodríguez, publicada en 2010; años después, en 2016, fue publicada "Cómo y qué se estudia sobre Internet y la Sociedad de la Información en México. Una mirada desde la AMIC" de María Elena Meneses y Gabriel Pérez Salazar.

Algunos textos dejan evidencia de la participación en proyectos transnacionales. Tal es el caso de "Principales indicadores de Internet en la sociedad mexicana" de Octavio Islas y Amaia Arribas, publicado en 2010, a partir del World Internet Project; *Mapping digital media Mexico*, de Rodrigo Gómez y Gabriel Sosa Plata, a partir de su participación en un proyecto global de Open Society Foundations en 2011; así como "Overcoming citizen mistrust and enhancing democratic practices: Results from the e-participation platform México Participa" de María Elena Meneses Rocha y Alejandro Martín del Campo, del Tecnológico de Monterrey con colegas de la University of California Berkeley.

Por otro lado, la búsqueda de la academia por incidir en los debates públicos quedó registrada en "Un ejercicio de memoria para entender las reformas en telecomunicaciones y radiodifusión. La participación de la sociedad civil y la academia", de Fátima Fernández Christlieb, Patricia Ortega Ramírez y Beatriz Solís Leree.

En suma, esta revisión cronológica permite identificar etapas en los estudios sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, cuyos avances y hallazgos se presentaron en las publicaciones analizadas. Como se aprecia en esta sección, la década de 1980 concentró las preocupaciones iniciales ante la llegada de las TIC y sus implicaciones en diferentes campos de la vida social. En la década de 1990 se situaron los primeros abordajes sobre internet y se registró un desplazamiento del enfoque en las posibilidades, o bien en las descripciones, para avanzar hacia el estudio de los usos y las prácticas de comunicación en entornos digitales. En la década del 2000 hay importantes aportaciones teóricas y metodológicas, que permitieron encuadrar los intereses y las preguntas, a la vez que crecieron las investigaciones empíricas. Esta última tendencia se mantuvo y creció en la década del 2010, al tiempo que se diversificaron las temáticas de cruce con lo digital.

Las tradiciones del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano se identifican con claridad, sobre todo en los textos de los primeros años. La tradición crítica estuvo presente desde el inicio de los trabajos. De hecho, Héctor Schmucler —que es una de las figuras clave de ésta— abrió

tempranamente la discusión sobre los desafíos que traerían las TIC a la investigación sobre comunicación, desde 1981. Otras contribuciones en esta línea son las de Javier Esteinou Madrid, Fátima Fernández Christlieb y Florence Toussaint, entre otros.

La tradición culturalista se identifica en trabajos que llegaron después. Se trata, además, de un cuerpo de trabajos y de académicos que se ha ido expandiendo a lo largo de los años. Como se mencionó anteriormente, dos figuras clave de esta tradición han sido Jesús Martín-Barbero y Néstor García Canclini. El primero vivió algunos años en México y el segundo ha tenido una estancia prolongada y productiva en este país. Algunas de las contribuciones teóricas importantes son obra de ellos. En este grupo también puede identificarse el trabajo de investigadores de la línea sociocultural, tales como Raúl Fuentes Navarro, Carmen Gómez Mont y otros.

La tradición alternativista, por su naturaleza, no siempre es evidente en los productos académicos, ya que su énfasis suele estar en la intervención social. Si bien hay casos conocidos e interesantes en México, de proyectos comunitarios en medios y gestión cultural, son minoría los que aparecieron en esta revisión. En esa línea se puede ubicar el trabajo de Ana Isabel Zermeño Flores y su equipo en la Universidad de Colima, que han integrado la intervención mediante proyectos de comunicación para el cambio social y la publicación.

Más allá de las tradiciones del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano identificadas por Kaplún (2013), es posible identificar dos tradiciones más entre los trabajos abordados en esta revisión. Por un lado, se aprecia la herencia de Marshall McLuhan y la perspectiva de la ecología mediática en textos de investigadores como Octavio Islas, Fernando Gutiérrez, Claudia Benassini, entre otros. Por otro lado, se observan los enfoques de la complejidad, que hacen autores como Jorge González, Margarita Maass Moreno y José Amozurrutia.

Sin embargo, así como en muchos trabajos se identifican con claridad los posicionamientos, en buena parte de los estudios —sobre todo en los más recientes— hay una ausencia de esto. Como ha planteado

Fuentes Navarro (2011), hay una fragmentación del campo. Además, si bien se requiere mayor análisis, se observa que en los primeros años había poco trabajo empírico, mucho trabajo ensayístico, aunque las posiciones solían ser más claras. Con el paso de los años, hay más trabajo empírico, pero, en algunos casos, éste se limita a la presentación de los resultados, sin mayor discusión de la teoría y a veces sin un posicionamiento frente a lo que se estudia.

Conclusiones

En este artículo se presentó una revisión de publicaciones sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, en México, realizada a partir de libros, capítulos en libros y artículos en revistas especializadas, publicados entre 1981 y 2019. En la lógica del pensamiento comunicacional (MIÈGE, 1995), se identifican etapas en estos trabajos. Si al pensamiento comunicacional se le agrega el apellido latinoamericano es posible identificar rasgos de al menos tres de las cuatro tradiciones que plantea Kaplún (2013): la crítica, la culturalista y, en cierta medida, la alternativista. Asimismo, se identifica la presencia del pensamiento mcluhaniano y de la complejidad en algunas otras aportaciones.

Como varios autores han señalado, hay una relativa ausencia de teorización, de desarrollo metodológico, así como de perspectivas regionales y comparativas, que se ha mantenido a lo largo del tiempo (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2000, 2011; GÓMEZ-CRUZ & SILES, 2020; SCOLARI, 2008; SILES, 2008; SILES, ESPINOZA ROJAS, & MÉNDEZ MARENCO , 2019; TREJO DELARBRE, 1996, 2009, 2013).

La presente revisión tuvo como base un análisis de contenido que se leyó en clave de línea de tiempo para identificar temáticas emergentes y autores clave. Se observa que el desarrollo temático ha ido de preocupaciones generales sobre las posibilidades de las inicialmente llamadas *nuevas* tecnologías hacia preocupaciones específicas por el vínculo entre medios digitales y educación, política, juventud, movimientos sociales, medios de comunicación, entre otros. Algunas de estas temáticas se relacionan con el contexto sociopolítico nacional, como los

estudios de movimientos sociales, en torno a los zapatistas, #YoSoy132 o Ayotzinapa; o bien a la innovación en plataformas y aplicaciones, como muestran las investigaciones sobre el uso de *blogs*, Facebook, Twitter o YouTube.

Las y los autores que fueron mencionados en el cuerpo del texto son —casi en todos los casos— quienes más veces aparecen en los productos registrados. Más allá de la cantidad, se trata de investigadores que han hecho aportaciones teóricas y/o metodológicas para la investigación sobre internet, comunicación y cultura digital, que es importante reconocer y discutir.

A reserva de realizar un análisis más profundo de las temáticas específicas y las perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas desde las cuales se han abordado los objetos, esta revisión contribuye a reconocer las aportaciones de las y los académicos mexicanos en el marco del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano.

Como se ha visto, algunos de los referentes clave del pensamiento comunicacional latinoamericano que identificó Kaplún (2013) pasaron algunos años o se establecieron definitivamente en México —tal fue el caso de Héctor Schmucler, Jesús Martín-Barbero y Néstor García Canclini— y eso ha permeado en cierta medida las tradiciones de estudio a lo largo de estos años. Sin embargo, la fragmentación que señalaba Fuentes Navarro (2011) dificulta las identificación de estas líneas en las décadas más recientes.

Las observaciones de Gómez Cruz y Siles (2020) sobre el estudio de la cultura digital en Latinoamérica aplican también para esta revisión de publicaciones en México. Son problemáticas que se han arrastrado durante varios años (FUENTES NAVARRO, 2000, 2011; SCOLARI, 2008; SILES, 2008; SILES, ESPINOZA ROJAS, & MÉNDEZ MARENCO , 2019; TREJO DELARBRE, 1996, 2009, 2013). Hay una ausencia de teorización que abre otras problemáticas, como la ausencia de bases comunes para discutir objetos, conceptos y métodos; las tendencias a confirmar ideas establecidas en lugar de explicar nuevos

fenómenos, a la especulación teórica más que a la investigación empírica, así como a emplear métodos tradicionales más que a innovar.

En el caso mexicano, si bien las publicaciones muestran un aumento de trabajos empíricos, esto no tiene su correlato en la producción teórica y la innovación metodológica. Además, aunque la emergencia de temáticas vinculadas al contexto sociopolítico y/o a la innovación en plataformas y aplicaciones, puede entenderse dentro de la lógica latinoamericana de compromiso con las problemáticas nacionales y regionales, estamos asumiendo posiciones más reactivas que propositivas, lo que nos coloca del lado del riesgo que señaló Schmucler (1981) hace casi cuatro décadas: "anticiparse a los acontecimientos y no resignarse a estudiar, retroactivamente, los efectos de los nuevos sistemas comunicativos" (p. 61).

Esto se traduce como un desafío para distintas generaciones de investigadores, principalmente las más jóvenes, de reconocer las raíces del trabajo realizado y contribuir a solventar las asignaturas que por años han quedado pendientes. No es un dato menor que algunas de las aportaciones teóricas más relevantes sean de hace más de 15 años. La pregunta que queda abierta es cómo y de qué manera construiremos nuestro futuro en el campo de la comunicación y, específicamente, en el estudio de internet, la comunicación y la cultura digital.

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Pensando o Recolonial nos estudos da Comunicação: reflexões a partir da América Latina

Thinking the Recolonial in Communication Studies: reflections from Latin America

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Resumo: *A despeito do seu pioneirismo, a tradição de pensamento crítico latino-americano praticamente desapareceu do cenário da pesquisa internacional de referência, a partir da instauração de circuito anglófono, na década de 1990, centrado nos Estados Unidos. Este ensaio tem como objetivo discutir esse fenômeno no contexto de um processo mais amplo de recolonização, conduzido no âmbito da globalização neoliberal e do capitalismo acadêmico, com foco na pesquisa latino-americana nos estudos da Comunicação e nos circuitos de Comunicação Científica. Nesse contexto desfavorável, a América Latina soube preservar um circuito vigoroso de intercâmbio acadêmico, pautado no acesso aberto à produção intelectual. Sustenta-se que esse circuito pode servir de base para a construção de um espaço de circulação acadêmico global mais diversificado, alternativo ao atualmente existente.*

Palavras-chave: *Comunicação; América Latina; recolonização; globalização neoliberal; circuitos acadêmicos.*

Abstract: *Despite its pioneering spirit, the Latin American tradition of critical thinking has practically disappeared from the international research scene of reference, since the establishment of an English-speaking circuit in the 1990s, centred in the United States. This issue discusses this phenomenon in the context*

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DOSSIÊ

of a broader process of recolonization, conducted within the scope of neoliberal globalization and academic capitalism, with a focus on Latin American research in the studies of Communication and in circuits of Science Communication. In this unfavorable context, Latin America was able to preserve a vigorous academic exchange circuit, based on open access to intellectual production. We sustain this circuit can serve as a basis for the construction of a more diversified global space of academic circulation, an alternative to the current one.

Keywords: *Communication; Latin America; recolonization; neoliberal globalization; academic circuits.*

Introduction

We will coup whoever we want.
Deal with it!"

The shameless confession of the South African mogul raised in the United States Elon Musk, about his participation in Bolivia's military coup that took down president elect Evo Morales and replaced him for a regimen that were more friendly to his own interests, comprise an aspect as important as it is neglected of the contemporary political situation: a process of accelerated recolonization of peripheral countries, in the wake of a neoliberal process of globalization. Another example, even closer, is regarding the role that United States institutions played in the dynamic of the Brazilian crisis, which led to president Dilma Rousseff's impeachment – which a considerable number of authors have described as a coup (ALBUQUERQUE, 2019; SANTOS, 2018) –, to the arrest of former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and the rise of Jair Bolsonaro – whose main political agenda seem to be putting the economic and political system of the country to the disposal of the United States.

How have academic literature been reacting to those events? In a shy manner, at best. Numberless appeals have been made around the need of "de-westernize" communication research (WAISBORD, MELLADO, 2016; DEMETER, 2019; CURRAN; PARK, 2000), but do they contribute to understanding the dilemmas presented to peripheral countries of neoliberal globalism? This article explores the potential of Latin American perspectives to deal with the dilemmas presented in the contemporary world from a perspective that highlights the circuits of production and distribution of the academic knowledge. In other words, we argue that in the academic context it doesn't matter only what was said, but who said it, in what outlets this theory is shared and by which institutions the knowledge is legitimated as academically relevant.

Through this point of view, the article sustains that: 1) a solid tradition of investigation on Communication has been constituted in Latin America in the second half of the last century; 2) this tradition preceded

in decades the research of other parts of the world (including Europe) on the theme, and has constituted itself as a critical counterpoint to studies developed in the United States; 3) Latin America was capable of developing a strong network of events and open access publications; 4) despite this pioneering aspect, Latin American production has lost relevance in the global scenario in the 1990's. We argue that such loss of relevance is not primordially due to the nature of research performed in the region or its quality, but due to the change of criteria that began to define the global through a fundamentally English-speaking gaze (American in particular), based in the globalization of the "academic capitalism" model.

This model, based in academic rankings (of educational institutions, scientific publications), usually produced by institutions headquartered in the United States, build the base that allow strongly ethnocentric models to claim a universal statute. Well, this is, precisely, a dynamic of post-colonial inheritance as it was identified by authors such as Mignolo (2007), for instance. In other words, the own structure of circulation of academic knowledge in the globe, established from the end of last century, has, in itself, re-colonial consequences. Initiatives of explicit recolonization, such as the ones we previously described, find in the academic field a space of a much more subtle legitimation, goes through the legitimation of places and specific forms of saying at the expense of others.

On the other hand, the unipolar global order, that worked as a base for this model, experiences today a major crisis. In this context, the pioneering experience of Latin America can work as an example and inspiration, both referring to their critical tradition (the so-called "Latin American communicational thinking") and the circuit of academic exchange constituted in the region, working as a model for an alternative to the regimen of academic monoculture which defines what is a "quality" research in global terms. This essay, therefore, has the purpose of discussing these issues related to the academic circuit, seeking to bring the Latin American communicational thinking and the alternative circuits of open circulation about the scientific knowledge as models that not only break with western structures but also precede the international research agendas.

The Latin American perspective on Communication

The research on Communication has a well-established tradition in Latin American countries, which was developed way before Europe, in counterpoint to what was performed in the United States (HERSCO-VITZ, 1995; TUFFE, 1996; BERGER, 1999). However, the dimension of its contribution was somehow lost in the scenario of contemporary global research. How and why did this happen? It is around this issue that were structured the current section and the next.

Unlike other fields, Communication was created as a distinctly American field and remain like that for decades. It emerged linked to the interests of military sectors, of intelligence and exterior relations of that country and with strong financial aid from it (GLANDER, 2000), around a fundamentally practical agenda, geared towards the establishment of mechanisms of social control. That strongly impacted in the configuration the field had in that country, not only in a political sense, but also in the theoretical and methodological sense, marked through an empiricist bias of behaviorist cutout and with a perspective that valued applied knowledge. Peters (1986) identified in the birthmarks of Communication Studies in the United States the reasons of the intellectual poverty that characterize them.

And what does Latin America have to do with it? It just so happens that critical perspectives socially based were already being developed systematically by the researchers of the region. Institutions like CIESPAL (Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina), created in 1959 in Equador, under the auspice of UNESCO (Aragão, 2018) and ALAIC (Asociación Latinoamericana de Investigadores de la Comunicación) helped motivate an intellectual exchange between researchers of the region.

Both the premature development of research in Communication in the region and the critical perspective that characterize it are related to the same factor: the major influence that the United States had in Latin American culture and media in the period after World War II. That was perceived by certain sectors of Latin American societies as an example

of cultural imperialism (acc. BELTRAN, 1976). That influence has as guiding axis the ideology of developmentalism, which conceived the development as a one-way model, which would imply the abandonment of traditional bonds through a script that would go through economic liberalization (in other words, a market society), alphabetization, development of mass media and democracy (LERNER, 1958). Alternatively, Latin American critical researchers would perceive American mass media and the ideology of developmentalism as elements of oppression and alienation working for the cultural imperialism.

Different authors had a decisive role in the development of the tradition of Latin American critical thinking in Communication: Jesús Martín-Barbero, Néstor García Canclini, Eliseo Verón, Renato Ortiz, José Marques de Melo and Luis Ramiro Beltrán are some of the most cited among them. In this text, however, we especially highlight a name whose importance in the global scenario is undisputable, but that, sometimes, has his role not as highlighted regarding his contribution for the Latin American perspective on communication: the Brazilian educationalist Paulo Freire (FERNÁNDEZ-ABALLÍ ALTAMIRANO, 2016; SUZINA TUFTE, 2020). His pedagogy of the oppressed, which valued the autonomous construction of the student as subject of their own education, presents as one of the most important conceptual foundations the idea that the media should work as models of promotion of cultural diversity, consolidated in the so-called MacBride Report from UNESCO, published in 1980.

It was only in the 1980's that research of critical nature, with focus on social and cultural phenomena, gained relevance in the scenario of research in Communication in the United States. Ironically, what could be considered a success of the model of research developed in a pioneer manner in Latin America, marks a decline of the global expression of research of the region.

The decline of the Latin American gaze in the global English speaking order

The place of Latin American research in the global panorama of communication has considerably declined from the 1990's (ENGHEL;

BECERRA, 2018; GANTER; ORTEGA, 2019). Why did it occur? The decline of Latin America in the field of Communication is inseparable from a more extensive phenomenon: the construction, from the 1990's, of an English-speaking circuit, structured based on the principles of academic capitalism, economies based in knowledge and the construction of a system of global rankings (MUGNAINI; DIGIAMPIETRI; MENA-CHALCO, 2014). In summary, academic capitalism involves the organization of the mean around a logic of market competition, in the terms which the institutions and academic professionals are evaluated in terms of economic efficiency and compete for prestige and resources. In this logic of competition, academic rankings have a fundamental role. The issue here is: who defines what is quality production? As it occurred with other fields, in the wake of the process of neoliberal globalization, this role was, to a great extent, played by institutions hosted in the United States, and, secondarily, United Kingdom.

