Black Press and citizenship: Contents of *Correio Nagô, Mundo Negro* and *Nação Z*

Imprensa negra e cidadania: Conteúdos do Correio Nagô, Mundo Negro *e* Nação Z

■ VALMIR TEIXEIRA DE ARAUJO[a]

Universidade Metodista de São Paulo, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação Social.
São Bernardo do Campo – SP, Brazil

CICILIA MARIA KROHLING PERUZZO[b]
Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação Social.
Rio de Janeiro – RJ, Brazil

[a] Doctor in Social Communication by the Universidade Metodista de São Paulo and part of the research group Comuni (Núcleo de Estudos de Comunicação Comunitária e Local) and Nepjor (Núcleo de Pesquisa Jornalismo e Multimídia) Orcid: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-7843-3960. E-mail: valmir.ptu@gmail.com

[b] Visiting Professor of the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação Social of the Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (UERJ). Coordinates the Núcleo de Estudos de Comunicação Comunitária e Local (COMUNI). Orcid: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6384-8848. E-mail: kperuzzo@uol.com.br

ABSTRACT
This article discusses the production of the black press in Brazil, from the historical and conceptual point of view, dialoguing with the concepts of citizenship and black citizenship. To this end, a brief history of black resistance is presented, highlighting a black press and the results of a content analysis of the black websites *Nação Z, Mundo Negro* and *Correio Nagô*, aiming to ascertain their thematic trends and contributions to the expansion of black citizenship. The analyzes indicate an important contribution of the black press to the publicization of critical analyzes of black people situation in Brazil, their achievements and rights, as well as the prioritization of these favorable themes to social equality in search for the expansion of black population citizenship.
Keywords: Black press, citizenship, black, blackness, media

RESUMO
Este artigo discute a produção da imprensa negra no Brasil, do ponto de vista histórico e conceitual, dialogando com conceitos de cidadania e cidadania negra. Para tanto, apresenta-se um breve histórico da resistência negra, destacando a imprensa negra e os resultados de uma análise de conteúdo dos sites jornalísticos negros *Nação Z, Mundo Negro* e *Correio Nagô*, visando averiguar suas tendências temáticas e contribuições à ampliação da cidadania negra. As análises indicam uma importante contribuição da imprensa negra para a publicização de análises críticas sobre a situação do negro no Brasil, suas conquistas e direitos, bem como a priorização dessas temáticas favoráveis à igualdade social na busca pela ampliação da cidadania da população negra.
Palavras-chave: Imprensa negra, cidadania, negro, negritude, mídia alternativa

A

FIRST CONSIDERATIONS

REFLECTIONS AROUND ETHNICITY and race in the Brazilian context were always highlighted in the Black press, grounded on narratives featured by a Black person. Besides communicating critical news about the citizenship of Black people in Brazil, exposing the discriminatory process and the violence they are subjected to, the Black press has been trying to contribute with Blackness by validating the awareness process[1] and the debate around the matter of Black citizenship in Brazil.

As from the first Black lampoons printed in the 19th century (as *Homem de Cor* and *Brasileiro Pardo*), the Black press plays an important role in the process of Blackness, especially in regard to the production and broadcasting of content related to the daily life of Black people in Brazil – which has not always been and is not accurately portraited in the traditional means of communication. Yet another characteristic proper to the Brazilian Black newspapers is the correlation of the Black press with the civil organizations. Many of these media were created from Black organizations, which contributes for the comprehension of an approximation between Black press agendas and Black people positions from the perspective of the social movements in recognition of rights.

Considering this brief contextualization, this article aims to describe the history of the Black press in Brazil and to analyze the thematic tendencies in the content of Black informative websites, investigating their contribution for the enlargement of Black citizenship. For that, we must acknowledge that, despite the end of slavery, the culture and daily practices in all levels of society still hold discriminatory mechanisms towards this group. Thus, we will first contextualize the question of Brazilian Blackness from a historical perspective, followed by a brief debate about the concept and history of the Brazilian Black press, approaching the concepts of citizenship and Black citizenship. Finally, we will present part of the results of an analysis conducted by Araujo (2019) regarding the contents produced throughout the year of 2018 by three Black websites that contribute with the debate around the role of Black means of communication to Black citizenship, namely: *Nação Z*, *Mundo Negro,* and *Correio Nagô*.

From the concepts arising from a small bibliographic research based on a content analysis conducted according to Bardin (2016), this study elaborated a categorization that enabled a broader reading of the contents produced by the Black news websites. To identify theme priorities and allow

[1] In this work, we understand Blackness as the collective aspect of an ethnic group – afro-descendants – that seeks to raise awareness and appreciation of the culture, identity, and historical memory of Black people in the Brazilian Society.

inferences about the type of journalism and narrative senses, the most used words in these publications were quantified using the ATLAS. software. ti

BLACK RESISTANCE: FROM QUILOMBOS TO THE BLACK SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The debate about the struggle of Black people in Brazil dates back to the slavery period in the country, which took place from the mid-14th century until 1888. Ever since its institution, many actors from the Portuguese and Brazilian empires (among which the traditional means of communication) focused their efforts into naturalizing slavery based on an explicitly racist foundation about the inferiority of the African peoples and their Brazilian descendants. As stated by Moura (1977), these people had their "citizenship confiscated by the law that equaled the enslaved to a piece of furniture" (p. 10). Although often disregarded in Brazilian History books, such doing led to great resistance on the part of this group.

The forms of Black resistance to the Brazilian slavery can be divided into passive and active. Passive resistance included suicide, psychological depression (banzo), the assassination of their own children or other enslaved individuals, individual escape, collective escape, and the organization of *quilombos*. In turn, active resistance encompassed metropolitan rebellions for political power, jungle and road guerrillas, participation in anti-slavery movements, armed resistance to repressive invasions to the *quilombos*, and individual or collective violence against the landlords or overseers (Moura, 1990, p. 251).

