

Narrativity and authorship in alternative communication research in Brazil

Narratividade e autoria na pesquisa em comunicação alternativa no Brasil

FERNANDO FELÍCIO PACHI FILHO^a

Faculdade de Tecnologia Termomecânica. São Bernardo do Campo – SP, Brazil
Universidade Paulista, Institute of Social Sciences and Communication. São Paulo – SP – Brazil

JOÃO AUGUSTO MOLIANI^b

Universidade Tecnológica Federal do Paraná, Language and Communication Department. Curitiba – PR, Brazil

ROSELI FIGARO^c

Universidade de São Paulo, Graduation Program in Communication Sciences. São Paulo – SP – Brazil

ABSTRACT

The trajectory of terms such as *press*, *communication* and *alternative journalism* has been the object of studies that integrate a network of meanings that composes a narrative about that can be retraced in discursive analysis. This article summarizes the research carried out to understand how concepts, meanings and narratives are formed in academic research on this subject, based on a survey of theses and dissertations in Ibt digital library. The analysis shows that the civil-military dictatorship (1964/1985) is a milestone for the establishment of this narrative, but the continuity of this imaginary is little explored after that period. The interest in an alternative communication of broader scope, related to popular communication, emerges.

Keywords: Alternative Press, alternative journalism, alternative communication

RESUMO

A trajetória de termos como *imprensa alternativa*, *comunicação alternativa* e *jornalismo alternativo* tem sido objeto de estudos integrantes de uma rede de sentidos formadora de uma narratividade que pode ser retrçada pela análise discursiva. Com base no levantamento de teses e dissertações disponíveis na biblioteca digital do Instituto Brasileiro de Informação em Ciência Tecnologia, este artigo sintetiza a investigação realizada para compreender como se formam conceitos, sentidos e narrativas na pesquisa acadêmica sobre essa temática. A análise mostra que a Ditadura Civil-Militar (1964-1985) é um marco para o estabelecimento dessa narrativa; porém, a continuidade desse imaginário é pouco explorada depois do período. Emerge então o interesse por uma comunicação alternativa de escopo mais amplo, relacionada à comunicação popular.

Palavras-chave: Imprensa alternativa, jornalismo alternativo, comunicação alternativa

^a Professor of the Faculdade de Tecnologia Termomecânica, and Universidade Paulista. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1667-4937>. E-mail: ffpachi@yahoo.com.br

^b Doctorate student in the Graduate Program in Communication Sciences of the Universidade de São Paulo, and associate professor in the Language and Communication Department of the Universidade Tecnológica Federal do Paraná. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8973-119X>. E-mail: guto.moliani@gmail.com

^c Coordinator of the Graduate Program in Communication Sciences, Universidade de São Paulo. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9710-904X>. E-mail: figaro@uol.com.br

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MATRIZES

A

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THE CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS of the alternative press, alternative communication and alternative journalism are part of a network of meanings that have been constituted throughout the history of research in the field of communication sciences in Brazil, in a category that owes its formation to the work of authors that delimited the academic research in the area. The understanding of how senses stabilize, and at the same time direct the attention and analysis of the researchers, seems necessary for the progress of the alternative communication studies being developed in Brazil. Authors such as Oliveira (2011, 2012), Otre (2015)¹, Peruzzo (2009, 2013) and Haubrich (2016), among others, are dedicated to understanding conceptual unfolding and delimiting fields of research scope. This is because the *alternative* term has been used to classify different forms of communication, and its conceptual opacity can be observed in the complexity of its proposition, as the *alternative* adjective can refer to varied forms and means of communication. Therefore, we reiterate the need to understand the historicity of the senses that are formed in Brazilian research in the analysis of specific social contexts that require conceptual revisions.

Authors, such as Oliveira (2011), restrict the sense of *alternative*, characterizing it as opposed to the tendency to legitimize and institutionalize certain sources and voices in the public debate. Thus, for the author, contemporary alternative journalism would be a factor in expanding voices in the public environment and a refusal to accept the proposed consensus. The emphasis of its characterization rests on the political character of opposition to the dictatorship of information and opinion of capital. In this sense, according to Oliveira (2012), alternative journalism aims to reinforce values that refer to the collective interest, such as equal opportunities and radicalization of democracy.

Haubrich (2016), in turn, understands the concepts of alternative media, popular media and radical media as equivalents, despite the small oscillations that can be identified according to the authors consulted. Santos (2013) argues that the alternative press encompasses a wide scope of experiences and communication vehicles, from pamphlets, labor and trade union press, minority newspapers, blogs, among others, which makes complex the task of constructing a consensual delimitation for the concept. For this reason, the author affirms that it is necessary to adopt a fluid concept, dependent on conjunctures, but whose defining nucleus is based on its counter-hegemonic character allied to a political project of transformation, as Oliveira (2012) also argues.

