MEDIA, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

Edited by Heloisa Pait and Juliana Laet

> Sponsored by the Communication, Information Technologies and Media Sociology section of the American Sociologica Association (CITAMS)

STUDIES IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS

VOLUME 22

MEDIA, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

STUDIES IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS

Series Editors: Shelia R. Cotten, Laura Robinson and Jeremy Schulz

Volumes 8-10: Laura Robinson and Shelia R. Cotten Volume 11 Onwards: Laura Robinson, Shelia R. Cotten and Jeremy Schulz

Recent Volumes:

Volume 7:	School Shootings: Mediatized Violence in a Global Age – Edited by Glenn W. Muschert and Johanna Sumiala
Volume 8:	Communication and Information Technologies Annual: Doing and Being Digital: Mediated Childhoods – Edited by Laura Robinson, Shelia R. Cotten and Jeremy Schulz
Volume 9:	Communication and Information Technologies Annual: Politics, Participation, and Production – Edited by Laura Robinson, Shelia R. Cotten and Jeremy Schulz
Volume 10:	Communication and Information Technologies Annual: Digital Distinctions and Inequalities – Edited by Laura Robinson, Shelia R. Cotten, Jeremy Schulz, Timothy M. Hale and Apryl Williams
Volume 11:	Communication and Information Technologies Annual: [New] Media Cultures – Edited by Laura Robinson, Jeremy Schulz, Shelia R. Cotten, Timothy M. Hale, Apryl A. Williams and Joy L. Hightower
Volume 12:	Communication and Information Technologies Annual: Digital Empowerment: Opportunities and Challenges of Inclusion in Latin America and the Caribbean – Edited by Laura Robinson, Jeremy Schulz and Hopeton S. Dunn
Volume 13:	Brazil: Media from the Country of the Future – Edited by Laura Robinson, Jeremy Schulz and Apryl Williams; Guest Volume Editors: Pedro Aguiar, John Baldwin, Antonio C. La Pastina, Monica Martinez, Sonia Virgínia Moreira, Heloisa Pait and Joseph D. Straubhaar; Volume Guest Associate and Assistant Editors: Sayonara Leal and Nicole Speciale
Volume 14:	Social Movements and Media – Edited by Jennifer Earl and Deana A. Rohlinger
Volume 15:	e-Health: Current Evidence, Promises, Perils and Future Directions – Edited by Timothy M. Hale, Wen-Ying Sylvia Chou and Shelia R. Cotten; Assistant Editor: Aneka Khilnani
Volume 16:	Media and Power in International Contexts: Perspectives on Agency and Identity – Edited by Apryl Williams and Laura Robinson; Guest Editor: Ruth Tsuria; Associate Editor: Aneka Khilnani
Volume 17:	Networks, Hacking and Media – CITAMS@30: Now and Then and Tomorrow – Edited by Barry Wellman, Laura Robinson, Casey Brienza, Wenhong Chen and Shelia R. Cotten; Associate Editor: Aneka Khilnani
Volume 18:	<i>The M in CITAMS@30: Media Sociology</i> – Edited by Casey Brienza, Laura Robinson, Barry Wellman, Shelia R. Cotten and Wenhong Chen
Volume 19:	Mediated Millennials – Edited by Jeremy Schulz, Laura Robinson, Aneka Khilnani, John Baldwin, Heloisa Pait, Apryl A. Williams, Jenny Davis and Gabe Ignatow
Volume 19:	Mediated Millennials – Edited by Jeremy Schulz, Laura Robinson, Aneka Khilnani, John Baldwin, Heloisa Pait, Apryl A. Williams, Jenny Davis and Gabe Ignatow
Volume 20:	Theorizing Criminality and Policing in the Digital Media Age – Edited by Jeremy Schulz, Laura Robinson and Julie. B Wiest
Volume 21:	Mass Mediated Representations of Crime and Criminality – Edited by Jeremy Schulz, Laura Robinson and Julie. B Wiest

EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBERS

Rebecca Adams University of North Carolina Greensboro

Ron Anderson University of Minnesota

Denise Anthony University of Michigan

Alejandro Artopoulos University of San Andrés

Jason Beech University of San Andrés

Grant Blank University of Oxford

Geoffrey C. Bowker University of California, Irvine

Casey Brienza Media Sociology Preconference

Jonathan Bright University of Oxford

Manuel Castells University of Southern California

Mary Chayko Rutgers University

Wenhong Chen University of Texas at Austin

Lynn Schofield Clark University of Denver

Jenny L. Davis Australian National University

Hopeton S. Dunn University of the West Indies Jennifer Earl University of Arizona

Joshua Gamson University of San Francisco

Hernan Galperin University of Southern California

Blanca Gordo International Computer Science Institute

Tim Hale University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

David Halle University of California, Los Angeles

Caroline Haythornthwaite Syracuse University

Anne Holohan Trinity College

Heather Horst University of Sydney

Gabe Ignatow University of North Texas

Samantha Nogueira Joyce Saint Mary's College of California

Vikki Katz Rutgers University

Nalini Kotamraju Salesforce

Antonio C. La Pastina Texas A&M University Robert LaRose Michigan State University

Sayonara Leal University of Brasilia

Brian Loader University of York

Monica Martinez University of Sorocaba

Noah McClain Illinois Institute of Technology

Gustavo Mesch University of Haifa

Sonia Virgínia Moreira *Rio de Janeiro State University*

Gina Neff University of Oxford

Christena Nippert-Eng Indiana University

Hiroshi Ono Hitotsubashi University

C. J. Pascoe University of Oregon

Trevor Pinch Cornell University

Anabel Quan-Haase University of Western Ontario

Kelly Quinn University of Illinois at Chicago Violaine Roussel University of Paris

Saskia Sassen Columbia University

Sara Schoonmaker University of Redlands

Markus S. Schulz International Sociological Association

Joseph D. Straubhaar University of Texas at Austin

Mike Stern Michigan State University

Simone Tosoni Catholic University of Milan

Zeynep Tufekci University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Eduardo Villanueva Pontifical Catholic University of Peru

Keith Warner Santa Clara University

Barry Wellman Ryerson University

Jim Witte George Mason University

Simeon Yates University of Liverpool STUDIES IN MEDIA AND COMMUNICATIONS VOLUME 22

MEDIA, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY

EDITOR

HELOISA PAIT

São Paulo State University Julio de Mesquita Filho, Brazil

ASSISTANT EDITOR

JULIANA LAET Independent Scholar, Brazil

Sponsored by the Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology section of the American Sociological Association (CITAMS)



United Kingdom – North America – Japan India – Malaysia – China Emerald Publishing Limited Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2022

Editorial matter and selection @ 2022 Heloisa Pait and Juliana Laet. Published under an exclusive license by Emerald Publishing Limited. Individual chapters @ 2022 Emerald Publishing Limited.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-80043-493-6 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-80043-492-9 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-80043-494-3 (Epub)

ISSN: 2050-2060 (Series)



ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.



Certificate Number 1985 ISO 14001

EPIGRAPH

Trazendo de países distantes nossas formas de convívio, nossas instituições, nossas idéias, e timbrando em manter tudo isso em ambiente muitas vezes desfavorável e hostil, somos ainda hoje uns desterrados em nossa terra.

Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, Raízes do Brasil

We have brought our forms of association, our institutions, and our ideas from distant countries, and though we take pride in maintaining all of them in an often unfavorable and hostile environment, we remain exiles in our own land.

Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, Roots of Brazil

This page intentionally left blank

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables	xi
About the Editors	xii
About the Authors	xiii
Acknowledgments	xvii
Overlapping Communicative Meshes: Plural Perspectives on Media and Development <i>Heloisa Pait</i>	1
Chapter 1 Foreign Authors, National Bans: Books and Censorship in Brazil (1964–1985) <i>Sandra Reimão</i>	11
Chapter 2 Manufacturing the Liberal Media Model through Developmentality in Malawi Suzanne Temwa Gondwe Harris	23
Chapter 3 Toward a Framework for Studying Democratic Media Development and "Media Capture": The Iraqi Kurdistan Case	
Jeannine E. Relly, Margaret Zanger and Paola Banchero	45
Chapter 4 Regulating Unhealthy Food Advertising to Children under Neoliberalism: An Australian Perspective <i>Nipa Saha</i>	71
Chapter 5 How Russian Media Helped Develop the Authoritarian Tradition: Its Historical Legacy for Today <i>Dmitry Strovsky and Ron Schleifer</i>	<i>93</i>

