# The mediatization of public communication: A look at the discussibility of political scandals\*

A midiatização da comunicação pública: um olhar sobre a discutibilidade dos escândalos políticos

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#### **ABSTRACT**

This article analyzes the mediatization of public communication having as focus the *mensalão* political scandal. Brazilian political corruption is a recurring topic in the national as well as international media agenda. From this perspective we propose to outline some implications of the mediatization of the debate surrounding public communication issues. For such we will borrow from the studies of Hjarvard, (2012), Fausto Neto (2006, 2008), and Sodré (2002). As far as public communication we relied on Weber (2009), Duarte (2007) and Brandão (2007). In observing the site *Rede de Escândalos*/Scandals Network we conclude that the mediatization of issues of public interest is still at a preliminary stage, leaving the discussibility of such issues to the future – hopefully not a distant one. **Key words:** Midiatization, public communication, scandals, politics

### **RESUMO**

Este artigo trata sobre a midiatização da comunicação pública tendo como enfoque o escândalo político do *mensalão*. A corrupção na política brasileira é pauta recorrente na mídia nacional e até internacional. Sob essa perspectiva nos propomos a delinear algumas implicações da midiatização no debate de temas de comunicação pública. Para tanto nos utilizaremos dos estudos de Hjarvard (2012), Fausto Neto (2006, 2008) e Sodré (2002). Sobre a comunicação pública buscamos Weber (2009), Duarte (2007) e Brandão (2007). Observando o site *Rede de Escândalos* concluímos que a midiatização de temas de interesse público ainda está em estágio preliminar, deixando a discutibilidade desses assuntos para um futuro que esperamos não muito distante.

Palavras-chave: Midiatização, comunicação pública, escândalos, política

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### INTRODUCTION

EDIA COVERAGE OF corruption in Brazilian politics is common. Also constant in the media's agenda are the efforts of public communication's praxis. Within this perspective we have observed that civil society is in the midst of a strategic entanglement in which the very presence of the media causes changes in the representation of not only the individuals but also of the institutions and other social fields.

Both mediatization and public communication are concepts that have been used for some time, but that still require further discussion and problematizing. Assuming that effective public communication is a necessity in order to establish a network of communication between the State, Government, and society, as we look at political scandals we should also consider the media's role in fomenting such discussions. It is within this perspective that various authors support the argument of mediatization process since the media permeates various areas as well as social practices. Thus, politics itself, in addition to the public's interest, as central themes of public communication, are also influenced and implicated by the media's change of status.

According to Thompson (1990) mediatization is a process that integrates the development of modern society. Therefore we ask ourselves, how does mediatization affect the political debate? Within this perspective our goal is to outline the various implications of this process in the debates about political scandals – which we consider to be part of the issues surrounding public interest, and thus, of public communication. Therefore, we will rely studies by Hjarvard (2012), Fausto Neto (2006, 2008) and Sodré (2002). As far as public communication we use Weber (2009), Duarte (2007) and Brandão (2007) as the basis of our research. To illustrate the goal outlined above, we will investigate citizen's participation and the organization of information at *Rede de escândalos*<sup>1</sup>, a type of political scandals archive hosted by *Veja*'s magazine website.

1. Available at: <a href="http://veja.abril.com.br/infograficos/rede-escandalos/rede-escandalos.shtml">http://veja.abril.com.br/infograficos/rede-escandalos.shtml</a>>.

Accessed: Dec, 13, 2012.

## THE MEDIATIZATION PROCESS IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

To discuss mediatization in contemporary society also implies to consider that this is not a new process. Nowadays the importance of this phenomenon is clear, since our social fabric and culture are traversed by its transformations. For Hjarvard (2012) the concept of mediatization becomes relevant as we realize how the media diffuses, confuses, and influences other fields and institutions of a given society. The author goes as far as to label his theoretical approach as the mediatization of culture and society, since according to him, we still lack a more lucid argument regarding this process. The hypothesis is that oftentimes theoretical models considerer the elements – media, culture, and society



- separately. Therefore, mediatization arises as a theoretical framework that revisits former perspectives regarding the roles and influence of the media.

