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JOURNALISM AND THE TALE OF THE OTHER:

the invisibility of lusophones in Brazil and the identity erasure between Us

JOSÉ CRISTIAN GÓES
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte – MG, Brazil
ORCID: 0000-0002-4862-3552

ELTON ANTUNES
Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte – MG, Brazil
ORCID: 0000-0002-5265-6584

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ABSTRACT - The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) has completed two decades of existence. Since Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation, our objective was to investigate how *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* have been reporting on this community over its 20-year history. Initial findings reveal a widespread invisibility of lusophones in Brazil. Scouring through the news reports over this short period, we found some hints that might have contributed to the invisibility of this community in Brazil. We then had to reflect on identities, globalization and community. At the center of this discussion, the fabulation over of the *Other*, who, in the CPLP, mostly come from black and African descent. Six of the nine Lusophone countries are from Africa. We suggest that the invisibility of lusophony in Brazil is erasing the identity between us, the people of this community.
Key words: Journalism; Lusophony; CPLP; Identities; Globalization.

JORNALISMO E A FABULAÇÃO DO OUTRO: como a invisibilização da lusofonia no Brasil revela o apagar identitário entre Nós

RESUMO - A Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) completou duas décadas. Como o Brasil é a maior nação lusófona, nosso objetivo foi investigar como a *Folha de S.Paulo* e *O Globo* noticiaram essa comunidade em seus 20 anos. A constatação inicial é da ampla invisibilização da lusofonia no Brasil. Ao escavar as poucas noticias desse longo período, percebemos indícios históricos e identitários na opção por tornar invisível essa comunidade no Brasil. Isso nos obrigou a refletir sobre identidades, globalização e comunidade. No centro dessa discussão, a fabulação sobre *o Outro*, que em relação a CPLP é majoritariamente negro e africano. Dos nove países lusófonos, seis são da África. Sugerimos que a invisibilização da lusofonia no Brasil passa pela tentativa de apagar os laços identitários entre Nós, povos dessa comunidade.
Palavras-chave: Jornalismo;. Lusofonia; CPLP; Identidades; Globalização

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PERIODISMO Y FABULACIÓN DEL OUTRO: Como la invisibilización de la lusofonía en Brasil revela el borrar identitario entre nosotros

RESUMEN - La Comunidad de Países de Lengua Portuguesa (CPLP) ha completado dos décadas. Como Brasil es el mayor país de esta comunidad, nuestro objetivo era investigar cómo la *Folha de S.Paulo* y *O Globo* informó duante este largo período. El hallazgo inicial es la invisibilidad amplia del lusofonia en Brasil. Mientras que la excavación de las pocas noticias, vemos evidencia histórica y de la identidad en la elección de invisibilizar esta comunidad en Brasil. Esto nos obliga a reflexionar sobre la identidad, la globalización y la comunidad. En el centro de esta discusión, la fábula sobre el *Otro*, que por CPLP es sobre todo negro y africano. De los nueve países de habla portuguesa, seis se encuentran en África. Sugerimos que la invisibilidad del habla portuguesa en Brasil implica el intento de borrar los lazos de identidad entre Nosotros, la gente de esta comunidad.
Palabras clave: Periodismo; Lusofonia; CPLP; Identidades; Globalización.

1. Introduction

July 17, 2016 marked the 20-year of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). It is comprised of nine nations which have Portuguese as their official language: Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Brazil, Timor-Leste, and Portugal. The CPLP is not the only entity that unites lusophone communities and does not cover the more than 250 million Portuguese speakers across the world. However, it is considered as the most important political platform for lusophones.

Taking advantage of the memory of the two decades of the CPLP and that fact that Brazil is the largest lusophone nation, we decided to study how Brazilian journalism reported on this community throughout this period. For this task, we observed the coverage of two major Brazilian newspapers: *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*. The former, based out of São Paulo, is the country's largest circulation newspaper according to the Institute of Circulation (IVC). In 2016, it circulated an average of 309.7 thousand newspapers per day. *O Globo*, based in Rio de Janeiro, is the country's second-largest circulation newspaper with an average of 291.5 thousand per day.

Both newspapers cover a wide range of national and international stories and can be used as reference material (Zamin, 2014) for their mediating ability, their role as social and political actors or for being economic players. It is important to remember that referencing these papers solidifies them as a place for visibility, something that interests us in this paper.

From a methodological point of view, in order to research how lusophones have been reported on we had to go through these newspapers' digital archives. We looked for two things: content, which allows us to organize the material and look for recurring stories; and history, where we consulted the Micro History for tracking purposes (Ginzburg, 2007) which allowed us to make broader assumptions about how lusophones can be seen in the news. One of our first steps was identifying key words such as Lusophone, CPLP, Community of Portuguese Language Countries, Lusophone Countries and Lusophone Nations. Even though the daily lives and experiences in these countries differ from each other (in terms of migratory processes, racism, memory, culture etc.) and therefore might lead newspapers to write different stories, what interested us the most was the referencing of the CPLP, a transnational entity which has the word community in its title and tries to bring the countries together that share the Portuguese language. These are essential towards creating a feeling of a lusophone community.

The news, interviews and editorials that had these as they key topic were called *registers*. Since the objective was to determine *the newspaper institution's view* on the subject, we excluded the notes from columnists and 'opinion' articles. The research period was between January 1st 1996, six months before the formation of the CPLP, until December 31st 2016, six months after its twentieth "anniversary".