Chapter 6 How to Capture the Political in Everyday	
Conversation? Focus Groups as a Method to Research	
Democratic Practices in Daily Life	
Ângela Cristina Salgueiro Marques and Luís Mauro Sá Martino	117
Index	135

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Fig. 1.1.	Diário Oficial Seção I – Parte 1 – 2 de Julho de 1970.	14
Fig. 1.2.	Page 1 from the Censorship Report on the O Relatório Hite.	15
Fig. 3.1.	Kurdistan Iraq at the Time of the Study.	52
Table 3.A1.	Typology of Media Capture.	68

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Heloisa Pait, a Fulbright alumna, wrote her doctoral dissertation at the New School for Social Research, in New York, where she analyzed how soap opera writers and viewers attempted to make mass communication a meaningful activity. She teaches Sociology at the São Paulo State University Julio de Mesquita Filho, in Brazil, and she has written on the role of the media in public dialogue and public spaces. She received the Outstanding Author Contribution in the 2018 Emerald Literati Awards for her analysis of media use in the São Paulo street protests. In her paper "Liberalism Without a Press: 18th Century Minas Geraes and the Roots of Brazilian Development" she presents the idea of a modern oral public sphere. She has also written about Brazilian Jewish culture and she is associate researcher at the Center for Jewish Studies of the University of São Paulo. She writes extensively for the general public on culture and politics. Her fiction work has appeared in American and Brazilian publications, and she edits Revista Pasmas, an online women's magazine. Her current project involves the examination of the experience of individuals who navigate between different communicative cultures.

Juliana Laet is an independent scholar examining cultural and technological aspects of social media interactions. She wrote her master's thesis at the São Paulo State University *Julio de Mesquita Filho*, examining the use of social media in the 2013 São Paulo street protests, where she developed the concept of "selvie," a collective self-portrait belonging to the public sphere. She received the Outstanding Author Contribution Award in the 2018 Emerald Literati Awards for this work. She also works on cultural production, particularly of music events discussing gender and race in jazz. She currently works on social projects with vulnerable families in the city of Florianópolis, in Southern Brazil, and in the fight against COVID-19.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Paola Banchero is Associate Professor of Journalism and Public Communications at the University of Alaska Anchorage. She has worked as a Journalist in Missouri, Kansas, Arizona, Mexico, and Alaska. She teaches Journalism and Strategic Communications courses and does research in climate change communication among other areas.

Suzanne Temwa Gondwe Harris is a Teaching Fellow in Media, Communications and International Development at the London School of Economics. She is a Researcher, Lecturer, and Founder of Changing the Face of Africa. Having spent more than 10 years working in media and human rights in Africa, Asia, and South America, her research interests are centered on coloniality, the intersections between media, race, international relations and development, decolonizing media studies, ethnic minority media, identity and representation, and critical race media literacy. Drawing from years of community-based research, she is currently investigating how the invisibilization of Blackness in Argentina is maintaining the hegemonic construction of Whiteness through media spaces.

Ângela Cristina Salgueiro Marques is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Philosophy and Humanities of the Federal University of Minas Gerais, in Brazil. Her doctoral thesis examined how impoverished and vulnerable Brazilian women reconstruct their lives based on everyday conversations, experiences, and meetings promoted in the context of the implementation of distributive social policies. Her research is supported by the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq), and she was a postdoctoral researcher at Stendhal University, Grenoble III, France. She is the Author of the books *Apelos Solidários*, with Angie Biondi; *Diálogos e Dissidências: M. Foucault e J. Rancière*, with Marco Aurélio Prado; and Ética, Midia e Comunicação and No caos da convivência, both with Luis Mauro Sá Martino. She also edited the book *Vulnerabilidades, justiça e resistências nas interações comunicativas.* Her most recent research examines the relationship between esthetics and politics, focusing on the role of media images in democratic public spheres, including everyday political conversation. She also writes books for children and young adults.