The power that results from this capacity of qualifying what constitutes "quality" academic production is illustrated by the system of classification of publications about their index of impact (in terms of citations). The crucial issue, here, is: what publications have their impact evaluated? What are their characteristics? A study recently published brings interesting clues in this sense (ALBUQUERQUE et al., 2020). Among the publications of Communication evaluated by the *Journal of Citation Reports*, by Clarivate, in 2017, all of them, except two, are published in English and most of them are published by only three commercial publishing companies and have paid access. Some of these publications have a marked geographic focus in Europe, Asia, Africa and Oceania. Latin America is not contemplated by any publication of the list. The composition of the editorial staff of this sample of publications also tells an interesting story. Out of 4,784 members, no less than 2,798 (58.5%) of them are located in institutions in the United States and 398 (8.3%) in the United Kingdom. The so-called West has no less than 87.7% of the total of members of the editorial body, while countries like China and India have 32 and 10 members, respectively (in both cases, less than

one percent), and Latin America and the Caribbean, taken in a set, count with 50 (a little more than one percent).

The systemic invisibility that these regions have in the global scenario gets even more evident when we consider the representation that certain academic institutions got to obtain in the system: the University of Texas and the University of Wisconsin have, each one, 92 members on the list, almost double the amount of members from all the institutions in Latin America and the Caribbean together. In total, nine American academic institutions have more members in the system than the whole region put together.

Latin America disappeared from the system because its production was deemed invisible by the rules of the game. The so-called "internationalization" of communication took the character of global exportation of American research models, in such a way that the Latin American Contribution was simply ignored, crossed out from the map. It's not that Latin America has stopped producing significant research, or that the quality has lowered; the research of the region was simply excluded from the circuit that began to define quality in global terms and was considered second-class.

Here we get to the core of the relation between academic politics installed in the last decades and what we call a process of recolonization. Having as object the historic context fairly different among themselves, Said (1996), Chakrabartty (2000) and Mignolo (2007) observe that one of the most important dimensions of the process of construction of superiority of western knowledge is the erasure of the historic contribution of other people to knowledge. What sets apart the process that we deal in this article from those described by these authors are their timing and the nature of the process of colonization that took place in one case and in the other. The colonizing process that we talk about here is associated to the neoliberal globalization that took place in the last quarter of the past century, headed by an alliance between the United States government and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which resulted in a brutal decrease of

national sovereignty of countries in different regions of the world – forced to adhere to neoliberal reforms under the threat of sanctions – and with particularly strict results for Latin America (BABB, 2013).

In this context, university institutions constitute a central piece for the legitimation of new relations of domination. They do so in two main forms: 1) building bonds of academic dependence between peripheral and central societies; 2) producing discourses that justify the new order and work as a base for public policies, that gain, thus, a global knowledge authority. The relations of academic dependence were carefully debated by authors such as Alatas, who, among other aspects, emphasizes the dimension of the global divide of the academic work (2003). Beyond that, the networks of relationship constituted through academic institutions of central countries play an important role in the formation of elites in peripheral societies (DEZALAY; GARTH, 2002).

This structure not only has a colonial structure in itself but produces recolonizing effects in its practical application to the concrete world. This model of academic work division played an important part in the re-structuration of the global order around the neoliberal recipe, as American university institutions took a central role regarding the economic debate (FOURCADE; OLLION; ALGAN, 2015). As the knowledge originated in these institutions began to base the actions of global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, it ended up taking, pragmatically, a real value (BABB, 2013). Recent events in Latin America, previously referred in the introduction of this article, give a complementary dimension to the issue. For instance: the coup against Evo Morales was partly legitimated based on accusations of electoral fraud made by OEA – which later were denied – and, finally, Elon Musk, who sponsored the coup, called it by its name. Equally, the Operação Lava Jato, which decisively collaborated for the corrosion of the Brazilian democratic order, received a strong legitimation on the behalf of sectors of the American academic field, which portrayed it as a privileged example of virtuous work of accountability institutions of the legal universe and the media (LAGUNES; SVEJNAR, 2020).

The Global South: decolonization of discourse/colonization of circuits?

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and consequently the sharp crisis of socialism in Eastern Europe and the economic opening in China, the world post-1990's has experienced the hegemony of capitalism as a predominant global economic system. Since then, the division between First, Second, and Third world started to no longer make sense for the world classification, since this definition "didn't have more theoretical or operational consistency, since the countries of the Second World (socialists) were converting into "Market Democracies" (VISENTINI, 2015, p. 7). As an alternative to the post-Cold War label of "Third World", such nations were later called Global South, representing a strategy of de-politization about the own world classification, and a discursive alignment on the transnational globalization of the 1990's, which reinforces the idea of existing an abyssal division (SANTOS, 2007) between colonizers and colonized.

It is in this scenario that the concept of Global South gets unfolded in the scientific circuit, initially traced through geographic and economic distinctions that distinguish countries of the north as developed and countries of the south as undeveloped, and later thematizing the border as a space of resistance to the logics of modernity, without leaving the nature of "being a fertile ground to those who wish to implement organizational, ideological or technological changes (CHASE-DUNN; HALL, 2016, p. 16).

In this economic context of globalization post-1990's, the Global South has become an important economic agenda under siege of neoliberal programs of structural adjustment of the World Bank (ANIEVAS; MATIN, 2016). In this period a globalized neoliberal agenda was imposed by the United States, known as Washington Consensus, which was a set of economic policies imposed to the countries in debt by the American financial institutions, which expanded in different spheres, including the educational and scientific (ALBUQUERQUE; LYCARIÃO, 2018). This project of dependence to central countries was implemented

through instruments of scientific politics of passive internationalization and by the importation of ideas, epistemologies, methodologies and technologies of central countries, in a movement where researchers of peripheral countries are motivated to serve as butlers to the hegemonic countries (BENNETT, 2014). In other words, they bring concepts and theories of central countries, translating to serve their peers, invisibilizing and subtracting epistemologies produced before in their own local communities, as if they never existed.

This erasure of local or regional epistemologies belongs to the dynamics of power maintenance of central countries over the "rest of the world", through commercial control of circuits of publication and definitions of dominant agendas in circulation of knowledge. A search on research on the Global South in the platform Dimensions – search engine on publications, datasets, fomentations, patents and clinical tests – points towards important information so we can understand these research agendas that are consolidated about the theme. Among the main financers of research on Global South are international institutions like the European Union and the Council of economic and social research of England, and financial foundations such as the Ford Foundation, Welcome Trust and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Words like poverty, underdevelopment, delay, deficiency, insecurity and vulnerability are among the propositions of training, emancipation and urgent help that the North needs to give the South (GRANT, 2015; MATTHEWS, ONYEMAOBI, 2020), without considering their own responsibility that the central countries have in global inequalities.

The relation of economic power and maintenance of power of central countries over non-western countries have also been observed in the field of Communication. Copean and Dingo (2018) observe how much the agenda directed towards race has been unfolded as a form of maintenance of power itself. The authors make an appeal so that white and western intellectuals be aware to the politics of capitalizing on the struggle and domination of non-white and/or exotified groups of the "Global South" that are being used as "interesting" case studies that

do not substantially change the dominant structure or even the scholar rhetoric of decolonization, that can inadvertently serve to sustain racist practices in the field. In the same train of thought, Mukherjee (2020) points towards such studies are reified from "ethnic garments" established by the own central countries, who define what non-westerns should wear: "The more exotic and adventure driven are the practices studied, the more enthusiastic will be their reception within the academic field".

This form of domination on the knowledge, known as academic imperialism, was imposed as a civilizing process, put as a necessary step in human progress (ALATAS, 2000). In the current model of neoliberal globalization of the scientific circuit, the configuration of imperialism gets other outlines, and their recolonizing role gets more indirect (ALATAS, 2003). The control of informational flows of scientific communication remains under the dominion of central countries and big technologic oligopolies and the scientific publishing market (LARIVIÈRE; HAUSTEIN; MONGEON, 2015), basing themselves in the international laws of copyright and in a system of prestige over the circulation of knowledge (OLIVEIRA, 2019). This recolonization of science is marked, therefore, by the dominion of spaces of circulation of science, that has been challenged by different initiatives, among them are the production of Southern epistemologies, infrastructures and politics.

The resilience of the Latin American circuit and its contribution for a multipolar study of Communication

Despite the existence of highly lucrative circuits that are consolidated around the commercialization of the global scientific production and affect the representativity of peripheral and non-western countries in these spaces of scientific prestige, Latin American has historically constituted alternative models of circulation of scientific knowledge. As an example and model to be followed by "the rest of the world", Latin America is considered one of the most progressive regions, not only

for its critical thinking marking the Latin American epistemological contribution, This Latin American forefront is also presented in the development of policies and infrastructures for an open access configured in sustainable models based in the institutional and state collaboration, cooperation and action that became an alternative to the logics of the neoliberal market on scientific knowledge.

Even before being an agenda for the rest of the world, such as cOAlition S, Open Access has been developed in the region since 1990's, with the *Scientific Electronic Library Online* (SciELO) launched in 1997, in addition to documents like the "*Declaración de San José hacia la Biblioteca Virtual en Salud*" (Declaration of San Jose with the Virtual Library in Health", in 1998, for example. In other words, even before the Declaration of Budapest, published in 2002, which is considered a global milestone towards open access, Latin America has already been constituted as a model for initiatives of a free and equal access of science. In addition to SciELO and the Declaration of San José, other political initiatives and documents were fundamental for the definition of an alternative model of circulation of knowledge in the region. Among them, we can quote the "Declaration of Havana for the equal access to sanitary information", in which is highlighted the responsibility of the State in the access of scientific information as a global public asset, reinforcing the importance of national and international politics to guarantee the wide circulation and access to science (COSTA; LEITE, 2016).

Another institution that marks the effort of the Latin America to build networks infrastructures and open access politics is Latindex, created in 1997, that has as central element the creation of a system of regional and cooperative character, distributed in different Latin American countries, consolidated through an understanding of sharing of work and the approximation among the sources that generate, provide and distribute data about publications. Another institution that has marked the Latin American action towards open access is Redalyc, a bibliographic database and a digital library of open access publications, also developed by the Universidade Autónoma do Estado do México. Created with the

purpose of giving visibility to Iberian American publications, in 2015, it also started to provide a system of information that evaluates the scientific and publishing quality of the knowledge in the region, producing bibliometric indicators about the impact of the publications, authors and countries including in the electronic publication of the library, beyond indicators of commercial companies like Clarivates and Scopus, who provide the Impact Factor and CiteScore, respectively. Currently, Redalyc is considered an important repository of knowledge, with over one thousand publications distributed throughout all Latin America.

Another initiative that stands out is Amelica, created in 2018, a communication infrastructure for scientific publication and open science, sustained cooperatively with a focus in the publishing model without lucrative goals to preserve the academic and open nature of scientific communication (BECERRIL-GARCÍA et al., 2018). It arrived in a regional context in which platforms, national councils of science, academic institutions and part of the academic community devalue local publications, aligning themselves with the strategies of commercial publishers. In the international context, it has been presented as an alternative to the platformization of science (MIROWSKI, 2018; OLIVEIRA, SOBREIRA, 2020), through its penetration of economic infrastructures and processes of digital platforms in scientific practices to attend demands around values of efficiency, visibility and productivity disguised by the discourse of transparency and acceleration by opening science. In this sense, Amelica is a publishing model without lucrative goals to preserve the academic and open nature of scientific communication as an "effort, born in the South and for the South, which is open to all publications in the world who work for an inclusive, equal and sustainable ecosystem of scientific communication"[3].

Despite being a subject that already were being unfolded in an international level, it only recently became more visible with the publication of the Plan S of the European Union, which reinforces the vision already developed that the scientific information is a public asset and that

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3   Available at: http://amelica.org/index.php/pt/sobre-a-amelica/.

open access is a path to allow this wide circulation of science. In Plan S, institutional politics were defined to provide subsidies for the publication in open access, among them the payment of article process charges, strengthening a market increasingly growing of monetization for open scientific knowledge. While Europe and the United States began to recognize open access as a modality even lucrative for their businesses, that were suffering with increasingly low access and different critiques from the academic community (JHA, 2012), Latin America not only had already discussed the theme decades ago, but integrated in national policies in different countries and developed their own infrastructures and in network to increase impact and visibility of the scientific production.

The scientific communication in Latin America was consolidated through transnational and region circuits of their own, beyond the circuits of hegemonic prestige, supposedly considered neutral (BEIGEL, 2016). In addition to initiatives of vanguard of extreme importance for Latin America, come from the principle that knowledge is a tool that must serve beyond traditional circuits of scientific production. It is from this understanding that the notion of open science, open access, sharing and public commitment are understood as key elements for science in Latin America (VESSURI et al., 2014) and the key to contribution of the region with "the rest of the world".

As reminded by Santiago Castro-Gómez (2012), decolonizing the Latin American university means introducing the decolonial thinking through the incorporation of trans disciplinarity and complex thinking, which allows a cognitive exchange between western science and other forms of knowledge production. The decolonization of high education, therefore, is not a "reversal of the colonial moment for the post-colonial" (COLAÇO; DAMÁSIO, 2012), but rather a position of continuous fight for a more open, plural and participative university. That has been the greatest epistemological contribution of Latin America, since the critical studies of communication in the region to the development of policies and infrastructures of open science.

Final Considerations

The Latin American tradition of research in Communication with solid roots and its historic importance cannot be underestimated. Not only in Latin America was the first region outside the United States to lead systematic research in the field, how it developed its own perspective, focused in a critical perspective that highlighted the socio-cultural dimension of communicational phenomenon, to the difference of American researches. Despite that, more recently, the research in Communication disappeared the scenario of research of international reference. That didn't happen because research stopped from existing, or because they became irrelevant. What changed were the criteria that define the research of international reference.

In the wake of the process of neoliberal globalization, led by United States, a new system of reference emerged, with an institutional bias frankly favorable to that country, and, in second place, the West. These circumstances allowed that research based in American institutions had a disproportionate weight in the capacity of defined the agenda and the terms of research in Communication, and, therefore, instituted the basis of an academic imperialism, deepening the dependence of peripheral countries in relation to the United States and to western countries. Even more important, the capacity of defining the research agenda converted in a strategic political asset, as it allows to give real value scientifically validated to originated perspectives in certain societies and not in others and, based in them, justify concrete actions, taken in international levels as unacceptable or desirable. In a time in which actors hosted in the United States serve as base to intervention initiatives in political processes in Latin American countries, illustrated by the Brazilian and Bolivian cases, the risks associated to this situation and structural asymmetry in the academic field become fairly evident.

There is a last point to point out, however. As big as it is, in the preference, the asymmetry of academic system in favor of the United States and the West starts to give signs of depletion. The unipolar order that served as material foundation to the asymmetric academic model has

been challenged by emerging powers, such as China and Russia, for example, and pressures for a more plural academic environment become increasingly more common. It is reasonable to suppose, thus, that a new global academic system come to replace the current. But in what terms this system should be structured? Here, again, Latin American has important lessons to offer. "Erased" from the research scenario by the anglophone circuit that has dominated the scenario of global research since the end of the last century, the Latin American research resisted and built a rich circuit of scientific communication, based in a logic of open access to its products, in opposition to the predominant commercial model in the anglophone universe.

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Fundação Rádio Escola para o Desenvolvimento Rural (FREDER): um caso de (des)ocidentalização educativa em território Mapuche Williche[1]

Fundación radio escuela para el desarrollo rural (FREDER): un caso de desoccidentalización educomunicativa en territorio mapuche williche

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Resumo: *A Fundación Radio Escuela para el Desarrollo Rural – FREDER é uma instituição ligada aos padres capuchinhos holandeses, chegados à cidade de Osorno, Chile, em meados da década de 1960. Desde 1968, a FREDER vem intervindo com programas educomunicativos para o desenvolvimento em comunidades Mapuche Wiliche. Este artigo tem como objetivo principal identificar elementos diferenciadores de referida experiência, que singularizem sua perspectiva sobre as comunicações e o desenvolvimento. A ideia de diferença se contempla desde uma perspectiva deleuziana. A partir da análise interpretativa de documentos e entrevistas, se propõem duas diferenças que podem ser úteis como estratégia de (des)ocidentalização das comunicações: 1) Compromisso político educativo como tática legitimadora local; e 2) Transição do negacionismo para a valoração da multiplicidade cultural indígena.*

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D O S S I Ê

Palavras-Chave: *Diferença; educomunicação; rádio escola; Mapuche Williche; FREDER.*

Resumen: *La Fundación radio escuela para el desarrollo rural – FREDER es una institución ligada a los curas capuchinos holandeses llegados a la ciudad de Osorno, Chile, a mediados de la década del 60; desde 1968 intervino con programas educomunicativos para el desarrollo en comunidades mapuche williche. Este artículo tiene como objetivo principal identificar elementos diferenciadores de dicha experiencia, que singularice su perspectiva sobre las comunicaciones y el desarrollo; la idea de diferencia se contempla desde una perspectiva deluzeana. A partir del análisis interpretativo de documentos y entrevistas se proponen dos diferencias que pudiesen ser útiles como estrategia de desoccidentalización de las comunicaciones: 1) Compromiso político educomunicativo como táctica legitimadora local; y 2) Transición del negacionismo a la valoración de la multiplicidad cultural indígena.*

Palabras clave: *Diferencia; educomunicación; radio escuela; Mapuche Williche; FREDER.*

Introducción

La experiencia educomunicativa en territorio mapuche williche es prácticamente desconocida. Al revisar bases de datos académicas no hay referencia a Fundación radio escuela para el desarrollo rural (en adelante FREDER). Los estudios relacionados al mundo mapuche williche se inscriben en la sociología, lingüística, antropología y literatura, operando como estudios del otro o sobre su producción. Esta ausencia es un ejemplo de olvido, de invisibilización académica en que se replican hegemonías temáticas y territoriales. A fin de cuentas ¿qué importancia académica global tiene un caso específico de educación a través de la radio, situado en territorio indígena? Sostenemos que la experiencia situada es el campo fértil donde emerge la multiplicidad, y en ese contexto, este trabajo aspira a iniciar el pago de una deuda.