The results of the survey showed 95 *registers* in *Folha de S.Paulo* and 91 in *O Globo* (Graph 1) during the 20 years of CPLP. On average, that was only 4.7 news reports per year for *Folha de S.Paulo* and 4.5 for *O Globo*[1]. This graph also shows the almost the same number of CPLP stories has been reduced in both newspapers. If you take each one of these stories and use them as a reference it amounts to only about 1.2% of the editions of *Folha* and *O Globo* over the 20 year period.

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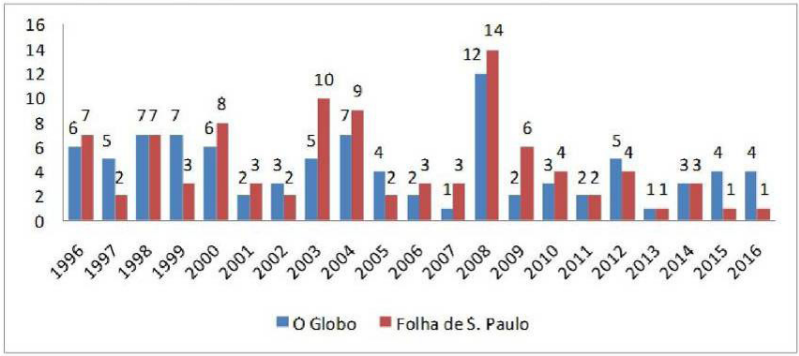
Graph 1 – Registers of lusophones in *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*.



Source: Authors.

Overall, the few registers there were dealt with the visits Brazilian presidents have made to CPLP countries and the polemic orthographic agreement between them. For example, in 2008 (the year with the highest number of registers in both newspapers) this agreement was signed, which received more reports than the annual average. However, daily news on CPLP in *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* was non-existent. The records were so few that they were diluted amid the great volume of newspaper editions in two decades. Not even on an institutional level was this community remembered. It is a very small volume of news so that readers would hardly be able to produce any reference to a community to which they are supposed to belong.

Nevertheless, using the word "community" to unite Portuguese-speaking countries together is not just about the rhetoric. The relations they establish between themselves cannot be superficial ones. In fact, they are not. There are intricate stories throughout the lusophone communities that provide a feeling of belonging, of difference, but not of indifference. The CPLP countries, have a similar present and past that indisputably unites them which started with the Portuguese empire and its expansion in the fifteenth century with its colonization of parts of Africa, Asia and South America. There is some form of a community identity created here through the language, the culture, the mixing, and the transit between these colonies. Within this community, Brazil has the appearance of a more privileged country within this community due to its Portuguese and European population, the resistance and extermination of native tribes, the violent enslavement of blacks torn from their Portuguese colonies in Africa, and the large number of mixed races.

Outside of the intense historic and identity relationships that resulted in *Ourselves*, from an institutional point of view, Brazil is one of the main catalysts for forming the CPLP. What's more, the Brazilian government controlled this entity between 2001 and 2002, an institutionality based on meetings, signing agreements and partnerships, and diplomatic missions.

The fact that lusophony and the CPLP were invisible in the two largest Brazilian newspapers raises a few issues: What is it about lusophony that newspapers do not like? Why does this community continue to be unseen? What events have led to this invisibility? What does the absence of the CPLP say about our identity relations? Or, what is visible and what is invisible in the eyes of journalism regarding this community in Brazil?

Over the last three years, we have thought about the answers to these and other questions. We look at the idea that this invisibility, brought on by the newspapers, has to due with politics and the ways of dealing with identity and tales of the *Other*. Since the initial findings have already highlighted a "lack of presence", this study also serves as an analysis of the few news reports during this period, which leads us to point out the intrigue between journalism and what we call erasure of the *Other*.

2. Creating the identity of the Other

We start with identity. There are many forms of identity offered by anthropology, education and psychology. In this paper, we look at identity from the perspective of history and culture, and how it is continually being reviewed, and is kind of provisional, always being erased, according to Hall (2006, p. 8). Identities are *flows* that change according to the constant relation of strength, shaping traditions and ensuring the unrealistic immobility of subjects, but are obligated to live by latent actions of ruptures. As a place for experiences, identities and journalism are fields in motion that intersect through their numerous webs of feelings and tangled meanings.

The word *identity* comes from the Greek word *idem* (in Latin, *identitas*) meaning the *Same*, *a continuity in itself*. Yet when it is used to describe the *Same* in a nation, it ends up describing the *Other*, inasmuch as *It* describes *Self*. So, the identities we make up about *Difference* are mostly threatening by nature, an enemy to confront

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and distance from *Us*. But who is the *Other*? What are its differences that separate us from it?

Before the modern age, life was based around divine plans, the people and their lives ruled by theocracy. Individuals did not exist as *Subjects* of their history. After modernity, around the end of the fifteenth century, there was a gradual break from the central power structure which resulted in the *discovery of the Self*.

> Reform and Protestantism, which liberated the individual conscience from religious institutions belonging to the Church and exposed it to the eyes of god; the Human Renaissance, which placed Man (*sic*) at the centre of the universe; scientific revolutions, which gave Man the faculties and abilities to question and discover the mysteries of nature; and Illuminism, centred around rational, scientific Man, liberated from dogma and intolerance, which would extend to the whole of human history, to be understood and dominated (Hall, 2006, p. 26).

Sousa Santos (1994, p. 32) reminds us that modernity is born *with* and *from* identities, coming from the Individual, which confirms the "collapse of medieval theocratic cosmic-vision". With celestial powers being reduced over the earth, the modern age creates identity to give direction to subjects in a more complex world. He is no longer only connected to divinity, but to his family and the land where he was born. This is a key to consolidating nationality and nation, according to Said (2011, p. 28), "the centre of cultural thought in the age of imperialism". Nations are like mothers and shelter individuals, uniting them and providing security. Contrarily, it demands their loyalty and to take action against enemies, foreigners, barbarians, the *Other*.

