TECNOLOGIAS E ESTÉTICAS DA COMUNICAÇÃO NO BRASIL

MARCELO PEREIRA DA SILVA
(ORGANIZADOR)

Atena Editora
Ano 2020

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APRESENTAÇÃO

As tecnologias e técnicas ligadas à informação e à comunicação inauguraram mundos, linguagens e suportes nunca antes vistos na história da humanidade: Pela quantidade de dados e conexões produzidos e disseminados nas/pelas redes/mídias digitais, mas, sobretudo, pelas oportunidades decorrentes deste complexo universo. Oportunidades investidas de desafios: o sociotecnicismo abriu as portas de uma galáxia pletórica de ambivalências: a estética suplanta a ética e hipervaloriza a cosmética.

No interior desta realidade, pensar a comunicação mediada pelas tecnologias e suas estéticas torna-se fundamental para avançar o debate acerca das possibilidades que esse cenário fomenta, colocando na ribalta questões como: diálogo, interculturalidade, crises migratórias, jornalismo, redes da Internet, dialogia, dignidade humana e fenômenos emocionais, questões sobre as quais pesquisadores do Brasil e de outros países jogaram luz nesta obra, composta de 8 artigos de elevado valor para a compreensão das aporias e dilemas da sociedade contemporânea.

Intitulado “Tecnologias e estéticas da comunicação no Brasil”, este e-book coloca em relevo o lugar ocupado pelas linguagens, sujeitos, materialidades, partilhas, conversações, etc. no bojo dos processos frenéticos de midiatização, abarcando fenômenos sociais que envolvem dimensões comunicativas, estéticas, estratégicas, educativas, éticas, sociais, culturais e identitárias ligadas à estetização e à tecnologização do mundo.

MARCELO PEREIRA DA SILVA

SUMÁRIO

CAPÍTULO 1 1

COMUNICACIÓN COMO DIÁLOGO E INTERCULTURALIDAD

Irving Samadhi Aguilar Rocha

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015041

CAPÍTULO 2 14

O LUGAR DAS RELAÇÕES PÚBLICAS NOS ESTUDOS CONTEMPORÂNEOS DA COMUNICAÇÃO: REVISÃO LITERÁRIA DO CENÁRIO PAULISTA (2008-2012)

Jéssica de Cássia Rossi
Marcelo Pereira da Silva

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015042

CAPÍTULO 3 29

MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MIGRATORY CRISIS IN SWEDEN: A REVEALING OF THE GROWING POLARIZATION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL MEDIA AND ANTISYSTEM MEDIA?

Renaud de la Brosse
Gabriella Thinsz

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015043

CAPÍTULO 4 40

JORNALISMO E ENTRETENIMENTO NAS REDES SOCIAIS NA INTERNET: UMA UNIÃO POSSÍVEL?

Pedro Augusto FARNESE de Lima

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015044

CAPÍTULO 5 54

EAM – ESPELHO DE AVALIAÇÃO DE MARCAS: DESENVOLVIMENTO DE METODOLOGIA PARA A LINHA DE BRANDING – ANÁLISE DE MARCA DO PROJETO DE GRADUAÇÃO UNICURITIBA

Fabiano Christian Pucci do Nascimento
Mariana Santos Chaves

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015045

CAPÍTULO 6 68

DIALOGIA COMO RESTAURADORA DA DIGNIDADE

Hanna Suanne de Oliveira Silva

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015046

CAPÍTULO 7 78

OS FENÔMENOS EMOCIONAIS ENVOLVIDOS NO ENSINO/APRENDIZAGEM DE UMA LÍNGUA ESTRANGEIRA DIANTE DE TAREFAS COMUNICATIVAS

Jhuly Nolasco Madruga

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015047

CAPÍTULO 8 83

SUSTENTABILIDADE EMPRESARIAL SOB AS LENTES DA PROPAGANDA INSTITUCIONAL: ANÁLISE DA CONSTRUÇÃO DISCURSIVA EM PEÇAS PUBLICITÁRIAS

Marta Cardoso de Andrade

DOI 10.22533/at.ed.1002015048

SOBRE O ORGANIZADOR.....95

ÍNDICE REMISSO.....96

CAPÍTULO 3

MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE MIGRATORY CRISIS IN SWEDEN: A REVEALING OF THE GROWING POLARIZATION BETWEEN TRADITIONAL MEDIA AND ANTISYSTEM MEDIA?