Luis Mauro Sá Martino is Full Professor at Casper Líbero College, in São Paulo, Brazil and holds a PhD in the Social Sciences from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. His research interests are digital culture, religion and communication, epistemology of communication, political conversation, and democracy. He was a visiting researcher at the University of East Anglia, UK, and his research is supported by the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). He is the Author of *Teoria da Comunicação* [Communication Theory], *Ética, Mídia e Comunicação* [Ethics, media and communication] with Angela Marques, *Teoria das Mídias Digitais* [Digital Media Theory], and *The Mediatization of Religion*, published by Routledge.

Sandra Reimão is Associate Professor at the School of Arts, Sciences and Humanities of the University of São Paulo. Her research is supported by the prestigious Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). She is the Author of *Livros e televisão: correlações* [Books and television: correlations] and *Repressão e resistência: censura a livros na ditadura militar* [Repression and resistance: book censorship during the military dictatorship]. In addition to her work on the publishing industry under past authoritarian regimes, she is examining the present far-right Brazilian government policies. She asserts that "the vehemence with which authoritarian powers try to curtail the publication and circulation of books attests to the fear that despots and tyrants have of the power of printed ideas."

Jeannine E. Relly is Professor in the School of Journalism at The University of Arizona with a courtesy appointment with the School of Government and Public Policy. She serves as Director of Global Initiatives for the Center for Border and Global Journalism and is an affiliated faculty member of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the Center for Digital Society & Data Studies and the Human Rights Practice Program. Her research focuses on global and domestic influences on journalists and news media systems, government information policy, press-state relations, and democratic institutions, including freedom of expression and access to public information in countries that often are in conflict or in political or economic transition. Three projects have focused on collective action and the influence of global networks or social movements on freedom of expression and access to public information. She also has a line of research focused on formal and informal institutions related to democratic governance, including issues related to public corruption, whistleblower protection, and disinformation. Research and outreach projects with collaborators have been conducted in the Americas, the Middle East and North Africa, and Central and South Asia. She was a research fellow with Columbia University's Tow Center for Digital Journalism in 2020. She also served as Head of the International Communication Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. Before joining the faculty, she worked for more than a dozen years as a journalist reporting in a number of American states, the Caribbean, and the Mexico-US borderlands.

Nipa Saha teaches Communicating Health and Sciences at the University of Technology Sydney (UTS). She completed her doctoral degree at the UTS School of Communication in 2019. She is a former recipient of the UTS IRS scholarship and a UTS research student fund. Previously, she held academic and research positions at Macquarie University, Sydney, and the University of Tsukuba,

Japan. Her proposed research project will investigate the recurring themes and frames found in fake news stories concerning COVID-19 on Facebook. This project will examine how people distinguish false content from real information, and review existing regulatory arrangements to tackle fake news on Facebook in Australia. Her research interests include news, advertising, communication, media regulation, history, marketing, and health.

Ron Schleifer is an Israeli expert on Information/Psychological Warfare and military-media relations. Over the course of his long career, he has been involved in both the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and the academic arena, in Israel and abroad. His primary fields of research include Information/Psychological Warfare (PSYOP), global communications, deception, cyber-warfare, military-media interface, and national security. He is a senior lecturer at the Ariel University Center's School of Communications. He continues to research the Israeli military establishment and other defense organizations through focused analysis of communications development. Working with both Israeli and foreign media outlets, he is a regular commentator on information warfare issues. In 2010, he won the Haikin Award for best book on strategy, Psychological Warfare (in Hebrew), at Haifa University. He is active in several professional societies, such as the Association for Study of Middle East and Africa (ASMEA), the Israel Studies Association, and the Israel Communication Society. In 2010, he founded the Ariel Research Center for Defense and Communication to promote original discussion on the strategic ramifications of Information/Psychological Warfare in the Israeli arena. He founded the Moldovan best book prize on defense issues in Israel. His recent book on PSYOP in the Arab-Israeli Conflict was published by Palgrave Macmilan and his forthcoming book deals with PSYOP in the age of the social media and the digital age.