The quilombos represent one of the most prominent symbols of the Black resistance, featuring throughout the Brazilian territory in the almost four centuries of slavery regime in Brazil. Wherever there was slavery, there was Black resistance to threaten the foundations of colonization; this revolutionary movement formed by quilombolas opposed to the slave system is commonly known as "*quilombagem*". Brazilian quilombos are an important example of communities engaged on the resistance and fight for recognition of Black people's right to freedom (Moura, 2014, p. 60).

In this scenario, the Quilombo dos Palmares is a particularly relevant quilombo not only for those who built it, but also for all resistance movements to the Brazilian slavery due to its strength and repercussion. The Palmares existed between the end of the 16th century and mid-17th century,

A

in the Serra da Barriga, present-day state of Alagoas, and resisted to the onslaught of local slaveholders and of the Portuguese state itself, which had to develop a real war strategy to defeat Zumbi dos Palmares and his men. Despite the success of the Portuguese empire in defeating the Palmares and the considerable smaller dimensions of these communities, the activity of this resistance movement increased up from the 17th century. Although many quilombos came to an end very shortly – especially those settled near productive areas, seen as a threat to the white society and to the exploration system (Carvalho, 2002, p. 48) – some communities outlasted in different parts of the country until nowadays.

The slavery system required a set of modifications in order to withstand for more than three centuries in Brazil, especially in the 19th century. Being one of the few countries in the world where slavery was still legal and experiencing growing international pressure, Brazil had to abolish the African slave trade in 1850. Later on, the Brazilian empire enacted the Law of the Free Womb of 1871, which granted freedom to all children born from enslaved women up from that date, and the Sexagenarian Law of 1885, which freed enslaved individuals over 60 years old. Although significant institutional advances, Brazil was the last country of the American continent to abolish slavery, in 1888. It took so long that, in the year of the abolition, most of the Brazilian Black population was already free (Carvalho, 2002, p. 47).

Many sectors of society participated in the abolitionist movement, including students, liberal professionals such as journalists and lawyers, and religious people. However, Moura (2014) highlights the protagonism of Black people in the enslavement resistance, stating that "the slaves fought alone in an active and radical way against the slavery institution" (p. 50). Although many Black characters played a prominent role in abolitionism, we emphasize two recurring names: Luiz Gama and José do Patrocínio. Besides activists, these actors are considered as intellectuals by Black people for their contributions as journalists and writers.

The question of race in Brazil does not frazzle with the enactment of the Lei Aurea, on May 13th, 1888. On the contrary, this historical moment outlines the need for reviewing the racial concepts in a mixed-race society such as that of Brazil. Such urge was spurred by racial theories that gained strength with the social Darwinism that featured on the European racial debate during the 19th century, as well as by studies on miscegenation that emerged right after, culminating on the ideology of racial democracy (Schwarcz, 2012).

In this scenario, the Brazilian society was divided into two poles: on one side, the intellectual *elite,* dominated by white scholars and inspired

by European and North American thinkers; and, on the other, the Black population, who continued to organize themselves for a political-discursive confront. This historical moment saw the rise of numerous organizations of the Black movement, Black newspapers, and Black thinkers who systematized knowledge around the question of race in the perspective of the Black population. Despite the lack of due recognition and social space, these productions played a key role in the construction of a critical view for part of the Brazilian Blackness, with whistleblowing and claiming actions.

The Black movement in Brazil is more solidly organized from the resentment of Black people who, despite being former slaves or born free, continued being marginalized. Besides lacking equity in the access to education, the right to vote, and constantly facing unemployment (given that available positions were often occupied by white immigrants), many Black people who migrated to the big cities were pushed to the suburbs – especially in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where the Black movement was more structured.

According to Domingues (2007), many Black people "instituted the Black racial mobilization movements in Brazil, initially creating dozens of organizations (unions, clubs, or associations) in some states of the nation" (p. 103) in an attempt to reverse marginalization. Being excluded from the traditional press, this social group developed its own means of communication, enabling the creation of dozens of Black press newspapers in the first decades of the 20th century.

The Brazilian Black movement was violently oppressed during Vargas' Estado Novo, especially after 1940, and this oppression was intensified with the military dictatorship instated after the 1964 coup. Thus, the reorganization of the social movements occurred simultaneously to structural changes in class entities, unions, student groups, and Black newspaper in the 1970s and 1980s. This Black mobilization gains a different perspective after July 7th, 1978, when a group of Black men and women organized a public act against racial violence on the stairway of the Municipal Theatre of São Paulo – especially in response to the discrimination suffered by four Black children from a volleyball team of the city of São Paulo; and to the arrest, torture, and assassination of Robison Silveira da Luz, a Black man accused of stealing fruit from a street fair (Figure 1 shows the text published in *Portal Geledés* referring to the event). This historical moment saw the creation of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (MNU; Unified Black Movement), an instrumental entity for the inclusion of the racial agenda of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution.

Figure 1

Images of *Portal Geledés*

Note. Screen print of *Portal Geledés*, 2021.

The advances in racial politics ensued after the 1980s are closely associated with the Black movement, such as the democratic signaling present in the 1988 Constitution, with propositions of affirmative politics like quotas for Black students in universities and in the public service, as well as the criminalization of racism and racial insult. From enslavement resistance to affirmative politics, all Black mobilization indicates a strong Black protagonism that is often ignored in the history of Brazil.

BLACK BRAZILIAN PRESS

Although absent from most studies on the history of the Brazilian press, the Black newspapers emerged a few years after the first newspaper in Brazil,

in the 19th century: whereas the *Correio Braziliense* was created in 1808, the first Black lampoon, *O Homem de Cor,* was created in 1833 – both in Rio de Janeiro with a time gap of only 25 years between them. Decades later, in 1876, the Black newspaper *O Homem: Realidade Constitucional* was created in Recife (PE). Worth mentioning, all these newspapers emerged before the end of slavery in Brazil, in 1888.