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Renaud de la Brosse
Linnaeus University (Kalmar, Sweden), Department for Media and Journalism (MJ)
Renaud.delabrosse@lnu.se
ORCID: 0000-0003-1243-9590

Gabriella Thinsz
UR - Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company (Stockholm, Sweden)
Gabriella.Thinsz@ur.se

RESUMO: 2015 became a dramatic year for both Europe and Sweden. The war that staggered in Syria and the in the Middle East caused people to flee in unimaginable amounts. For Sweden, which traditionally has a generous asylum policy, and in front of the refugee stream, was ready to increase its refugee quota, this year would change both the political climate and the media landscape. In a short period of time, opinion swung from an extreme to another, and the political rhetoric changed. In this presentation, on the one hand, we want to describe what actually happened; who were the players in the media arena, what actual events led Sweden to go from a relatively strong consensus on an open reception of refugees to closed borders? We also want to explore the role of alternative media (anti-system media) in this spell and how traditional media where obliged to relate to the proactivity and the impact of alternative media.

KEYWORDS: online media, antisystem media, public service media, migratory crisis, democratic mission

1 I INTRODUÇÃO

In Sweden, traditional media are losing ground as “antisystem media” emerge and largely affect the political sphere. Their publicly claimed goal is to discredit established media and disseminate alternative descriptions of reality. The migratory crisis that Europe has faced over the last four years has constituted a breeding ground for an acerbic confrontation between traditional media and antisystem media. In 2015, Sweden was the European country that has hosted the largest number of refugees in proportion to its population (163.000). In this context, there has been a fierce battle between different ways of

describing and explaining reality. On the one hand, the traditional media – and the audiovisual public service in particular – emphasize the duty of asylum and relief, when the antisystem media denounce an invasion, and a cultural and civilizational threat. Traditional media are accused of deliberately concealing information that does not fit the "politically correct" agenda of journalistic and political elites. The Swedish media landscape brings together a public service sector (TT – *Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå*/ Swedens news agency, the Swedish television/*SVT*, the Swedish public radio/*SR*, and the Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company/*UR*) and a private sector made of: one commercial broadcasting channel (TV4), morning newspapers (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet*), local newspapers (*Barometern*, *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, *Norrköpings Tidningar*, *Helsingborgs Dagblad*, etc.), and two tabloids (*Aftonbladet* and *Expressen*). The question is whether to know if these new "antisystem media" affect public discourse at the general level – by taking this migratory crisis as a revealing analysis of a more general trend. Authors's aim is thus to study how the Swedish audiovisual public service, in view of its democratic missions (including the fight against ethnic stereotypes), tries to respond to the attacks which it is itself the victim of, because of its allegedly "biased" and "dishonest" coverage of this unprecedented influx of refugees.