With the advent and increased diffusion of technologies of communication and information, we find ourselves in a situation where the communicative process itself adapts and relies on a number of devices that enable more instant, simultaneous and global interactions. This is a crucial aspect to understand what Hjarvard (2012) considers key as far as mediatization, "contemporary society is permeated by the media, to an extent that the media may no longer be conceived of as being separate from cultural and other social institutions" (Hjarvard, 2012: 54).

Therefore we can observe a kind of omnipresence of the media. Issues, people and situations that required a shared temporal space for their debate, nowadays are propagated in minutes. Thus, in this society, the experience of various social fields becomes redefined by the media's presence and protocols, assuming a regulatory role. "The life and the dynamics of the various fields are crossed, or mediated, by the organizing techno-symbolic task of new interactions brought about by the media field" (Fausto Neto, 2008: 90). From this quote we can observe the media's autonomy and the consequent range of the field, and subsequent change in the contracts and links between the instances of production and reception of mediated discourses.

Attempting to clarify the concept of mediatization, according to Fausto Neto (2008), sometimes presents itself as a difficult elucidation. The argument for this complexity would be that its definition is embedded in the processuality of the phenomenon itself, which impedes the understanding through a rushed glance.

According to Hjarvard (2012), contemporary society is permeated by the media in such a way that the media can no longer be considered as a tool in service of cultural and social institutions. The theoretical models that suggest this formulation of the media only as a means to an end, do not account for the complexities of the current social structure. According to the author, the media has become, "have become an integral part of other institutions' operations, while they also achieved a degree of self-determination and authority that forces such institutions [...] to submit to their logic" (Hjarvard, 2012: 54).

It is interesting to note Hjarvard (2012) historical rescue of the concept mediatization. The term was first applied to politics, meaning the influence and adjustments that the political field goes through to fit the demands of the mass media. In this sense, we can observe that from this initial understanding of the term, the idea of social institutions being transformed by the media's presence is already present. Other authors like Mazzoleni and Schulz (1999 apud

# The mediatization of public communication: A look at the discussibility of political scandals



Hjarvard, 2012) also study mediatizations far as the media overlapping with politics. Here, our reflection takes place in order to understand how technology is affecting political communication formats.

For some authors mediated politics means a loss of autonomy by the political field, which becomes dependent on the mass media to exert their expressive functions. However, rescuing Hjarvard's (2012) understanding that it is not possible to separate media, culture and society, then maybe we can speak not of loss of autonomy of the political field, but in another way of doing politics in the contemporary world. This understanding is justified in Gomes' words: "the press that relates to politics is not a separate system, but a component of the political universe" (2004: 46).

Another perspective regarding mediatization is to understand it through McLuhan's codes, as proposed by Logan (2011). Stemming from the analysis between Figure/Ground the Canadian theorist argues that you can see clues that others do not see and thus also places the ground as an environment in which the figure is located.

Environment is process not container. The environment always manages somehow to be invisible. Only the content [one can also read figure], the preceding environment, is noticeable. (McLuhan, 1969: 30 apud Logan, 2011: 2).

Therefore we can exercise our thinking. Placing midiatization as figure and ground, we have several implications brought about by this process: for example, transformations in social representation, redimensionalization of time and space, and multidirectional communication. These are some of the changes brought about by mediatization in contemporaneity, however, Hjarvard himself (2012) argues that the understanding of this process is modified according to the evolution of society; thus the importance of its analysis as figure / ground. The products are modified to the extent that the context changes.

That is to say, here we use the concept to characterize *a given phase* or *situation* in the overall development of society and culture in which the logic of the media exerts a particularly predominant influence on other social institutions (Hjarvard, 2012: 61).