Moura (2014) argues that the first Black newspaper had an indisputable importance to Blackness and to Brazilian society in general, for it demanded the incorporation of Black people into social spaces, especially working spaces. However, the author highlights that these publications were not limited to the question of slavery, as "these newspapers did not stand up to and dealt with the issues of Black slaves in their articles, claiming abolition and the end of servile work" (p. 210). Black newspapers that existed during the slavery period were produced and consumed by free Black and mixed-race people who searched for respect and better quality of life.

The abolitionist agenda was addressed by other newspapers in the 20th century that, although not considered as being part of the Black press, included Black abolitionist characters. As shown by Pinto (2010), these are the cases of Luiz Gama, in the São Paulo newspapers *A Patria* and *O Progresso*; José do Patrocínio, in *Gazeta de Notícias,* and José Ferreira de Menezes, in *Gazeta da Tarde*, both in Rio de Janeiro. The author also mentions the contribution of non-Black abolitionists such as Joaquim Nabuco, who was better accepted by the intellectual elite of the period than Black writers.

Blackness was institutionalized with the end of slavery in Brazil in 1888, with the creation of the Black movement and the expansion of Black newspapers by Black groups and organizations. In the early 20th century, these social movements start to demand changes from the Black perspective, in which scenario the Black newspapers play an important role in bringing to light race-based topics during a period of wide dissemination of the racial democracy and its belief of miscegenation as the salvation of the future of the country. According to Gomes (2012), the publications of the Black press within this period aimed to break the *racist imaginary*, having an "educative role, [which] informed and politicized Black population about their own destinies towards the construction of their integration in the society of the time" (p. 736).

As a result of the military dictatorship instituted during the 1960s and the 1970s, the operation of the Black press was strongly reduced, especially because the Black movement organizations lost their legitimacy. This period marks the beginning of a new phase in the Black press, given that many Black newspapers had to exist in hiding until the political opening, in 1985. During the period of

A

the Brazilian re-democratization, the Black press was aligned with Blackness and the demands for the inclusion of the racial theme in the 1988 Constitution. By the end of the 20th century, Black newspapers followed the press crisis and reappeared on a digital format from 2000 onwards.

From a historical perspective, the Brazilian context indicates the existence of a Black press that has offered a differentiated treatment of the racial theme within the country reality. This enables us to search for a conceptualization of the Black press throughout the Brazilian history in relation to its contributions to Blackness and to the overall society. The concepts around the Black press vary greatly according to format (alternative or commercial) and location (Brazilian or North American). Araújo (2019) argues that the Black press may be understood as "communication vehicles specialized on the theme of race, on the fight against racism, and committed to the construction of Black narratives about many topics (economy, politics, sports, culture)" (p. 213).

Many of these channels are characterized as alternative for offering an approach to the thematic of race different from that offered by the traditional press – that is, precisely for their connection with Blackness. Peruzzo (2008) argues that the definition of alternative journalism relies heavily on communication channels that offer differentiated or specialized content. For him, "what characterizes alternative journalism is the fact that it represents an option of information source, for the content it offers and for its approach" (p. 5). In this sense, a large part of the Black press is understood as being alternative due to its commitment with subjects and themes deemed as subordinate by the traditional press.

Here, we must highlight core concepts on this theme presented by different scholars. For Moura (2014), the Black press is the bearer of an "alternative language that should be considered, within the structure of expression, as part of the Brazilian culture" (p. 249). To Bastide (1983) "the Black press arises from the feeling that a Black person is not treated the same as a white person; therefore, its primary task will be an instrument of protest" (p. 34). Pinto (2010) stresses that the Black press is made of "Black newspapers, created by Black people, to Black people, addressing topics of interest for Black people" (p. 19).

These contributions enabled us to propose a conceptualization about the Black press from the conception of communication vehicles focused on producing a journalistic content in which the Black character is presented as the protagonist of the events and debates, even if this content was not directly related to the racial questions. With that, such press was concerned with the expression and the world view of Black people about many topics, contributing with Blackness visibility and with the plurality of ideas in the public debate

(Araújo, 2019). The conceptualization of the Black press is broad, plural, and goes through a stage of concreteness. Yet, we reiterate our understanding of the Black press as communication vehicles producing journalistic content featuring the Black person as the protagonist of events and debates in both racial and non-racial themes.

BLACK CITIZENSHIP: RIGHTS, DUTIES, AND PARTICIPATION

The debate about Blackness and the demands of the Black social movements are intrinsically related to the debate about citizenship. According to British sociologist Thomas Humphrey Marshall, who analyzed the development of citizenship in England from three historical moments – namely, the achievement of civil rights in the 18th century, of political rights in the 19th century, and of social rights in the 20th century – "citizenship is a status conceded to those who are members of a community" (1963, p. 76).

Liszt Vieira (2000) explains that Marshall analyzed the notion of citizenship pointing the existence of generations of rights as a means to demonstrate the evolution in the comprehension and recognition of citizenship. According to the author, rights were originally categorized into three generations. First-generation rights account for civil rights, achieved on the 18th century, and political rights, achieved in the 20th century (pp. 22-23). Second-generation rights are represented by social and economic rights achieved in the 20th century, which are related to work, health, education, unemployment benefits, retirement, etc. In turn, third-generation rights refers to collective rights also achieved in the 20th century. This generation accounts for rights granted for the human groups, ethnical collectives, nations, in their self-determination and needs, such as the right to peace and environmental protection.

Subsequent studies advance in the characterization of the status of citizenship, pointing rights related to bioethics as comprising a yet fourth generation of rights, also achieved in the 20th century. These rights imply "to stop the destruction of life and to regulate the creation of new ways of life in laboratories of genetic engineering" (Vieira, 2000, p. 23).