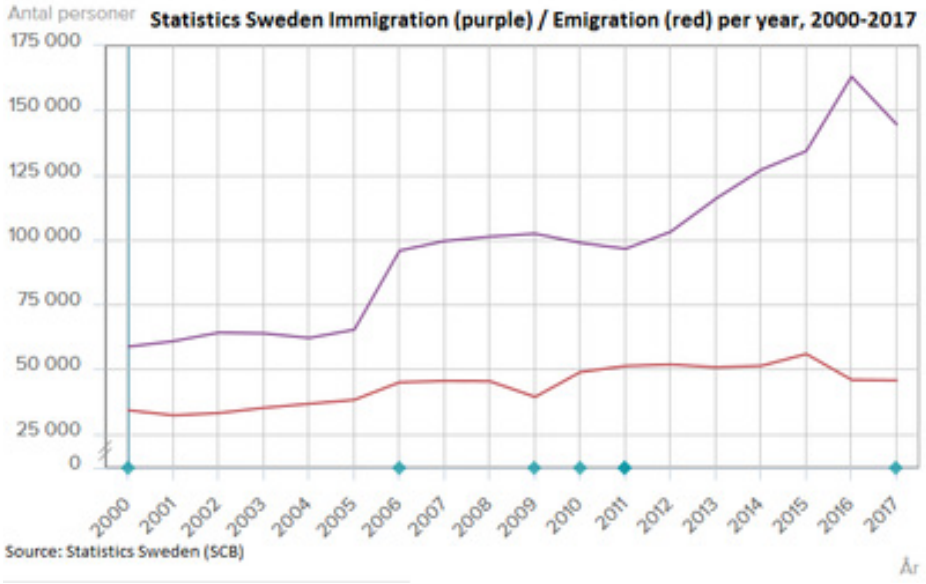
2 I THE 2015 MIGRATORY CRISIS IN SWEDEN: FACTS AND FIGURES

When it comes to the context of 2015/2016 and Sweden's policy towards migrants and asylum seekers one has to remind some key figures. Big by its size, Sweden can be considered as a relatively small country if one considers its numbers of inhabitants. Population is around 10 millions inhabitants, among which 85% live in big cities (as Stockholm, Malmö or Göteborg). The composition of the population itself has in the past decades evolved markedly by the rise of multiculturalism, which is explained by a net surplus of immigrants (in red in the table below) compared to the number of emigrants (in blue in the table) since the 1940s.

Graphic 1: Immigration & emigration in Sweden for 150 years

Source: Statistics Sweden (2008). Sweden's population development 1750-2007.www.scb.se

Since the years 2000 saw the trend accelerate.



Graphic 2: Immigration & Emigration per year in Sweden between 2000 and 2007

Source:https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:Statistics_Sweden_(SCB)_annual_Immigration_and_Emigration_2000-2017.png

From this point of view, one can state that Sweden has become a multi-cultural country: nowadays 24% of the population is born in a foreign country or have both parents from a foreign country. In its predictions of arrival of new migrants for the year 2015, the Swedish Migration Agency expected in January a maximum of 90,000 refugees. Later on, in July, it finally estimated that the total number of asylum seekers

should be less than expected at the beginning of the year, and the prognosis is then reduced to 74,000 in total. But in August 2015, because of the international geopolitical context in general and the consequences of the war in Syria in particular, a drastic change occurs. The first week of that month, not less than 2762 people, including 712 minors, arrive in Sweden. The month of October will be the most dramatic, with the arrival of 8900 newcomers each week, including 2200 unaccompanied children. All in all, Sweden within a few months has witnessed the arrival of tens of thousands of refugees, mainly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan (see figures by nationality in the table below).

	Asylseekers					
	Women	**Man**	**Total**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Total**
Totalt	**48 149**	**114 728**	**162 877**	**2 847**	**32 522**	**35 369**
Syrien	18 344	32 994	51 338	645	3 132	3 777
Afghanistan	7 313	34 251	41 564	674	22 806	23 480
Irak	5 706	15 152	20 858	134	963	1 097
Stateless	3 091	4 625	7 716	144	386	530
Eritrea	2 518	4 715	7 233	455	1 484	1 939
Somalia	1 894	3 571	5 465	508	1 550	2 058
Iran	1 285	3 275	4 560	19	147	166
Albanien	826	1 789	2 615	10	198	208
Kosovo	626	1 153	1 779	5	17	22
Etiopien	474	1 242	1 716	133	758	891