Renan (2006) states that since 1882 nations have been mainly supernatural, "a spiritual family, not a group defined by the shapings of the earth" (Renan, 2006, p. 18). They are daily plebiscites, but neither politics nor the army could handle this job. The solution was to strengthen the tales of identities, look for something more mystical to produce more loyalty from individuals. This is where *patriotism* emerged, it allowed the elites to demand the unconditional servitude from the public in the name of politics and economy.

Patriotism is an essential part of national identity because it strengthens the *Other* and mobilizes *Us* against *Them*. Hobsbawm (1990) tells us that patriotism is a "civic religion" where the State and the dominant classes place the love of the nation and the hatred for the *Other* (the eternal enemy of *patriot*) on the same level. Chauí

(2013) reminds us that patriotism comes from the latin *pater,* or "father", but in Roman Law, its meaning changed to "sir"; owner of the land and its assets, including the people. The *pater's* assets were referred to as *patrimonium*. The tale of the *Other* has an air of social class about it. This is why we suggest going beyond the concept of the *Other* as just a geographical border. This troubling *Difference* was inside the country, it had no land and no assets, forming a group of people who are dangerous to and threaten *patrimony*, *pater*, patriots.

We see patriotism as the height of identity, ensuring the idea of belonging and difference from the tale of the *Other*. Bauman (2005, p. 89) says that one of the marks of modernity was the constant search for public enemies so that we could "release the accumulated hate, the moral panic and the collective paranoia" on *Them*. It has the strength to mobilize, control, integrate and social discipline.

This reflection is important because it brings us closer to the identity in Brazil and our relationship with the *Other*. It is important to remember that as of the fourteenth century, with the fall of feudalism, noble Europeans began increasing the urban landscape around their castles. The political and economic influence of business grew at this time. Faoro (1979) states that, to avoid losing power, the nobility created an absolute state, with a little space for the bourgeoisie to conduct their business. This political and economic arrangement strengthened nations and led to the exploration of the new world, and a long history of imperial colonialism.

The Europeans sent out on trade explorations led to an ideological shift in order to turn the raids and looting into tales of conquest, adventure, discovery, religious mission and civilization. The main idea here was to think of the *Other* as something wild that, once enslaved (or civilized), would bring profit to the trade market. Bhabha (1998, p. 111) writes that it was colonial logic to produce "degenerated types based on racial origin to justify the conquering and implementing of administrative and instructive systems". If the natives, blacks, and mixed races resisted the "civilization project", they were eliminated in "justified holy wars".

This is when Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Brazil, and Timor-Leste became part of the known world, and of the "Portuguese world". The violent tale of the *Other* emerged from the lusophone "community"; a community that was not supposed to be recognized as a community. In short, there were violent acts of power taken to prevent recognition

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of the identities between *ourselves*, mainly because this *Other* – a slave first, and a poor negro second – posed a permanent threat to *ourselves*, both inside and out. Maybe this history and identity has led to the invisibility of lusophones in Brazil and, consequently, in the two Brazilian newspapers analyzed here.

3. Journalism and the Other everywhere

We start from the point that journalism is one of the modes of narrative experience of the world which mixes with the other "social symbolic operators", in the words of Mouillaud (1997, p. 51). He proposed a type of social experience that does not act alone to produce an intelligible world. Journalism strengthens a set of identity belonging and difference, forming in "a field of culture formation which catalyzes a new public sphere of information, entertainment and debate" (Xavier, 2006, p. 16), but it often uses undeclared identity criteria when selecting daily events. Just as identities are summoned through narrative experiences, they also summon up tales of the *Other*; the *Difference* which does not belong to us.

In this aspect, Lago (2011) and Dionísio (2013) analyze the proximities journalism shares with anthropology in terms of contact with the *Other* and producing narratives. However, Lago directs his attention to one main difference: while anthropology justifies the need to learn, understand and shelter the *Other*, journalism often acts in the opposite way, looking at the macrostructure references and its sources. This is known in journalism as "a key to reading that disqualifies and makes the *Other* invisible in its full alterity" (Lago, 2010, p. 174). He believes the strength of journalism in this field should be to "shift" the views built on the differences, making them more accessible from various angles, "the possibility of being affected by the Other" (Lago, 2010, p. 175).

Even though narrative productions in journalism are not the focus of this analysis, Lago's thoughts (2010) lead us to a broader thinking about the identity tale of the *Other* in current times, greatly influenced by the *media*. Giddens (2002) believes the European expansions in the fifteenth century brought forth the promise of a global world. Trading made it possible to widen boundaries and think of the world as one. Rhetoric used was political and communicational, it cultivated the idea of pillaging, production, consumption and free

circulation of capital. However, in this world without boundaries, the *Other* does not disappear. The global illusion is a troubling Difference which is everywhere yet, at the same time, is nowhere. This is also why globalization should be seen as the "intersection between presence and absence, the interweaving of events and social relationships with contextual locations" (Giddens, 2002, p. 27).