This influence brings out a duality of the process in which the media both permeates the practices of other institutions, as well as is constituted as a social institution in its own right. This is what Matta (1999) means when differentiating between mass culture and mediated culture, and we could also refer to it as mediated society and mediatized society (Sodré, 2002). Matta clarifies that



the media still has a central role in society, but now as "mark, model, matrix, producer and organizer of sense and rationality" (1999: 84-85)<sup>2</sup>.

Wedding Logan (2011) and Hjarvard's (2012) ideas, it is interesting to discuss the technologies that come to reinforce the implications caused by mediatization also generate other understandings of the medium as the message. "societies have been shaped more by the nature of the media by which men communicate than by the content of the communication" (McLuhan, 1967b apud Logan, 2011: 7). According to the Canadian theorist, the medium itself imposes certain configurations to the message and thus the medium conveys two messages: "medium actually possesses two messages, one is figure or its content and the other is ground, the ground it creates for its content" (Ibid.). Still, we must not confuse mediation with mediatization, mediation refers to the process of communication through a medium, which here we can exemplify as a TV, radio, newspaper, a blog or e-mail. Mediatization is a broad process – ground-containing interactions both mediated and unmediated – figure.

According to Hjarvard (2012), midiatization means not only that the media has its own grammar and logic, but also that it reaches a degree of autonomous institution, lending their practices to other institutions and actors to communicate. In this sense we can say that society is crossed by media, materializing in their products / forms of expression the influence of the media. It is important to note that the first studies about mediatization reflected upon the effects of media in politics, so the effects of this process on the establishment of a broader public space and with the potential for more discussion in light of political action is also relevant.

At this level of discussion, it is key to understand the fact that public space – where public opinion is formed – does not necessarily need to be a physical location, such as at the time of the bourgeois (halls, cafes and diners), but we can and must understand it as a symbolic space (Esteves, 2011). Thus, stemming from Rodrigues's (1990) ideas the media have the role of fostering the reasoning of private people United as public, and at the same time, the role to constitute itself as a symbolic space replacing and even complementing the traditional places for public discussion (even the institutionalized ones). Thus we can see the contours of a media that is also associated with the idea of public opinion, open public space, accessible, and visible.

Institutions stand for the stable, predictable elements in modern society; they constitute the framework for human communication and action in a given sphere of human life at a given time and place. (Hjarvard, 2012: 68).

2. Tradução livre de: "marca, modelo, matriz, racionalidad productora y organizadora de sentido".





Perhaps we are not yet at an ideal level of popularization of information technologies, but it is undeniable that the forums and debates are made possible by the actions of the media. In a way that other institutions become dependent upon a mediatic language to make themselves visible in this public space. In other words, if we understand that the technologies of communication and information permeate society as a whole (environment), then the very social interactions undergo changes. "In all patterns, when the ground changes, the figure too is altered by the new interface" (McLuhan, McLuhan e Staines, 2003: 180 apud Logan, 2011: 8). A great mark of the midiatization process is presented by the dynamics of roles assumed by individuals in the communication processes. The media in contemporaneity work within a double logic: professionalism, but also user-generated content (Hjarvard, 2012).

From the contours outlined by the authors it is pertinent to reflect upon the potential of discussibility of public issues in a mediated society. Thus, we can then rescue the understanding of public communication and how it is reshaped within the aforementioned potentiality.

## MIDIATIZED PUBLIC COMMUNICATION

In an attempt to better understand public communication, we can question the various perspectives involving the concept: would this be a form of communication by the government and / or public powers? Or is it a type of free-access communication, as opposed to those that are private? Could it also be organizational communication employed in public institutions?

The expression *public communication* has been used with various meanings. Elizabeth Brandão, while carrying out a mapping of the multiple use of the term, claims it is possible to identify at least five areas of "knowledge and professional activity" (2007: 1) by this mode of communication, from simplistic and functional understandings to those who seek its relation to the democratic state and the public sphere.