Peruzzo (2009) seeks to clarify the terminology adopted to define the broad spectrum of alternative communication and to propose classifications based on her research on popular and community communication in Brazil. In the author's

¹ Otre (2015) analyzed the subarea of popular, alternative and community communication (CPAC) in the students' stricto sensu researches in Brazil, from 1972 to 2012.

view, the difficulty of establishing boundaries between these definitions derives from hybridity in terms of language, formats and organization of production, among other characteristics of alternative communication, in which processes and practices are more relevant than the type of vehicle used. From this perspective, the defining element is the meaning that communication has for the community (Ibid.: 140). In general terms, Peruzzo (2009: 133) understands alternative communication as the one that:

intends to be an option as a channel of expression and infocommunicative content in comparison to large commercial media and conservative public media. From this assumption, a communicational praxis – theory and practice – has developed throughout history, being modified according to the historical context in which it is carried out.

However, the meaning of the *alternative* term, Peruzzo acknowledges, is not univocal, and may refer to independent communicative channels linked to social movements or alternative publications developed by the petty bourgeoisie, or to popular and community communication.

Those types of delimitations and positions demonstrate the profile of the debate established in the disciplinary field of communication. All together, the conceptual framework delimited until then proposes a narrative and a *discourse* for the research (Mariani, 1998), which can be rebuilt in a discursive analysis. Finatto (2003) explains that the statement that defines a notion, process or object, to express relations of meaning of a certain field of knowledge, is a key element in the constitution and transmission of specialized, technological or scientific knowledge. In addition, definitions, because they are particularized texts, present and identify facets of understanding phenomena within a given science. In this case, roughly speaking, defining is equivalent to expressing certain knowledge, a portion of specialized knowledge. It is the exercise of delimiting and stabilizing a certain meaning in a word. A Herculean effort, inasmuch as a word outside the discourse is naturally plastic and ambivalent, and never establishes itself. The word in the discourse serves to it and, as such, lives with others, clutched by other discourses in the dialogical chain in which the thread of historicity can not be lost. The theoretical concept suffers even more in this exercise of crystallization, since, as a word, it is subject to identifications with the currents of thought.

The study of the concepts and definitions that circulate in the field of communication research interests us to provide elements for the formation of a theoretical framework capable of supporting analyzes about the current



scenario of journalistic work in the alternative online media. In this article, we seek to understand how senses, concepts and narratives are formed in the academic research on alternative communication based on a survey in the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations (BDTD) of the Brazilian Institute of Information in Science and Technology (Ibict). For that, we used the theoretical-methodological tools of the French Discourse Analysis, in the tradition initiated by Michel Pêcheux and developed in Brazil by authors like Orlandi (2002) and Mariani (1998), whose concepts of interpretation, authorship and narrativity guided us in analysis of the material raised. Thus, we asked ourselves: what narrativity is established in Brazilian research about alternative journalism, alternative communication and the alternative press?

THE STUDIED MATERIAL

The search in the Brazilian Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations of Ibict did not try to distinguish initially the forms of alternative communication, nor the innumerable categories established conceptually. The period of ten years, from 2006 to 2016², was defined as the basis for the survey of materials. As our research objective is about *alternative journalism*, we privilege, in a first moment, the search for this keyword in the titles, abstracts, summaries and introductions of the works. The initial result showed that many papers included alternative journalism in the broader spectrum of alternative communication.

Secondly, we also decided to look for work on alternative communication and alternative press to retrieve research that might not have been included in the initial search. At the end, 22 papers were found, between theses and dissertations, distributed in distinct fields of knowledge. Then, by reading the theoretical references of the works, we were interested in identifying the disciplinary domain of these studies and which concepts and authors were most frequently mentioned. Subsequently, we proceed to analyze the works from the categories *field of knowledge*, *authors* and *concepts*. Fourteen surveys focused on communication studies and five in the history field; the others were equally distributed among areas such as linguistics, education and environmental science (Figure 1).

Thus, it was verified that the topic is inserted as a priority in communication studies. This mapping allowed us to observe if there were differences in concepts and authors treated according to the disciplinary domain. And, despite the flagrant differences between the fields in which the work develops, there are no relevant distinctions in the use of concepts or authors when it comes to alternative communication, press or journalism. Therefore, we can say that

² This part of the research was carried out during the second semester of 2016 as a preparatory stage for the formation of a theoretical reference for the project *The relations of communication and the conditions of production in the work of journalists in alternative economic arrangements to the media corporations*, developed with financial support from the São Paulo Research Foundation (Fapesp), process No. 201606992-3, and the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), process No 404196/2016-1.

such concepts, elaborated in the field of communication, expand to the other areas, determining a sense that directs the analysis, in a demonstration of how a discursive field³ (Maingueneau, 1997) stabilizes and intertwines with discourses of other areas⁴.