One of the more important aspects of globalization is its asymmetric distribution. This world fabricated as a uniformed sphere is contested in real life and, uncontrollably, the *centres* and *perimeters* emerge in it. Said (2011, p. 56) states that nations in Asia, Latin America and Africa appear to be independent and inserted into globalization, "but, in many ways, they are just as dominated and dependent as they were when they were ruled by European powers". The asymmetry is easily identified within the way globalization disseminates a modern unique world without boundaries, and the people believe in it and strive towards achieving the best conditions in life. Sooner or later the *Other* is met, and it becomes clear that this *Other* does not necessarily come from a geographically distant place. Hall's analysis (2006) is clear about this:

> After the Second World War, the countries colonized by European powers thought they could simply forget their colonial influence and leave the consequences of imperialism behind them. But global interdependence now acts on both sense. Moving out (trade markets, images, western styles and consumer identities) corresponds to an enormous amount of people moving from the peripheries to the centers [...]. Driven by poverty, drought, hunger [...] by the external debt accumulated by their governments to Western banks, the poorest people in the world, on the most part, end up believing in the "message" of global consumerism and move to areas where "assets" come from and the chances of survival are greater (Hall, 2006, p. 81).

On one hand, globalization creates a sense of *global identity*, more abstract and pluralized by weak identifications; on the other, its unfulfilled promises frustrate individuals, affecting the centres and peripheries, yet in different ways. There are groups in rich countries that use the rhetoric from the fifteenth century expansions, the identities, the nationality, the *Others* from abroad, but are inside or threaten to cross boundaries. *They* are made out to be terrorists, a danger to national economy, security and culture. In the richer countries, individuals and groups are more against these *Differences* than defining what belongs to them. This is a moral journey of hates and fears that brings forth illusions and violent separations *among*

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Us. Out of this rises racism and xenophobia, adopted by groups, movements and radical political parties. All this leads us to the next point; community.

4. Community and the Other

When discussing identities, Anderson (2005, p. 32) explains that the press played a central role in forming the "imagined community", which later became nations. However, with the advance of globalization and the awareness that boundaries are coming to an end, what about communities? Where are they? Is there any space for them? And the CPLP, where is its place in a complex and global world?

The community of Portuguese language countries was officially formed in 1996, but it had been a work in progress ever since the expansion of the Portuguese empire. There is one issue here that has drawn the attention of many Portuguese intellectuals. For Lourenço (2001), the ideas behind lusophony that sustain communities are all part of an illusion that Portugal created in order to maintain a certain imperial nostalgia. In actuality, it was a way for the Portuguese not to feel alone in the world, and the "seven parties"[2] gave them the feeling of control over their former colonies.

In fact, since their beginnings, lusophone communities have been strongly impacted by the Portuguese empire. The idea for founding an institution for lusophones was to be able to produce an official history, a narrative, about the beloved colonization and to tell of how the Portuguese brought everyone out of the darkness, and how they built civilizations with the voluntary participation of the natives, negroes and mixed races, ultimately celebrating a harmonious union between peoples, a union of three races. It was essential that this institution of lusophones unite the former Portuguese colonies together to keep the myth of a tropical paradise alive; the goal of civilization. This lusophone ideology was widely embraced and disseminated by Portuguese and Brazilian dictators in the twentieth century, Brazil being a symbol of a great nation, the success of the Portuguese empire. So, narratives began to be produced that eliminated references to the exploration and domination of the country, effectively covering up the barbaric crimes against slaves and other atrocities. These and other aspects is what Martins (2015) refers to when he talks of "lusocentric

misconceptions" in this community; misconceptions which are based on the illusion of Portuguese centrality within the community, and the permanent reconstruction of narratives from the old empire and its subtle aversions to neocolonialism.

We can even imagine the invisibility of this community in Brazil to be a kind of subliminal exercise in resistance against the violent process of colonization, especially pertaining to Portugal. Even still, its absence in Brazilian newspapers does not appear as resistance or any type of historical revenge, quite the contrary. For many years Portugal has been a country on the outskirts of the continent it belongs to, "acting as a messenger between its colonies and the great centres of accumulation, particularly England in the eighteenth century" (Santos, 1993, p. 44). Santos holds that, in 1808, with the embarkation of Dom João VI, the colony of Brazil became the political and economic hub of the Portuguese empire; a European metropolis, yet in Brazil. Due to this switch, the national elite in Brazil tolerated Portugal because it was a port offering access, both economically and symbolically, to Europe. Brazil, even though a colony, was where Portuguese royalty resided, believing themselves to be part of some sort of metropolis that never was.

This is why we suggest that the issues around Brazil and the community of Portuguese language countries, which are and are not in the newspapers, appear to be a different order, an order of identity where the focus is on fighting against the recognition that there is a belonging to a community formed by former colonies, poverty-stricken people and African population. The continued absence of the CPLP is based on the political idea of not having Brazil being associated with a group of nations considered geopolitically and economically unimportant on the international scene, a logic which has been taught through global markets that define poverty and wealth and reject certain types of communities.

Sousa Santos (1994) reminds us that the fall of the old community to the Modern Age produced a social gap that the state tried to fill but never could. The result is the conflict between individual subjectivity and collective subjectivity. This tension increased with the ascendancy of the liberal model, the onset of the private sector, capitalism, and the market. It led to the success of man, to personal success, disconnecting individuals from their country, creating an *individual world* with the world at their fingertips. In this sense, "whoever comes out losing is the prince of the community" Sousa Santos (1994, p. 34).

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For Hall (2013), nations were never completely as autonomous and sovereign as they led people to believe. They had capitalism and used it for meeting and defending their interests, for free circulation with no restrictions. In other words, the overt act of understanding a world where capital, business and the financial sector have no boundaries is the root of globalization. And, as we have seen, this trajectory is based on the history of imperial expansion, in which the *Other* is considered inhuman due to their "behaviour deviating from the norms of faith and the market. They are also holders of state subjectivity because they do not have any idea of law or what a state is" (Sousa Santos, 1994, p. 35).