El presente trabajo, tiene un doble objetivo: por un lado visibilizar la experiencia de FREDER como un hito educomunicativo, reconociendo también sus tensiones y matices; e identificar diferencias que discutan el rol reproductor de dinámicas más o menos similares en su contemporaneidad, de modo tal de relevar su singularidad; ello, pues cada experiencia es singular, y en la multiplicidad de dichas singularidades será posible comprender el devenir de la historia en los campos de las comunicaciones y de la educación rural. En términos de organización, proponemos primero una contextualización general de la instalación de FREDER en el territorio; luego exponemos someramente tres anclajes teóricos que resultan vitales para producir una lectura provocadora de la experiencia de FREDER: la idea de diferencia en Deleuze, para luego avanzar en el concepto de educomunicación, desde una perspectiva crítica al desarrollo. A continuación exponemos una breve acotación metodológica, en la que definimos el trabajo como un estudio de caso cuya unidad de análisis es FREDER durante el período comprendido entre 1968 y la década de los años 80; la recogida de datos consideró tanto entrevistas como revisión documental; el análisis de la información se hizo de acuerdo a un levantamiento categorial anclado en el análisis de contenido y crítico del discurso. Finalmente concluimos con

dos diferencias que singularizan el trabajo de FREDER: 1) Compromiso político educomunicativo como táctica legitimadora local; y 2) Transición del negacionismo a la valoración de la multiplicidad cultural indígena.

FREDER: su llegada a un territorio de historia convulsa

FREDER es una organización ligada al obispado católico de la ciudad de Osorno en la región de Los Lagos, al sur de Chile. Fue creada por la orden capuchina a través de una misión de curas holandeses que arribaron al territorio con posterioridad al terremoto de 1960. Su llegada fue gestión de Francisco Valdés Subercaseaux, primer obispo de Osorno, también capuchino, que recurre a su propia orden para aumentar el contingente pastoral en la zona. A los recién llegados se les asigna un territorio que bordea por el oeste toda la provincia de Osorno, zona habitada principalmente por comunidades indígenas mapuche williche[5] y que se conoce ancestralmente como Fütawillimapu[6]. Para los holandeses, la principal imagen del lugar fue la de una 'mancha negra' (ÁLVAREZ et.al., 1988). Hoy, esta zona comprende las comunas de San Pablo, San Juan de la Costa, Río Negro y Purranque; en este trabajo la denominaremos simplemente La Costa[7].

La situación de pobreza del territorio era consecuencia de una larga historia de tensión política y abuso colonial: primero desde la corona española, y luego desde el propio Estado de Chile. Como hemos señalado en un trabajo anterior (QUINTANA & PÉREZ, 2017), tras la fundación de Osorno (1558), la ciudad fue destruida (1603-1604) en el marco de la rebelión de 1598. Fue hasta 1793 en que se refundaría, con posterioridad a la firma del Tratado de las Canoas[8] entre el gobernador y los

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5   El pueblo mapuche williche si bien pertenece al pueblo mapuche (uno de los pueblos originarios que habita la zona sur de Chile y Argentina), tienen especificidades culturales e históricas, que no son posibles de abordar en este trabajo.
6   Traducido al español como Grandes Tierras del Sur
7   Es recurrente en las entrevistas el uso de esta denominación; nos parece que debe ser la que utilicemos.
8   Para profundizar en el derrotero político y militar de la época se sugiere ver: Alcamán (1997)

principales Lonko[9] del territorio. Ahí se garantizó mínimas condiciones de vida a las comunidades y su reconocimiento como nación. Tras la independencia de Chile, regresaría la violencia y el abuso desde el Estado. La radicación indígena de 1866 y las acciones de Propiedad Austral de 1935, condenaron a las comunidades a un desplazamiento forzado a las peores tierras de la región. Durante el siglo XX esto significará un proceso de aculturación que, a través de la desposesión territorial, obliga a un doble movimiento: la campesinización del mapuche y su proletarización (SAAVEDRA, 2002). Durante la década de los años 60 la reforma agraria (1962-1973), aunque distribuyó tierras, lo hizo de manera insuficiente; por otra parte, la contrarreforma neoliberal (desde 1973 en adelante) revirtió la entrega de tierras y promovió la industria forestal extractivista, ecológicamente perjudicial y socialmente disruptiva, que arrincona a las comunidades en tierras cada vez de peor calidad y con una permanente y sostenida disminución del agua" (QUINTANA & PÉREZ, 2017, p. 181).

Dos cuestiones facilitaron la instalación de los holandeses en La Costa: comunidades   habituadas a la presencia de misioneros católicos de origen europeo, ya que desde al menos 1802, allí se instalaron sucesivas misiones: franciscanos alemanes, jesuitas alemanes e italianos y finalmente los capuchinos holandeses. Además, esta orden religiosa ya disponía de experiencia misio-colonial[10] pues, habían estado en Indonesia por años, antes de ser expulsados tras la independencia de ese país (DE VET, 2016); y cuando la orden llega a Chile a mediados del siglo XIX, lo hace justamente para apoyar los procesos de colonización específicamente en territorio indígena (CAPUCHINOS CHILE, s. f.).

FREDER impulsó desde su creación programas educomunicativos: alfabetización,   desarrollo productivo, formación sanitaria, participación social; fueron financiados y reconocidos tanto nacional como

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9   La traducción directa de esta palabra al español es cabeza. Aquí hace referencia a la autoridad política de una comunidad mapuche.

10   Puede ser redundante esta cláusula, pero resulta pertinente la dualidad pues no toda empresa colonial es a la vez misional. Para profundizar en tipos de colonialismos se sugiere ver Osterhammel & Jansen (2019)

internacionalmente. Hacia fines de los años 80, sostenían aproximadamente 120 trabajadores. Su decadencia acelerada hacia los años 90, no ha impedido su vigencia en tanto medio de comunicación y su prestigio como institución relevante del territorio. Hoy, sin embargo, sólo permanece activa su Radio La Voz de la Costa y el Festival del Cantar Campesino que el año 2020 celebró su versión número 52.

En un material audiovisual producido por FREDER al cumplir 21 años de trabajo (1988), uno de sus fundadores, el Padre Auxencio, señalaba:

> Al principio, cuando llegamos nosotros, nos dimos cuenta que era necesario de influir en la mentalidad de la gente. No solamente con nuestra palabra, que hablábamos en los templos, sino también llegar a la gente en sus casas. Y por eso fundamos una revista «La Voz de la Costa». Pero muy luego nos dimos cuenta que muchas personas no sabían leer y muchos no tenían tampoco el hábito de leer. Y por eso, surgió lentamente la idea de instalar una radio para poder llegar por la voz a cada uno en su hogar […] Éste fue, digamos, el nacimiento de la idea de La Voz de la Costa... (ÁLVAREZ et al., 1988).

¿Qué implicaba influir en dichas mentalidades? ¿Cuál era el derrotero que imaginaban los capuchinos para esas comunidades? En este artículo se exploran elementos distintivos de esa experiencia, que permitan singularizar su accionar. Este ejercicio diferenciador puede facilitar el dimensionamiento de dicho trabajo y aportar a la discusión sobre la embrionaria desoccidentalización de las comunicaciones y la educación rural, en territorios que aunque siempre fueran diversos, recién hoy se valoran y reconocen en su multiplicidad.

Lo singular a partir de tres conceptos teóricos

Hay tres conceptos que concurren en este trabajo como ordenadores del andamiaje teórico que nos permita mirar la experiencia de FREDER desde una singularidad que tendió a la desoccidentalización.

1.- Diferencia: Hemos optado por subrayar las diferencias en el accionar de FREDER más que la representación de su idea de desarrollo.

No buscamos contrastar el trabajo de FREDER con alguna otra cosa. Se trata de observar, siguiendo a Deleuze (2002), las diferencias despojadas de negatividad y liberadas de una idea de repetición de lo mismo. Como señala Martínez (2017, p. 19) "...que no sea la representación la que explique lo social, como lo pretende Durkheim, sino la diferencia la que explique la representación". Una manera de pensar la diferencia liberada de su negatividad, de su antítesis, de su otro, es hacer el foco en las superficies, en lo visible de la experiencia. Deleuze (2005), en su segunda serie de paradojas recuerda el giro estoico respecto del acontecer platónico. No es la idea, la sustancia donde reside la profundidad; es justamente en la superficie, en el acontecer, donde surgen sustancias múltiples; no hay así una sustancia, las hay varias y en ellas, en su conjunto, radica la posibilidad del sentido, tanto como la del sinsentido, simultáneamente. La profundidad oculta, entierra, esconde. Develar entonces lo oculto, no pasa por entrar en el escondite, sino que buscar en la superficie, las fisuras.

2.- *Educomunicación*: La inquietud por este concepto surge hace varias décadas, constituyéndose en un campo de estudios diverso, amplio y a veces contrastante. Su historia se remonta a la construcción de un campo de conocimiento basado en la realidad social latinoamericana. Su epistemología viene construyéndose a partir de la producción académica de la línea de investigación en Comunicación y Educación en la Escuela de Comunicación y Artes de la Universidad de São Paulo (ECA / USP), así como de disertaciones y tesis doctorales desarrolladas y defendidas en centros de posgrado a nivel mundial (SOARES, 2014, p. 14), además de otras organizaciones sociales que asumieron la interfaz como base teórica y práctica. De todos modos, como señala Barbas (2012), hay al menos dos tradiciones en pugna: una anglosajona más funcionalista y otra fuertemente arraigada en América Latina orientada a la dialogicidad y la crítica, corriente influida principalmente por Paulo Freire. (APARICI & et.al., 2010; BARBAS, 2012). Una de las primeras producciones teóricas sobre educomunicación y que atañen al mundo rural, fue el trabajo 'Extensión o comunicación' del mismo Freire (2004). Lo

que interesa para este artículo es insistir en la clara diferencia que se hace allí, entre la labor de "extensión" y de "comunicación"; las diferencias apuntan a que la extensión se ocupa en transferir tecnologías hacia el campesinado (como en la lógica de la pedagogía bancaria), mientras una perspectiva con foco en la comunicación, propende al diálogo emancipatorio (CITELLI, 2010; ASSUMPÇAO, 2009; FREIRE, 2004; KAPLÚN, 1987). Para Soares, (2011), la práctica educomunicativa nace relacionada con movimientos populares de educación y comunicación, que buscaban construir una perspectiva dialógica en sus acciones. En este aspecto, el diálogo representó la posibilidad de construir una comunicación más humana y menos instrumental.

3.- *Crítica al desarrollo:* El supuesto de base en las teorías críticas al desarrollo es que, tras dicho concepto, opera una ideología homogenizadora; es decir intenta alinear a las comunidades 'no desarrolladas' a las directrices de Estados Unidos y Europa principalmente. Interesa entonces, una aproximación que ligue tanto las políticas occidentalizadoras sobre el desarrollo, con prácticas educomunicativas que las singularicen en su implementación.

El nacimiento de FREDER es casi veinte años después que Truman iniciara el despliegue de la doctrina para el progreso. Atender a las zonas subdesarrolladas constituiría buena parte de los esfuerzos de diversos países a partir de la segunda mitad del siglo XX. Arturo Escobar (2007, p. 11) señala que "el modelo del desarrollo desde sus inicios contenía una propuesta históricamente inusitada desde un punto de vista antropológico: la transformación total de las culturas y formaciones sociales de tres continentes de acuerdo con los dictados de las del llamado Primer Mundo". En definitiva, se trata de crear modernidad alineando a las comunidades a coordenadas de control que operan tanto a nivel de individuos como a nivel de ambientes sociales y productivos (ESCOBAR, 2007). Refiriendo los trabajos de Timothy Mitchell, Escobar recuerda que el sujeto europeo moderno, al enfrentarse a realidades desconocidas, 'encuadraba' la realidad a sus propios códigos, a fin de comprenderla; eso hicieron los capuchinos que llegaron a La Costa.

Las zonas rurales del sur de Chile no quedarían ajenas a las intenciones desarrollistas, "...la inclusión del campesinado fue el primer caso en que se creó masivamente un nuevo grupo de clientes para dicho aparato [el desarrollo], en el cual la visión economicista y tecnologizante se orientó hacia un nuevo sujeto" (ESCOBAR, 2007, p. 265). Estas directrices permitieron el despliegue de una estrategia nítida en la historia de América Latina, en dos sentidos: Por una parte, como señala Peppino (1999), la estrategia de las escuelas radiofónicas se tradujo en la creación de numerosas emisoras, en su mayoría patrocinadas por la iglesia católica en unos 15 países de América Latina; luego surgen una serie de proyectos alineados con la lógica del intercambio de experiencias educativas, populares y comunitarias comprometidas con formas emergentes de organización social y apoyadas por el uso intensivo de conocimiento y de variables culturales, tanto en actividades productivas como en la participación social. El eje articulador es la democratización de saberes, la mejora de condiciones de vida y en definitiva la justicia social, todo ello amparado en las consecuencias pastorales del Concilio Vaticano II, en el documento de Puebla y en la carta encíclica Populorum Progressio que la antecedió. Una de las primeras experiencias de este tipo, es la de Radio Sutatenza de Colombia, a partir de la cual nacen varias otras que al finalizar los años 60 se reúnen, justamente en esta localidad de la gran Bogotá, para conformar la Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación Radiofónica - ALER (PEPPINO,1999, p. 38).[11]

En resumen, estos tres elementos teóricos esbozados nos servirán de tamiz para examinar la experiencia de FREDER: 1) la diferencia como elemento de superficie del acontecer que permite explicar la multiplicidad; 2) la educomunicación como estrategia de dialogicidad y 3) la crítica al discurso del desarrollo.

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11 En octubre de 1978, Winfredo van den Berg, otro de los curas capuchinos fundadores de FREDER y quizá el más reconocido de entre los directores de la institución, es nombrado, por sus pares latinoamericanos, presidente de ALER (GUTIERREZ, n.d., p. 49).

Alcances metodológicos

Este trabajo es un estudio de caso que, siguiendo a Yin (1994), trata de estudiar fenómenos contemporáneos en contextos reales en los cuales fenómeno y contexto presentan límites difusos, disponen de más variables de interés que datos observacionales y sus resultados se basan en fuentes múltiples. La unidad de análisis es la institución FREDER, dispositivo de educomunicación situado en la región de Los Lagos de Chile, para el período comprendido entre 1968 y la década de los años 80.

Hay dos técnicas de recogida de datos: entrevista e investigación documental. La entrevista es concebida como intercambio conversacional, no directivo, no estructurado, no estandarizado y abierto entre sujetos (TAYLOR & BOGDAN, 1987). Los entrevistados fueron actores del proceso de FREDER e incluyen directivos, funcionarios, beneficiarios de sus actividades.

La investigación documental es especialmente útil a la indagación histórica. Consiste en generar información a partir del tratamiento sistemático de fuentes documentales, tales como: periódicos y revistas, archivos institucionales y material audiovisual. Las fuentes documentales revisadas fueron: Archivo institucional de FREDER, Video "21 años de FREDER" (1988); Prensa escrita: diario La Prensa (1968 hasta su desaparición al mediar la década de los 80).

El análisis de la información obtenida se realizó de acuerdo a su carácter cualitativo, bajo la forma de análisis de contenido y discurso. Se trabajó con un sistema de análisis categorial, con orientación hacia un análisis crítico. El material reducido a través de categorías, fue discutido en sucesivos encuentros entre los investigadores y diversos colaboradores. Relevancia superlativa tuvo la realización de un seminario con informantes, al final de 2017.

Hacia la singularidad de FREDER

Todo lo que hizo FREDER fue promover el desarrollo para el mundo rural indígena. Aunque influido por los discursos dominantes: Estados

Unidos y Europa (desde el imperio político-económico) y la iglesia católica (desde el imperio político-teológico[12]), no fue estrictamente equivalente a ellos. FREDER logra -o se ve obligada a descubrir- mecanismos diferenciales que singularizan su estrategia de intervención, que aunque desvanecida en su materialidad, persiste en la memoria local.

En un documento conmemorativo de los 10 años de FREDER (1978), es posible observar el tamaño y acciones principales que se ejecutaban: en 1978 contaba con 40 funcionarios (llegaría a tener más de 120, al final de los años 80); desarrollaba convenios de colaboración con más de 10 organizaciones nacionales; disponía de una editorial en convenio con la fundación alemana Konrad Adenauer; mantenía colaboración (o la recibía) de otras instituciones internacionales como ALER, Centro para el Desarrollo Económico y Social de América Latina DESAL, UNESCO, entre otras. Dentro de sus líneas de acción destaca Programa de Artesanía con dimensión humana, Programa Padres e Hijos[13] escuelas de alfabetización Santa Clara, Taller cultural Tiempo, Mundo Infantil, Catequesis radial, Ediciones ISI – FREDER, Festival Regional del Cantar Campesino, entre otras.

Comprender la experiencia de FREDER no es fácil. El territorio es dinámico, la memoria frágil, la disposición de información esquiva, no obstante proponemos una diferenciación de dos peldaños: el compromiso político educomunicativo como táctica legitimadora y su transición del negacionismo a la valoración de la multiplicidad cultural indígena.

1- Compromiso político educomunicativo como táctica legitimadora

Adrián De Vet, uno de los capuchinos fundadores de FREDER y que aún vive y actualmente dirige FREDER, recuerda que "veníamos con mentalidad alemana realmente a cambiar la cara de la pobreza" (DE

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12   No necesariamente hay que entender estos imperios como distintos. Es muy probable que si se profundiza exclusivamente en esta relación, se encuentren puntos históricos explicativos que den cuenta de la alianza entre Estados desarrollados, multinacionales e iglesia. Pero no es este el foco de nuestro artículo.

13   Es posible leer mayores antecedentes sobre este programa en Torres (1980)□.

VET, en SALAS, 2014). El trabajo que emprendieron los holandeses, a ocho años de comenzar, disponía de "cuatro vehículos" como establece el cura Winfredo Van den Berg en 1976:

> ...su radio campesina LA VOZ DE LA COSTA, sus Escuelas Radiofónicas "Santa Clara" (únicas en el país), sus Departamentos de Promoción y Capacitación […] A través de su Departamento de Promoción y Capacitación, con el trabajo permanente en terreno de promotores y monitores, sobre [con] las técnicas modernas de los multi-medios de aprendizaje, FREDER ha realizado y sigue realizando gran número de cursos (VAN DEN BERG, 1976b).