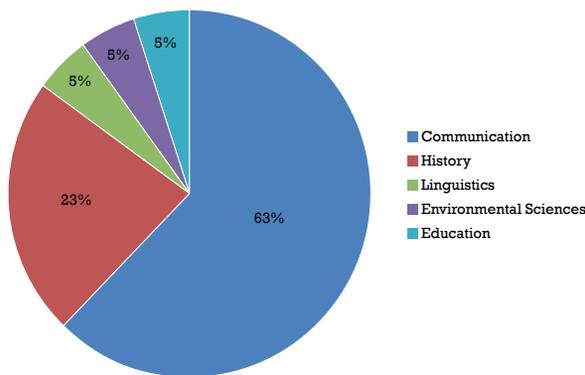


FIGURE 1 – Field of knowledge
Source: Elaborated by the authors

As far as the conceptual scope is concerned, it can be noticed the use of a multiplicity of concepts taken separately or associated in each work. In many cases, they are interchangeably used, according to the authors’ approach. For the purposes of our research, we chose to identify, in the set of 22 papers, the concepts used and mentioned in each of them. The concept of the alternative press is what most appears in the research, with ten mentions. Alternative communication, alternative media, alternative journalism and popular communication each received three mentions. Community communication, alternative radical media and counter-hegemonic press had two mentions each. The other concepts identified – and in some cases associated with⁵ the most used terms – received only one mention each, which demonstrates the conceptual spray in the treatment of objects related to this thematic scope (Figure 2)⁶.

The fact that the alternative press is mentioned in most of the works delimits a starting point for the understanding of alternative communication. In some ways, it is from the alternative press, as it has developed in the Brazilian context, that the concepts of alternative communication used by the researchers unfold. The treatment given to the analyzed objects is traversed by the history of alternative press practices, especially during the period of the Civil-Military Dictatorship, between 1964 and 1985.

The next step consisted in verifying which authors were most cited and used as a theoretical source to support research on the concepts of communication,

³ Maingueneau (1997:116) explains that the discursive field “is definable as a set of discursive formations that are in a competitive relationship, in a broad sense, and are therefore delimited by an enunciative position in a given region.”

⁴ It also makes us reflect on the impropriety of claiming that communication is a domain dependent on others to theoretically support their analyzes of specific empirical objects.

⁵ We chose to state that the concepts may appear to be associated. Closer analysis is needed to understand cases in which they complement each other, they are used as terminological variations or even establish synonymous relations.

⁶ It should be made clear that such concepts were identified based on the theoretical references of the works and were not the object of the search for the collection, which focused on the key words *alternative journalism*, *alternative press* and *alternative communication*.

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⁷These concepts, besides being among the most cited, directly interest us to our research project.

press and alternative journalism⁷. We noticed that there is a tendency to use concepts from different authors, which can be associated in the formulation made in each work. For the purposes of our investigation, we consider only the most cited exclusively regarding the alternative press, communication and journalism. Kucinski was mentioned in 16 works; Peruzzo in 8; Grinberg and Festa in 7; and Downing, in 6 (Figure 3). From the work of these authors and the concepts addressed by them, we tried to recover the narrativity assumed in research on alternative press, communication and journalism. Before that, however, it is necessary to consider the effects of authorship in the scientific field.

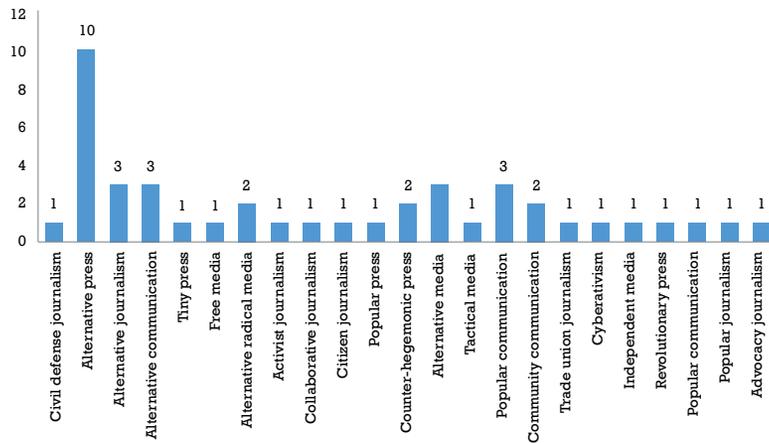


FIGURE 2 – Concepts used
Source: Elaborated by the authors

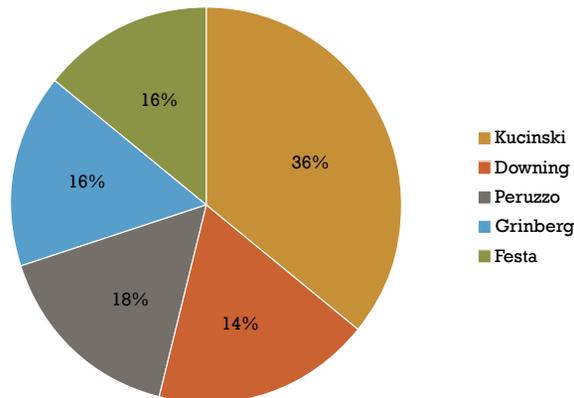


FIGURE 3 – Most cited authors
Source: Elaborated by the authors

INTERPRETATION AND AUTHORSHIP

To the discursive studies, there is an interest in the definitional strategies used by the enunciators. The efficacy of the defining act (Berche, 2004: 146) depends on the situation of enunciation and supposes that its author is invested with a social or scientific authority recognized by its interlocutors in the discursive field. In this perspective, knowledge is not considered as without authorship, without any subject having produced it or being self-represented in it. For this reason, the propositions made by the authors in the scientific field are an effect of interpretations carried out in a network of meanings weaved throughout history.