The first meaning stems from the practice, knowledge and skills of organizational communication in public institutions seeking to create relationships and build identity and an image; in some countries, this is considered a form of public communication. Another meaning is connected to its association with scientific communication, which is concerned with awakening the public's opinion an interest in matters of science, which also fulfills an educational role in a given society. A third way to understand the term, establishes public communication in identification with political communication. The link between communication and politics is old and perhaps such close and necessary relationship between these fields contributes to the difficulty in understanding.



The fourth way to understand it binds public communication with the fruit of organized civil society's communication strategies and, finally, Brandão (2007) understands that type of communication as communication by the State and / or Government. "This is a dimension that considers that it is the State's and government's responsibility to establish an information and communication flow with its citizens" (Brandão, 2007: 4).

In Brazil, studies in public communication began in the 1990s with the translation of Pierre Zémor article (1995), *La Communication Publique*, done by Elizabeth Brandão. Since then, many efforts in the search for a conceptual definition, examining various institutions such as the state, society, government, public interest, and citizenship. In this sense, Brandão (2007) reinforces its contribution, quite simply, emphasizing that public communication refers to a communication process established between the state, government and society with the aim of informing in order to constitute citizenship.

It is interesting to point out that the link – State, Government and Society – should be at the core public communication conceptualization, putting in practice strategies, providing information, and stimulating participation, and the overlapping of these three spheres. In an ideal situation, it is the realization of this process and its implications that will ensure full citizenship. McQuail defines public communication as "an intricate network of informational, expressive, and supportive transactions that take place in the public sphere or public space of any society" (1998 apud Brandão, 2007: 6). The author also points out that this transactional information should be eminently of public interest from which also citizen participation is also demanded. Weber, confirming this consideration, states:

it is necessary to relate public communication to the public interest, both from the point of view of theory and praxis, that is, the public associated with the state and government, if one is talking about democracy. It means to research and debate about structures and the production of public information, and the circulation of public interest, in other words, rights and responsibilities provided by the State and democratic governments elected as representatives of society<sup>3</sup> (Weber, 2009: 13).

From Weber's elucidation, the understanding that public communication is a wide concept becomes clear, and in it, there we find governmental and political communication, although these concepts should not be used interchangeably. While addressing governmental communication, Duarte (2007), defines a few differences, and understands it as the information flows and communicative relationships established between the executive branch and society<sup>4</sup>, whereas political communication aims to establish an articulation with individuals in

<sup>3.</sup> Translated from the original in the Portuguese language to English.

<sup>4.</sup> Here we must point out the transitory character of the government, altered with every new election cycle, as for the State, it is permanent; we are all citizens of the Nation State of Brazil

## The mediatization of public communication: A look at the discussibility of political scandals



order to win over public opinion, which would be like the form of relationship established by political parties.

However, it is pertinent to note that the paths of development underdevelopment of each nation involve not only the established political powers but also many individuals who make up a given society. Although characterized mainly by its discursive nature, it is compelling to note that the

public communication puts the centrality of communication process in the citizen, not only by guaranteeing the right to information and expression, but also to dialogue, of respect to their characteristics and needs, to encourage active, rational and co-responsible participation. So it is both a good and a right of a collective nature, involving everything concerning the state apparatus, government actions, political parties, social movements, public companies, the third sector and even, in certain circumstances, private companies

(Duarte, 2007: 61).

By using this expression, we are showing that communication is a natural and intrinsic process by any social organism, be it a public or private organization. Keeping in mind the constant changes brought about by information and communication technologies we have reached a level where themes (public or private) acquire different degrees of visibility. In this respect, the possibilities of contact and interface between government, state, and society multiply, a scenario that shows more each day, the possibility of involvement of citizens in the direction of a government that is also theirs; the media also presents itself as space of tension by debating various topics.

If public communication focuses on the citizens and on debating issues of public interest – and with political scandals existing in the background, the transparency of governmental actions, the use of public funds and resources, budget planning of the Union, relations between public and private institutions, as well as between their representatives – are also issues of public interest that – at least theoretically – should be the priority of mediatization.