As capitalism progressed, the *Other* (based on the logic of this system) should be confined to *communities*; these are synonymous with poverty and isolation, and have very particular rules and ties. This place for primitives is the rhetorical opposite of a developed "global community" focused on finance and economy with a free circulation of capital. In globalization, the Other is referred to as "tribes, hordes, and gangs which do not conform to either state subjectivity or individual subjectivity" (Sousa Santos, 1994, p. 35).

Therefore, we believe that "community" should be visible, in journalism as well, for two reasons: for its global, modern, technological and free character; and for the hostility it suffers, which tends to go unnoticed, its continued absence or its presence which is ridiculed, criminalized and something to be controlled.

The idea of *community* for the "global elite" is one of "selective cosmopolitanism", in the words of Bauman (2003). What is important for this elite is the success of the individual over community, a community that is primitive, poor, dangerous and representative of a "philosophy of the weak", and that all this is circulated worldwide (Bauman, 2003, p. 56).

It is not an exaggeration to suggest that, in the global eye, the *Other* is bound to *community*, it is the stronghold of *Difference*, given the characteristics of negativity, criminalization and invisibility. What flows freely *between Us* is the idea of global and modern, the opposite being primitive, collective, dangerous, a threat to the economy and to the culture; the Other demands recognition and identity belonging from *Us*. The CPLP, which rarely gets any attention in Brazilian newspapers, appears to have been built on the imagination of the *Other* that we do not recognize, and that once approaches *Us* is met with rejection due to its *negro activities*.

Regardless of local/global dialectics, this *Other* remains. It is an

obstacle, a danger. It, its equals and its local and poor community. This *Other*, as Milton Santos (2000, p. 30) states, is a "company, institution or individual, appearing as an obstacle to everyone's goals which should be removed, and therefore referred to as a thing". This statement shows what this author calls *perverse globalization*, which divides the word into extremes of wealth and poverty. Santos (2000) reminds us that over the last few years, through "high globalization", poverty has become a structural and *natural* part of the model of society where fear and violence are central, a process which affects us all.

> There has never been a period in history where fear has been so generalized and has reached all areas of our lives: fear of unemployment, of hunger, of violence, of the other. This fear is spread through violence, but a structural violence, common for our time, which is essential towards understanding questions like social divides and functional violence, something that is so present in the daily lives of everyone. We live in a world of exclusions, aggravated by a lack of social protection, characteristic of the neoliberal model, which also creates insecurity (Santos, 2000, p. 29).

Globalization produces the clear radicalization of identity violence, of visibility, of criminalization and separation of the *Other*, whether in communities or groups labelled identity or patriotic. We question the journalistic media's involvement in this case. We have noticed that, in relation to lusophony, the community of Portuguese language nations is quite absent in Brazil, suggesting there is not identity recognition. The CPLP seems to shelter the disqualifications of the *Other*, a *Difference* to fight against. Whether subjects or community, it carries the same weight: they are a people to be controlled and criminalized, a product of evil. However, the *Other*, poor and dangerous, is invisible in terms of its behaviour, cheap manual labour, no rights, and does not interfere with capital interests. Either that or it is exotic and must be confined to where it is, in its community, posing no threat to cross boundaries into *civilization*.

5. Lusophony: The *Other* in Brazil

We have seen that the number of news reports on lusophony in Brazilian newspapers is extremely low, especially considering the CPLP has been around for 20 years. This invisibility is built on the history of the countries that make up this community, the exploration and constitution of its people in the name of global capitalism. In this

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sense, we believe that the rare few news reports on lusophony might be important clues towards better understanding the invisibility of this community in Brazil.

Ginzburg's (2007), methodology thinks of the objects we have at our disposal in a "reduced scale" because through them we can retell what has been experienced, presenting aspects that have never been thought of before in historiography, including the invisible structures that are there even in objects. The proposal, seen in Ginzburg, is about finding a set of other voices in texts that are able to say more than what is given in the news reports. According to him, all texts, including "historically true" ones, have muddied zones which act like trails (Ginzburg, 2007).

We use the term *trails* to refer to the few registers that allow for conclusions other than those presented in news texts. For example, the June 14, 1996 edition of *Folha* released a report on page 6, three days before the CPLP was to be institutionalized, entitled "The FHC formalizes a new bloc in Lisbon" (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – News report from *Folha de S.Paulo*

FOLHA DE S.PAULO

DIPLOMACIA *Brasil entra quarta em grupo unido pelo idioma*

FHC formaliza em Lisboa novo bloco

Luis Marques/Folha Imagem

O presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso discursa durante uma solenidade em Minas Gerais

CLÓVIS ROSSI
do Conselho Editorial

Source: *Folha* archives (*Brasil*, 14/07/1996, p. 6).

The first thing to highlight is the use of the expression "The FHC formalizes" as an active act for Brazil. Yet the country was one of seven that signed for the formation of the community. Another point is that the newspaper refers to the CPLP as a "bloc", a term used more for defining a bunch of countries motivated by economic interests, which is not the case. In practice, neither FHC nor Brazil formalized the CPLP, only participated as a member in the same way as the others, as Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Portugal, for example, and with the same weight. However, the report in question here makes it clear what is expected of Brazil in order for the FHC to form the bloc: "support for nominating Brazil to a permanent chair on the United Nations Security Council". The newspaper goes on to say: "Counting on the votes from five Portuguese language countries in Africa is important for Brazilian diplomacy, for *the poor and the weak*" (our explanation). In other words, the protagonist in the CPLP formalizes the bloc and expects the "poor and weak" communities from these countries to vote for Brazil to have a chair on the United Nations Security Council.