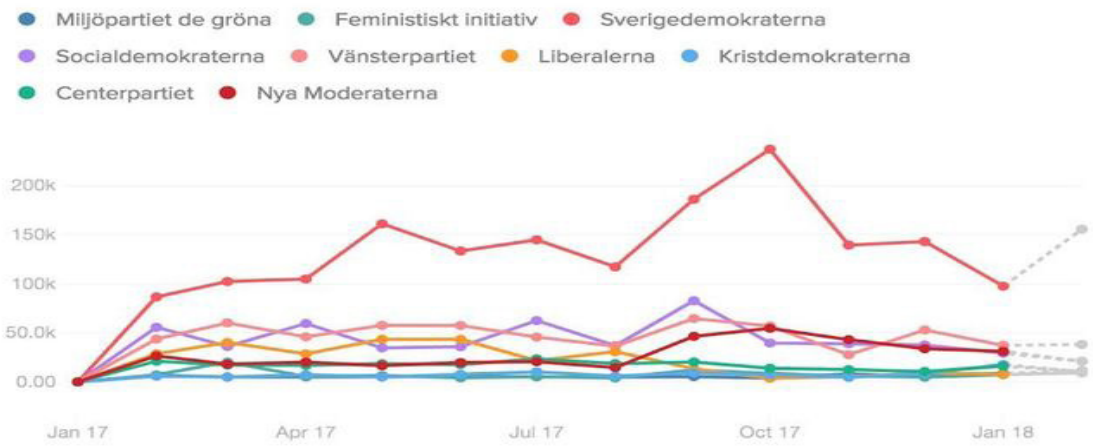
Table 1: The 10 most common citizenship among asylum seekers by 2015

Source: Statistics Sweden (https://www.scb.se)

To summarize, for the year 2015, 163 000 asylum seekers – men, women and children – will be hosted in Sweden. Among them, 35 000 unaccompanied minor children. Sweden then faces major logistical challenges, particularly in the educational field since it was necessary to create, overnight, the equivalent of 1000 new school classes. With wars in Syria and Libya, as well as unstable situations in countries like Afghanistan, Irak and Eritrea, there has been thus an acute acceleration of immigrants coming to Sweden as well as an increase of social tensions within the general public, resulting from political and practical difficulties to manage the situation.

3 I THE EDITORIAL POLICY OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA AND THEIR COVERAGE OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS: THE FACTS

In general, the media coverage of the 2015 migration crisis by traditional Swedish media will go through two distinct phases. The same holds true with regard to the attitude of public opinion to what appears first and foremost in the eyes of the citizens as a terrible human tragedy, and then to appear as a challenge that society as a whole struggle to take. Early September the widely disseminated images of the lifeless body of little Aylan Kurdi, on a beach in Turkey, coincide with a strong media and public opinion support for helping refugees fleeing the war and its atrocities. Wide public supports events are organized throughout the country, like the rally taking place at Medborgarplatsen in downtown Stockholm, September 6 2015, which gathered 15 000 people. At *Globen*, the main concert hall of the city, 60 artists participated on September 29th to a huge show of support, broadcasted live on 11 channels, reaching a million viewers, and allowing collecting 40 million Swedish kroners to help refugees. Civil society got also involved – welcoming migrants arriving in the main cities, providing judiciary advices to them, etc. Media themselves took stand for those, through positive headlines and editorials or by launching and financing a fleet of "Yellow boats" in the Mediterranean sea, in order to participate to rescue endangered people (Dahl, 2016). Putting first of all on the humanitarian imperative to help refugees, the media content will then evolve with the first difficulties encountered by the country in terms of reception and integration of these important and sudden migratory flows. The turning point is in October, when about ten thousand asylum seekers arrive each week, including many unaccompanied children. While the government then needs an additional seven billion euros for their reception, inevitably the media as a whole reflect the difficulties encountered by the unexpected arrival of such a large number of people and focus more and more on the problems, among which the lack of housing, the domestic violence, household fires deliberately provoked by extremists, the traumatized children, or the dysfunctional education (due to the necessity of creating 1000 new school classes)... The combination of all these difficulties supports the idea that the Swedish system and model might collapse (Traub, 2016). This fear is particularly emphasized by far-right political circles and the online press that is close to it. In Sweden, the Swedish Democrats is the main existing nationalist and anti-immigrant political party, generally ranked on the far right. Since the mid-1990s, the party leader has been striving to make the party more respectable, drawing inspiration from other European parties with similar political ideas, such as the National Front in France. The views of the Swedish Democrats are almost always rejected by the Swedish establishment, namely all seven other parties represented in Parliament, by the majority of newspapers, by the Swedish Church and by many university faculties. This is undoubtedly the reason why this party compensated for this lack of visibility in traditional media by an intensive use of social networks, as the table below show for the use of Facebook.