Foucault (2005) explains that comments, disciplines and authorship are principles of control of the production of discourses, which have a restrictive and coercive function. *Coercive* is read here as restriction of possibilities of senses—restrictions exerted to stabilize a tradition of studies. Thus, the concept of author is a principle of grouping discourse, unity and origin of meanings. The author, responsible for his/her saying, corresponds to a projection of the “treatment to which we submit the texts, the approximations we operate, the traits we establish as pertinent, the continuities we admit or the exclusions we make” (Foucault 1992: 50). Considered a function, the author is related to the juridical and institutional system determinant for the understanding of the universe of discourses; as it does not refer to a real individual, it can occupy several subject positions.

Chartier (2012) shares with Foucault the principle that the author’s function is neither universal nor timeless. Maingueneau (2006) warns that the author is not a source of enunciation of his texts, becoming one of the means of forming their meaning. For Maingueneau, the author does not have autonomy for the management of his work, being necessary to consider its insertion in institutions and its rules, as well as the socio-historical contexts of production of texts.

When reflecting on authorship, Orlandi (1998) reworked the Foucaultian concept, considering the author a discursive position of the subject, which organizes the senses and gives unity to the text. In the production of language, the subject places himself at the origin of his saying and formulates his statement in relation to a history of enunciation; there is not necessarily the establishment of a discursivity. The subject, when establishing himself as author, delimits a place of interpretation in relation to other sayings, taking a position. As interpretation occurs in every manifestation of language (Ibid.: 9), it is linked to the formation of the senses, which do not close and are not evident either. Interpretation is a necessary relation, which affects the way the subject realizes the natural and social world. The expressions, propositions and definitions will receive meaning from a particular discursive formation, which represents ideological formations.



Ideological formations correspond to class positions or to the meaning struggles waged in class disputes. An ideological formation has different discursive formations, because the ways of the saying are not given; they stand and say in the chain of interdiscourse, always anchored by the ideological positions that the senses allow. Thus, the interpretation of ideology and of the political come closer, in which the senses are divided and mutant. In Orlandi's thought, one can not dissociate discourse from political, historical and ideological aspects.

The author also considers that it is necessary to observe the way the gestures of interpretation are regulated institutionally. In this way, the institutions dispose about what is interpreted, how it is interpreted, who interprets it and in what conditions. It can be said, therefore, that the process of sense-formation, although open to the misconception and the new, is administered and subjected to the game of institutional forces. In the movement inherent to the senses, stabilization work also occurs (Ibid.: 13). The author, through his gesture of interpretation, assumes a position resulting from his relationship with the interdiscourse, and which must be understood through discursive networks that correspond to the possibilities of interpretation of his time. By joining a certain sense, the author can promote displacements in these networks. Pêcheux (1999: 55) reminds us that Discourse Analysis should also turn its gaze to designation gestures, which include assembly procedures and constructions that occur even before meanings.

According to Orlandi (1998), in the movement of interpretation that manifests itself before any symbolic object, the conditions in which it occurs and the determinations of linguistic and historical order are denied. There is an effect of evidence of meaning and its content that must be understood regarding interdiscourse. However, these effects are ideological and sustained on the institutionalized meaning. Another proposition of the author seems necessary to us to understand the gestures of interpretation: we must distinguish those who are entitled to the interpretation from those who do the work of support of the stabilized utterances. For this reason, one can speak of a social division of the interpretation gestures, which are determined and have their intended meanings, in a process that also affects scientific production. This is how authorship is constituted.

DISCOURSES ON AND NARRATIVITY

Mariani (1998: 60), when analyzing the journalistic discourse, works the concept of *discourse on*. This analytical category, in our view, also applies to other sociodiscursive practices, such as scientific production, in which concepts and definitions are essential to delimit the objects about which one can speak.

The discourses on can be considered as modalities that allow the enunciator to distance himself from what is spoken, taking as object that about what is spoken. The distancing effect allows the formulation of value judgments, opinions and definitions, as if there was no involvement between subject and object. The discourses on are a strategy to institutionalize senses from places of authority responsible for transmitting knowledge. When talking about a certain subject, the subject establishes a relation with a field of knowledge recognized by the interlocutor.

From this perspective, we can also understand scientific discourse as a kind of discourse on, which seeks to contain the chaos of events and establish a semantically normal world (Pêcheux, 2002: 34). Researchers talk about an object that must become understandable, in a process of exclusion from other possible senses in the domain about which it is spoken. By establishing such meanings, a network of meanings that is naturalized in the practices of analysis and in the positions assumed by the researchers of a certain area of knowledge is formed. Knowledge is produced by taking positions (Ibid.: 57), by moments of interpretation that shift knowledge reconfiguring discursive formations related in the interdiscourse.