And what about communication? How to situate it within the context of rights generations? Communication is imbricated in all dimensions and generations aforementioned. However, as stated by Peruzzo (2013), the time has come to

> Claim that the right to communication is perceived as a specific generation of human rights, of a fifth generation: communicational rights or right to communication. Such a claim is justified based on the central role that the means of communication

and electromagnetic and digital technologies of information and communication, such as the radio, the television, informatics and the internet, have historically had on society. Legitimizing them as a specific dimension of human rights would help strengthening the struggles for democracy of communication, that is, the democratization of the power to communicate. [This process] would be an indicative to modify alterations in the law to grant subaltern classes the power to generate and enjoy the production of culture and information, and of knowledge. (p. 172)

Civil rights recognition is associated with the spirit of *individual freedom* that has been debated since the 17th century in England. According to Vieira (2000), the English society only started to recognize civil rights (that is, rights guaranteed to English citizens by law) in the 18th century, based on a liberal perspective that praises the idea of a free citizen: "the citizen is conceived, by liberal theory, as an individual endowed with freedom and responsible for the exercise of their rights. Thus, citizenship is closely related to the public image of the individual as a free citizen" (p. 38). The recognition of other rights stem from expressive social conflicts throughout history in the context of the conceptions of citizenship in the Western World.

When reflecting about the generations of rights to citizenship, we must necessarily address the pivotal role of communication and of the media in social mobilization. Social mobilization and articulation were important gears in the fight for the achievement and expansion of rights. This explains why human groups include forms of direct communication and empower means of communication within the individual-society-state communication processes, seeking for equality in the distribution of citizenship rights. Therefrom emerges the notion of rights to communication, as well as the rights of human groups, popular social movements, and non-profit civil associations to access means of communication as broadcasters.

The freedom of information and expression brought to light nowadays does not refer only to the access of the person to the information as a receptor, . . . nor to the right of expressing themselves by "any means" – which sounds vague, – but to ensure the right of the citizen and their collective organizations to access social means of communication in the condition of broadcasters – producers and diffusers – of content. Thus, it means to democratize the power to communicate. (Peruzzo, 2005, p. 28)

This brief contextualization allows us to consider citizenship as a right in construction, with the Black social movements having among their goals

the granting of these rights to many segments of the Black population that are alienated from them, specially by acting directly in the fight against prejudice and the remains of centuries of slavery. The achievement of Black citizenship necessarily advocates for the opposition to racism and slavery in many Western societies until the 19th century. During the same period, metropolises such as England and France were debating the meaning of citizenship based on the civil and even political rights of their populations – which consisted mostly of white and free people. The debate around the issue of citizenship arrived a little late in Brazil, which may have been corroborated by the fact that the country was the last to abolish slavery in the American continent.

Although influenced by the ideals of the English and French revolutions, especially in regard to its administrative process, praising the sense of freedom, the Brazilian society did not absorb equality of civil and political rights entirely. According to Guimarães (2012), "the rationalization and perception of themselves as a race functioned as a justification to guarantee the denial of these rights to citizenship and allow the continuity of slavery or servility as a mode of production and a work relation" (p. 14).

As we see it, when reproducing the word *race* and expressions such as *Black race,* the literature itself denotes the incorporation of scientific perceptions that were once dominant, but recently refuted for stablishing distinctions seen as unfounded – for there is only one race: the human race. According to the Demography and Populational Studies Laboratory (2019) of the Department of Geosciences of the Universidade de Juiz de Fora, "there is only one race, and it was born in Africa. . . . [There is no] white, black, yellow, or red. There is only one race in the face of Earth: the human race. We are all part of it" (para. 1).

In this scenario, the enslavement of Black people must be understood as an egregious affront to the idea of citizenship, especially when we consider that its basis lie on a maximal concept of inequality – for it embraces the idea that a man could *own* another man, who could be kept under this condition by an extremely violent process. According to Schwarcz (2012), "in the first place, slavery legitimated the inferiority, which from social became normal, and, while in effect, inhibited any debate about citizenship" (p. 37). The author affirms that, in contrast to the white citizen, whom in some cases had civil and political rights guaranteed, the enslaved person may be understood as a "non-citizen".

Such human condition was not automatically altered with the end of slavery and freedom achievement. When discussing the situation of Black people after the abolition, Moura (2014) affirms that the Brazilian society created mechanisms to ensure that former enslaved individuals and their descendants would not "find opportunities in the job market, in global social interaction, having

a social space where their circulation is restricted" (p. 210). According to the author, this treatment offered to the Black people is fundamental to explain their marginalization and even the adversities in terms of this people's personality.

With the abolition of slavery, you may think that Black people became *their own person;* that they acquired the right to life, to come and go, to buy things – that is, that they achieved their civil rights, according to Marshall (1963). However, a considerable amount of former enslaved individuals and their descendants experienced a completely different situation, whereby, different from the chains of past times, they started to be discriminated due to the color of their skin and their social conditions. Moreover, as a result of an eugenic process that sought to promote the miscegenation of the Brazilian population based on the European immigration, Black individuals suffered with the lack of opportunities and the state omission – legitimated into state policy (Munanga, 1999) as to guarantee their non-survival and underdeveloped social conditions.

Guimarães (2012, pp. 36-37) highlights three historical moments in the debate about Black citizenship in Brazil. The first moment comprises "the achievement of individual freedom" with the end of slavery. Although such an achievement cannot be deemed as what the author calls "active political citizenship", it represented a significant civilizing advance for Black people and for the overall society, as it puts an end to the ownership of one person over another based on skin color and social condition. The second moment accounts for the New State, in the 1930s, in which occurs the "recognition of the cultural legacy of the Black race [*sic*], brought together with the social rights of the urban worker". This movement was committed to the ideals of racial democracy, whereby citizenship is regulated from the "nationalization of the ethnic and racial cultures and the opposition to racism".

After abolition, the Black population was far from obtaining their civil rights, a fact that is reflected in the society of present days: Black and mixed-race people occupy the worst positions on any quality of life indicator; they are the greatest victims of violence; have lower wages; and occupy almost inexpressive spaces in instances of decision-making and power, the public service, private companies, or in better-paid professions. Even over 130 years after the abolition, Black people remain in the bottom of the social and economic pyramid of Brazil.