La posibilidad de viabilizar el proyecto misional, suponía una arriesgada maniobra tecnológica: instalar equipamiento radial primero, audiovisual después, en las comunidades: "La empresa holandesa Philips les pasó una partida de radios baratas (a pilas) y ellos las repartieron por el campo. La gente se juntaba en una casa a oír la clase y hacer las tareas" (SALAS, 2014). Los aparatos venían con dial fijo, es decir sólo podían sintonizar la Radio La Voz de la Costa, pero mucha gente se atribuye el haber abierto los receptores y liberar así el dial (KOCKING, 1971; MEULÉN, 2015; RUMIÁN, 2016). Comenzaba así una apropiación de tecnología que luego se potenciará. Para ello debían aprender a operar las nuevas máquinas, debían también actuar como locutores, guionistas, productores e incluso, años después, cuando FREDER crea un departamento de producción audiovisual (mediados de los años 80) deben aprender a grabar, editar, producir videos. Implicó entonces un camino formativo de audiovisualistas williche que hasta hoy registran y divulgan parte de su acervo visual, uno de ellos es Juan Meulén, reconocido testaferro de dicha imagen (QUINTANA & PÉREZ, 2017).

A diferencia de los programas desarrollistas comunes en la época, las tecnologías no sólo se pusieron al servicio de la extensión, sino que se impulsó el camino para nombrar la palabra propia, construir una imagen propia. Del uso a la apropiación; no es claro que esto estuviese en el plan de FREDER, pero lo cierto es que las comunidades lograron apropiación y con ello, una cierta emancipación educomunicativa aún

poco estudiada y visible.Todo esto, en un contexto de tensión e incluso violencia. La violencia política que sufrió Chile durante la dictadura, también la vivió FREDER. Tras la investigación hemos llegado a la convicción que su actuar y padecer, le otorgó una cierta legitimidad al interior de las comunidades.

Juan Meulén, audiovisualista williche y ex monitor de las escuelas Santa Clara de FREDER recuerda que fue durante el gobierno de Salvador Allende, que FREDER tuvo su primera tensión; sus instalaciones son ocupadas por un grupo de campesinos e indígenas partidarios del gobierno, pidiendo la expulsión de los curas; en dos días las instalaciones de la radio de FREDER, que en aquel entonces se encontraban fuera de la ciudad, se llenaron de otros campesinos y extensionistas de la escuela radiofónica Santa Clara, y entre campesinos opositores y seguidores de la obra de los capuchinos, lograron finalmente detener la toma (MEULÉN, 2015).

Los curas holandeses tenían experiencia con la crisis y la devastación de la guerra. Los primeros en llegar, venían expulsados de Indonesia que tras una cruenta lucha había logrado la independencia; Winfredo van den Berg, uno de los fundadores, inmediatamente antes de venir a San Juan de la Costa, trabajaba en Alemania con víctimas de la guerra. A pesar de la experiencia, esta no constituía necesariamente una coraza. Días después del golpe de Estado, tratan de expulsar a Winfredo del país; él rememora este diálogo con el militar que le informa de su situación:

> Su historia y la mía son completamente diferentes. Ud., ha escalado posiciones, ha llegado a general, al máximo de sus posibilidades, al tope de sus posibilidades, al tope de sus expectativas. Mi vida, es una vida de pastor y gran parte de mi trabajo consiste en acompañar a gente muriendo, niños sobre todo, entierro siete o ocho niños por semana. Nosotros, no tenemos ninguna otra alternativa que la rebeldía ante estos hechos, no estar conformes, es lo único que tenemos (GUTIERREZ, n.d.; LOBO, 2013).

Este compromiso habría de tener consecuencias en los próximos años. Winfredo sufrió varias amenazas y amedrentamientos, violencia

política a fin de cuentas; misma violencia que sufrió la institución. Según relata Álvarez (2010), el 30 de marzo de 1977, hubo un incendio que consumió todas las instalaciones de la planta transmisora (nunca se pudo probar que fuera intencional); el 14 de mayo de 1983, cae la antena de la radio, producto de un atentado explosivo; el 25 de junio de 1987, ametrallan las instalaciones de la radio que ya, en aquel momento, estaban en el centro de la ciudad, resultando herido uno de los locutores. Pese a ello, las instalaciones de FREDER fueron permanentemente abiertas a la sociedad civil opositora al régimen pinochetista y su programación, aunque censurada en varias ocasiones, ya entrados los años 80, era fecunda en mensajes contrarios a la dictadura.

Sostenemos que el compromiso político se constituyó en táctica de legitimación con las comunidades y ello puede explicar la fidelidad de su audiencia y el prestigio que ostenta. Si bien la iglesia católica chilena (y latinoamericana habría que agregar) estaba sensibilizada en dicha época, en la protección de los derechos humanos y los valores de la democracia, no fue común un actuar decidido y directo de sus instituciones, salvo algunas excepciones diferenciadas. FREDER fue una de ellas.

2- Transición del negacionismo a la la valoración de la multiplicidad cultural indígena

Para holandeses recién llegados, La Costa era "un sector con muchas necesidades, entre ellas: educación y falta de comunicación. Un sector por muchos calificado como la «mancha negra» de la región y del país, por su pobreza y total abandono"(ÁLVAREZ et al., 1988). Esta imagen de "mancha negra" constituye el inicio de otro de los signos de diferenciación de FREDER pues su mirada mutaría con el tiempo.

La mancha negra, fue una imagen de violencia simbólica que destaca también por su recurrencia. De Vet recuerda lo que veía: "…la situación de extrema pobreza, de ser una mancha en el continente de América en aquel tiempo, de ser la mancha negra de este sector costa"

(DE VET, 2016). Pero una vez allí, había que trabajar para cambiar dicha mancha. El mismo De Vet sintetiza en tres momentos las etapas de intervención de FREDER:

> ...Primero venía la alfabetización, después la capacitación […] Así que, como había mucha pobreza [...] vamos a ayudar a capacitarle, pero profesionalmente en carpintería, en agricultura, en otra cosa. Y esto resultó bien igual [...] Ahí empezó realmente FREDER a crecer, porque se necesitaban profesores, y especialmente promotores, que realmente trabajaban con la gente, codo a codo […] Y después viene lo que iba a ser el tercer momento, después de cinco, diez años, era la capitalización. Y ahí fracasamos. […] Se descubrió, entonces, que el carácter indígena no da... (DE VET, 2016).

Es notable la equivalencia entre el comentario de De Vet y el análisis que Escobar (2007), hace respecto de una lógica regional. Señala que las orientaciones que emanan del programa Desarrollo Rural Integrado implementado en Colombia en los años 80, intentaban impulsar la transición del campesinado hacia su inserción en los mercados: producir o perecer; agrega que "de vez en cuando se encuentran en los documentos de evaluación del DRI [Desarrollo Rural Integrado] alusiones a la "resistencia de los campesinos a producir para el mercado" (ESCOBAR, 2007, p. 269). Esta idea sobre el campesino que se resiste al mercado, al progreso o incluso la idea del campesino indígena perezoso, puede responder a una esterotipación que, como recuerda Hall "tiende a ocurrir donde existen grandes desigualdades de poder"(HALL, 2010, p. 430).

Los mecanismos discursivos y prácticas educomunicativas que FREDER implementó pro desarrollo, invisibilizaron la especificidad williche del territorio, de la que eran plenamente conscientes; de hecho, en conjunto con la TV holandesa, produjeron el documental "Plaats Voor Nieuwe Mensen", para reunir dinero en Holanda y con ello iniciar FREDER. (DE VET, 2016). Esta actitud neo colonial basada en la lucha contra la pobreza, el foco en la planeación, la participación y de otras "palabras tóxicas" de las cuales nos habla Escobar, omitieron, las diferencias culturales del mundo williche. Señala De Vet:

> A veces siento culpa. Nos faltó conocimiento en antropología, en lingüística. Podríamos haber rescatado cosas huilliches que no consideramos. Mucha música, artesanía, rogativas que antes se hacían. Pudimos haberlas integrado a la religión. O traído a especialistas. Nosotros pensábamos en puros médicos, profesores, caminos, constructores… por nuestra mentalidad alemana" (SALAS, 2014).

Winfredo van den Berg nunca habla de mapuche, williche o indígenas en las cartas que publicó en el Diario La Prensa, aunque valore su producción cultural:

> Todo esto ha movido a FREDER de aprovechar los meses de noviembre y diciembre, para exponer, dar a conocer y vender los productos artesanales de esa gente auténtica a fin de ayudarles a realizarse y alimentar a su familia […] Confiamos que muchos osorninos, que piensan en un regalo de cumpleaños o de Navidad, sepan apreciar el arte popular, realizado por la gente del campo, por el hombre lugareño, por el personaje regional (VAN DEN BERG, 1976a).

Hay, en esta disposición a medio camino entre lo partenal y lo colonial, una estrecha vinculación entre etnicidad y mercado. Los Comaroff & Comaroff (2011) establecen que el futuro de comunidades despojadas depende de transformar el capital financiero en capital cultural y viceversa (economía de la identidad / economía cultural). Comerciar con la identidad permite producir y sentir identidad. La posibilidad de que un artículo artesanal elaborado con técnicas antiguas hace que ese pasado despojado se sostenga, resurja. Es también la opción que toma inicialmente FREDER.

Escobar (2007) recuerda que durante esos mismos años la antropología como disciplina sufre una serie de cambios que le permiten comprender que hasta entonces el mundo se había narrado al modo occidental y es recién entonces que se abren posibilidades para narrar al mundo de manera diferente. Concomitante, quizá de modo azaroso, con ello, en FREDER, también durante esos años, se comienzan a promover la restitución cultural del territorio; se abren espacios para transitar desde portavoz (el medio de comunicación que crearon se

llama La Voz de la Costa) a ser un espacio de articulación de un in-cipiente movimiento williche: el Münku Kusovkien, que en los años 90 se autonomizaría de FREDER. Los instrumentos diferenciales, aquí surgen de la mano de un programa radial específico denominado "Fo-liltun Inchen" (algo así como enraizémonos) y con la producción de un boletín de formación en TzeSungün[14] denominado 'Mari Mari Peñi'. Tras años de ocultamiento de la lengua y olvido generalizado, es sólo a partir de estos dispositivos que comienza a renacer el TzeSungün en la Fütawillimapu (RUMIÁN, 2016).

Así pues, desde una primera mirada del territorio como mancha ne-gra, FREDER transita a una etapa de promoción cultural.

Conclusión

¿Es posible discutir alguna narrativa anclada en el desarrollo construido desde occidente, desde una mirada anclada en una crítica al desarrollo, o dicho de otro modo desoccidentalizada? ¿cuáles serán las conse-cuencias? Evidentemente no transformarán prácticas pasadas, lo que transformarán son modos de comprender lo que aconteció y desde allí hilvanar un futuro posible, que con fenómenos como los migratorios, sanitarios, luchas indígenas, interpelan con vigencia al accionar social comunicativo.

Se puede mirar aquello que aconteció con un ingenuo optimismo: "...hoy da gusto, dice Adrián de Vet: Sales de Osorno por ese camino a La Costa y ya no ves toda esa pobreza. Se ve un pueblo andando, caminos que serpentean los cerros, bosques, sembradíos, recorridos de buses rurales, electricidad, ambulancias" (SALAS, 2014). No obstante, hay signos elocuentes de que las cosas siguen más o menos en el mismo estado asimétrico predominantes desde el siglo XIX. El mismo Escobar propone una ruda y aguda crítica al desarrollo y sin embargo ni mella se la ha hecho a las millonarias empresas desarrollistas que aún hoy, aparecen y reaparecen porfiadamente sin modificar, sino de manera

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14   Variante dialectal williche del mapusungün, lengua del pueblo mapuche.

cosmética, las relaciones entre pueblos, clases, razas. A pesar de este aparente pesimismo, hay que reconocer que la práctica de FREDER generó diferencias relevantes. Su mirada al territorio, se va morigerando con el tiempo, de la invisibilización o negación del williche, se avanza a una plataforma para su articulación e inicio de un proceso de restitución política, lingüística y cultural; su vanguardia tecnológica, genera competencias locales que hasta hoy, permiten a algunas comunidades, registrar y distribuir la imagen propia; su compromiso político - e incluso las consecuencias de violencia - le harán permanecer en la memoria y la audiencia de aquellos a los que se orientó. En definitiva, son estas diferencias, las que explican por qué, hasta hoy, en la decadencia económica y de trabajo educomunicativo en la que se encuentra, siga siendo habitual transitar por La Costa y reconocer en los testimonios de sus habitantes, oportunidades para la desoccidentalización.

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Jornalismo e conhecimento da realidade objetiva no século XXI[1]

Journalism and knowledge of objective reality in the 21st century

Rafael Bellan Rodrigues de Souza[2]

Resumo: *O artigo explora a questão do conhecimento da realidade objetiva pelo jornalismo. Cotejando a perda de sentido do real expresso tanto na hegemonia irracionalista do território digital, quanto em importantes correntes de pensamento hegemônico de estudos do jornalismo, o texto aponta a práxis noticiosa como forma de conhecimento imersa em uma sociedade de classes, avaliando a sua potência na busca da concreticidade. Para isso, assume a perspectiva da ontologia do ser social em Marx para debater a possibilidade de conhecimento da objetividade, investigando as peculiaridades do jornalismo no edifício conceitual da dialética materialista. Assim, apresenta uma caracterização ontológica crítica para um dos problemas centrais do jornalismo no contexto do capitalismo digital do século XXI.*

Palavras-chave: *Teorias do jornalismo; realidade objetiva; conhecimento; marxismo.*

Abstract: *The article explores the question of the knowledge of objective reality by journalism. Comparing the loss of meaning of the real expressed both in irrationalist hegemony in the digital territory and in important hegemonic thought currents of journalism studies, the text points to news praxis as a form of knowledge immersed in a class society, evaluating its power in pursuit of concreteness. For this, it takes the perspective of the ontology of social being in Marx to*

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debate the possibility of knowledge of objectivity, investigating the peculiarities of journalism in the conceptual building of materialist dialectic. Thus, it presents a critical ontological characterization for one of the central problems of journalism in the context of 21st century digital capitalism.

Keywords: *Theories of Journalism; Objective reality; Knowledge; Marxism.*

Introdução

There is a profound discomfort in scientific evaluations of the paths of communicational digital territory and the role of journalism in this sphere. Previously seen by techno-utopians in the stature of Castells (2007) as the most well-done expression of the total democratization of information and knowledge, recently authors like Morozov (2018), Fuchs (2016), Dean (2010), Moretzsohn (2017), among others, say how much these online platforms have been directed by the fetishist mantras of the capital and given flow to irrationalism, whose formal expression in journalism clearly appears in the phenomenon of "fake news". This process of combat to the expression of the critical reason has been created by post-modernist currents (EAGLETON, 1996) who, finally, reached common sense through the force turbined on social media. In this hegemonic thinking, as Netto (2010) points out, the idea of truth is transformed into discursive art-factuality, an intersubjective consensus, and it is denied the existence of a reality existing regardless of conscience. It's as if the significants twirl in circles without the material reference. The intensified reification in communicational capitalism (DEAN, 2010) produces in the field of thinking and common sense the perception of end of the possibility of knowledge, now replaced by beliefs and fictional narratives about reality itself. There is in the last decades an intensification of irrational elements in the ideologic decadence (LUKÁCS, 2016) in a scenario of complex cooperation (FREDERICO; TEIXEIRA, 2008) of capital in the 21st century.

Although the digital platform in which journalism has spread in the last decades had enabled their wide dissemination, the irrationalist grammar of looking for quick results of the economy of attention, built by social media, also became an echo chamber of fake news, a phenomenon not at all new, but never before so effective in the constitution of the metabolism of capital. On the other hand, neopositivists branches (main inspiring current of salvationists self-entitled fact-checkers) also objectify reality, not effectively understanding the conditions of objective reality (SOUZA, 2019). In this scenario of expanded progression of

manipulated uncertainties, the journalistic objectivity understood as the capacity of a reporter to express to an audience certain reality, comes back as a fertile problem in the studies of journalism, fundamental topic for the own survival of news like praxis[3].

One of the undeniable contributions of Adelmo Genro Filho (2012) for the understanding of journalism is in his description of this practice as a social form of knowledge. This means that this new modality, inaugurated with the rise of the industrial capitalist model of fact production, brought as a differential a priority access to the singular aspects of reality. Questioning both positivism, which preaches the pure access of objective facts, and ideologism, which marks the impossibility of separating journalism and political action, Genro Filho elaborates a rich understanding of journalistic objectivity, something not as understood by Brazilian researchers, which, as points out Pontes (2015), do not know the Lukacs' ontological articulation that works as a mark for understanding the real contribution of Marxism for journalism theories.

This article seeks to present, in this sense, the problematic of knowledge of reality through Marxist ontology and mark, in terms of hegemony of the irrationalist thinking (NETTO, 2010), the importance of dialectic reason in news like production. This approach allows us to retrieve the relevance of journalism beyond the symptoms of the possible irrelevance facing the communicational capitalism of digital platforms – a new environment of reproduction (MOROZOV, 2018). The option for ontology "implies the need to investigate the conceptions that found our ideas and practices that they provide (DUAYER; SIQUEIRA; ESCURRA, 2013, p. 18). We believe that the core of our problems around both the rejection and incomprehension around the issue of knowledge of reality through journalism goes through the apprehension of the dialectic relation between subject and object in the stage of a historic-social base.

Therefore, in the first part we will show the boundaries to some of the main epistemological understandings of objectivity (based in currents

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3   On the subject, from the angle of journalism theories, we can mention the studies of Shudson (2010), Guerra (1998), Demeneck (2009), Tuchmann (2016) and Henriques (2014).

linked, in a certain sense, to neopositivism, phenomenology and pragmatism). Then, based in the criticism to these expressions, we will show how the Marxian standard alters the understanding on concreticity and how he problematizes the relation between subject and objective reality, showing their dialectic character of transformative knowledge. Finally, we will present the relevance of dialectic reason and the centrality of objectivity in the production of knowledge, pointing the potential of critical journalism as an antidote of predominant irrationalism in subjectivity mediated by information technologies that explode in the core of a social-metabolic system of capital (MÉSZÁROS, 2002). To do so, this research of theoretical-conceptual nature takes on the understanding, with the retrieval of the perspective of Genro Filho (2012) that the social form of appropriation of reality that we call journalism is indispensable for the consummation of human freedom and the cultivation of a life filled with meaning.

Objective reality and journalism studies

Most part of the bibliography available about the question of objectivity is easy to perceive the predominance of a view that has two main errors. Sometimes it denies the possibility of a reality external to the subject, other times it affirms the empire of subjectivity as determining of knowledge. In both situations there is a lack of understanding of the dialectic unity between subject and object. On the other hand, the "ideology of objectivity" (GENRO FILHO, 2012) – used by the own professionals and re-elaborated by fact-checkers – brings the reality as a set of "invariable" things, confusing objectivity with a political pseudo neutrality. The result is the affirmation of the bourgeois horizon as the only possible social reality, crystalizing the reified appearance of reality as objectivity. Many academic critics adhere to the impossibility of knowledge about reality, working towards the semiotics of reality, that would be impossible to know the objective world.