In this process of institutionalization of the senses, the memory becomes crystallized on a certain subject, which integrates social imaginary and establishes a starting point for later research. More than that, they form narratives that bring the traces of this established memory in the scientific field. Often, in the field of ideological disputes, this narrative reveals its place of speech production. Mariani (1998) explains that narratives, when taken in their symbolic dimension, require interpretation and do not close on themselves. Their limits can be redefined, and they are only fully imagined in the action of the narrator or the reader. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how the reports are produced according to the subject's position. We must also remember that narratives are cuts in reality, which erase other narrative possibilities and enter into unstable networks of meaning, because they are subjected to flaws and misconceptions (Pêcheux, 1997; Orlandi, 2002). Taken as social practices, they become discursive and produce truths. The narrators are historical subjects, crossed by a discursive memory that composes the social imaginary.

The organizations for the direction of reading are not always perceptible to the reader, who generally does not stick to the processes of affiliation of senses, displacements, memory relocation, whose effect is the illusion of unity and transparency of the narrative. In the discursive process, of which the narrative is part, mechanisms of power distribute the spaces of possible say and silence what can not and/or should not be said. This prevents the sliding of the senses,



institutionalizing them. The narrator/author is the subject that occupies the position of who knows what narrative is allowed and can be transmitted. However, there can not only be repetition, but reorganization, return, and migration of statements that reconfigure the utterances and establish other meanings, according to changes in enunciative positions or situations. In short, it is possible to notice a memory that returns the same process of language and history, as we observed in the narrative about alternative communication, press and journalism.

THE ALTERNATIVE IN HISTORY

As we have already pointed out, Kucinski (1991) is the most cited author in the alternative press and communication in general terms. His work, treated as a reference in the area, contains meanings that deserve to be analyzed. It is necessary to think about the function that a certain image of the past exerts in the composition of the concept of alternative journalism and the narrativity of this history. The author, acknowledged by his analysis of the alternative press that flourishes in the period of the Civil-Military Dictatorship, establishes an interpretation that defines the unfolding of this press in recent history. Kucinski's analysis is anchored in the understanding of the emergence of alternative communication vehicles that faced the limitations imposed by censorship and dictatorial rule in the 1960s and 1970s. From the observation of the Brazilian context of the time, Kucinski presents the conditions of existence of alternative journalistic practices, points out its protagonists and the arrangements between them and the readers, and with the civil society, political parties and popular movements.

We must emphasize that there is no *fact* or historical *event* that does not make sense (Henry, 1994), and what is needed is the interpretation, in a movement that foresees rectification and displacement in the discursive networks. Authors such as Le Goff (1992) and Certeau (1982) argue that the interpretation movement of the past is continuous and that new readings are always possible. In the process of building history, one establishes what can be understood and what must be forgotten. In this way, the historian delimits a meaning, which is backed by the institutions that rule the interpretations. Some types of production are therefore allowed to the detriment of others because of conjunctural or common issues.

Thus, when speaking of a place of researcher, Kucinski authorizes himself to narrate a recent past. His research develops throughout the years preceding the democratization of Brazil in 1985, and makes a broad retrospective of the previous period, of which he was also the protagonist. His interpretation of the period stabilizes in later academic research, defining the bases for the analysis

of contemporary alternative press. His work allows that, in the social division of the work of interpretation (Orlandi, 1998), the parameters defined by the alternative press in the 1960s and 1970s and its historical and social function, modified by the country's redemocratization, are reproduced.

The alternative press, in Kucinski's view (1991), is one that has no links with hegemonic policies. According to the author, in the history of Brazil there are three important moments for the alternative press. The first of them, still in the regulative period, was marked by the publication of irreverent and pamphleteers' satirical publications (Pasquim). Already in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, workers' and anarchist newspapers played an important role in spreading counter-hegemonic ideals. The third moment, studied more closely by Kucinski, marks the emergence of the alternative press in the midst of the Civil-Military Dictatorship (1964-1980).

For the author, the alternative press of this period is a result of the desire of the leftists to promote social transformations and the search for alternative spaces to the great press and the university. The opposition to the system, represented by the authoritarian regime, and the limitations to intellectual and journalistic production led to the articulation of journalists, intellectuals and political activists in favor of redemocratization. According to Kucinski, this alternative press disappeared with the end of the imaginary that supported it and with the redemocratization. But the political engagement that characterized alternative publications was channeled to unions and political parties hardly-fought during the dictatorship period, as well as to popular movement newspapers supported by the Catholic Church and civil society entities. Thus, it moves from the concept of alternative press to alternative communication, whose purpose is to contribute to the strengthening of popular movements impeded by redemocratization.