The inequalities of opportunities in education and employment and the discrimination founded on the myth of racial democracy (which persuaded mostly non-Black citizens) hampered the possibilities of debates and effective actions against racism in the Brazilian society. Thus, the Black population has fought for improving their living conditions, as the state has done very little

when it comes to actions aimed for this population. As stated by Carvalho (2002), "the Black population had to face the challenge of social ascension by itself and often had to do so by original routes, such as through sport, music, and dance" (p. 53).

In becoming a liberal republic, Brazil refused to put an end to the process of racial deformities arising from centuries of slavery, leaving Black people on a deplorable situation even after the abolition. This fact is emphasized by Guimarães (2012) by adding that "the sub-citizenship of most of the Black and mixed-race people avoided, for a long time, the consciousness of the racial roots of social hierarchy" (p. 16). For him, a *second abolition* was necessary.

Rather than that, the state implemented a policy aimed for the whitening of the population, stimulating the European immigration in the decades post abolition and resting on the racial democracy – which produces a significant ideologic effect until nowadays. This allow us to understand that not only Brazil denied Black people the social rights, but also acted against it, for it endeavored in disseminating the ideology of racial democracy, thus waiving State of any anti-racism responsibility (Almeida, 2018, p. 69).

Nearly one century after the abolition, the Black issue finally managed to reach the State scope due to the effort of this population; that is, social rights acquisition becomes a topic of debate in the social strata. As the whole society has a historical debt with Black people due to centuries of slavery and the ensuing denial of developmental opportunities, affirmative actions can be deemed as a way of guaranteeing this population' social rights. According to Guimarães (2012), the advances in the exposure of racism and racist practices were fundamental to the advancement of Black citizenship, as such process unveil specific colors, races, genders, and sexual orientations to inequalities that ought "to be fought" (p. 37).

Many Black Brazilian women and men lack citizenship because they lack civil rights. In fact, many of them lack the mere right to life, being the greatest victims of violence in the country. This population also lacks political rights, for they have no guaranteed spaces within public power instances, and social rights, for they are denied basic opportunities of education, health, dignified housing, and work. However, the present-day society already shows concerns with raising awareness about the need for a Black citizenship.

BLACK PRESS CONTENTS

To better understand the contributions of the Black press for the Black citizenship, this section will discuss the content of three contemporary

A
journalistic Black websites from different Brazilian regions, namely: *Correio Nagô* (Bahia), *Mundo Negro* (São Paulo), and *Nação Z* (Rio Grande do Sul). Aiming to correlate the Black press production with good practices of journalism, we will also approach the general aspects of the articles, as well as their authors, sources, and the journalistic genre. Finally, with the aid of content analysis, we will give some considerations about these publications and the contributions of the Black press for the quest for Black citizenship.

The channels highlighted in this work were chosen based on an exploratory study about the Brazilian black press, being identified as the oldest communication vehicles in their regions – *Mundo Negro* in the Southeast, *Correio Nagô* in the Northeast, and *Nação* Z in the South. We identified no Black newspapers in the other regions of the country. Despite producing opinionated content, such as the traditional press, these websites may be considered as journalistic for positioning themselves as intermediators and addressing the topics of Blackness and the Black movement.

Correio Nagô was the oldest Black website identified in the Northeast region, created in 2008, in Salvador – BA, and introduced as one of the communication vehicles of the Ethnic Media Institute. In turn, *Mundo Negro* is presented as one of the pioneering digital Black channels in Brazil. The website was developed in 2001, in São Paulo, and has no explicit connection to any institutions. Finally, *Nação Z* was created in 2003, in Porto Alegre – RS, including the website that served as the object of analysis of this study, as well as and a printed issue provided by the Ilu Publishing Company. All publications of the three Black websites published during 2018 were included in this research, leading to a sample of 503 articles: 210 in *Correio Nagô*, 166 in *Mundo Negro*, and 127 in *Nação Z.*

Using the ATLAS.ti software, we verified the 30 most recurrent words in these texts, excluding articles, prepositions, verbs, names of communication vehicles, and the authors. As shown in Table 1, black (3017 appearances) and women (894) were the most recurring words, followed by racism, history, fight, and human rights – which occurred more than four hundred times, highlighting the importance of themes related to Blackness for these websites. These occurrences allow us to estimate the role of the Black press in the public debate, besides backing the vision of Bastide (1983), who states that the Black newspapers tend to "value everything that is Black" (p. 146).

Table 1

Recurrent terms in the publications

Sites	Recurrent Terms
Correio Nagô	Media (495), women (469), ethnic (459), black (417), life (331), social (299), Salvador (273), fight (272), human rights (267), Rio de Janeiro (267) and Bahia (264).
Mundo Negro	Black (1455), Facebook (402), racism (237), people (232), producer (211), project (207), Twitter (179) and women (173).
Nação Z	Black (659), music (334), scene (323), Porto Alegre (314), prize (298), history (273), women (252), project (241), racism (239).
All	Black (3017), women (894), project (642), racism (631), media (538), people (538), music (537), prize (532), social (524), Rio de Janeiro (520), history (497), life (473), woman (471), ethnic (469), Facebook (440), we are (439), fight (426), human rights (418), Bahia (376), scene (361), Salvador (354), net (353), Twitter (339), national (333), theatre (331), Porto Alegre (321), community (315) and Africa (310).

Note. Elaborated by the authors.

For providing a better understanding regarding the mentioning of Black women in the news, we highlight an article published on July 10th, 2018, by *Mundo Negro*, entitled "*Corpo e ancestralidade: como construir autoestima sendo uma mulher negra de pela escura?*" (Body and Ancestry: How to Build Self Esteem Being a Dark-Skinned Black Woman? – Fonseca, 2018). The text evinces the preoccupation with the protagonism of the Black woman. Here, we should mention that the word *Black* is also used to refer to *population*, *people,* or *youth* – meanings that embrace the figure of the Black men.