> There are very distinct reasons that lead men that live in our time to reject the question of reality in thinking and in life. Such reasons reside partly in a satisfaction with the manipulated character of all life manifestations, partly in a refusal to this manipulation; however, a refusal that, deep down, is profoundly convicted of the uselessness of freeing oneself of the strangeness and that, because of that, searches and precisely finds this lack of perspective of the own insurgency an interior self-affirmation. (LUKÁCS, 2012, p. 100)

The critique to the naïve realism (GOMES, 2009) tends to not know the debate around the category of realism in Marxism, which can wrongly expand a genuine critique to positivism until the theory of reflection of Leninist base. The spiritual mirroring of reality, according to Lukács (2012), had never meant a photographic reflection of reality, but a mental expression of social being whose genesis and transformation come about in a dialectic relation with the material world. There is a relative autonomy of the cognizing subject in the understanding of objectivity and also its transformation, however, the Marxian ontology does not "lose sight that reality remains with its own legalities, that belong in the activity played, but also other accomplished activities (PONTES, 2015, p. 268).

As Kosik (2002, p. 32-33) says, "human conscience is, at the same time, 'reflection' and 'projection', it registers and builds, take notes and plans, reflects and forecasts; it is, at the same time, receptive and active". The categories of human thinking arrive in a subjective sphere at the same time as "products and instruments of ideal and practical domination of reality, parallelly to the peculiar development of that same reality (…)" (LUKÁCS, 2012, p. 247). The knowledge in Marxist tradition is the march towards the essence of phenomena, in which the mental abstraction homogenizes the heterogeneity of an existing reality. The social being, thus, is a product of the historic reality, but it also produces it.

> (...) One of the specific traces of the social being is precisely the fact that the awareness is not simply awareness of something which, in an ontological level, lies entirely indifferent to the fact of being recognized; on the

> contrary, the presence or absence of awareness, its correction or falseness, are an integrating part of the being itself, in other words, awareness is not here – in an ontological sense – a mere epiphenomenon, regardless of how much its concrete role in each singular case is relevant or irrelevant. (LUKÁCS, 2012, p. 241)

In turn, the critical adoption of perspectivism by Gomes (2009), on the other hand, does not found the material bases of ideal elucubrations, making that the concrete dimensions of class struggle begin to blur. Well, the social particularities of human groups have an objective base in the form of production and even the cultural differences that are a part of the concrete structure of social reproduction, as already attested by the cultural materialism of Williams (1979). The ideal types of social stratification that sustain the ideas of perspectives and communities of interpretation could even help a critical understanding of human sociability, but without the dimension of class, the interests put by the search for answers lie in idealistic forms, since there is no realistic social base able to sustain the bareness of interests in conflict.

One can perceive, as pointed out by Kosik (2002), that "every theory of recognition is supported, implicit or explicitly, by a certain theory of reality and presupposes a certain conception of reality itself" (p. 33). There is, behind the explanations around the possibility or not of the journalistic objectivity a figuration of the world that goes through, in this sense, an expression that not only ideological views that respond to problems around the issue, but also a position around the society we live in. To retrieve Marx's ontology means to make a critique to the real formations that structure the base as a systemic way of life guided by the expanded reproduction of capital. Therefore, the dialectical critique must present new figurations of the world, within the processes of social transformation.

In a very influential text, Sponholz (2009) defends objectivity, but do not take it on his theoretical framework, that pays an homage to Karl Popper, the question of ontological basis of the social being, falling in a

methodologic defense of logicizing[4] instrumental prescriptions for the journalistic work. It is important to point out, with Mészáros (2004), that no methodology is neutral, being delimited by historic and ideological conditioning and the economic base of social reproduction. However, when calibrating the instruments of verification, with methodologic impositions of measurement of objectivity, Sponholz (2009) raises the issue of news like praxis, but that without a critical and positioned approach may be confused with a utilitarian praxis (KOSIK, 2002), incapable of advancing in the de-reification of phenomena aspects. That is because the instruments of measurement of objective facts, without an appropriate dialectic approach, are incapable of understanding the "thing in itself', which, in the world of men, is product of the own human action. Dialectics is the path of intellectual reproduction of reality, or rather, it is the "method of development and explicitation of cultural phenomena coming from the objective practical activity of the historic man (KOSIK, 2002, p. 39).

The manipulation of the capitalist society presents a phenomenic appearance of reality which, for expressive currents of contemporary thought, are elevated to their own reality. Thus, even when they express a genuine interest in knowing phenomena, they get stuck to their apparent fetishist character. Lukács criticizes Nietzsche and Bergson for presenting in their reflections around knowledge a subjectivity that "(…) Is not in condition of finding in its own reality a place to express itself, even though it is – already in its antithesis – inseparably linked to the manipulated world" (2012, p. 43).

Pragmatist and neopositivist currents replace the knowledge of reality for the formalist manipulation of objects that are immediately useful to them and converge to a general trend that intend to enclose the possibility of basing objective criteria of truth. According to Lukács (2012), the attitude of intellectuals that seek to update the reflections of the

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4   Netto (2011) says that the instruments and techniques for assessing the facts can always be varied and are the means that allow the subject to know the investigated material; however, the results of this investigation are interpreted in the context of the dynamic categories of totality, mediation and contradiction.

gnoseological field, looking for solutions within the context of the new time express a social attitude that recognizes the "irresistible advancement of manipulation in contemporary capitalism as unavoidable, as "fate", but they seek to display a spiritual resistance to their spontaneous and immediate ideological consequences" (p. 75). While not perceiving a way out for the reificating character of the capitalist mode of production and its delimitation for the actions of everyday life, the most that authors who deny the social reality can do is present an impotent protest. Criticizing the attempt of Heidegger and Scheler of funding an ontology based on the phenomenological method, the Marxist philosopher points towards the limits in considering only the human being and their immediate social relations, which lift to the ontological level the "universally manipulated condition of society in the era of highly developed capitalism (LUKÁCS, 2012, p. 84). Because if phenomena are what is shown in itself, the appearance of immediately perceived reality, which is typically conditioned by time, becomes a supratemporal of human life. Thus, the risk is to mark the perceptible essence engrained of being into something final, settled as a definitive characteristic of delimitating contingencies of subjectivity in a form of historically constituted spiritual production and reproduction.

> The apprehension of the common sense, which corresponds to the daily experience of individuals, is given by the merely "functional" sense in the lived social world. Therefore, in epistemological terms, the base in which the fact will be settled and contextualized tend to reproduce in a latent manner the social universality such as it is immediately lived. It is not for other reason that the ideology of the dominant class is normally hegemonic, and the common sense tends to decode facts in a conservative perspective. (GENRO FILHO, 2012, p. 198)

On the contrary, Marxism understands that the thinking is not structured as a gnoseology, but as ontology. "That is because it understands that the issues related to knowledge only can be solved after the elaboration of a general theory of the social being" (TONET, 2013, p. 70). The category of praxis appears as an ontological determiner of the relation

between subjectivity and objectivity, ruled by the concrete reality in every human activity.

> Well, if knowledge is only one of the dimensions of totality that is the social being, we can only apprehend as we know more general and essential determinations of that being, and as we identify the place filled by knowledge in the production and reproduction of the social being as a whole, in other words, in social praxis. (TONET, 2013, p. 74)

It is in this consideration that questions appear such as the possibility of knowledge, what would be the object, the subject, as well as the truth. To do so, in the line of thought created by Marx in his extensive work and re-elaborated by Lukács in his Ontology, in fact, praxis is the mediating activity that conjugates subjective and objective moments in the definition of social reality. Awareness and objective reality are two moments of equal ontological statute. For Tonet (2013), the Marxian rescue of objective reality demands a re-elaboration of its meaning, taking it towards its historic-social dimension. However, rethinking the issue of objectivity also means a re-examination of objectivity, beyond its super dimensioning given by post-modern and phenomenological epistemologies. A theory of subjectivity can never isolate it from the weave of concrete totality of the social being.

> The subject-object relation and the separation resulting from it are two moments that imply the emergency of understanding the exterior reality in the form of concept and the expression of such reality through language. Therefore, it gets settled, from the ontological conditions of work genesis, the exclusively human phenomenon of capturing reality as spiritual possession. This phenomenon is in the root of the process of knowledge, whose continuous improvement leads to the genesis of science. (DUAYER; SIQUEIRA; ESCURRA, 2013, p. 21)

The insurmountable connection of knowledge and social practice is an ontological contribution of Marxism for the studies of journalism, since it marks the task of human self-construction as surrounded by the praxis of the process of real investigation. Therefore, reality itself is the

"result of the synthesis between awareness (subjective moment) and reality (objective moment), such synthesis being performed by the social practice" (TONET, 2013, p. 105). So it opens in the Marxian standard the potential of knowing not only the appearance, but the essence. Unlike the hegemonic tendencies of contemporary thinking, who reject the essence, in Marx, knowledge seeks its truth beyond phenomena immediately put to the first sight with contact with reality. The fetish and strangeness as exponents of the society of capital blunt in the shield of reality a wrong self-concreticity (KOSIK, 2002) which, stuck in an utilitarian praxis, impedes the movement of the human being as subject of social transformation. "Fact, data and events are always condensed results of determined social and historic relations and practices. Precisely because of that, these historic social relations and practices must be retrieved so we can understand their meanings" (TONET, 2013, p. 118). Fundamental in this investigation is the treatment of dialectic reason, mental abstraction and symbolic production that mirrors, in the own process of building reality, the mapping of objectivity.

> The process of knowledge is the search of determination and their relations in order to make the apprehension of the concrete in thought. Knowledge is as true as it is saturated of determinations and mediations and, for this reason, it is always, despite being truth, incomplete. (HUNGARO, 2014, p. 72)

When taking on the notion of totality as a complex of complexes, Lukács (2012) recognizes that all knowledge must search as a starting point reality itself, abstractly mirrored in the mind, and that their categories and connections revealed have an ontological and non-logical character. "Every fact must be seen as part of a dynamic complex in interaction with other complexes, as something that is determined, both internally and externally, by multiple laws" (p. 338). To Kosik (2002), if the process of knowledge wasn't capable of eliminating the pseudo-concreticity, transposing the phenomenic appearance of reality in the sense of accessing the authentic historic objectivity, it becomes a slave of fetish and reification, whose product is the bad totality. The search

for concreticity alludes to the knowledge of the historical character of the phenomenon, as well as their objective function in the heart of the social body.

Praxis is a decisive criterion of every correct knowledge because it objectively accomplishes the role of mesh the dynamics and movements of the social being in its insurmountable relationship with economic and social materiality of its time. Praxis "is the revelation of the men's secret on how to be onto creative, as a being who creates reality (human-social) and, that, therefore, understands the reality (human and non-human, reality as a whole)" (KOSIK, 2002, p. 222). It manifests itself both in the objective activity of the man, who give human meaning to nature, and the formation of subjectivity, whose existential affections and feelings are a part for the search for freedom.

Knowledge, objectivity and classes

Adelmo Genro Filho (2012) points out that the objective reality offers numberless possibilities of meanings and that the meanings are produced in the dialectics between objects in itself and in the relationship subject-object. The news are cutouts of the flow of objective processes of reality that are elaborated meeting determinations both objective and subjective. Being and objectivity belong in a same complex of multiple determinations. Thus, there is certainly space for the incidence of ideology and individual decisions, which does not alter the process of knowledge.

> To that extent, is inevitable that the facts are, in themselves, a choice. However, to avoid subjectivism and relativism, it is important to add that this choice is delimited by the objective matter, in other words, by a historically and socially built substance, regardless of the subjective and ideological focus at stake. (GENRO FILHO, 2012, p. 197)

For the Brazilian intellectual of journalism, social reality as a concrete totality comes from the processuality of necessities in freedom through work. Even without knowing deeply the category of teleologic

positing in Lukács (2012 and 2013), Genro Filho (2012) have a similar perception of the role of the subject in the construction of the concrete totality, noticing that subject and object, in its unit and difference, articulate dialectically in the self-construction of human history.

Another thesis that Genro Filho (2012) derives from Marxian ontological impostations is that knowledge is infinite, since the totality is dynamic and always alive, resulting from constant totalizations. That alludes to the fact that recognizing totality, as well-put by Kosik (2002), cannot be understood as a search of a totalizing truth comprising of all systemic complexes, but the recognition of a dynamic structure, which relates the parts with the whole and the whole with the parts. This totality moves based on the contradiction among complexes, whose rhythm and conditions are given by the mediation between the different levels of structure of each totality (NETTO, 2011).

The knowledge of objects contain subjectivity as an inseparable dimension of reality, being always politically compromised, since it positions in relation to possibilities and developments of self-construction of the social being. "For the knowledge of praxis, the objectivity can be revealed in its movement, as concrete trends and possibilities. Subjectivity, then, recognize itself and creates an awareness of its limitations and potentials" (GENRO FILHO, p. 96, 2012). The man is part of this objective world, in other words, produces the object and is produced by it. The centrality of objectivity implies, therefore, recognizing that body and spirit are parts of the same social reality. Therefore, there is a clear role of subjectivity and the interest in the understanding of the world, and journalists and their interests are fundamental for the act of knowledge, because subjectivity is not an illness or obstacle to be surpassed by objectivity, but a condition of the own possibility of truth. It has as instance of verification the social and historic practice.

> In other words, all human activity is determined by a certain gradient of intentionality – awareness is responsible both for the conceptual reproduction (the abstraction that puts in the center of the activity, at the same time, the connection between medium and ends, and also the previous

ideation regarding the object) as for spiritual production, this resulting from the most complex activity of the human being, in the sphere of creation already distanced from the immediate relationship between man and nature, but whose complexification only became possible thanks to the first socialization of the natural element. (RANIERI, 2011, p. 130)

The position of class is unescapable of the processes of knowledge such as journalism and ideology, understood by Mészáros (2004) as the form through which men became aware of conflicts and in it they put themselves in struggles. As said by Žižek, we shouldn't perform a "neutral analysis, but an engaged and highly "partial" one, because the truth is partial, only accessible when we adopt one of the sides, however, it remains as universal" (2011, p. 18). But to recognize that cannot be confused with the instrumentalization of journalism as an apparel of class, serving the strategic demands of a determined organization (party, movement, etc.). Genro Filho (2012) identifies the ideological and ontological presuppositions as conditioners of the news like production, which delimitate the optics through which facts are investigated, which allows both the affirmation of the common sense of irrationality that surrounds capitalism manipulated as the criticism against the fetishized forms glued to phenomena. Talking about scientific knowledge, Marxism recognizes the impossibility of neutrality and impartiality in the investigation of reality, but marks in the option for the working class a place capable of advancing in the revelation of the essence behind the phenomena.

> What are the presuppositions, linked to what conception of the world, that mark each perspective? To who interests knowing reality and in what level? It gets clear, thus, that taking sides isn't, necessarily, an obstacle for the scientific understanding of reality. On the contrary, since we assume the perspective of class which, at that historical moment, fundaments the most elevated cognitive pattern as possible, taking sides reveal itself as a positive condition crucial for the elaboration of the scientific knowledge. (TONET, 2012, p. 111)

As we previously said, the relationship between subject and object in the view of historic materialism is not external, because the subject is inserted in the object, and from that we deduce that the knowledge produced by journalism is never neutral. However, we must not confuse neutrality with the thematic of objectivity. The condition of the own investigation of real is the activity of the cognizing subject (social being), because by his position it is possible to extract the determination of the facts (the singular produced by news). It is evident that in this perspective of class we cannot take out the field of choices (ethical) around the fidelity to the object, because the subject is active in the mirroring of reality. The exactitude with the results of a verification, this time, cannot be blurred to sustain a previous ideological truth. The perspective of class, without the work of the active subject, does not guarantee the effectivity of the knowledge produced. Even because, for the subjects critical to the bourgeois order, objectivity of knowledge can only be confirmed in practice as a criterion of measurement. And a wrong theory leads to a wrong practice. The intellectual capacity of the journalist, notwithstanding, demands a sophisticated operation of perception of the contradiction exposed in totality. Marxism offers clues to that conduct, since

> (...) In every verification of similar facts, in every ideal reproduction of a concrete connection, has always in view the totality of the social being, and based in it, ponders reality and the meaning of each singular phenomenon; an ontological-philosophical analysis of reality in itself that never wanders, through the autonomation of its abstractions, above the operated phenomenon, but, on the contrary, precisely because of that, accomplished itself critically and self-critically the maximum stage of consciousness, to capture all entity in full concretude in the form of being that is proper, that is specific precisely for it. (LUKÁCS, 2012, p. 296)

Based in this articulation, Genro Filho (2012) aims at the singular as peculiarity of the news like praxis and points towards both the particular and the universal are presented or suggested, which pass from the understanding (also methodological of this knowledge) of singular as a

destination point of the critical-dialectic investigation of the social reality. Journalism, in turn, can be understood as a praxis that has objective and subjective fundaments both in relation to the content to which they work for (social facts) and the way the apprehension and transformation of this content (the journalist's job of transforming social facts into journalistic facts)" (PONTES, 2015, p. 363).

Therefore, there are enough motives in the ontological articulation of journalism defended by the historic dialectic materialism to retrieve the notion of objectivity in journalism beyond its neopositivists, phenomenological and pragmatistic incrustations, which, in different ways, solidify the manipulated essence of 21sr century communicational capitalism (DEAN, 2010).

Final considerations

The narrative produced historically by informational journalism presents a perspective of opening of meaning (PONTES, 2015) that is very peculiar. It also enables the search of a knowledge on historic reality in its singular dimension that remains not only current but necessary. The characteristics that pick this form of knowledge as a power even in the scenario of capital crisis and predominant irrationalism in the digital territory go through the relation that this praxis have with everyday life, central location of necessary qualitative changes to the other form of sociability, since, without substantively altering the teleological purpose of subordinate classes, no other world is built.

However, one of the knowledge necessary to this journalistic practice is the ontological criticism, inevitably equipped of an ideological posture that are connected to the search of concretude. A journalism, according to Adelmo Genro Filho (2012), can clarify paths and express a wider view of fundamental aspects of structuration of reality, having as access door the singular. According to Lukács impostation, the object of Marxist ontology, unlike classic and subsequent ontology, is "what really exists: the task is to investigate the entity with the concern of

understanding its being and finding the different degrees and the diverse connections within it" (2014, p. 27).