In the story narrated by Kucinski, we can observe the alternative press as a proposal of political opposition to a dictatorial regime, associated with the desire for social transformation – notably, the democratization. Another aspect to emphasize is the lack of relation of this press with dominant groups, placing the independence of the professionals around which the journalistic activity was organized. However, the process of democratization would correspond to the decline of the alternative press and to the loss of the autonomy of journalists, sought in this type of press. Add to this the subsequent shift of alternative production to institutions such as labor unions and other social organizations. In this interpretation, the idea of a closing period, which produces undeniable cultural marks, is strengthened, but it is diluted by changes in the social and political context. The *alternative* adjective thus becomes strongly associated with the press produced in the period of the Civil-Military Dictatorship. However,



as Casadei (2012) argues, the alternative press appears concomitantly to the hegemonic press in society and constitutes itself as parallel public sphere to give opportunity to the opinion of diverse groups.

In the interpretative line, it is also necessary to discuss the similarities and dissimilarities of the alternative press of the 1960s and 1970s with that of the periods of organization of workers and popular struggle between the late nineteenth century and early twentieth. The main enunciators of this process, which forms the basis of workers and popular foundations, are the protagonists of the struggles themselves: workers and graphic artists of different professional categories. This labor press, which was a clear alternative of power to the ruling classes, produces its place of speech through militant revolutionary action. Ferreira (1988) analyzes the production and circulation of this modality as an aspect of the struggle for emancipation. The newspapers were made by the militant workers; they themselves were the journalists, graphic artists and distributors of a press thought, made and consumed by the working class. In this historical quadrant, the worker was the intellectual, operator and activist of the whole process. The workers' press was an instrument of agitation and political organization, with opposition discourse. This period was, according to Ferreira (1988), replaced by the partisan and union press, at a time of greater institutionalization of the forms of resistance to capital.

Now, in the 1960s and 1970s, as Kucinski points out (1991), the enunciators of the alternative press are professionals in journalism who, separated from the mainstream press because of political censorship, create journalistic tools proposed as alternatives to large newspapers and journals aligned with the Civil-Military Dictatorship. They are professionals who try to carry out a democratic and opposition journalism, seeking alternatives for their professional practice. In this historical period, however, along with this alternative press produced by professionals, the alternative working and popular press⁸, whose role continued to be to propagate revolutionary ideas, still existed, even clandestinely.

⁸The alternative working and popular press is not the object of study of the works that served as basis for this research.

Only one work is devoted to the study of union journalism, inserting it in the spectrum of alternative communication, which leads us to suppose that there is a lack of recent studies that relate the alternative press to workers' and workers' union communication, in the manner of Giannotti and Santiago (1997). Berger (1995) reminds us that the labor and trade union press were the first objects of study of alternative and popular communication in Brazil and, progressively, the attention of the researchers turned to the alternative press of the Civil-Military Dictatorship period, as an example of the studies of Kucinski (1991).

TOWARDS THE POPULAR

Another reference for alternative communication studies is Regina Festa (1986). If in Kucinski (1991) the role of the alternative press is recognized as propelling of the creation of an opposition imaginary to the Civil-Military Dictatorship, Festa's interpretation seeks to amplify this conception. The author turns to other forms of alternative communication, considering them as those configured as an option to hegemonic models, also present in the communication of social movements. She also establishes a periodization of Brazilian social life.

Between 1968 and 1978, years delimiting the period of AI-5 (Institutional Act No. 5) and political openness, there is a communication of resistance, marked by denunciation by the oppositions. From 1978 to 1982, with the elections for state government and the softening of political restraints, social concerns emerge and the decline of the so-called alternative press, also addressed by Kucinski, occurs. The years 1982 and 1983 correspond to an intense economic and social crisis and the inability of the opposition forces to articulate proposals to solve them. In this way, popular and alternative communication, taken as a whole, turns itself more to specific causes.

Unlike Kucinski, Festa affirms that the alternative press in the period after the dictatorship did not disappear, but only changed its social place. According to the author, social, popular and community movements maintain alternative journalism, with a model of communication that has as characteristic the collaboration with processes of change of the social reality.

To corroborate Festa's studies, it should be noted that in the period of redemocratization in Brazil, and also in the years immediately afterwards, newspapers, newsletters and labor union leaflets total 7 million copies weekly in Brazil, with more than 1 million in São Paulo (Giannotti, Santiago, 1997: 31-32). This press, produced by trade unionists, journalists or trade union activists, has a speech that denounces the living conditions and wages of workers and has demands and ways of struggle against exploitation. In this period, the movement of free radios (pirate radios, for the government), that demand a free spectrum for their transmissions, most of them linked to communitarian movements, is relevant. One can thus affirm that the period of redemocratization in Brazil is rich by the exchange of experiences between militant journalists, workers and trade unionists. The unions undergo a major renovation, part of it due to the deep symbiosis between these three profiles. The trade union press, as emphasized by Giannotti and Santiago (1997), will benefit from this experience. For example, the newspaper *Tribuna Metalúrgica*⁹, of the Metal workers' Union of ABC, in Metropolitan Area of São Paulo, was one of the protagonists of this renovating movement.