Before the formation of the CPLP there is a register which exemplifies this. The then president Fernando Henrique travelled to Lisbon for the official formation of the CPLP. One day earlier, the FHC was interviewed by Portuguese newspaper *Diário de Notícia*. The next day, the *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* reported on that interview (Figure 2). In this report, the president confirmed that "Brazilians think like hillbillies", that they are "isolated" and "reject globalization". The president also said that Brazilians were hillbillies because "they do not know the other side, and when they do, they will be fascinated with it". The president was fond of the old metropolis, the place that "fascinates" and refers to the "hillbilly and isolationist" identity of Brazilians when he stated, "there is no doubt that the variant of the Criolla mentality (*sic*) is responsible for our underdeveloped civilization".

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Figure 2 – News report from *O Globo*

O PAÍS

FH: brasileiro pensa como caipira

Presidente diz a jornal de Lisboa que país é provinciano ao explicar resistência a globalização

Sete países unidos pelo mesmo idioma

Source: *O Globo* archives (*O País*, 16/07/1996, p. 3).

This news report is indicative of the reasons why this community would remain invisible in Brazil over the following twenty years. The president of the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world, on the eve of the formation of the CPLP, stated in newspapers that Brazil is underdeveloped and rejects globalization because of a "Criolla mentality". This register reveals the unwelcome presence of the poor, negro, African *Other* that lives among *Us* and is a part of us, and prevents the country from "moving forward" in a "fascinating" global world. Besides this internal *Other* (a hillbilly with a "Criolla" mind) which the press describes, Brazil has its own *Other* which comes from its mix of race and identity, mostly "Criolla". The president's view is in line with the politics of the two newspapers studied for this paper which either choose not to report on the CPLP or, if they do, focus on its unimportance due to the fact it is a predominantly African community of people from poor countries with corrupt leaders and dictatorships.

On April 13, 1999, the *Folha de S.Paulo* (*Brasil*, p. 6) covered the president of the FHC's visit to Lisbon. It wrote that the "visit to Portugal is more than an act of friendship due to the history

of the two countries' relationship". The article continued to say "The CPLP unites not only Brazil with Portugal, but also with the former African colonies of Portugal (...)". Only African countries were colonized by the Portuguese? The newspaper *forgot* that Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese, but it *remembered* its "friendship" and "history" with Portugal. On July 18, 2000, the *Folha* (*Brasil*, p. 7) reported that president Fernando Henrique "forgets about Mozambique's debt". This article was presented at a CPLP meeting. The narrative in this article is of Brazil being superior to African countries, and of its president being the one who decides the current and future fates of the "poor" nations of Africa. The article wrote:

> *FHC took on the leadership role of a bloc formed by seven countries*. (...) Then, all at the same time, the *FHC sent messages* to political dissidents of Angola, *demanded* the group meet on the effects of globalization, *established priorities* for development, *distributed funds* for training and *made technology available* (...) The discourse of the president was mainly about the "poor African cousins" (*Folha de S.Paulo*, Brasil, 18/07/2000, p. 7, [our explanation]).

In the July 26, 2004 edition of the newspaper *O Globo* (*O País*, p. 8), president Lula, whose administration was more concerned with African nations than the Fernando Henrique government was, spoke on the CPLP, stating that it was an "example of how much Portugal and Brazil can accomplish together. After all, there is no shortage of comparative advantages – the language, the culture, the natural affinity". Even given the support he showed to the African countries, president Lula's words still have a ring of superiority to them, of Brazil and Portugal being superior to the African nations and Timor Leste. So, it is easy to see how Portuguese intellectuals criticized the CPLP for its neocolonial attitude, but now it had Brazil included in it.

Both the *Folha* and *O Globo* recognized that we have a historic and identity kinship with Africa which is unchangeable in the constitutive relationships of the "Brazilian people". However, this is only mentioned in order to keep Africans as the distant and unwelcome *Others*, the "poor cousins" (Figure 3) and the *Us*; their "rich cousins".

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Figure 3 – News report from *O Globo*

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O GLOBO

2ª edição • Segunda-feira, 26 de julho de 2004

Lula chega à África no papel de primo rico

Brasil patrocina encontro dos chefes de Estado e de governo da comunidade de países de língua portuguesa

Luiza Damé

Enviada especial

• SÃO TOMÉ. O presidente Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva chega hoje a São Tomé e Príncipe, país da África Central, para participar da 5ª Conferência dos Chefes de Estado e de Governo da Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP), organizada com dinheiro doado pelo governo brasileiro. O Brasil repassou US$ 500 mil para a organização da conferência, mas interrompeu por seis meses a liberação de recursos de convênios assinados por Lula em novembro do ano passado com o governo de São Tomé e Príncipe. O dinheiro só voltou a ser liberado na semana passada, atrasando projetos nas áreas de educação, saúde e agricultura.

Música brasileira e novelas fazem sucesso

É forte a influência brasileira em São Tomé e Príncipe, um arquipélago com 150 mil habitantes. A música brasileira é bastante ouvida, as novelas brasileiras seguidas com paixão, os costumes são imitados e o futebol é admirado. Na mesma, a febre em São Tomé, capital do país, é Jade, personagem da atriz Giovana Antonelli, da novela "O clone", produzida pela TV Globo.