Under this perspective, we should clarify our understanding of public communication as a broad process in which, in interaction networks that are established between government, State and society, the media is present as a structuring social field of the former. In this sense, the public praxis we are referring to is mediatized since the forms of representation, interaction, communication, and monitoring are guided by protocols and start working according to the media logic.

Regardless of the communicative instance, when dealing with government or society it is relevant to understand the real meaning of a democratic society.

According to Bobbio (1997), from the classical age, this term has always been used to describe a form of government or "one of the several ways in which political power can be exercised. Specifically, it designates the form of government in which political power is exercised by the people" (Bobbio, 1997: 135). Thus, from this point of view we can infer the importance of the role of the citizen not only understood as a mere receiver or the endpoint of the communication process, but also as protagonist directly implicated in the political life of their country. Thus, the mediated public communication approximates the spheres in question and implies, calls upon citizens to discuss the public's interest that permeates various social fields, including the media.

Public communication seeks through various strategies to promote citizen participation in the very formulation of public policies. "To achieve this, communication tools are used from the citizen's point of view in its entirety, and not just merely as consumer, voter, user" (Duarte, 2007: 61). The practice of this type of communication demands assuming on a commitment to the collective interest, and to pretermit individual or corporate benefits.

In this sense, it is imperative to reflect on the discussibility of public issues in a society that is permeated by the media logic. If the contours of public communication itself are mediatized, the communication networks that form should focus on the awareness of citizens about the importance of their role not only as voters but also as public power watchdogs.

## BETWEEN HAGGLING, FAVORS AND MENSALÕES

Between the years 2005 and 2006 Brazil experienced one of its biggest political crisis during the government of President Luíz Inácio Lula da Silva. During this period there were several favor-exchange schemes and buying of votes from parliamentarians which offseted the approval of certain projects in the Federal Congress. *Veja* magazine covered the issue and disclosed allegations of shady acts and the politicians involved in the scheme. On May 14th, 2005 the magazine disclosed the denunciation of the former *Head of Postal and Telegraph Company*/ Chefe da Empresa de Correios e Telégrafos, Maurício Marinho involvement, who received favors from a businessman. In that complaint, Marinho recounts the scheme in detail citing the names of politicians like Congressman Roberto Jefferson, of PTB<sup>5</sup>.

The neologism *mensalão*<sup>6</sup> was popularized by Jefferson in an interview with the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, which in turn increased the volume of complaints and the advertising of a series of acts of administrative dishonesty and corruption. The *mensalão* refers to the word *mesada/*allowance as a way to illustrate the monthly fee paid to parliamentarians to vote in favor

5. Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro/Brazilian Labour Party

6. A Portuguese neologism roughly meaning "big monthly stipend".



# The mediatization of public communication: A look at the discussibility of political scandals

of projects of interest from the executive branch. According to congressman Roberto Jefferson, at the time of the denunciations, the term was common on the sidelines of Brazilian politics and additionally, the scheme was organized by José Dirceu, then Minister Chief of Staff.

Mensalão was a term appropriated by the national and international media coverage. In August 2007, the Supreme Court began a trial involving 40 political names in the scheme on charges of crimes of conspiracy, embezzlement, money laundering, bribery, mismanagement, and tax evasion. Under these circumstances those involved went from being accused to being defendants. The trial resumed in August 2012 when then prosecutor, Roberto Gurgel, manifested himself stating that the mensalão was "the most daring and outrageous scheme of corruption and misuse of public money witnessed Brazil".

From this scenario briefly described above, we understand it as an issue of public interest, which is constituted as a subject of discussion in various contexts, online and offline. The appropriation of the *mensalão* event by a variety of media platforms was made possible thanks to information and communication technologies, which caused, or at least should cause an expansion of the *public sphere of debate*.

Stemming from Gomes's understanding (2006) that the media would not only be an ambience, but from that from the media, the mediatic processes constitute operators of social intelligibility, then public communication, and the media as one of its elements, should also take a more heated debate role about the practices of corruption in Brazil – a situation increasingly common in our political life. Where is the civil sphere in this debate? What role do the media have? How do political parties position themselves? How can we observe the midiatization of public communication?