The alternative communication, in Grinberg's view (1987), which places its reflection in the Latin American context, would be a search of civil society for interdicted spaces of manifestation and expression. In this sense, this communication constitutes an "antidote to the monopoly of the word by those who benefit from political and economic power" (Ibid.: 18). For the author, it is the prerogative of alternative communication to seek breaking with the discursive monopolies present in society and to construct other channels to express a discourse on the margins of mass communication. In its

⁹In July 1971, the Union launched the *Tribuna Metalúrgica*. In the early years the newspaper circulated once a month with eight pages. In some periods, it was weekly, and in others it had no defined periodicity. During some strikes, it circulated almost clandestinely. The *Tribuna Metalúrgica* was published in these formats until 1986, when it became a daily newspaper.



conception, communication should not be reduced to the media. This concept encompasses the media as instruments of power. Other aspects highlighted by Grinberg, such as ownership and control, content, relation to power and the purpose of modifying reality should be considered to characterize alternative communication experiences. In short, they must contain a questioning of the status quo (Ibid.: 24).

Note that Festa and Grinberg do not exclusively analyze the press and journalists, which were extensively studied by Kucinski (1991). In the Brazilian context, the look at the dictatorial period from the 1960s to the 1980s stabilizes as a starting point for later reflections. However, the dimension of social and popular aspects presents itself more prominently as a guiding thread for the understanding of social movements and the need for social transformations that go through redemocratization, but also for overcoming serious problems experienced by Brazilian society.

ALTERNATIVE, POPULAR AND COMMUNITY

Another important reference in the studies on alternative, popular and community journalism is Cicília Peruzzo (2009), who seeks to delimit concepts and advance in the understanding of alternative communication, especially from its popular and community perspectives, configured as spaces for social and political struggles in a scenario of democratic construction. In the author's works, a displacement of the approach related to the alternative press is promoted, which in her vision fulfills a historical and delimited role to the period of the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Her observation is directed toward other forms of communication linked to the popular classes.

Its theoretical proposal synthesizes the alternative and the popular, linking them conceptually and in social praxis. Peruzzo develops the thesis that the alternative communication, from its manifestation in the context of the military regime in Brazil, in the last half of the twentieth century, is confused with the popular communication. The author also seeks to answer possible doubts about the rigid delimitations between popular, community and alternative communication.

Conceptually, as Peruzzo recognizes, popular, alternative, community and/or radical communication are confused. This is because in many moments of practice, the objectives, the processes developed and the strategy are the same or at least similar. In the course of the democratization of the country, some of these denominations were configured with more specific profiles. The altered historical context, in which the struggle flags broaden

and there is no longer the explicit character of political opposition against the dictatorship, which united the left, opens space for the redefinition of alternative communication.

In Peruzzo's view, the alternative communication is an option of expression to the mainstream media, be it commercial or public, of conservative tendency. In order to characterize these initiatives, one must consider aspects such as the political-ideological direction, strategies of production and action. In general terms, the prevailing idea is that alternative communication is a counter-communication. However, this counter-communication integrates the popular movements with the purpose of social transformation. In addition, alternative communication is free, unrelated to conservative governments, companies or political ideologies, representing the contentious and expressive character of popular sectors in the struggle to overcome social and economic needs derived from social inequality.

Peruzzo's researches, despite recognizing the alternative press as a possibility of communication, establish two distinct analysis and denomination lines: popular, alternative and communitarian communication and alternative press. For the author, the alternative press gathers publications of varied scope, committed to social causes, but the direct link with these causes is not always necessary. In this group, there can be included diverse manifestations of political-partisan and unionist order and newspapers with differentiated approaches in relation to the great commercial media. This classification may still include categories such as popular, alternative, collaborative, and autonomous journalism. Note that alternative journalism may not be directly related to the causes, fulfilling an instrumental role. This is how Peruzzo (2009: 136) defines the current alternative press, in which the meanings between journalism and alternative press are associated:

The current alternative press encompasses alternative journalism practiced in the context of popular movements, in accordance with what we referred to in the previous item; the "popular" press (Festa, 1986) linked to organisms committed to social causes, but with publications of a more elaborate size and with larger print runs; the political-partisan press; the combative trade union press and the alternative journal (Chinem, 1995, Kucinski, 1991, Intervozes, 2006, Festa, 1986) itself, characterized as general information, like diaries, weekly or monthly publications, but with a critical approach.

According to Peruzzo (2009: 140), communitary, alternative popular communication is divided into popular and communitary communication,

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produced by the community or social movement, and alternative popular communication, in which the communicational processes are not exclusive responsibility of the communities or social movements. It can be seen that, for Peruzzo (2013), the term alternative press is tributary of the Civil-Military Dictatorship period and has been reborn in the last decades, given the technological expansion of the internet. However, the combative nature of these publications is altered regarding the political-economic model, but they continue to define themselves as independent of governments because they have a differentiated performance in relation to the large commercial media. Its ideological adhesion is therefore opposed to the interests of ruling classes, seeking freedom of expression and stimulating public debate.