Graphic 3: the use of Facebook by Swedish political parties

Source: *Aftonbladet* (March 3, 2018)

As witnessed above, with wars in Syria and Libya and unstable situations in countries like Afghanistan, Irak and Eritrea there has been an acute acceleration of immigrants coming to Sweden as well as an increase of social tensions within the general public resulting from political and practical difficulties to manage the situation. The migration crisis of 2015 offered far-right circles an unexpected opportunity to highlight their xenophobic ideas and to exploit part of the Swedish population disoriented by so many upheavals that occurred in such a short time. The anti-system media are tirelessly denouncing the traditional media, accused of not reporting certain facts, and are particularly attacking public service media that would try to hide the truth from people, about issues of violence and insecurity caused by the arrival of foreign populations of predominantly Muslim religion. This ideological campaign by interposed online press, added to the real difficulties generated by the massive reception of refugees, will help to return the Swedish public opinion, and to bring the government to restrict the entry of newcomers by the adoption of a new law on immigration much less generous, and whose implementation will result in the drying up of migratory flows from countries whose vast majority of asylum seekers are nationals. Gradually the anti-system media managed to blunt the traditional trust placed by the Swedish people over traditional media, and even question their professionalism and honesty by suggesting that they were lying. Thus, at the time, a survey on public trust on coverage of refugee crisis by Swedish public television showed that 81% relied on the reporting. But: 57% of the respondent who relied on SVT reporting thought that media did not tell the truth about negative effects of immigration; 73% of respondent who did not rely on the reporting thought that media did not tell the truth about negative effects of immigration; 82% of the respondents who thought that media did not tell the truth about negative effects of immigration wanted to limit immigration to Sweden (Dahl, 2016). According to Arne Köning (2017), right-wing oriented online media then also pretended that there was a conspiracy among journalists not to provide critical reporting of migration, and that

there was even a myth according to which journalists had made an agreement among themselves not to do any critical reporting to it.

4 I THE FAR-RIGHT UPRISING AGAINST WHAT IS DENOUNCED AS AN INVASION: SWEDEN FACES THE SAME EVOLUTION AS THE REST OF EUROPE

The rejection of all forms of immigration has for several decades been the cement linking together the various movements of the extreme European right. It is in France that the school of thought of the "New Right" – which is the emanation of the Group of research and studies of the European civilization (GRECE), created by Alain de Besnoit in 1968 – was first developed in relation to the issue of immigration, before influencing all identarian ideas in Europe and beyond (François, 2009). This current irrigates the political discourse of the national radical right since the end of the 1960s (Taguieff, 1994). Under the guidance of Alain de Benoist, the identarian current has adopted the Gramscian strategy which focuses on the battle to lead on the cultural level. To achieve this, these currents, presenting themselves as excluded from the traditional media and stigmatized by the political elites of the government, have gradually set up their own media, outside the politico-media system prevailing until then. The aim of these anti-system (online) media here is generally speaking to redefine the posture, the worldview and the means used to make their thought known and to increase their influence beyond the radical right. From an ideological point of view, it is a matter of imposing its problems, in defense of what is presented as being "our" (European) civilization... The fact is that the rise of information and communication technologies has enabled the identarian movement to set up a communication strategy that is original and effective from a propagandist point of view (Mercier, Nobili, 2013). In Sweden, "alternative media" (which, in the Swedish context, often exclusively refers to antisystem media, critical of the immigration politics and perceived islamization), such as *Avpixlat*, *Fria Tider, Samtiden, Nyheter Idag, Realisten, Exponerat, Nya Tider* and *Dispatch International* have seen a rapid growth and have somehow become a reality that traditional political parties and mainstream media now need to take into consideration. The question is if, how and to what extent these new antisystem media affect public discourse on a general level and influence public service media in return. Their communication strategy can be summed up in: highlighting sensitive themes that are likely to generate reactions from the public; to ensure that they irrigate public debates through the alternative media allies; compensate for the weakness of human and financial resources by the systematic use of the Web. In Sweden (Lööw, 2011), as in other European countries (Iost, 2012), a new form of political activism was thus born in right-wing circles (Cahuzac, François, 2014): the political Web (Greffet, 2012) has offered them a convenient counter-power, which allowed them to get rid of traditional media, and those who animate them – it is to say the journalists. In doing so, they were able to control the message they wanted to convey, and they found an easy