The recurrence of these terms and the approach to themes revolving around the challenges lived by the Black population in Black websites points to what Guimarães (2012) defends when debating Black citizenship, stressing the importance for exposing racism and racist practices so that they could be "fought off" (p. 37). In other words, the Black press contributes to the critical exposure of racist practices from an attentive approach to citizenship rights. This is the case, for example, of the article discussing the occurrence of Black genocide primarily in the suburbs of the big cities, which has been reported by the traditional press in a biased and sensationalist way.

Other words that are rather recurrent among these articles are *project* (642), *racism* (631), *media* (538), *people* (538), *music* (537), and *prize* (532). Among these, we outline the word *racism*, which denotes the commitment of the Black press to combating racist practices and contesting the racial democracy ideology. In this regard, we may mention the article published by *Mundo Negro* on September 9th, 2019, entitled "*Racismo cotidiano leva ao estresse agudo, ansiedade e depressão*" (Daily racism leads to acute stress, anxiety and depression"

A

– Nascimento, 2018). The text discusses the existence of racism and the possible psychological impacts for the victims of this process.

By observing the set of journalistic aspects in these publications, we may rightfully infer that good journalistic practices can contribute to a quality journalism. For that, we surveyed all the publications from November 2018 (Black Awareness month) in the three websites, resulting in a sample of 49 articles: 24 of *Correio Nagô*, 19 of *Mundo Negro* and six of *Nação Z*. All articles were analyzed as to authorship, types of journalistic sources used (Lage, 2001), and diversification of journalistic genres (Marques de Melo & Assis, 2010).

As shown in Figure 2, when analyzing the authorship of the publications, we verified a considerable amount of original content produced by the sites *Correio Nagô* (46%) and *Mundo Negro* (63%). In turn, only 17% of the contents published in *Nação Z* were of their own authorship.

Figure 2

Authorship of publications
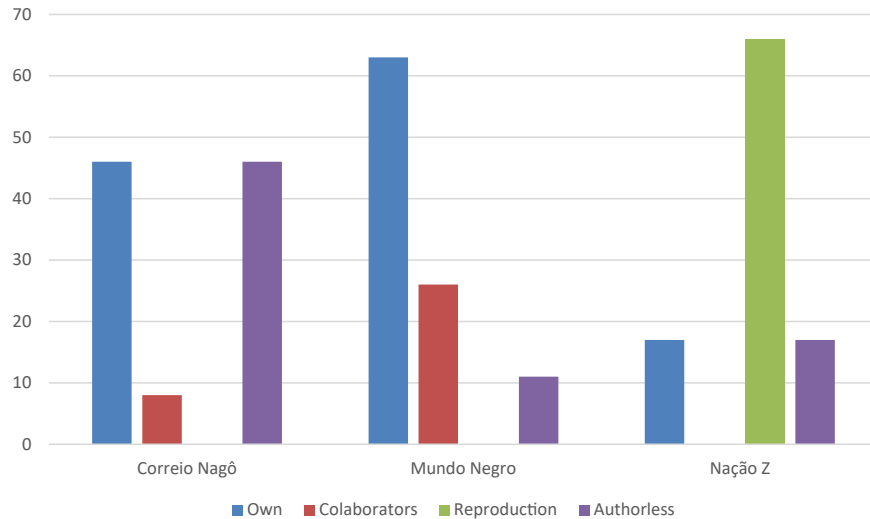
Note. Elaborated by the authors.

Articles written by collaborators represent 8% of the publications of the *Correio Nagô* and 20% of *Mundo Negro,* whereas none was registered in *Nação Z*. Many of these cases account for Black journalists who develop articles to the Black press in a collaborative way, such as Laísa Gabriela de Sousa – the author of "Com o tema 'Agbára Dúdú', MAST celebra a Consciência Negra na XXVI Semana de Gastronomia" (in English, "With the theme 'Agbára Dúdú', MAST

Celebrates Black Awareness in the 26th Astronomy Week"), an exclusive text published by *Mundo Negro* on November 13th, 2018.

The effective participation of collaborators on elaborating contents to the Black press may be associated with the characteristics of the Black channels of the past. As exposed by Bastide (1983, p. 131), the structuring of the Black press in Brazil encountered several obstacles, which lead the Black movement bodies to create many newspapers that relied on collaborative work. Our results indicate that collaboration is still an important feature of the Brazilian Black press.

We also found authorless and reproduction articles – that is, articles that were elaborated by the communication department of organs and entities and reproduced by the website, crediting the original source. Among the authorless materials, 47% pertain to the *Correio Nagô*, 11% to *Mundo Negro,* and 17% to *Nação Z*. As for reproduction articles, *Nação Z* was responsible for all materials identified in this study, corresponding to 66% of its content– a percentual considered high, which is not considered a good practice of investigative journalism.

This research also explored the types of journalistic sources used in articles based on the classification proposed by Lage (2001, p. 62), who groups journalistic sources into official (public or organizational power), unofficial (independent organizations), and specialized (people capacitated to talk about the topic). Considering our sample of 49 articles, we verified the presence of official and independent sources within the texts, as well as no sources.

Figure 3

Source of publications
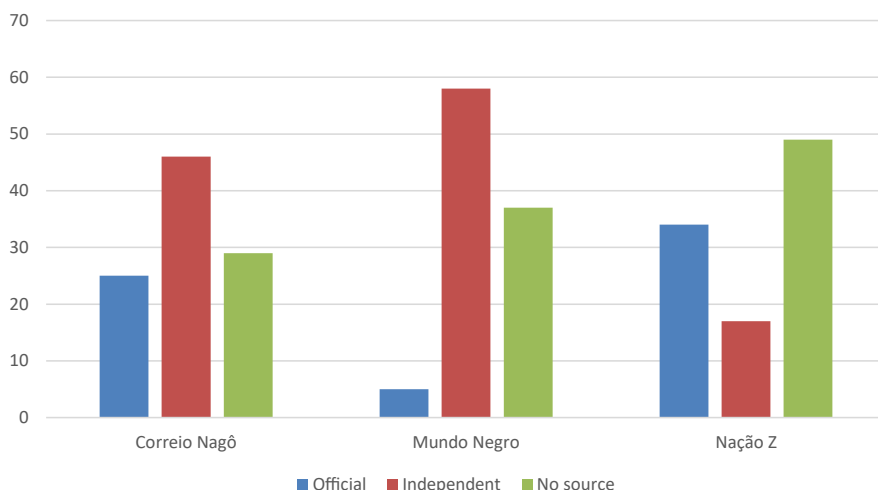
Note. Elaborated by the authors.