On December 9th, 2011, *Veja* magazine made available on their website a compilation of the many cases of corruption in Brazilian society, through the link *Rede de Escândalos: a memória viva da corrupção*/Scandals network: the living memory of corruption. With this strategy the magazine aims to be a Brazilian political scandal archive since 1988. Through its heading (Figure 1) one can already observe in the background one of *Veja*'s covers with a picture of José Dirceu, featured in 2005, soon after the *mensalão* scandal broke.

Following the goal proposed in this paper, we must analyze the website and reflect upon the possibility that the way in witch this magazine represents corruption can be seen by readers not as repository of cases, but as a starting point for a more in depth discussion. Corruption in Brazil should be thought of as a serious issue pertinent to all. We are all responsible for the ways in which our political representatives perform and or invest public resources.

7. Available at: <a href="http://www.portugaldigital.com.br/politica/ver/20070874-qmensalaoqum-dos-maioresescandalos-politicos-do-brasil-coemca-a-ser-julgado-hoje">hoje</a> Accessed
Dec 16th, 2012.



FIGURE 1 – Heading for the link "Rede de Escândalos" (Scandal Network) – Veja Magazine

In terms of the website usability, 'Scandals Network' provides good organization, with different sections for each event, as follows: general explanation, quotes, characters, the scandalmeter/escandalômetro (Fig. 2), digital archive, and other editions.<sup>8</sup>



FIGURE 2 – Escandalômetro/ SCANDOLMETER- Rede de Escândalos/Scandal Network

With the goal of promoting the discussion of controversial issues, *Veja* magazine's website hosts files referring to the *mensalão* and many other cases of corruption in Brazilian politics as a way to constitute a social memory. We have also observed that the website does not redirect links to other sites related to the subject matter, making evident only the opinion of its editorials, which may become harmful to the discussibility of the subject, in other words, the space remains static, not giving the Internet user any possibility for feedback. While the strategy of providing a networking of scandals may mean more possibility of information to citizens, it also demonstrates a certain control by the medium in question, since it merely enumerates the many examples of misconduct, since it does not offer space for comments or any type of manifestations from readers.

8. This 'thermometer' measures the severity of the scandal (on a 1-5 scale), based on the editorial importance devoted by Veja. The greater number of headlines on the cover of the magazine and the longer period of time dedicated to it, the higher the 'temperature' of the scandal. The highest degree refers to cases such as mensalão, with 21 cover sotories. The lowest refers to cases such as the pasta rosa/ pink folder, with no cover stories but with three News reports.



### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The mediatic coverage of political scandals is a common phenomenon nowadays, because civil society is somehow permeated by the content of various media platforms. Public communication has been around for some time, but still needs further theoretical insights that problematize the issues of public interest and also encourage a public debate about them. In order for this to be effective, there needs to be a genuine dialogue between the State, Government, and society and that is exactly why we seek to reflect upon *Veja* magazine's *Rede de Escândalos*/Scandals Network as an online mediatic space.

Despite all *Veja* magazine's effort to foster debate about the scandals, we can observe a lack of spaces for manifestation. It is as if, even in the digital platform, readers return to that reality of an information process of reality, where a few speak, and many listen. Another issue that stands out within this context is that the website also has no links to other web addresses, such as government agencies that were investigating the accusations, or even to sites that represent the formal manifestation of those involved. If in the mediatized society we all have various possibilities of representation and manifestation, then a medium of communication that increasingly makes itself present in digital media, and that constitutes itself as one of the various elements of public communication, it should enable and encourage the formation of networks of communication around such an important and indispensable theme of discussion to our society, such as political corruption.

Thus, we have reached a point where it is necessary to reflect upon the discussibility of public issues in a society that is permeated by a mediated logic. If public communication is permeated by mediatization, the communication networks that are formed should also favor the awareness of citizens about the importance of being a voter, reader, and a citizen.

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