and inexpensive way to disseminate it and adapt it to as many people as possible (Taguieff, 2002). Whatever the antisystem medium considered, one can find developed two particular types of themes – which are the direct emanation of the ideological background of the New Right: on the one hand, the denunciation of a racism that would be "anti-white" and "anti-national", on the other hand the denunciation of "the Islamization of Europe" (François, Schmitt, 2015). Another common feature of these antisystem media is the one that takes care to avoid any slippage of language, which is counterproductive with the objective of rallying the greatest number to the positions they defend (Cahuzac, François, 2014). It is also interesting to note that their form and appearance tends to copy that of traditional media, leading to some form of intended confusion in the minds of the public. To do this, one uses periphrases, a syntactic euphemism strategy that allows them to legitimize points of view stigmatized until now as "extremist", "racist", etc. by the relay vectors that are traditional media and political bodies in the broad sense. The strength of these antisystem online media lies in their resolutely participatory nature. The tools used, the use of interfaces offer Internet users the opportunity to contribute both in terms of content, sharing of knowledge and actions. Such a space for discussion allows flow of ideas between members, promotes discussions around themes and strategies to be adopted, favors the meetings, brings together distinct elements into a compact mass, around some affinities shared, frees and multiplies speech and exchange, or allows the coordination of joint actions. In addition to the characteristic reactivity and interactivity of the Internet, the added value would be at the level of intercreativity (Matuszak, 2003): it allows the emergence of a praxis of the contribution, which one can consider as an essential vector of identarian activism (Cahuzac, François, 2014). The ideological enterprise at work through these antisystem right-wing identarian media tends to reduce social and economic problems to cultural and even religious issues. From an intellectual point of view, it seems essential to understand and master the challenges and preconceptions they carry. In order to deconstruct the mechanism that allows them to impose their way of thinking, pretending not to be related to political issues.

5 I HARO ON THE PUBLIC SERVICE MEDIA, ACCUSED OF BEING THE HERALDS OF THE RULING ELITES

Characteristic of many movements that tend to be placed to the right of the mainstream Centre right, is this widespread skepticism towards mainstream media. The message is that mainstream media, seen as an integrated part of the political system, conceal or distort information that does not fit the "politically correct" agenda and/or that media discourse is constrained due to taboos upheld by journalists. In this regard, it is hardly surprising that it was the public service media that bore the brunt of attacks from the political-media sphere situated on the far right of the political arena. This is the strategy of these media to present alternative interpretations of political and

social events and try to influence public opinion according to an agenda that is mainly critical of immigration politics and the perception of an imminent threat of islamization of European countries. And therefore, they are in their “role” or “logic” when they stigmatize public service media, as being in their eyes nothing else than mouthpiece of ruling political and administrative authorities. Can one really give credit to the accusations of lies made against the traditional media – and those of the public service in particular – by the political and media circles of the Swedish far right? The fact is that the accusations ignore or pretend to ignore that Swedish media and journalists have ethical rules that they oblige themselves to respect and to implement. Some of them are specific to one sector/media, while others are shared by the entire corporation. The two pillars of professional journalistic ethics lie, on the one hand, in the obligation to provide accurate news, and on the second hand on the duty to respect personal integrity (Code of Ethics, 2001). From the first pillar flow the four following principles that are imposed on journalists:

1. The role played by the mass media in society and the confidence of the general public in these media call for accurate and objective news reports.

2. Be critical of news sources. Check facts as carefully as possible in the light of the circumstances even if they have been published earlier. Allow the reader/listener/viewer the possibility of distinguishing between statements of fact and comments.