Figure 3 shows that independent sources were the predominant type of journalistic sources employed by our study sample, representing 46% of the publications in *Correio Nagô*, 58% in *Mundo Negro,* and 17% in *Nação Z.* Such finding points to dissonant characterizations of the Black press in constructing narratives based on characters that conform to their editorial line. A good example of such is the article "Qual a diferença entre o cinema produzido por mulheres negras no Brasil e na África?" (In English, "What is the Difference between the Cinema Produced by Black Women in Brazil and in Africa?" – Malia, 2018), published by *Correio Nagô* on November 22, 2018. The text is centered on the narrative of Brazilian and African filmmakers who are dissociated from governments or organizations but have the knowledge to talk about the topic of the article.

Contrary to the traditional press, especially when it comes to debating questions about ethics and race, the use of official sources by the Black press is not as recurrent. According to Araújo e Silva (2017, p. 13), most of the articles about the racial theme published on the websites *G1* and *R7* rely exclusively on official sources, whereas only 25% of the publications of *Correio Nagô*, 5% of *Mundo Negro,* and 34% of *Nação Z* used official sources. These findings indicate an independency on the production of these channels in relation to official organs.

In featuring Black characters, the Black press corroborates with what Ribeiro (2017) termed as "standpoint" in debates, considering that it favors groups lacking social conditions to access certain spaces. According to the author, the standpoint "is not about affirming the individual experiences, but rather about understanding how the social place occupied by certain groups restrict their opportunities" (p. 61).

Articles without an identifiable source are highly recurrent among our study sample, representing 29% of the publications in *Correio Nagô*, 37% in *Mundo Negro*, and 49% in *Nação Z* – the most prevalent category in this channel. If we consider the good practices of journalism, the expressive number of articles in these conditions can be also considered a negative indicator, given that sources can contribute to the credibility of the publications.

Marques de Melo and Assis (2010, p. 45) state that the production of jour-nalistic content is better understood by their verification and organization according to the following classes (or genres) and their respective functions: informative genre (social vigilance function), opinionated (ideas forum), inter-pretative (clearing and educational role), entertaining (distraction and leisure), and utilitarian (help on daily decision-making). Such classification enabled us to identify the informative genre as predominant among the analyzed production.

Figure 4

Genre of publications
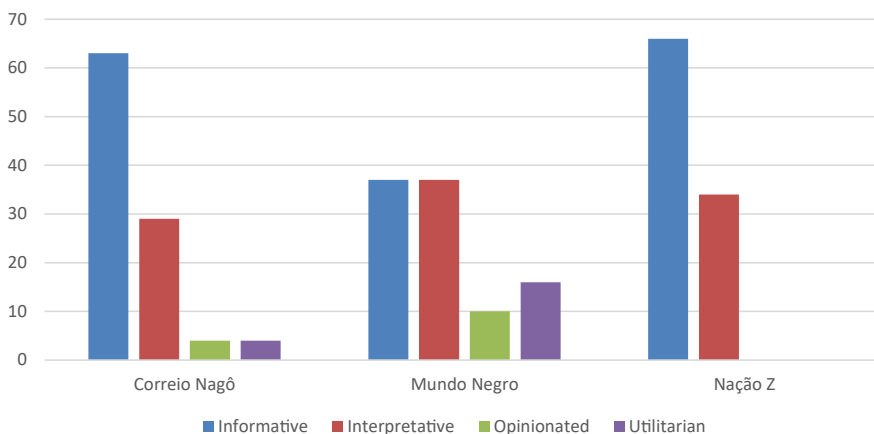
Note. Elaborated by the authors.

Figure 4 shows that informative articles represent 63% of the material published by *Correio Nagô*, 37% of that published by *Mundo Negro,* and 66% of *Nação Z*. Considering the *surveillance function* inherent to this genre (Marques de Melo & Assis, 2010, p. 49), the contents addressed in articles from this category refer to events related to Blackness – many of which are absent from the traditional press. Other journalistic genres may be more effective in contributing to a broader debate about issues associated with Blackness, which indicates a content limitation given that the informative genre is more recurring in these channels.

Interpretative texts, due to their educative and/or enlightening role (Marques de Melo & Assis, 2010, p. 49), certainly contribute to a broader debate on the question of race. As shown in Figure 3, this genre accounts for 29% of the articles published by *Correio Nagô*, 37% of *Mundo Negro*, and 24% of *Nação Z*. Except for *Mundo Negro*, where the percentual related to interpretative genre was the same as that of the informative genre, articles from this category were less expressive in the Black press. The role of the Black press in discussing racial themes may be exemplified by the article "CONSCIÊNCIA NEGRA: Jovens falam sobre identidade, racismo e resistências" (In English, "BLACK AWARENESS: Youth Speak about Identity, Racism and Resistance" – Ricardo, 2018), published by *Correio Nagô* on November 16th. The text discusses racism from the perspective of young black people, especially Black women, highlighting their life and experiences.

Articles from the opinionated and utilitarian genres were rather uncommon, occurring only in *Correio Nagô* and *Mundo Negro*. The opinionated category,

in which we identified important reflections, especially regarding the racial theme, comprised 4% of the material published in *Correio Nagô* and 18% in *Mundo Negro*.