What we can point towards, beyond a neutralized objectivity, target of critics of classic authors of journalism studies, is that the ontological perspective gives us a base for a new path of knowledge, while agglutinating the contact with reality to a posture in tune with the optics of subordinate classes. The collective impulse for understanding the social reality must be the horizon of a critical journalistic practice, fundamental to know the world we live in. That is why, in the scenario of class struggle, it is up to who develops its social transformative practice the exactitude of the territory in which one needs to circulate on.

We understand the critical reason as a dialectic aspect of clarification, rational conflict, and, more than that, elevation of the potential of journalism as a vital recognition of the singular aspects of reality, which can determine and delimit the horizon and the awareness of subjects around a project of social struggle. Beyond the irrationalism of contemporary common sense, the dialectic reason applied to journalism become a consistent project of searching alteration in social biases that sustain the reining metabolism. The challenge to that retrieve of objective reality in the knowledge enabled by journalism is in the increasingly intense hegemony of the daily strangeness enabled by the digital environment. The overcoming of this processes of fetishist dictatorship of structures of feeling can never be seen as a uniquely gnoseological task, because, without ontological alterations in the world of material life, therefore, without the collective praxis of social subjects, irrationalism tends to mask the possibilities of critical advancement in the awareness of individuals.

Journalism cannot be simply discarded by the use that it has been given to it in the last few years, putting as their horizon the vicious and anti-ethical posture of rumors in the digital territory. The flag of a journalistic practice with criticism and emancipation must be the main axis of journalism intellectuals and those who engage in different alternative arrangements, either in collectives, cooperatives, social movements or

critical virtuous journalists that still remain in the chairs of mainstream press. To do so, it is fundamental to recognize in a very precise manner that there is a world to know and transform.

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Entre o algoritmo e a curadoria: programação radiofônica, gêneros musicais e repetição[1]

Between algorithm and curation - Radio programming, music genres and repetition

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Resumo: *Este artigo investiga o processo de construção da programação musical radiofônica, cada vez mais tensionada entre dois polos: a curadoria humana e a mediação algorítmica dos softwares de automação. No percurso, propõe-se uma reflexão sobre os papéis exercidos por categorias como gêneros musicais, diversidade e repetição. Parte-se da premissa de que a música permanece central para o rádio num momento de transição nas indústrias midiáticas em que se consolidam novos intermediários, notadamente serviços de streaming, em que a curadoria humana foi progressivamente dando lugar a sofisticados sistemas de automação, reorganizando a escuta de música em larga escala.*

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ARTIGO

Palavras-chave: *Rádio; programação musical; curadoria; automação; mediação algorítmica.*

Abstract: *This article investigates the process of building a radio programming, increasingly tensioned between two poles: human curation and the algorithmic mediation of automation software. We propose a discussion on the roles played by categories such as musical genres, diversity and repetition. The argument is based on the premise that music remains central to radio at a time of transition in media industries. This time of new intermediacy consolidation is marked by streaming services in which human curation has progressively given way to sophisticated automation systems, reorganizing music listening on a large scale.*

Keywords: *Radio; music programming; curation; automation; algorithmic mediation.*

Introduction

To chain a sequence of songs in a way to engage an audience, building or capitalizing affectionate bonds, is an activity that was gradually raised to the status of art throughout the last six decades. With the consolidation of the music and radio industry, in the 1950's, the disc-jockey (DJ) became a pop icon, a connoisseur of "good music", articulating parties and other social events, an entertainer, master of ceremonies, in summary, a cultural mediator, able to prescribe to specific audiences what they should listen, a soundtrack not only to the dancefloor, but to everyday life.

These attributes gained importance firstly with the expansion of frequency modulation, in the 1980's, with the popularization of electronic music, in the 1990's and with new digital actors of sound media, in the 2000's. It is no coincidence that the first DJs, in late 1950's, early 1960's, had become celebrities, presenting radiophonic concerts that had their names and signing collections released by the music industry with successful songs of the moment. The same happened with DJs of the diverse subgenre of electronic music, many of which had became international stars. Maybe because of that, the pioneer streaming service, Last.fm, launched in 2003, in England, with the pretension of being the last FM – in the sense that, after them, supposedly music channels in Hertzian waves would lose their reason for existing –, presented, in their internet page, pictures and small text about their 40 programmers.

These profiles worked as type of certificate of human curatorship for a complex system anchored in the software Audioscrobbler, which informed the service each song listened by the user in their computer and traced, through algorithms, a profile, forming sequences of songs in continuous flow. In ten years, the service accumulated over 43 billion *scrobbles*, which would equate to a playlist that took 391 thousand years to be played (KISCHINHEVSKY, 2016, p. 76). The categorization of contents in music genres and subgenres, through tools of tagging, tracking and distinction, played a key role in the process of identification

between last.fm listeners (AMARAL, 2007, p. 235-239) [7], which worked as a hybrid of social media and platform for music consumption.

Automation software have gradually getting the spotlight, not only amongst the new actors of the digital market of sound media, but also in radio. The absolute majority of music channels has incorporated to their productive routines proprietary programs, such as Pulsar, Playlist and AVA or free programs such as Zara and Radio DJ, starting to chain their music programming through algorithms. The role of the programming DJ, before a radio star, is increasingly more restricted to the selection of songs that will enter a file folder through which the software will build sequences, often through opaque or simply random parameters. The programs usually only interfere in the frequency of execution of a certain track, through adjustments in its percentage of rotation, and determines – through subjective and/or commercial criteria – when his cycle of the program must end.

However, one can recognize that there is a factor of distinction that revert into audience for the channels that do not give up the selection of music through human curatorship. University and educational radios are examples of the persistence of flesh-and-bone programmers, who even recur to automation software, but remain in the coordination of the process, activating artistic criteria for the selection and management of repertoire – a type of music activism, that appeals to values such as authenticity, quality and exclusivity, in counterpoint to the mainstream of homogenizing hit parades.

In this article, we discuss this tension between algorithmic mediation and human curatorship in radio, media that, despite the advancement of digital platforms, remain as a central space in musical prescription. No less than 83% of the population listen to radio stations daily in the 13 biggest metropolitan regions of the country, according to data of Kantar

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7   Purchased by CBS Interactive Music Group on May 30, 2007, Last.fm gradually lost its audience, especially when it started charging monthly fees. Even so, in 2011 it reported having about 40 million active users - the number was no longer updated after that date.

Ibope[8]. The audience is even bigger (86%) between the younger audience, and the music schedule plays a key role, being consumed by 93% of the listeners.

Throughout the making of this study, we reviewed the scarce literature available on radio music scheduling, mostly international and/or dedicated to case studies of commercial stations (according to ROTHENBUHLER, 1985; ROTHENBUHLER; MCCOURT, 1987; AHLKVIST; FISHER, 2000; AHLKVIST, 2001; AHLKVIST; FAULKNER, 2002; KISCHINHEVSKY; HENRIQUES, 2015; GAMBARO; VICENTE; RAMOS, 2018). We also contextualize the role of music in radio in a moment of transition in media industries that consolidate new intermediaries, especially streaming services (about that, see KISCHINHEVSKY; VICENTE; DE MARCHI, 2015; DE MARCHI, 2016; VICENTE; DE MARCHI; GAMBARO, 2016; KISCHINHEVSKY; DE MARCHI, 2016; VICENTE; KISCHINHEVSKY; DE MARCHI, 2018), the importance of human curatorship (GAMBARO, 2016) and the growth of playlists, format that has been taking centerstage in sound media industries (FERREIRA, 2017).

The current reflection is an unfolding of the cartography of university radio broadcasting developed throughout the last three years (for preliminary results of this research, see KISCHINHEVSKY; MUSTAFÁ; PIERANTI; HANG, 2018; e KISCHINHEVSKY; MUSTAFÁ; MATOS; HANG, 2018), as well as the construction of music programming at UFRJ's radio station, from which four authors directly took part in 2019.

The cartography, with 106 stations identified up until now (68 FMs, 33 *web* radios e 5 AM), involved the application of an online questionnaire with 57 valid answers and the systematic listening of 24 hours of scheduling of 15 of them, selected through their historic importance, their relevance in their action markets and the regional and vinculation representation (public, private and confessional, federal, state and city,

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8   Inside Radio 2019. Available at: https://www.kantaribopemedia.com/download-inside-radio/. Last login: 4 nov. 2019.

community higher education institutions). The data collected show the role of music in university radio: only one station, among all the ones investigated, works exclusively with journalistic content; all the others have music scheduling to build their identities and establish bonds with their target audiences.

We begin the discussion, however, with a theoretic approach about the relationship between music genres and radio, thinking about the dynamics of repetition and innovation around which the industry has structured in the last decades, with flagrant challenges to the diversity of offer of symbolic goods.

Song format and music genres as (problematic) units of analysis

When extracting the content of a compact disc (CD) to feed the music library of a radio station, it is important to check if the music have corresponding metadata, such as the title of the tracks, authors, singers, label, year of release, editor. One of these information, however, is usually discarded by music programmers, because it doesn't reflect on what will be listened: in the vast majority of CDs recorded by Brazilian artists in the main multinational music labels, the song receives the seal "Latin".

It is not in question here the Latin American identity of Brazilian musicians, but rather the homogenizing character of action of big mainstream labels, that level the whole local production to a label that evokes an imaginary latinity, maybe existing only in the marketing offices of these companies.

This is only the tip of a big iceberg. Music genres were built and tensioned throughout the 20th century as a marketing strategy. In Brazil and in other countries, due to legislation, vinyl records, popularized after the Second World Ware, mandatorily had indications on how the song should be framed in a musicology perspective – *marcha, marcha-rancho, maxixe, tango, bolero, etc.* In the last decades, however, hybridizations made difficult the task of marking genres often established for over a

century. The mix of diverse elements are behind, for instance, in the arrival of rock'n'roll, hip hop, electronic and so many other artistic manifestations that expand the frontiers of genre and re-signify established labels.

Music genres develop among the poles of consolidation and opening, at times shaping, at times imploding specific grammars, in which the repetition of melodic structures play a central role (according to, for instance, FRITH 1996; JANOTTI JR., 2006; and CARDOSO FILHO, 2008). Genres sold by the music industry, however, do not necessarily coincide with segments explored by the radio industry, opening a wealthy field of disputes of meaning in which the discourses imbued of value judgements and operation of social distinction are strongly concerned, helping in the identification or rejection of songs, artists and specific genres by part of the audience.

The music radio works, mostly, with the song format, popularized by the music industry in the beginning of the 20th century. Supported in the perspective of a Greimasian semiotics of the researcher and composer Luiz Tatit, former participant of the São Paulo group Rumo, Jorge Cardoso Filho (2008, p. 5) highlights that the song is structured in a specific manner, in a scheme that can be summarized with the following elements happening in this order: stanza -> bridge -> chorus -> stanza -> chorus -> solo -> chorus.

According to the researcher, the song "has a stabilized axis LYRICS vs. MELODY and a fundamental appeal to the voice of the singer" (CARDOSO FILHO, 2008, p. 7). The grammar of the song is completed with the average duration of around 3 or 4 minutes, as a result of the technical conditions resulting from the physical support – the acetate with 78 rotations per minute, of the beginning of the last century, only supported recordings with this extension, which demanded the simplification of the song structure produced at the time, in which predominated the opera, concert music and (more or less) popular manifestations of variable formats, such as *samba de roda*, polka, waltz, *maxixe*.

The song format, therefore, transits through production and recognition grammars that involve two movements:

> A) the articulation between LYRICS x MELODY will be promoted through the employment of strategies recognized by the expressive dynamics of the song. That implies that a fundamental attention must be given to the voice that sings that song, because the hierarchization in uses of each one of the dictions falls over the final sense of expressive manifestation, b) the structures of melodic repetition, although expressively different, generally promote a deceleration of the song, which implies that their functions are extremely similar (that is why we call "structures of repetition"). (CARDOSO FILHO, 2008, p. 8)

A target for critic studies, the repetition becomes key for the recognition (another doomed category associated to the supposed regression of listening) and the appropriation of the song by the general public. This process is deepened as the music and radio industries, constituted from the 1920's, are developed in a profoundly interwoven manner. Both gain strength in the post-war era, in the turn of 1940 to 1950's, when vinyl begin to be consolidated – in 33 and 1/3 rotations per minute, the so-called long-play (LP), and in 45 rpm, most used for singles – and the systems of recording in a magnetic tape. The result of this technical advancements is the abundant offer of pre-recorded music, in discs of increasingly wide circulation. In the radio, the occupation of Modulated Frequency would change the way music was listened: the prevalence of live presentation in the phase of spectacle radio would give place to music played in vinyl.

The radio, locus of broadcasting of songs registered by the music industry, had already helped since the early decades of the 20th century, to consolidate the song format, operating a dynamic in which they established habits of musical consumption, characterized in great extent by the repetition of melodic structures. But not everything is repetition: radio would be also notable as a space of prescription of music release, generally new bands that the music industry tries to frame (associating them to pre-established genres) and commercialize.

Jeder Janotti Junior highlights that, facing the "informational excess" of the last few decades, that presupposes a strong segmentation, the fields of production, circulation and consumption "count with extremely coded labels". Because of that, genres would be a key-element "for understanding the production of meanings in mainstream songs".

> Genres would be, thus, forms of mediation between productive strategies and the system of reception, between the models and uses that the receptors make of these through the strategies of reading media products. Before being an immanent element to the strict aspects of music, the genre would be present in the text through its conditions of production and consumption. [...] The music genre is defined, then, by the textual, sociological and ideological elements, it is a spiral that goes from aspects linked to the field of production to reading strategies inscribed in media products. (JANOTTI JR., 2006, p. 137-138)

The genre must, therefore, be understood as a form of addressing music, that becomes inserted into a specific "grammar". The British researcher Simon Frith (1996) sustains that music genres structure the market, establishing parameters for production, execution (live performance) and listening. An artist signs a contract with a label in the hopes that their work will be produced and addressed to a certain target audience imagined within specific rules, which condition from the language of a video and promotional photos to the studio dynamics.

The rule of music genres are always related to society and the historic period in which they are formulated. They always operate between two poles: innovation – necessary to the industry, but, eventually, disorientating – and the consolidation – which enables some stability and predictability –, associated to the repetition. Genres arrive in a moment of organization of the music market, but they depend of tacit agreement among the most different actors – at the time Frith was writing, record labels, radio stations, music magazines, concert producers, retailers.

The music genres that the music industry tries to sell are, constantly, an object of dispute. In this sense, Frith calls attention to the importance of radios as well, that begin to segment in the most diverse formats from

the 1960 and are going to test the limits of the labels record labels seek to create to sell more. Only that this segmentation serves a very distinct logic from the one record labels had – in the USA, reference for the Brazilian Market, radio formats like country, classical music, jazz and pop contemporary hit radio lived with others much more different to define, such as adult contemporary, urban contemporary, AOR (Album Oriented Rock), among others.

The radio industry would strongly segment itself in the 1960's and 1970's, to capitalize the social and cultural diversification, most of the times in frontal disagreement with commercial strategies of major labels. Music stations of the contemporary pop segment tend to open spaces in their schedule for different successful genres in the moment, surpassing communities of taste. Stations of other segments, such as adult contemporary, rock, jazz, classic, etc., in turn, operate with more strict rules of genre, working to offer more homogeneous schedules, fitting the parameters of identification and distinction.

To Frith, the music genre as strategy of addressing symbolic goods presupposes an idealized customer.

> [...] When using genre labels to make the marketing process more efficient, record companies presume that there is an administrable relationship between the music label and consumer's taste. That resides, however, in a series of suppositions about who are these consumers in terms of age, sex, ethnicity, income, leisure habits, and so on. In terms of wider market research, suppositions like that are fairly efficient [...] However, what is happening here is an idealization, the creation of a fantasy consumer [...] And, in that, the industry follows taste more than form. [...] When deciding to label a song or a musician in a particular manner, record labels are saying something about what people like and why; the music label acts as a sociologic and ideological argument combined. (FRITH, 1996, p. 85-86, our translation)

Music genres are created and tested all the time, consolidating and tensioning their own limits. In this sense, adds, Frith, we put the issue of the relations established between the pleasures of novelty and repetition: popular genres establish expectations, and the let-down happens

when they are not met when in these case that this occurs in a very predictable manner.

This logic of music consumption, currently, does not circumscribe to radio stations – understood as mediating institutions and a benchmark of popular taste – but it is extended to the new media intermediates of sound media. At streaming, the situation becomes more complex, with music genres dividing attention with moods as a parameter of categorization of songs – a strategy that already is reverberated in the schedule of a few music stations. A research about music consumption performed by Box 1824, a consulting agency for trends in consumption, behavior and innovation, focused in new forms of music mapping, considering the similarities in messages and speculating about the ideal moment for hearing each style. The study identified that subjective factors such as mood are elements considered at the moment of listening.

The moods categorized by the research are: a) dystopia (reinvented pop music – examples: Björk, Adele, Lorde); b) *Heavy* ball (street music, for ghetto and partying, such as *hip hop*, electronic and variations like *trap* and *funk* – example.: M.I.A, Kanye West, Calvin Harris); c) Melodic malice (songs that talk about love, sex, passion, suffering and disillusion – example: Thiaguinho, Luan Santana, MC Gui, Beyoncé etc.); d) *Mass indie* (indie artists that have insertion in the market, such as Kings of Leon, Beirut and, in Brazil, Silva e Lucas Santtana)[9].

But if we observe the restructuration of streaming services in the last two years, we will perceive that the specialization became much more deep, with the classification of songs into categories or playlists titled like Relax, To Sing Along, Workout, Happy, Party, Romance, Zen, Focus, LGBTQi Pride, etc.

9   Cf. "Pesquisa propõe nova forma de categorizar os estilos musicais por humores". UAI, 2015. Available at: https://www.uai.com.br/app/noticia/musica/2015/08/27/noticias-musica,171060/pesquisa-propoe-nova-forma-de-categorizar-os-estilos-musicais-por-humores.shtml. Last visit: Jun 28 2019.