Dmitry Strovsky is a Journalist and has a PhD in Political Science. For the first few years after he graduated from University he worked as a Journalist for the local newspaper in Russia and over the next 25 years as a Teacher and then Professor at the Faculty of Journalism at Ural Federal University in Ekaterinburg, Russia. He has authored and edited several books and over 150 articles in Russian and English on the historical and contemporary evolution of Russian mass media and the relationship between politics and media there. He has contributed to internationally known journals, including European Journal of Communication, Russian Journal of Communication, The Journal of the Middle East and Africa, Studies in Media and Communications, and Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs. He is also coeditor of scholarly publications in Israel, Russia, and India. He has been invited numerous times to lecture at universities in the USA, Finland, Sweden, Poland, China and the Czech Republic, and has participated in numerous international conferences and workshops. From 2012 to 2016, he took part in a large-scale research project "Media Systems in Flux: The Challenge of BRICS Countries," funded by the Academy of Finland. He is currently a research associate at Ariel University's Research Center for Defense and Communication in Israel, and also a visiting professor of the School of International Studies at Sichuan University, in Chengdu, China.

Maggy Zanger is a Journalism Trainer and Professor of practice at The University of Arizona School of Journalism and an affiliated faculty member of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, the Human Rights Practice Program, and the Center for Border and Global Journalism. Her teaching and research focus is on global journalism and the Middle East in particular, with an emphasis on Iraq, the Kurds, and conflict and crises reporting. She taught Journalism at the American University in Cairo for four years and started and grew a program to train Iraqi youth in evidence-based and ethical journalism, starting centers in Baghdad and Sulaimani, Iraq, for London-based Institute for War and Peace Reporting. As Country Director she was fully responsible for developing, organizing, and teaching short-term workshops. At The University of Arizona, she served as Project Director of a State Department funded partnership with Nangarhar University in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, to assist in developing a professional undergraduate journalism department. She has led and been involved in trainings in Turkey, India, and Dubai.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have a debt to many scholars and dear colleagues who participated in this endeavor in various capacities, offering their insights, comments, and suggestions. I thank the generosity and deep commitment to scholarship of Alexandre Gonçalves from Columbia University; Antônio Braga from the São Paulo State University *Julio de Mesquita Filho*; Cinthia Xavier, PhD, from the São Paulo State University *Julio de Mesquita Filho*; Daniel Christino from the Federal University of Goiás; David Goodman from the University of Melbourne; Juliana de Albuquerque from University College Cork; Mariana Carvalho from the Rio de Janeiro State University; Renata Nagamine from the Federal University of Bahia; Ruan Sales, MA, from the São Paulo State University *Julio de Mesquita Filho*; Simon Schwartzman from the Brazilian Academy of Sciences; and Stephanie Seul from the University of Bremen.

Laura Robinson, from Santa Clara University, who invited me to edit this volume of the Emerald series Studies in Media and Communication and with whom I collaborate in various initiatives, became, with her experience, guidance, and warmth, a true friend. I cannot thank her enough. I also thank the Emerald Publishing superb staff for their invaluable work in bringing the manuscript to press, as well as Nadine Koochou, who kindly revised the introduction to the book. My participation in the International Communication Association annual meetings have been invaluable in giving me a broad perspective of global communicative experiences, particularly the scholarly profound and personally welcoming History Division, to whose organizers I wish to thank. I also thank the Communication, Information Technologies, and Media Sociology section (CITAMS) of the American Sociological Association. In Brazil, I would like to thank my colleagues Fabiana Vitta and Claudia Mosca from the São Paulo State University Julio de Mesquita Filho for reminding me of the true value of scholarship and research when it was institutionally most needed.

I also wish to thank my family for their support, encouragement, and intellectual exchange, my brother Felipe Pait, my sister-in-law Susanna Stern, as well as my beloved nieces Rosa Stern Pait and Hannah Stern Pait, whom I already see as colleagues in the difficult task of interpreting the world. The idea for this research angle started in 2017, when I took my cousins Mick Stern and Naomi Rosenblau on a trip to the historic towns of Minas Gerais. My efforts to explain Brazil to this curious pair of travelers, who posed to me the most basic and excruciatingly difficult questions, resulted in the chapter "Liberalism Without a Press: 18th Century Minas Geraes and the Roots of Brazilian Development," previously published in this very same series, which was the seed of the present volume. I cannot thank Mick and Naomi enough for teaching me so much about the arts, about life, and about friendship.

Heloisa Pait São Paulo, Brazil May, 2021