The journalistic aspects analyzed in this study allow us to consider the different stages of good journalistic practices in the Black press. By resorting more to the collaborative journalism than *Nação Z*, *Correio Nagô* and *Mundo Negro* managed to produce an expressive amount of articles using independent sources and compatible to the interpretative genre – thus enabling the production of more relevant texts in the proposed debates on Blackness. Our results indicate that, despite the highlighted advances, the Black press can still improve its good journalistic practices, offering articles that are more attractive and of better quality for the readers. Moreover, the narrative presented by the Black press fulfils the important role of featuring the Black person, emphasizing topics related to Blackness and the Black protagonist.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The considerations about the meanings of Black resistance (from slavery to the post-abolition period, until the present days), the importance of the Black movement and the Black press, and the debate on Black citizenship enabled us to investigate the contents published by Black websites from a perspective that highlighted a journalistic production featuring a narrative of Black protagonism. By observing the contents produced by the websites *Correio Nagô*, *Mundo Negro,* and *Nação Z,* we identified a set of recurrent words that pointed to the racial theme, such as *black* and *black women,* reinforcing the characterization of the Black press as the bearer of a language of Black people's expression.

Our analysis also indicated the importance of collaboration on content production, as well as the use of independent journalistic sources and of interpretative articles. In this sense, this study stresses the key role of the Black press in proposing journalistic narratives from the perspective of Blackness, underlining the proactive protagonist of the Black people in the thematic approached and in the sources and genres employed, contributing to expansion of Black citizenship in the Brazilian reality.

REFERENCES

Almeida, S. (2018). *O que é racismo estrutural*. Letramento.

Araújo, V. T. (2019). *Imprensa Negra na Internet: Enquadramentos dos conteúdos pelos sites Correio Nagô, Mundo Negro e Nação* [Doctoral dissertation,

Universidade Metodista de São Paulo]. Repositório institucional da Umesp. https://bit.ly/36atzr3

Araújo, V. T., & Silva, P. S. (2017). *Violência contra o negro e o noticiário brasileiro: estudo da cobertura dos portais G1 e R7* [Presented article]. 15º Encontro Nacional de Pesquisadores em Jornalismo, São Paulo, SP, Brazil. https://bit.ly/3wYkEoG

Bardin, L. (2016). *Análise de conteúdo*. Edições 70.

Bastide, R. (1983). *Estudos afro-brasileiros*. Perspectiva.

Carvalho, J. M. (2002). *Cidadania no Brasil: O longo caminho* (3rd ed.). Civilização Brasileira.

Domingues, P. (2007). Movimento negro brasileiro: Alguns apontamentos históricos. *Tempo*, *12*(23), 100-122. https://doi.org/10.1590/S1413-77042007000200007

Fonseca, P. (2018, July 10). Corpo e ancestralidade: Como construir autoestima sendo negra de pela negra. *Mundo Negro*. https://bit.ly/3vSovlQ

Gomes, N. (2012). Movimento negro e educação: Ressignificando e politizando a raça. *Educação & Sociedade*, *33*(120), 727-744. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-73302012000300005

Guimarães, A. S. (2012). Cidadania e retóricas negras de inclusão social. *Lua Nova*, (85), 13-40. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-64452012000100002

Laboratório de Demografia e Estudos Populacionais. (2019, March 12). *Só existe uma raça e ela surgiu na África*. Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora. https://bit.ly/2SnaVce

Lage, N. (2001). *A reportagem: Teoria e técnica de entrevista e pesquisa jornalística*. Record.

Malia, A. (2018, November 22). *Qual a diferença entre o cinema produzido por mulheres negras no Brasil e na África?* Correio Nagô. https://bit.ly/3jadoC0

Marques de Melo, J., & Assis, F. (Orgs.). (2010). *Gêneros jornalísticos no Brasil*. Universidade Metodista de São Paulo.

Marshall, T. H. (1963). *Cidadania, classe social e status*. Zahar.

Moura, C. (1977). *O negro: De bom escravo a mau cidadão*. Conquista.

Moura, C. (1990). *Rebeliões da senzala*: *Quilombos, insurreições, guerrilhas*. Mercado Aberto.

Moura, C. (2014). *Dialética radical do Brasil negro* (2nd ed.). Anita.

Munanga, K. (1999). *Rediscutindo a mestiçagem no Brasil*: *Identidade nacional versus identidade negra*. Vozes.

Nascimento, S. (2018, September 9). Racismo cotidiano leva ao estresse agudo, ansiedade e depressão. *Mundo Negro*. https://bit.ly/3zQOLjA

A

Peruzzo, C. M. K. (2005). Direito à comunicação comunitária, participação popular e cidadania. *Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias de la Comunicación*, *2*(3), 18-41. https://bit.ly/2StL6Yg

Peruzzo, C. M. K. (2008). Conceitos de comunicação popular, alternativa e comunitária revistados e reelaborações no setor. *Palabra Clave*, *11*(2), 367-379. https://bit.ly/3jbQycW

Peruzzo, C. M. K. (2013) Comunicação nos movimentos sociais: o exercício de uma nova perspectiva de direitos humanos. *Contemporânea: Revista de Comunicação e Cultura*, *11*(1), 138-158. https://bit.ly/3j4bent

Pinto, A. F. M. (2010). *Imprensa negra no Brasil do século XIX*. Selo Negro.

Ribeiro, D. (2017). *O que é lugar de fala?* Letramento.

Ricardo, M. (2018, November 16). *CONSCIÊNCIA NEGRA: Jovens falam sobre identidade, racismo e resistências*. Correio Nagô. https://bit.ly/3da1UKJ

Schwarcz, L. M. (2012). *Racismo no Brasil*. PubliFolha.

Sousa, L. G. (2018, November 13). Com o tema "Agbára Dúdú", MAST celebra a Consciência Negra na XXVI Semana de Astronomia. *Mundo Negro*. https://bit.ly/3h2NUDH

Vieira, L. (2000). *Cidadania e globalização* (4th ed.). Record.