Playlist on the radio and on streaming: similarities and differences

The addressment performed by music genres (or by moods) occurs in the music scheduling, through the establishment of the segmented format. The decisive tool for a segmented music scheduling on the radio, later also adopted by streaming platforms, is the development of rules and procedures for the definition of a specific format of communication. This format is the playlist, which identifies the vehicle as a segment of action, when establishing compromises of offering music to the desired audience.

The playlist is the final product of a process of selection based on cultural and technical discussions and economic disputes that presuppose an imaginary listener, with which that specific list keeps more or less adherence. Their construction depends mostly on that professionalizing characteristic: the communicative intentionality of regiment certain audience for a certain sequence of songs. Constitutes the basic unit of a radio music scheduling.

On radio and on streaming, this discursive construction through playlist is fundamental, but their processes are different in the sense it emphasize different elements and sources of information. On radio, according to Ahlkvist (2001, p. 345-347), there is a dispute between four fundamental "philosophical" axis that orient a curatorship made by the programmer: focus on the industry or in the audience and aesthetic or "rational" judgements. On streaming, in which the automation prevails, this clash is not central, because the digitalization and the use of algorithms presuppose rationalization. However, contrary to communities of taste, the identification of the station and the connection to who prescribes the music with the listener, one prioritizes the need of personalizing the taste, moments and activities of the listener, a special playlist to each one and to each moment. In both medias, however, the propeller of the election of criteria and conceptions of the listener is the need of identifying an audience and becoming a subscriber of each prescription, on account of the vehiculation of ads or payment of signature.

The playlist appears on the radio, still according to Ahlkvist, as a grammar of temporality, a metanarrative resulting from the music scheduling. The main concern in radio studies, however, is the standardizing tendency that involves the application of the same playlists through radio. The playlist scheduling is produced as a temporary mark of communities of taste, building repertoires and reinforcing specific practices of selection. To Berland (1990, p. 182), a construction that tends to standardization oriented by technical and administrative processes of the great economic centers, mainly when we consider the tendency of concentration of control over the radio from the deregulation occurred in the USA during the 1990s. An example, we can add, is the format *pop contemporary hit radio*, one of the most popular formats in USA and in Brazil, which operates in the logic of the top 40 – in other words, a closed list of 40 songs that are hammered throughout the schedule of the station every 2 or 3 hours, from commercial relations with the music labels and presuppositions of what must or must not be a hit, a success in the audience.

However, a criticism of this "apocalyptic" perspective of standardization seeks to offer a deeper analysis of the interactions between commercial impositions and views of the own role of the programmer. It is what present Rothenbuhler (1985) and Ahlkvist, Faulkner and Fisher (2002; 2000), when observing that these strategies can be understood as linked to the identities of the programmer. (1) as a representation of a brand and responsible for their identity; (2) as "curator of content fit to listeners; and (3) as promoter of songs with potential to be a commercial hit.

Rothenbuhler and McCourt (1987, p. 108) describe how the selection processes in commercial radio are primarily perceived as professional routines, with predefined categories of format, acceptance and potential. They initiate with the "sensitization", in which they evaluate the universe of available songs and which are priorities for the station, and, next, they think about the space available in the schedule and the selected songs in relation to the ones already established in the repertoire. This

routine process, in the 1980's, would take less into account the listeners requests, record sales and other radios than information of promoters of the music industry, specialist recommendations, artists' reputation, space in the schedule and subjective perceptions of music directors on the potential of getting a hit. There is a great concern in establishing a reputation or credibility to the work developed and in the results obtained by this selection.

The main characteristic of this professional gaze on the construction of the schedule consists in the commercial base that regulates it. In other words, this procedure is predominantly regulated by the logic of business management, and not, necessarily, by the communicative or educational logic. Largely, thus, the audience is evaluated in terms of audience segments, or as consumers, typified according to market logics and not as interlocutor in a process of symbolic exchange. The reputation is built in terms of different segments prioritizing not the listener, but other professionals (ROTHENBUHLER, 1985, p. 212).

In turn, Ahlkvist and Faulkner (2002, p. 196) propose a detailing of the variation of practices of responsible that move to a study in the production of culture, in other words, locate in the subjectivity of programmers and in its negotiation with the professional rationalization a more comprehensive and qualitative analysis. This ia how they present the idea of philosophies of programming, that describe the approaches of programmers to legitimate the construction of a playlist. The philosophies present the hierarchized values that determine the music selection, shared discursively in the professional world of radio. Therefore, programmers deal with binary oppositions: aesthetic or research, selection of songs, and to meet the expectations of listeners or the company/industry, about their role. The determination of the position in some of these axis will guide, according to Ahlkvist (2001, p. 345), the practices of selection.

In this context, aesthetics will take a central place in the factors of music quality and subjectivity of the programmer's "ear". The taste and knowledge of the programmer are key in this philosophy. Another

position is focused on the rationalization of the selection. We seek the objectivity and use of data, ignoring the listening of the song itself. In this case, there is a professional and procedural valorization of the selection, based in data from the audience and research with listeners.

In the axis of the role played by the programmer, in an extreme a philosophy locates the programmer as a replacement consumer, in other words, as someone who selects the songs imagining himself as listener of the radio and of these songs, guiding it, but with the focus in the experience of the listener. In this case, however, the music knowledge or subjectivity are seen as possible obstacle to the programmer, because it is necessary to understand the listener's perspective, not the professional. The reach of the market goals of the station and the music industry is the main focus. In this last one, the interpretation of research and artistic content is the label's role, which subsidizes the programmer, intermediate between the industry strategies and the audience.

Such studies show how the logic of the commercial radio organizes the music schedule. However, in stations without financial goals, these philosophies are substantially different. Tim Wall (2007, p. 36) observes that the construction of the schedule of north American university radios is, in a more pronounced degree, associated to a political action and the promotion of alternative or independent music.

Wall shows that an "alternativity" discourse in these radios is based in a variety of different repertoires that operate in consonance with the cultural stories that involve such repertoires and are not limited to a specific music genre. The construction of an "alternativity" guides song choices and their presentation in accordance with a predominance of progressive, educational and counter-culture discourses predominant in media without lucrative goals in the US. Thus, the definition of alternative becomes variable according to their cultural and political relations.

This perspective is similar to the "non-rational" philosophies of Ahlkvist (2001, p 345), in which the concern is oriented towards education, to empathy with the listener and with the aesthetic values of the music selected but adds a political dimension to the analysis. In

addition, the idea of authenticity, associated to the discursive production of the music genre discussed by Frith reappears here associated to "alternative discourses".

All this logic applied to human curatorship of music scheduling can work as a theoretical board for streaming services, mainly due to the perception that the human touch is essential for the identification of these services as music channels, not only data libraries (GLANTZ, 2016, p. 45-46). However, facing this dimension of the data available for the organization of the schedule and the emphasis of the digital market in the personalization of the access of content, the use of algorithms for filtering, selection and offering to users was always a key-piece. This need is also justified by the attempt of fitting such companies not as music media companies, but as tech companies – even if their discourses were heavily sustained in the remediation of the radio as continuous flow, the identification with the service and the specialty of music offers (ERIKSSON *et al.*, 2019, p. 12).

Using the perspective of philosophies of scheduling for analysis, in the automation will predominate the rationality, mainly due to the necessity of quantifying and transposing to numeric keys subjective behaviors as the definition of genre and their discourses, used by curators, about sensations, feelings and activities linked to listening to certain songs, as moods and physical activities.

It is yet to show, however, whether the construction of such algorithms imbued of a communicative intentionality fills the same roles that the radiophonic playlist scheduling.

Final considerations

The music radio faces an unheard challenge when having a competition that does not measure their audience in thousands of listeners a minute, but rather in hundreds of thousands of subscribers, as it is the case of Spotify, Deezer, Apple Music and other streaming services – which we can also call social radio –all with libraries above 50 million songs. The automation of processes, such as the catalog management

and the rotation of tracks in the schedule, is unavoidable, facing the weakening of the radiophonic market, with a decrease in revenue and unheard loss of work positions. Many music programmers today respond for the curatorship of two, three or even more stations, simultaneously, balancing themselves between commercial interests and artistic criteria.

We understand that, when they give up human curatorship in their schedules, many stations sign their own death certificate, with their offer of symbolic goods becoming indistinctive from the one brought by new actors of the digital surrounding. The segmentation, in this sense, can be a trap, making so that the listener remains in a known terrain and do not get surprised by any track inserted on the playlist. We understand that music genre, treated in a strict form, stifle the construction of a music schedule and can create false dilemma. "*Rock*" can be understood as a label geared towards a young audience, even though the genre exists for over 60 years. "Samba", in turn, present a thousand subgenres – "pagode", "samba de raíz", "partido alto", for instance – which operate much more in the discursive field than the music one, making it much harder to algorithmically mediate.

The homogenizing character of segmentation of commercial radio in Brazil and the subordination of the dynamics of musical circulation to sale strategies of music companies raise the responsibility of radiophonic programmers in the sense that they do not reiterate these processes; that harm the diversity in the offer of symbolic goods and the vehiculation of overlooked artistic manifestations by the reference media. Unfortunately, this concern is manifested in few stations, generally university and/or public stations of educational nature, which, in general, do not pursue mainstream audiences.

It becomes obvious, however, the need for the radio stations to (re) establish channels of re-feeding music scheduling, that must be constantly renewed, in an effective listening of the audience's demands, without also disregarding the structure of sharing of record labels[10].

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10   In a visit by the first author to one of the stations monitored during the cartography of university broadcasting, it was surprisingly found that there is a budget for the monthly acquisition

We listen a music schedule because we recognize a great part of these songs (they constitute a familiar grammar to us, who integrate certain *communities of taste)* but not only that. We also want to be surprised, having access to new releases or remembering blasts from the past, which bring back memories, reminiscences of other times that we hold on dearly. Innovation and repetition walk hand in hand, configuring listening habits more or less volatile, conditioned by many other factors, including aesthetics and politics.

We advocate here that, despite the unfeasibility of manually elaborating a music scheduling that work 24/07, the human radiophonic programmer makes a difference for the future of the media. And, in this sense, this professional needs to retrieve his status as an artist, as a music connoisseur and the complex webs of meaning that surround them, building bonds, links between station and audience. The work of the programmer, especially in stations without lucrative endings, must be based by "non-rational" scheduling philosophies, as Ahlkvist would say, but that balance technical parameters (diversity of genre, plurality of artists, representation of the selected tracks, balance between new releases and blasts from the past, which enable an effect of recognition) and affectionate parameters (activation of mechanisms of subjectivation, identity, taste).

The music radio has survived the individualized playlists in MP3 listened in mobile devices, facing the exponential growth of offering of songs brought by streaming services, forcefully has to stand out from the rationality imposed by automation software. And the only way to that is qualified human curatorship, carried out with equal doses of intelligence and emotional involvement.

We hope these reflections can contribute for the debate on the construction of musical radiophonic scheduling, expanding the theoretic discussion about a theme that are still very overlooked in radio and sound media studies.

of CDs, which could be obtained free of charge from the record companies, as part of their dissemination strategy.

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A R T I G O

Trabalho Digital: o papel organizador da comunicação

Digital Labor: the organizing role of communication

Rafael Grohmann[1]

Resumo: *O artigo lança bases teóricas para entender a área de trabalho digital desde a comunicação. Para isso, discute o processo de plataformização do trabalho para além da chamada "uberização" e com clivagens de raça, gênero, frações de classe e território. Considera as plataformas como meios de produção e comunicação, com lógicas de interações e processos produtivos desde suas arquiteturas. Assim, trata do papel da comunicação como organizadora do trabalho digital tanto no controle e gestão do trabalho nas plataformas quanto nas possibilidades de organização dos trabalhadores, seja em associações, sindicatos, cooperativas de plataformas ou arranjos mais informais.*

Palavras-chave: *Trabalho digital; plataformização do trabalho; organização de trabalhadores em plataformas.*

Abstract: *The paper aims to theorize on digital labor from communication point of view. Thus, it discusses the platformization of labor beyond the so-called "uberization" and with race, gender, class and territory perspectives. It considers platforms as means of production and communication, with logics of interactions and productive processes since their designs. The article discusses, then, the role of communication as an organizer of digital labor both in the control and management of work on platforms and in the possibilities of organizing workers, whether in associations, unions, platform cooperatives or more informal arrangements.*

Keywords: *Digital labor; platformization of labor; workers' organization in platforms.*

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Introduction

Since early 2010's, many researchers have been debating the interface between digital technology and the world of work through the name "digital labor". A milestone is the publication of the collection *Digital Labor* by Scholz (2014). We can say that between 2012 and 2016 there had been the first phase of studies on digital labor, such as Fuchs (2014) and Huws (2014), with the predominance of the discussion on free/unpaid labor or users in digital platforms[2].

From 2016, with the raise of labor platforms such as Uber throughout the world, the debate was dislocated to the so-called "uberization of labor", involving themes such as capitalism and platform cooperativism, human labor and artificial intelligence, datafication and labor, work regulation in platforms. Some examples are the research of Casilli (2019), Gray and Suri (2019), Roberts (2019), and Cant (2019).

Digital labor refers to an area of studies and not a concept, because the activity of labor has always been human. As an umbrella term, it comprises research from different fields, such as sociology, law, economy, geography, psychology, urbanism and information science, in addition to communication. But what all of these discussions have to do with communication? What is there of communication in digital labor?

The theme of labor appears often as a foreign matter in the area, mainly when the research does not specifically deal with the work of communicators, despite the efforts of Mosco (2011) and Figaro (2018), for instance, who show the inter-relations between labor processes and communication. We understand communication as a place of articulation and reorganization of knowledge (SODRÉ, 2014), a meeting place and a "epistemological common" in the sense of comprising not only a "unravelling the communicational" of objects, but all their "impurity" and sharp edges coming from other epistemic spaces.

That is because, instead of defining before what would be specific and strictly communicational, what would interest communication

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2   With which we agree with the arguments of Huws (2014), as explained in Grohmann (2016).

– regarding specifically the issue of labor – not only the work of communication professionals or the communicational processes in the world of work, but "everything that comes with" that, such as control and management of labor, collective organization of workers, identity, regulation of work in digital platforms, among others.

Knowing those epistemological "impurities", however, does not exempt us from thinking that communication[3] plays a role that involves the area of digital labor, being that the goal of the present article[4], in the sense that releasing theoretical basis for a research agenda on the theme in the area. We consider that communication works as an organizer of labor through the process of platformization of labor – beyond the so-called "uberization" – and the understanding of platforms as means of production and communication, with logics rooted in their digital infrastructures. The text, then, analyzes the role of communication both in control and management of labor and in the possibilities of collective organization of workers, either in unions and associations or in the co-operativism of platform, or even in informal interactions, as emerging collectivities.

Platformization of labor

Platforms are digital infrastructures fed by data, organized by algorithms and formalized by relations of property (VAN DIJCK; POELL; DE WAAL, 2018; SRNICEK, 2016). As any other technology, they present values and norms inscribed in their designs and interfaces, possibly presenting mechanisms of race, gender and class bias (NOBLE, 2018). As digital structures, they are, therefore, communication media and infrastructure (COULDRY, 2019).

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3   In a Google Scholar search (December / 2019) for digital labor and digital labor, the journal that appears most often among the ten most cited is from the media: New Media & Society, with four mentions.

4   This is a theoretical article in the light of empirical research - carried out between September 2019 and February 2020 - in the researcher's inroads on the Discord platform (specifically on the Means.TV, Co-op Mode and Game Workers Unite channels), on Facebook pages associations and unions and interviews with unions and platform cooperatives.

There are materialities that involve the platforms, in the sense that they depend on the extraction of natural and physical resources and are transformed into artifacts through production chains (MURDOCK, 2018). These materialities of platforms work to think them in relation to labor processes and the environment and their platform interfaces – while medium – regarding possibilities and boundaries (or affordances) that are inscribed in their architectures. The platform infrastructure are basic conditions for the scenario of digital labor, "bringing the technical basis for new labor organizations" (WOODCOCK; GRAHAM, 2019, p. 20). That means to understand labor circuits in their different moments and articulations.

The current context of the relation between labor and digital technologies is marked by the platformization of labor, understood as a growing dependence of digital platforms to exercise labor activities. In a previous text (GROHMANN, 2020b), we discussed the mechanisms of platformization that affect the world of labor. In a panoramic sense, there are contextual dimensions that involve the financialization and rentism – "the landlord's internet" (SADOWSKI, 2020), data extraction and datafication, and the neoliberal entrepreneurial rationality (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016), as the backbone of this process. With that, we reinforce that the platformization is the materialization or concretization of already existing previous processes, that are presented intensified, not purely as results of technologic processes (although also with them, but with other existing dimensions.

In this context, speaking of labor platformization is, on one hand, understanding labor activities mediated by digital platforms – that we could synthesize as labor in platforms or platformized labor – which means depending, in a bigger or smaller degree, of algorithmic mediations and modes of data circulation, that are surrounded in the productive and communicational processes of platforms. The materialities of platforms are the most visible (and friendly) interface for processes of data extraction and surveillance of consumers and workers of platforms. In this sense, the own proprietor companies of platforms execute what Couldry

and Mejias (2019) call "supervised labor", from this rentist mechanisms of value extraction through platforms (SADOWSKI, 2020).

In this scenario, the most different labor activities – plumber, house-keeper, designer and programmer – start depending more and more on digital infrastructures and their logics, in a way that platformization tends to generalize to all work activities, in remote work of in the streets of cities. However, that does not mean that the process happens the same way to all workers or all platforms. That is due, on one hand, to a multi-plicity of platforms and, on the other, the diversity of profiles of workers, that have bigger or smaller dependence to digital infrastructures – and their mechanisms – with different forms of extraction of value through platforms. That is why we argue that the term labor platformization is a explanatory key that allows us to understand the different processes of value extraction and work situations surrounded in the relations of dif-ferent workers with a multitude of platforms that do not work the same way.

Through discussions on types of work platforms in Schmidt (2017) and Woodcock and Graham (2019), we consider three main types: a) platforms based on localization of workers and consumers, such as ur-ban mobility apps (Uber, 99, Cabify) or things (the so-called delivery apps, such as iFood and Rappi), being the workers called, respective-ly drivers and delivery person; b) platforms of microwork, also called crowd work, whose main role of workers is to train data for artificial intelligence, such as Amazon Mechanical Turk, Appen and Lionbridge; c) platforms of freelance work, from domestic work to design and pro-gramming activities, such as GetNinjas, Helpie and 99Designs. The two last categories do not necessarily depend on the workers and clients location.