Os projetos desenvolvidos pelo governo brasileiro, em parceria com o governo de São Tomé e Príncipe, em convênio com programas das Nações Unidas, geram 120 postos de trabalho. Os bolsistas dos programas ganham em média US$ 40. No país, o salário mínimo é de US$ 27.

A interrupção da liberação dos recursos pelo governo brasileiro atingiu programas importantes, como o Bolsa-Escola, que atende a cem famílias, com bolsa de US$ 20. As famílias ficaram sem receber a bolsa por seis meses.

Segundo o embaixador Pedro Motta, diretor do Departamento da África do Ministério das Relações Exteriores, a interrupção do repasse de dinheiro coincidiu com a reestruturação da Agência Brasileira de Cooperação (ABC), que teve que se ajustar a exigências do Tribunal de Contas da União.

Nesta visita, o presidente vai anunciar a retomada dos projetos, além da ampliação do Bolsa-Escola, que passará a atender 400 famílias em 2005, e da doação de 60 a 70 quilos de medicamentos para o tratamento da AIDS e de um telecentro, composto de dez terminais de computador e um servidor.

Roteiro na África inclui Guiné e Cabo Verde

Na reunião da CPLP, que discutirá os efeitos das tecnologias e da informação na boa gestão pública e a inclusão digital, o governo brasileiro insistirá na aprovação de uma declaração para que o acordo ortográfico da língua portuguesa, já referendado pelo Brasil, por Portugal e por Cabo Verde, entre em vigor. A CPLP foi criada em 17 de julho de 1996 e é integrada por Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Moçambique, Portugal, São Tomé e Príncipe e Timor-Leste.

Lula fica até sexta-feira em São Tomé e Príncipe, seguindo depois para Guiné e Cabo Verde. Hoje, Lula terá encontros com os presidentes de São Tomé e Príncipe, Fradique de Menezes, e de Portugal, Jorge Sampaio, logo depois estará na abertura da conferência. ■

A agenda presidencial

Cabo Verde

Guiné-Bissau

São Tomé e Príncipe

Gabão

BRASIL

O PRESIDENTE LULA: ampliação da ajuda a São Tomé e Príncipe

Source: *O Globo* archives (*O País*, 26/07/2004, p. 8).

On July 15, 1997, the *Folha de S.Paulo* (Figure 4) reported on the first anniversary of the CPLP's formation. The article wrote that the Portuguese-speaking Africans want Brazil to extend the right to open borders to them, without the need for visas. What is so surprising about that? Or in community there is no free circular between members? The *Folha* said that Brazil was going to deny this right, giving the *danger* of drug trafficking as the reason. Neither in Brazil nor in Portugal does the "danger" of drug trafficking occur only between Africans. This report, even though it mentions the CPLP, was published in the crime section of the newspaper, and not by chance either, after all, it does have to do with crime. This is a form of visibility for controlling and disciplining, a fear and rejection of the *Other*, the African, the poor and dangerous "drug trafficker".

Figure 4 – News report from *Folha de S.Paulo*

ESTRANGEIROS *Governo brasileiro recebeu pedido com reservas*

Africanos querem ter direitos iguais a portugueses no Brasil

ABNOR GONDIM
da Sucursal de Brasília

Os países africanos de língua portuguesa querem que o Brasil estenda a eles o mesmo direito de livre circulação concedido aos portugueses, que podem visitar o país sem a necessidade de obter visto nos consulados.

O assunto foi discutido na semana passada em Lisboa durante o 1º Encontro dos Ministros Responsáveis pela Segurança da CPLP (Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa).

A proposta foi recebida com reserva pelo governo brasileiro porque há casos de de pessoas desses países presas no Brasil por tráfico de drogas. Os países africanos que participam da CPLP são Angola, Moçambique, Cabo Verde, São Tomé e Príncipe e Guiné-Bissau.

"Como era natural, esse encontro reuniu teses para serem debatidas e aperfeiçoadas", disse à Folha o ministro Iris Rezende (Justiça).

Ele representou o Brasil no encontro, acompanhado do diretor da Polícia Federal, Vicente Chelotti, e do diplomata Manoel Pereira, assessor do Ministério da Justiça.

Ponderação

O livre acesso ao Brasil foi debatido após a exposição da delegação portuguesa sobre o acordo de Schengen, que assegura aos brasileiros acesso aos países da Europa no caso de ingressarem no continente por Portugal.

Durante o encontro, foi acertada a criação de um observatório de fluxos migratórios para levantar dados sobre o trânsito de pessoas dos países na comunidade de língua portuguesa.

Source: *Folha* archives (*Cotidiano*, 15/07/1997, p. 4).

Overall, the few news reports talk about a community without economic and political expression. The reports on the CPLP in both newspapers reveal two important factors: the first is the neocolonial references to African countries. Portugal and Brazil are seen as "lords" and the Africans seen as poor, corrupt and followers of dictatorship. 81.9% of reports in *Folha de S.Paulo* and 79.3% in *O Globo* relate conditions of a superior Brazilian economy and politics when compared to African countries and Timor Leste.

The second factor is the insistence of a trading relationship where Brazil offers social and economic help to African countries in return for their votes towards Brazil having a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. This is a main point present in 89.2% of all the news reports.