ALTERNATIVE RADICAL MEDIA

The radical alternative media concept refers directly to the work of the researcher John Downing (2002). This concept, in spite of having affinities with what has historically been worked by the Brazilian authors, detaches itself from the contextual and historical analysis made by them. Downing's conception is quite broad and encompasses varied communication media, such as free radios, fanzines, community TVs, *websites*, or cultural events that include graffiti, street theater, movies. In the view of the author, what defines them is its *counter-hegemonic* character, term developed from the studies of Gramsci (2002).

In the broader spectrum established by Downing, media prepared by ethnic, community and religious groups can be included in proposals for activism aimed at breaking with established hegemony. Aside from these characteristics, alternative radical media have few material resources and are diffused on a small scale. Its objectives are to give visibility to the social demands of oppressed social sectors and to obtain support to build networks contrary to dominant public policies. Its formulation depends on the distinction between popular cultures, mass culture and oppositional cultures. For Downing (2002), mass and popular cultures are intertwined, and within them oppositional cultures can arise from the interpretation of an active audience, capable of re-elaborating messages that socially circulate, especially those of conventional media. One can not lose sight of, as the author explicitly states, that popular cultures are not always places of authentic and ethically acceptable values.

In Downing's conceptualization, it is important to understand that radical media are related to a culture of resistance. That is, popular and alternative communication plays a role of *collective intellect*, insofar as it presents other ways of explaining the facts of capitalist society to the subaltern classes, calling them

to act for emancipation. In this perspective, it is reasonable to recognize that forms of social organization are essential to oppose the ideological hegemony of the capital. Hence the need to link the concept of radical media to libertarian perspectives, such as those developed on anarchist and socialist conceptions. In short, resistance must take place in the face of multiple forms of oppression, but it requires broad social dialogue.

This conception dialogues with the alternative communication produced in Brazil by social movements opposed to capital, to the concentration of land and to the exploitation of wage labor. They are movements and parties whose programs present alternatives to the status quo and that propose a new type of political and corporate organization.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The mapping to which we initially proposed served us to identify concepts and authors in order to recover the narrativity established for the analysis of journalism and alternative communication. The study of the concepts formulated in the works of authors such as Kucinski, Festa, Grinberg, Peruzzo and Downing, the most cited in the works analyzed, led us to establish definitive positions of opinion for the researchers that investigate this issue. Except for Downing, the other authors develop their work in the Latin American context. Among the Brazilian authors, it can be seen strong relations with the recent history of the country, the expansion of communications and the political, social and economic context in which the alternative communication unfolds.

The research of Kucinski, Festa and the initial phase of Peruzzo marked the period of the Civil-Military Dictatorship between 1964 and 1985, when research in the area of communication and the sub-area of alternative communication was incited. The objects defined by these authors relate to the recent history, interpreted by them. It seeks to define the alternative communication from this historical experience. The centrality of the alternative press is assumed and, especially in Kucinski's work, it is defining. In general, the authors relate the crisis of the model of alternative journalistic production to the end of the dictatorship. The continuity of this imagery, or even later practices in the alternative press, is little explored. And the interest in an alternative communication of broader scope, related to popular communication, emerges.

This shift towards popular communication is already addressed in Kucinski's work, but it gains substance mainly in the works of Festa and Peruzzo, which deepens the view on alternative communication, establishing categories that vary according to the unfolding of social movements and of

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the technology itself. More recently, in the work of Peruzzo (2013) the interest in the alternative press in the reconfiguration propitiated by the internet and the radical media, a kind of resurgence of the alternative press in another technical matrix and another historical confluence is taken up again in the work of Peruzzo (2013).

Their discourse is fed by the perspective of understanding communication beyond the means and by integrating political proposals for social transformation. In the Brazilian case, it is linked to issues related to inequality and struggles for the creation of a more democratic and just society. As a basis for this conceptual and discursive network, it is assumed that alternative communication is by definition counter-hegemonic and allied to a broader perspective and beyond the media. This field of meanings reaffirms the tradition of social struggles in Brazil, whose protagonists – anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, communists, socialists, feminists, the Catholic Left, economist and classist unionists – list their speeches in the same interdiscursive current.

In spite of differences in the context of research, Downing's work integrates with the discursive network established in the Brazilian field, even if it detaches itself from contextual and historical analyzes that mark the research in the country. The character of resistance and social struggle advocated by the author is consistent with the Brazilian and Latin American perspective, reinforcing it and extending it to other domains of cultural manifestation. The Brazilian research on alternative communication is related to an ideological and discursive formation in opposition to perspectives that understand the communication outside its social or eminently technical context. Its anchoring in social practices allows for the construction of an equally counter-hegemonic discourse, in which the viewpoints for observation consider the hegemonic media as a parameter for an opposition to be carried out by an active audience, as in Downing's proposal. The permanence of this discourse resounds in contemporary research, as demonstrated by the works of Oliveira (2011, 2012), Haubrich (2016) and Fiorucci (2009), author who, by analyzing what he calls new alternative press, retakes the linkage of these vehicles with the ideological formations of the left in the dispute with neoliberalism and globalization and as a counterpoint to the commercial practices of traditional and hegemonic media. ■

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