3. News bills, headlines and introductory sections must be supported by the text.

4. Check the authenticity of pictures. See to it that pictures and graphical illustrations are correct and are not used in a misleading way.

From the second pillar result four other following obligations:

1. Consider carefully any publicity which could violate the privacy of individuals. Refrain from such publicity unless the public interest obviously demands public scrutiny.

2. Exercise great caution in publishing information about suicide and attempted suicide, particularly with regard to the feelings of relatives and in view of what has been said above concerning the privacy of individuals.

3. Always show the greatest possible consideration for victims of crime and accidents. Consider carefully the question whether to publish names and pictures with regard to the victims and their relatives.

4. Do not emphasize ethnic origin, gender, nationality, occupation, political affiliation, religious persuasion or sexual disposition in the case of people concerned if such particulars are not important in the specific context and demeaning.

It should also be noted that public service media have furthermore developed their own rules and policies in the newsrooms when it comes to the coverage of immigration issues (Public Service Handbok, 2014). Public service media in Sweden have strict ethical guidelines when it comes to migration and what is said and not said. As a journalist you should always ask yourself: is it relevant for the news to mention ethnicity? You should as well avoid as much as possible the use of the word “immigrant”, “born outside of Sweden”, ”foreign background”, etc. Why?

The underlying principle is here to include all Swedes and thus strengthen democratic values inherent to the society. Such principles of an ethical nature, unanimously shared by the whole journalistic community, can only come into a brutal confrontation with the ideologic discursive fund of the far-right circles. Indeed, those seek to boost, through its online media, any form of overflow or slippage committed by some to stigmatize an entire community, in this case on the basis of a shared religion. Despite sharp critics and accusations launched by far-right circles, studies have nevertheless shown that Swedish newspapers do report about immigration. Both on positive and negative aspects (Dahl, 2016). In the future, antisystem media channels will therefore need research to be analyzed in the light of their position as a perceived corrective of traditional media and of constrained public discourse. This is in line with their antisystem line of thought. The potency of these alternative media online, by no doubt lies in their participatory features.

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ÍNDICE REMISSIVO

A

Aborto 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76,77
Afetos 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77

B

Branding 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 67

C

Cenário Paulista 6, 14, 15, 24
Comunicação de massa 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26
Comunicación 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
Contemporaneidade 28, 70, 95
cultura 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 46, 48, 52, 53, 68, 82

D

Democratic mission 29, 79
Diálogo 5, 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, 64, 69, 70, 73, 75, 76, 77
Dignidade humana 5

E

Ensino-aprendizagem 82
Ensino em publicidade 54
Entretenimento 6, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52
Espelho de Avaliação 54, 61, 62, 65

H

Humor 40, 44, 53

I

Interculturalidad 6, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 13

J

Jornalismo 5, 6, 17, 20, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 49, 51, 52, 53, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77, 96

L

Língua alemã 78, 80, 81
Língua estrangeira 78, 79, 80, 81, 82
Linguagem 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 73, 76, 79, 92, 93
Livros 22, 23, 24

M

Marcas 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 71, 95
Memórias 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76
Migratory crisis 29, 30
Mulheres violentadas 68

N

Notícias 17, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 51, 74, 77

O

Outro 15, 22, 41, 44, 45, 47, 51, 59, 64, 73, 74, 75, 91

P

Paradigma 14, 15, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 69, 70, 74
Participação 19, 40, 50, 54, 57, 58, 65, 78

R

Redes sociais 6, 26, 40, 43, 45, 46, 48, 51, 53, 64, 95
Relações públicas 6, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 86, 95
Revisão literária 6, 14, 15, 23, 24
Riso 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53

S

São Paulo 14, 15, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 52, 53, 66, 67, 68, 69, 77, 93, 94

T

Tarefas Comunicativas 82
Teorias da Comunicação 14, 15, 16, 23, 27, 28, 53

U

UFPel 78, 82
Unicuritiba 55, 57, 58, 67

W

WhatsApp 47

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