The *media* appears to have an important role here as propagators for influencing the idea of contemporary identity. They are about the principles of international capital, defending heritage, and they mobilize their agendas according to global interests and strengthen the tale about the *Others*. We cannot forget the importance of the *place for speaking*, or in this case, the *place for silence* about lusophony and the CPLP. The *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* are capitalist companies that use a specific rhetoric when speaking in terms of the "nations' interests", but they adopt a "market-based discourse as their editorial and corporate strategy" (Arbex Junior, 2001, p. 141). In other

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words, these newspapers are not just "mediums" or neutral channels; they are "absolute political agents who use their influence to reorganize the whole political game" (Miguel, 2002, p. 180). In short, journalism provides the conditions of intelligibility in order that we establish relationships with the *Difference*, which might be welcome and copied in cases, conditions that we identify as superior and evolved found in more developed countries. Yet most times, the *Other* is only visible because of their invisibility, rejection, and exclusion.

The absence of a lusophone community, as evidenced in *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo* over the twenty-year history of the CPLP indicates how much it had been overshadowed by the geoeconomy of globalization. The belief in a single world, a modern one, bound to technology might be a strength behind producing some kind of local resistance, a more visible one that tries to recognize all the lusophone communities. Highlighting the history and identity shared between Brazil and Portugal and Portuguese-speaking African countries, and given that the majority of the community is black and poor implies (according to the economic and political ideologies of the large media, including the *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*) a kind of regression, a path that is going in the opposite direction of modern markets.

We would like to highlight another important point: in a globalized world, the *Other* without capital is relevant to confirming its inverse, the capital and the supposed superiority of the elite. The value of the *Difference* is in generating the wealth of the richest. Furthermore, the *Other* that lives in "communities" pursues a fascination with goods as ethnicity and alterity (Hall, 2006). It is not without purpose that the global logic maintains untouchable identities in far away places, confined to a place where the *Difference* cannot be a threat, where it is controlled, taught and plays the role of *something exotic* and touristic.

This relationships with the *Other* also appear in the news reports on CPLP in both newspapers. They appear in a special way, when the government acts as a *sacred destination* for African countries, forgetting about supposed debts, teaching technologies, and offering advice on the path of development, but with the understanding they will vote for Brazil to have a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. In this case, and only this case, the *Other* has some value. On one side, the few reports on the CPLP portray Portugal as distant place for the elite to travel, an economically cold partnership which shares a similar language. However, the focus

given to the *Difference* in this community in *Folha* and *O Globo* means the *Other* is rejected in African countries. Since African nations make up a majority of the CPLP, this community takes on its own condition of the *Other* which will be made invisible, attacked and rejected.

We believe that these connections we have found talk about a twenty-year invisibility of this community in Brazil, promoted by journalism, particularly by *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*. The *Others* are visible and invisible at the same time. The *Difference* is within the CPLP, and the CPLP is its own *Other* according to the model of a globalized world which does not see its importance in the market. On the contrary, it is seen as a community that unites nations of poor, black populations who are unwelcome and not a part of capital interest.

6. Conclusion

The trajectory we have traced suggests that the invisibility of lusophones in *Folha de S.Paulo* and *O Globo*, over the two-decade history of the CPLP, is based on politics that ignore the sense of belonging *among Us*; the people connected together in transit between Africa, South America, Europe and Asia. It is important to highlight the fact that this lack of community is due to the past, the ideologies and the identities of the companies that own these newspapers. Its affiliation to the intelligibility of a world promoted by the idea of an open border capital and profit, a world mobilized by technology to be seen as one, offers direct reflections on selecting what will be visible and invisible in journalism, and how the world should and should not be under this perspective of capital.

Under these conditions, invisibility of a poor community disconnected from the more powerful ideas of globalization is not, in fact, a surprise when you see how the *invisibility* is constructed by *being absent* in newspapers. Here we can speak of a *non community*. Even though we live in the largest Portuguese-speaking country in the world and its people are connected through the history and identity shared between Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Timor Leste and Portugal, this invisibility by absence does not allow us to feel like we are a part of this community. It just so happens that this silence around the CPLP is not punctual, it has been happening over history.

The *clues* we found helped us understand this absence a

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little more. The few news reports showed an *invisibility through the presence* of a mainly black, poor, dangerous community which Brazil should stay away from, exchanging "debt" for votes to the UN Security Council. The invisible in news reports shapes Brazil into trying to untie the laces of belonging to African peoples, people who constitute who we are. When the newspapers try to not recognize the peoples of the CPLP, they are actually preventing Brazil from seeing other worlds, transforming many of *Us* into their *Others*. In other words, the permanent association between community, black population, poverty, misery, sickness, corruption and dictatorship meets the identity objective of ensuring that this *Other* is not *Me*, and does not belong to *Us*. The absence of the CPLP in newspapers might meet the objective of maintaining the Difference invisible so that it does not reveal its racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, identity, and history similarities to *Us*.

*This paper was translated by Lee Sharp

NOTES

1 This data is taken from a survey of an ongoing doctorate research, partial analyses of which have been used in articles presented at events and released in other publications.

2 The "seven parties" are the countries which signed the first union of the CPLP in 1996: Angola, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tomé and Príncipe.

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José Cristian Góes. Doctorate student in Communication at Minas Gerais Federal University (UFMG), journalist, specializing in Communication in Management Crisis (Gama Filho) and a Masters in Communication from Sergipe Federal University (UFS). Granted a sandwich doctorate from Minho University / Braga-Portugal, supported by Capes. E-mail: cristiangoes_brasil@yahoo.com.br.

Elton Antunes. Professor of the Post-Graduate Program in Communication, Minas Gerais Federal University (UFMG), a doctorate in Communication from Bahia Federal University (UFBA) and a Masters in Sociology from Minas Gerais Federal University (UFMG). Email: eltunes@uol.com.br.

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