

The background of the slide is a pixelated, mosaic-style representation of the Brazilian national flag, featuring green, yellow, and blue colors.

Journalism & Collective Action in Brazilian Democracy: A Positive Legacy of Authoritarian Repression

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FAPESP
Week
50 YEARS OF SCIENCE IN BRAZIL
AND CHALLENGES AHEAD

My Past Research



- Relationship between activists and media in Latin American dictatorships
- Mainstream media serve as a barometer of government tolerance for public displays of dissent
- (Some) Journalists are the canary in the coal mine
 - Activists let journalists enter the mine (challenge the regime) to see if it's *relatively*

Activists Reliance on Media



Political activists (unarmed movements)
need media & information to:

- 1) Provide motivation for protesting
- 2) Create or recognize political opportunities
- 3) Coordinate protests/generate common knowledge
- 4) Publicize protest/pressure regime

Overview



Media & Activism in Brazil's Dictatorship

- **Censorship**
 - "Self-censorship" vs. prior censorship
- **Press acquiescence & press defiance**
- **Mass opposition movements**

Media & Activism in Brazil's Democracy

- **Journalism, Corruption & Opposition**

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Rise & Fall of Fernando Collor de Mello

Media & Military Regime



- **Pre coup**
 - Elites encouraged military intervention
 - Newspaper editorials called for military intervention
- **Post coup**
 - With exception of *Correio da Manhã*, mainstream media ("grande" imprensa) endorsed military regime

Opposition Emerges



- **1968: Major opposition to military manifests in strikes and demonstrations**
 - April 1968: Strike in Contagem, MG
 - 1,200 workers \square 20,000 workers
 - June 1968: March of 100,000 in Rio de Janeiro
 - Students organized march;
 - Response to killing of Edson Luis de Lima Souto during Calabouço cafeteria protests
 - July 1968: Strike in Osasco, SP

Passeata dos Cem Mil



Government Response



- Ato Institucional No 5 (AI-5)
- “The Coup within the Coup”
 - Temporarily suspends Congress
 - Lays groundwork for prior censorship
 - Strips citizens of many political rights & civil liberties
 - Starts most repressive period of dictatorship

• **Some opposition radicalizes** □ □



JORNAL DO BRASIL

Quarta-feira
15 de Maio
1964

Governo baixa Ato Institucional e coloca Congresso em recesso por tempo ilimitado



Tempo negro. Temperatura sufocante. O ar está irrespirável. O país está sendo varrido por fortes ventos. Máx.: 38°, em Brasília. Mín.: 5°, nas Laranjeiras.

Media Censorship



- **Groundwork for prior censorship: AI-5 on December 13, 1968 and Decreto-Lei 1,077 Jan. 26, 1970**

Press Acquiescence



- **Anne-Marie Smith (1997) described the media as “quiescent.”**
 - Attributes quiescence not to support for the regime or fear of the regime, but rather to institutionalization of the mundane nature of censorship
- **Some mainstream media were complicit; others indifferent**

• **26/10/11 Rede Globo became a powerhouse**

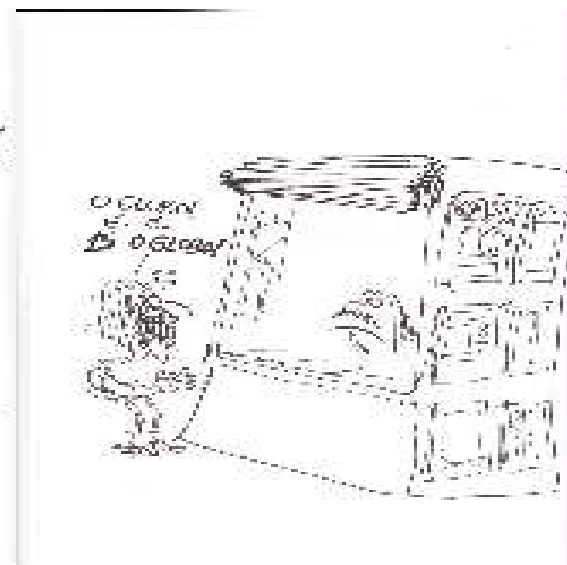
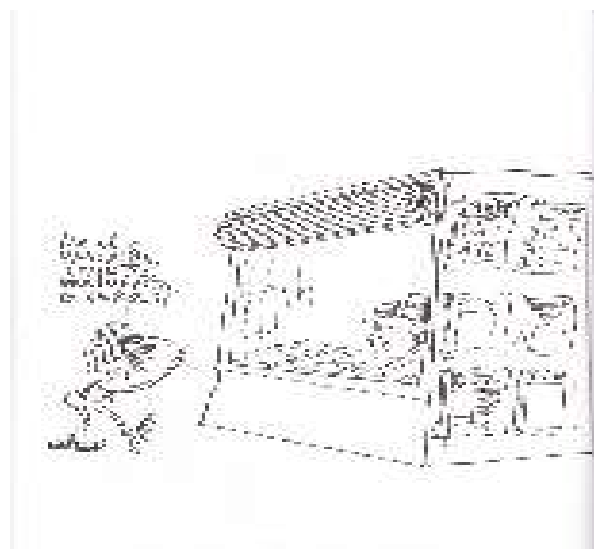
Press Defiance