The workers from different platforms present divides of gender, race and fractions of social status (VAN DOORN, 2017), depending on the platforms and the location. Women, for instance, are more present in housekeeping platforms (HARTMANN et al., 2019). In São Paulo, 71% of the deliverymen are black (ALIANÇA BIKE, 2019). As we can see,

labor platformization crosses different social subjects in multiple manners, without configuring as a homogenous process. They are distinct work situations and are intersected by these social markers of inequalities and differences, although the algorithmic control is put as something neutral, objective and above intersectionalities (BUCHER, 2017).

The territory is another central marker to locate labor activities in digital platforms. Cant (2019), for instance, shows how labor in platforms is also marked by the migrant labor. Workers of non-English speaking countries that know the English language have more probability to work in global platforms of micro labor (CASILLI, 2019).

Beyond that, there is a geopolitics of the digital labor (GRAHAM; ANWAR, 2019), with companies generally from the North hiring labor from all parts of the globe, including the Global South. The *Online Labour Index*, from Oxford University, shows the offer and demand of labor in freelance platform by country and occupation. On February 3rd, 2020, the index pointed that 61.2% of the workers are from the United States and most of the workers are from Asia[5].

There are different characteristics of labor market depending on the region. In the Global North, the so-called gig economy – term that we consider, at the very least, incorrect to explain our scenario[6] – is historically the exception, while in the South the informality and precariousness[7] are configured as rule and historic norm[8], as something permanent for the countries workers, as attested by Abílio (2020) in

5   Also according to the Online Labor Index, the three main activities of Brazilians on freelance platforms occur in the areas of multimedia and "creativity", software and technology development, translations and transcriptions.

6   The history of the Brazilian economy is a large gig economy, in the literal sense of the term, so that there is nothing new about the gig, but, in fact, in subordination to digital platforms and their mechanisms. In the beginning, we considered Brazil or Latin America an exception. After experiences in international projects on working on platforms, our position is that the gig economy is a specifically European-American term that seeks to become universal, while most countries in the world live a similar process to Brazil.

7   If, on the one hand, platforms are close to work in various parts of the world, on the other, there are issues that bring us closer to countries in Asia and Africa (WOOD; LEHDONVIRTA; GRAHAM, 2018).

8   This means, on the one hand, not to abandon terms such as precariousness and flexibility, but, on the other hand, not to take them in the same way as authors from the North, because the scenarios are different.

Brazil and Soriano and Cabañes (2020) in the Philipines. To Abilio (2020), there is a monopolization and productive appropriation of the peripheral living on behalf of the companies of these platforms, through their own logics.

With that, there is a spread of modes of living in the peripheral areas in all parts of the world, generating mechanisms of dependence and subordination. There are different forms of expropriation of value in digital platforms through gender, race, social status and territory. Therefore, labor platformization and labor in platform do not happen in a void or as something abstract, but through concrete material conditions

Platforms as media and means of production

The contextual and social dynamics are the beginning to understand them as means – of production and communication, that engender labor and interaction logic from their designs, fueled with data production. As affirmed by Williams (2011, p. 69), the media "are not only forms, but means of production, since the communication and their material means are intrinsic to all distinctly human forms of labor and social organization"

The view of Williams (2011) reveals not only the imbrication of technology with productive processes (VIEIRA PINTO, 2005), but how communication itself is production. Therefore, the labor platformization means not only the dependence of digital infrastructures and their affordances, but also the growing role of communication as organizer of labor processes.

We consider communication as an organizing and mobilizing arm of labor in digital platforms, as the center of disputes in the world of labor, involving both the logics of control and management and the resistance and organization of workers. On one hand, the communication involves costs related to relational infrastructures and the own political organization (SCHRADIE, 2019). On the other, the own communication helps organize the own social and political doings.

Fenton (2016) and Schradie (2019) remind how the organizational forms are political and how the organizational infrastructure has a pre-pondering role in digital activism. We remember that communication also mutually relates to the own organization of labor – and, therefore, also have their own costs. Mobilizes and circulates certain productive processes, uses of platforms and meanings in detriment of others, also complying a role in the circulation of capital, accelerating the processes and decreasing the times of rotation[9] (GROHMANN, 2020a).

The discourses that companies mobilize for their production, in an intent of showing themselves as "innovative" and "disruptive", go through the role of communication as the organizer of neoliberal rationality in digital contexts. The dominant discourses of platforms are about that they promote economic development and give opportunities to workers. That also go through communicational strategies that make invisible the role of the worker or give the impression that they belong in a "global workforce". Some examples are the slogans of micro labor platforms, such as Amazon Mechanical Turk ("artificial artificial intelligence") and ClickWorker ("your on-demand virtual labor. All around the world").

The companies of platforms engender forms of control and management – including algorithms (MÖHLMANN; ZALMANSON, 2017) – through the role of communication in platforms. The mechanisms of surveillance, collection and extraction of data, as the space and time control, happen through dynamics of platforms as means of communication and production (COULDRY; MEJIAS, 2019), effectuating in consumption itself (as a communicational process) of platforms, either as "client" – name commonly used by platform companies – or "worker".

In other words, the platform consumption – as means of production and communication, is the realization of the process of labor platformization and their dynamics, which means that the platformization is, at the same time, datafication (COULDRY; MEJIAS, 2019) pf

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9   In the case of platforms that involve transport, there is a combination of what Marx (2011) considered the apex of the circulation of capital - the intersection of means of transport and media.

production and consumption. "Rappi collects so many data that makes investor's eyes glow" (UOL TILT, 16/02/2020). The tracking of urban spaces and consumption practices, with their algorithmic mediations, relate to the own work activities in platforms.

The interfaces of platforms are designed so that the workers talk with the consumers – and get evaluated by them, as shown by Antunes and Filgueiras (2020), Amorim and Moda (2020) and Englert, Woodcock and Cant (2020). Either in platforms that demand a specific location (such as Uber or iFood) or microlabor (such as Mechanical Turk), the client/consumer is a person difficult to be contested by the worker. There is also the imaginary (BUCHER, 2017) of what would be the algorithm "boss", always inaccessible and invisible; "My boss is an app" (POIER, 2018).

The gamification (saw from above, as argued by Woodcock and Johnson 2018) is also a mechanism, at the same time, of control and management, of platforms as means of communication and production in the sense of an "imposition of systems of regulation, surveillance and standardization" (WOODCOCK; JOHNSON, 2018, p. 2) as work rein-forcement, in other words, as "a governmentality" (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016). It is the crystallization of communicational processes in labor management, taking the game from the optics of entrepreneurial ratio-nality – something that already happened within the own companies in a reality show logic that are updated with the platforms. Some examples are: "You have only three rides left to hit the goal" and "you are in baby level. There are five tasks to go to the next level".

The systems of evaluation – of clients and workers – as ranking can be described as the biggest example of crystallization of the logic of game as management and control of platforms and the evaluative technology (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016) as a mechanism of worker surveillance. In the same sense, the means are also designed so that the workers do not talk to each other through the platform and cannot find each other in *crowd work*. That shows the values and norms inscribed in the platforms

(VAN DIJCK; POELL; DE WAAL, 2018) and their own organizational political form.

Communication in the organization of workers of platforms

Communication, as a space of dispute and circulation of meanings (GROHMANN, 2016), does not only work for the organization and circulation of capital, but it also enables gaps for circulation of common, without idealisms, in the boundaries of capital itself (HARVEY, 2018). Therefore, communicational processes also help in the organization of workers involved in digital platforms, either in collective formations, associations and unions or in organizations from the prism of self-management, such as cooperativism of platform (SCHOLZ, 2017).

Neilson (2018), Cohen and De Peuter (2018) and Woodcock (2020) point towards a new wave of unionization of workers of tech, games and journalism, respectively. In a scenario where professionals from Google and Amazon are recognizing themselves as workers – facing the pressures related to work conditions – and seeking to unionize, Kickstarter, the biggest platform of collective financing, was the first big tech company to have an union. In addition of better work conditions, they demand diversity and inclusion policies and more voice and participation in the decision-making of the company.

Specifically in the area of communication, we can highlight the following unions: Writers Guild of America East, in the United States, which gathers workers from VICE, Vox, the Intercept, MTV, HuffPost, Gizmodo and Fast Company and the union of workers from Buzzfeed in the United States (Buzzfeed News Union), in the context of the emergency of unions of workers of other initiatives in digital platforms, such as The Union and Pitchfork.

In the game area, the Game Workers Unite isn't exactly an union, but a movement and an international organization with the goal of unionizing the videogame industry. It is present in 12 countries and it is formed

by people without any experience in the traditional unionization, which shows, according to Woodcock (2020), that: a) no worker is impossible to organize; b) the fact that workers are not yet organized does not mean saying that there is no resistance or potential for organization; c) there seems to emerge new forms of collective organization of workers, with other logics. According to Woodcock (2020, p. 6) "existing unions need to be prepared to learn from these worker's experiences, adapting their methods and organizational forms to find new possibilities".

Another example is the union of Youtubers, formed in Germany. It was affiliated to the biggest German union, IG Metall, and demands the platform, among other things, a bigger transparency in algorithms and in criteria for demonetization of videos. According to Jorg Sprave, in an interview with the researcher[10], "'digital' unions need to operate as a movement without obligations with the operators. We do not know where our members come from – if they decide not to tell us, we never will". Sprave considers that the biggest challenges for the organization of workers are legal and geopolitical – considering that a platform like Youtube is not present in only one country[11].

Workers of transport platforms have also formed associations and unions around the world. In January 2020, there was the first international convention of organizations of app drivers, with the participation of 23 countries. From Latin America, participated Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Panama And Costa Rica. Through this meeting, they founded the International Alliance of App-Based Transport Workers (IAATW). In Brazil, there are organizations of these type in the states of Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Bahia, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul and Brasilia, all of them with active Facebook pages. The strikes of deliverymen in July 2020 are also an example of these emerging solidarities, also filled with contradiction, as it is natural of the political struggle.

10   Interview conducted by email on October 29, 2019.
11   It is not the purpose of this article to deepen the interviews that we have done with unions and cooperatives, which will be the subject of another text. This excerpt is a context for thinking about the role of communication in the organization of workers.

The collective organization of workers also go through the attempts of building cooperativist forms and self-management of digital platforms[12], since the initiatives reproduce a certain "activist entrepreneurship" (SANDOVAL, 2019) until more "radical" possibilities (SANDOVAL, 2017; FENTON, 2016). The point is not trying to reproduce the mechanisms of management and organization of capitalist work platforms. The current directory of platform cooperativism presents 297 initiatives[13], that can come from workers, consumers or multi-stakeholders. These experiences go through co-ops of cloud service (Collective Tools, from Sweden), audio and photographers streaming platforms. There is also a platform of audiovisual streaming with anti-capitalist content from a co-op of audiovisual producers, the Means TV, launched in February 2020. That means fighting the generalized dominant mode of platformization of work with the search for a pre-figurative construction of platforms with other logics from the organization of work to the role of algorithms and data, seeking to establish new circuits of production and consumption, both in the point of view of merchandise and meanings.

The experiences of organizations of workers in associations and co-op have been attracting growing attention of researchers on digital work (WOODCOCK; GRAHAM, 2019; CANT, 2019; CODAGNONE; KARATZOGIANNI; MATTHEWS, 2018; ENGLERT; WOODCOCK; CANT, 2020). However, this literature has been approaching only punctually the role of communication in the organization of workers in platforms. Partly, for being original of areas other than communication, end up taking it as a tool or support, without all its complexity. We defend that there is the centrality of communication in the organization of workers. That happens due to the impossibility of working without communication (FIGARO, 2018) and, more specifically, in the sense that the own communication is a work of organization.

In addition to the institutionalization of the organization into associations or co-ops, there is a series of relations and processes of

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12 Something that we have dealt previously (GROHMANN, 2018).
13 The full directory is available at: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1RQTMhPJVVd-mE7Yeop1iwYhvj46kgvVJQnn11EPGwzeY/edit#gid=674927682. Accessed on: 22 feb. 2020.

communication that are put as organizational arrangements, it being more informal, punctual or fortuitous. That can be both something face-to-face, like the deliverymen that interact in meeting points, or in digital platforms, with Facebook and WhatsApp groups, that have been playing a central role in the organization of workers. According to Wood, Lehdonvirta and Graham (2018), 58% of workers in platforms that do not depend on location communicate at least once online with other workers. That is reinforced in one of the only moments in which Woodcock and Graham (2019, p. 107) talk about this issue: "Communication is an important step towards resistance and collective organization".

In this context, the aforementioned authors attest that digital communication is a crucial part of the work in platforms and point out the importance of forums and digital platforms to share tips and concerns among workers, even related to safety, – like the app rebU, which has even a "spy camera". That means they seek, somehow, to avoid the affordances of work platforms in relation to communication among workers, considering that most of them were designed for workers to talk with consumers, but not among themselves.

In the case of Facebook and WhatsApp groups, very frequent among drivers, deliverymen and even workers of Amazon Mechanical Turk in Brazil (MORESCHI; PEREIRA; COZMAN, 2020), one has to consider the affordances of these platforms, in the sense that they are not very neutral in relation to communication among workers. That is, if on one hand there is a convenience for a more horizontal communication between them, avoiding the limitations of work platforms, on the other there is the dependence of other digital infrastructures and their logics as means of production and communication, which involves media, political and economic dimensions. That also means do not "romanticize" the role of digital platforms in relation to workers organization, in the sense of understanding the contradictions of a "horizontal communication" and the dependence of material resources and infrastructures, as shown by Schradie (2019) in relation to the costs of digital activism.

In addition to the use of digital platforms of Big Tech, there is the creation of forum of workers, such as *TurkerNation* and *Turkopticon*, for Amazon Mechanical Turk (MILLAND et al., 2015; IRANI; SIL-BERMAN, 2016). In *Turkopticon*'s case, Woodcock and Graham (2019) consider that there is, in fact, a subversion of the platforms used in the labor process. In these forums, workers exchange information about clients of the platform – who can deny paying for tasks. On *TurkerNation*, there is a code of conduct both for workers and academics that may perform research on Amazon Mechanical Turk (as shown by MORESCHI; PEREIRA; COZMAN, 2020).

The codes of conduct, which also appear in the forum organized by Game Workers Unite, are the discursive concretization of an agreement of organization among workers. In the case of workers of the game industry, that involves explicating the purpose of the organization, behavior expectations in the platform, unacceptable behavior and their consequences and a space for reporting.

Game Workers Unite executes what Woodcock and Johnson (2018) call "gamification coming from below", which means subverting the gamified logics of neoliberal rationality from the reappropriation of a platform originally designed for the communication among videogame players to ends of worker organization: the platform Discord. Woodcock (2020) compares the importance of this platform for game workers to the centrality of WhatsApp for Uber drivers. In this platform, there are different forums and chats among workers, divided into sections: general, organization, news and articles, experiences and snaring, questions and doubts, and off-topic. There are also divisions by committee (translation, communication and organization) and by region, in addition to meeting rooms.

The platform Discord is also used for communication and organization of co-ops of platforms, such as The Co-op Mode, of game developers, and Means TV, of audiovisual producers. In these cases, there is a similar logic to the one employed by Game Workers Unite, with spaces for the construction of group projects (The Co-op Mode) and even meme

creation (Means TV). A similar use was identified by Marques (2019) by journalists of alternative media in relation to Telegram for discussion and organization of the content to be published.

However, not all of the worker groups of platforms are organized through gamified platforms, such as Discord, as affirmed by Jörg Sprave, of the union of *Youtubers*: "we had a server on Discord, but we stopped because we didn't use it much. We chose a Facebook page for our communication, which works fine" [14]. According to Sprave, the Facebook affordances enable a "clean house" – in his words. The main thing for him is that "a digital union needs a platform and cannot be operated without a digital home"[15].

That means, somehow, the need of control, or, in Cant (2019)'s words, an expropriation of platforms as means of production and communication by workers. In the cooperativism of the platform, there is the search for creating their own platforms with logics that favor the democracy in the work environment and the non-surveillance of workers (SCHOLZ, 2017). In other words, the design of platforms as means of production and communication is already built for the self-management of workers. At Stocksy, photographer's co-op, for instance, their own co-op meetings are inserted into a platform. One of the attributes is precisely due to the creation of their own platform that enables worker's autonomy.

From this context, one of the challenges in relation to an organization of workers of platforms is related to infrastructure. In an interview to the researcher, Charles Anderson, from the art co-op Other Fruit[16], says that the future of the organization of workers in platforms go through the implantation of blockchain: "the practical implementation of this technology continues to be a continuous learning curve. We have a team of developers and programmers that constantly refine the structure. It is not an exaggeration to say that it took years to compose a functional architecture in this platform". To face the infrastructural issue along

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14 In an email interview to the researcher on October 29, 2019.
15 Idem.
16 Interview conducted by email on October 31, 2019.

with other co-ops is something that is in progress. According to Anderson[17], "we are developing infrastructures of cooperative platforms in the world of eSports so that participants, from players to editors, can control their own contracts, terms of participation, collaboration, and of course, profits".

Final considerations

What we wanted to show throughout this article was the communicational dimension of the digital workspace, laying a base for a research agenda. Understood as means of production and communication, the platforms will always involve a communicational face. However, they never act on their own, or autonomously, because they depend on other factors. Despite that, the research in communication must not forget these factors so-called "exogenous", and, finally, take on their place of articulation of knowledge.

From the theorization and some examples, we argue how communication is present both in control and management of labor on behalf of the platforms – involving algorithmic management, gamification and evaluation systems – and in the possibilities of organization of workers, either in associations, unions, co-ops or more informal interactions. The communication presents, thus, a role in organization and mobilization of work and workers in digital contexts. There is no platformization of work without communication.

In every case, one has to think about the dependence and contradictions in relation to digital infrastructures, with their possibilities and boundaries, from interfaces to algorithmic and datified mediations. For presenting a multitude of logics of meanings and value extraction, we defend the notion of platformization of labor as the materialization of already existing processes and as an explanatory key for understanding the diversity of platforms with different work situations and different divides

17   Idem.

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of gender, race, fractions of social status and territory, with a geopolitics of digital work.

The platforms, according to Cant (2019), can be faced as a lab for class struggle. Among the dispute that involve management and control of work and the possibilities for organization of workers, there are gaps in the sense of pre-figurative policies (SANDOVAL, 2017), as attempts of getting a glimpse on other possible worlds beyond a capitalist realism (FISHER, 2011). The communication, then, helps in the organization of experiences and labs of digital work.

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