- Alternative press evolved in reaction to AI-5
- Intellectuals, artists and political activists founded opposition press
 - *Pasquim*, satirical publication, est. June 1969
 - *Opinião* (1972), created by team from *Veja*
 - *Movimento* (1975), offshoot of *Opinião*

• 26/10/11 **Some mainstream publications resisted**

Ubaldo the Paranoid by Henfil



Veja and Censorship



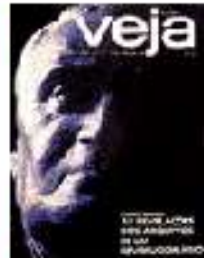
- *Veja* – founded by Editora Abril 3 months before AI-5
 - First received Telex messages & phone calls with prohibited messages
 - 2nd had censors in office; 1st military then civilian
 - Editor Mino Carta negotiated a retreat—lasted 3 issues

26/10/11 Eventually had to send material to Federal

Veja's Coverage



22/9/1971
Tamirra



5/4/1972
Castello Branco



20/8/1973
Geisel



11/1/1978
Figueiredo



1/3/1978
Anistia



13/9/1978
Abertura política



1/11/1978
Herzog



13/12/1978
AI 5



21/3/1979
Figueiredo



23/1/1974
Geisel



20/3/1974
Geisel



20/7/1977
Figueiredo



27/6/1979
Anistia



1/3/1979
Figueiredo



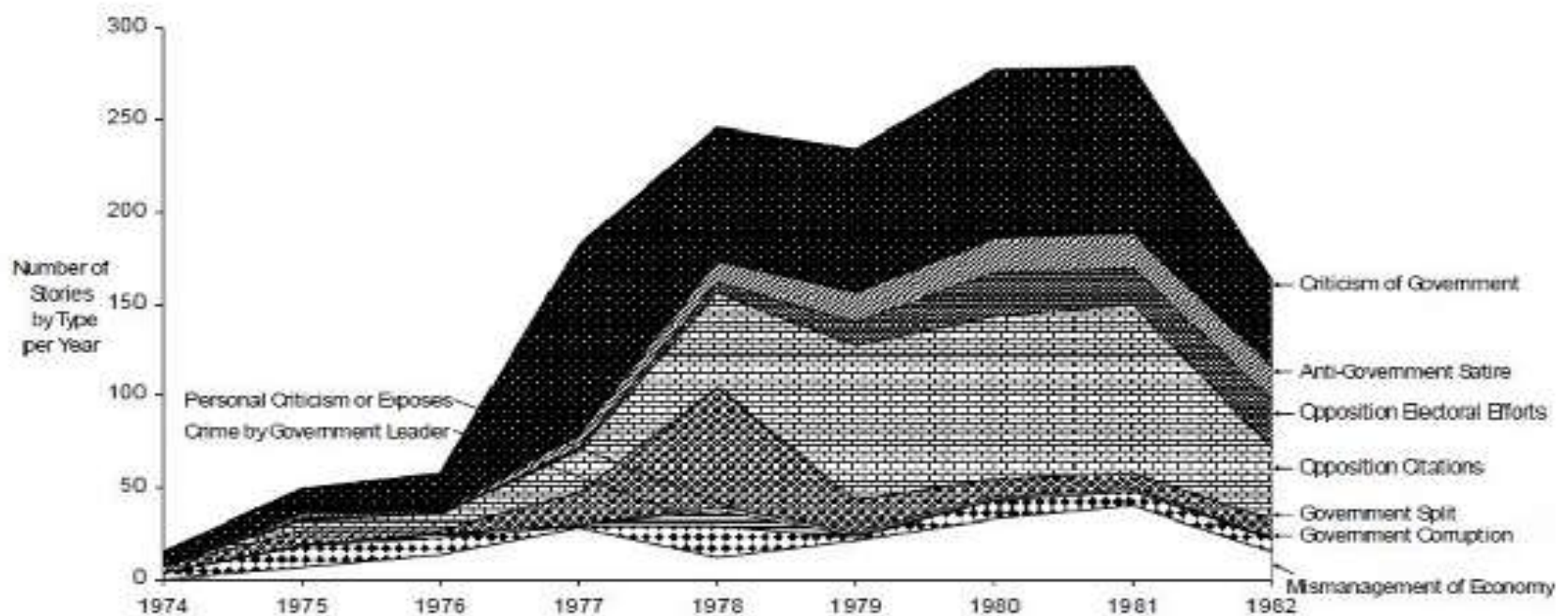
07/1/1981
Riocentro

Press Challenging Taboos



Taboo Content by Topic in Sample of Folha de São Paulo 1974-82

Figure 1. Taboo Content in *A Folha de São Paulo* by Topic from 1974-1982.

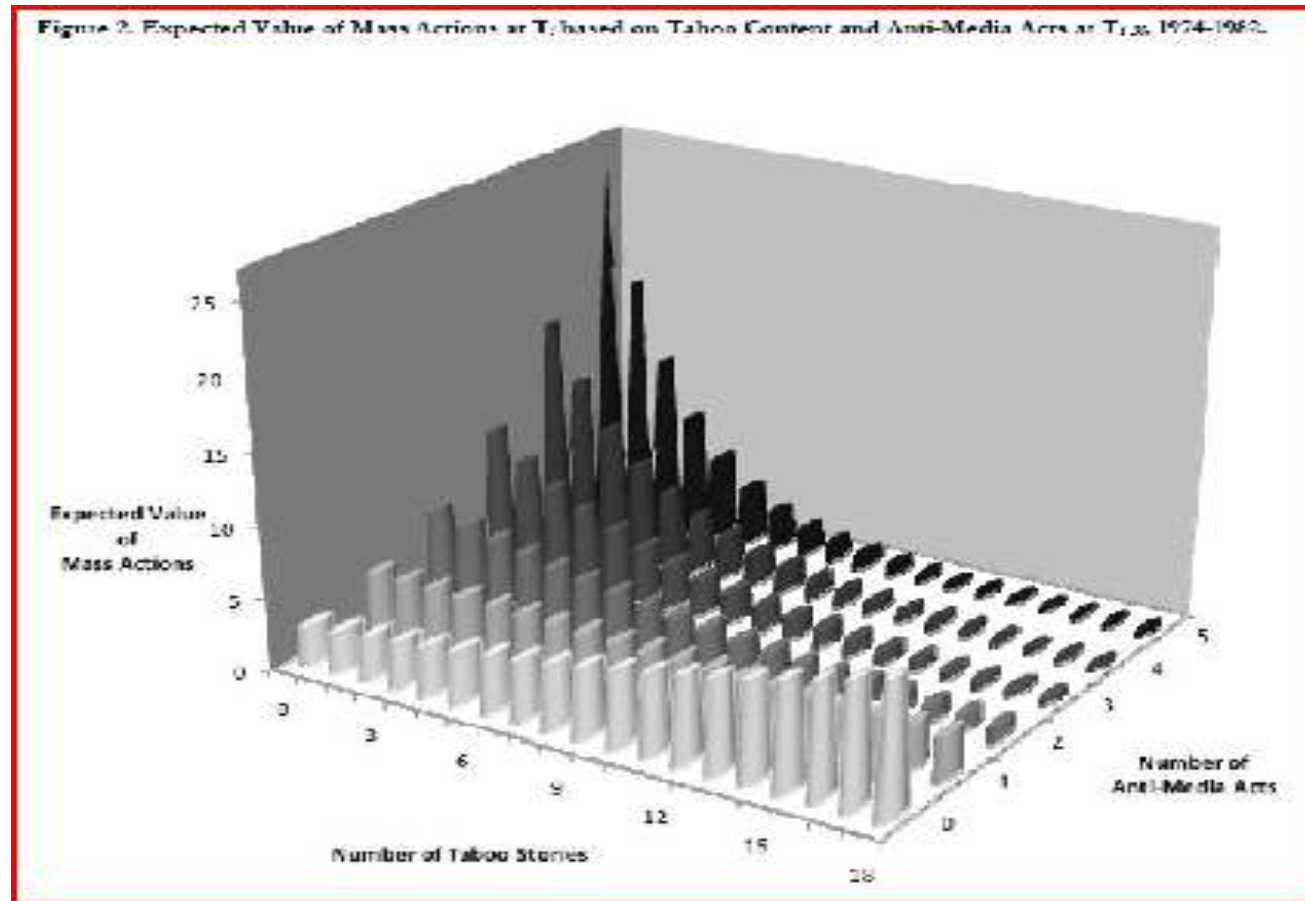


Note: This is not the total number of stories that appeared on these topics during 1974-1982, but rather the total number of stories on these topics that appeared in the sample of issues we coded.

The Canary in the Coal Mine



Expected Value of Mass Actions at Ti based on
Taboo Content and Anti-Media Acts at Ti-30, 1974-82



Diretas Já!



Journalism, Corruption & Opposition



- **As journalism becomes:**
 - More professionalized
 - More competitive
 - More diverse
- **We should witness:**
 - Increase in corruption coverage
 - Decline in *actual* corruption, reduced crime rates

Media after Democratization



Changing Media Environment

- 1) Political liberalization □ □ press freedom
- 2) Economic reform □ □ government manipulation
- 3) Rise of television □ expands audience
- 4) Increased professionalization □ change in news values

Fall of Collor de Mello



Causes of successful impeachment (Pérez Liñán 2007)

- Professionalized mass media □ □ scandal
- Lack of strong legislative coalition
- Popu

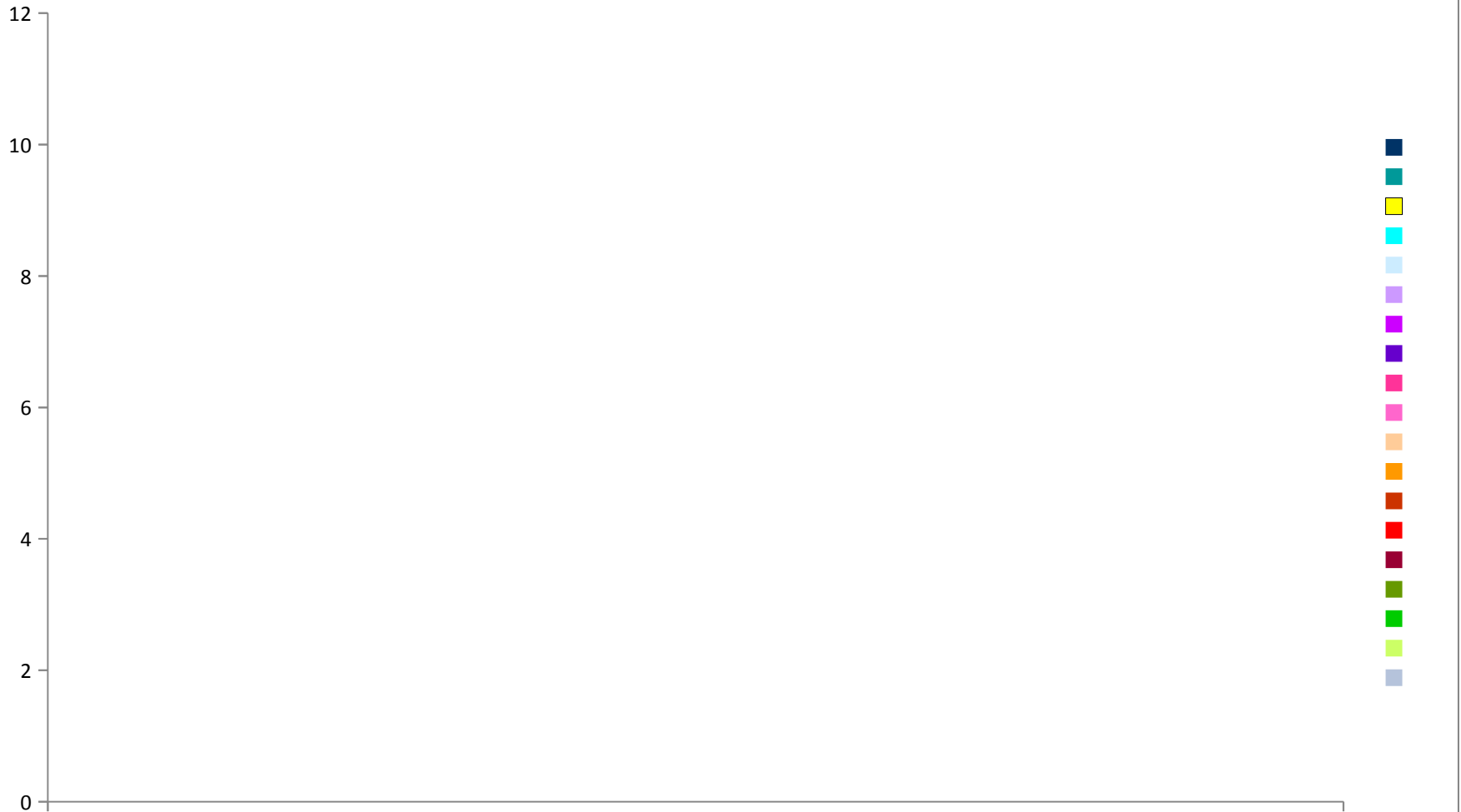


Cara Pintadas



Corruption Perception Index

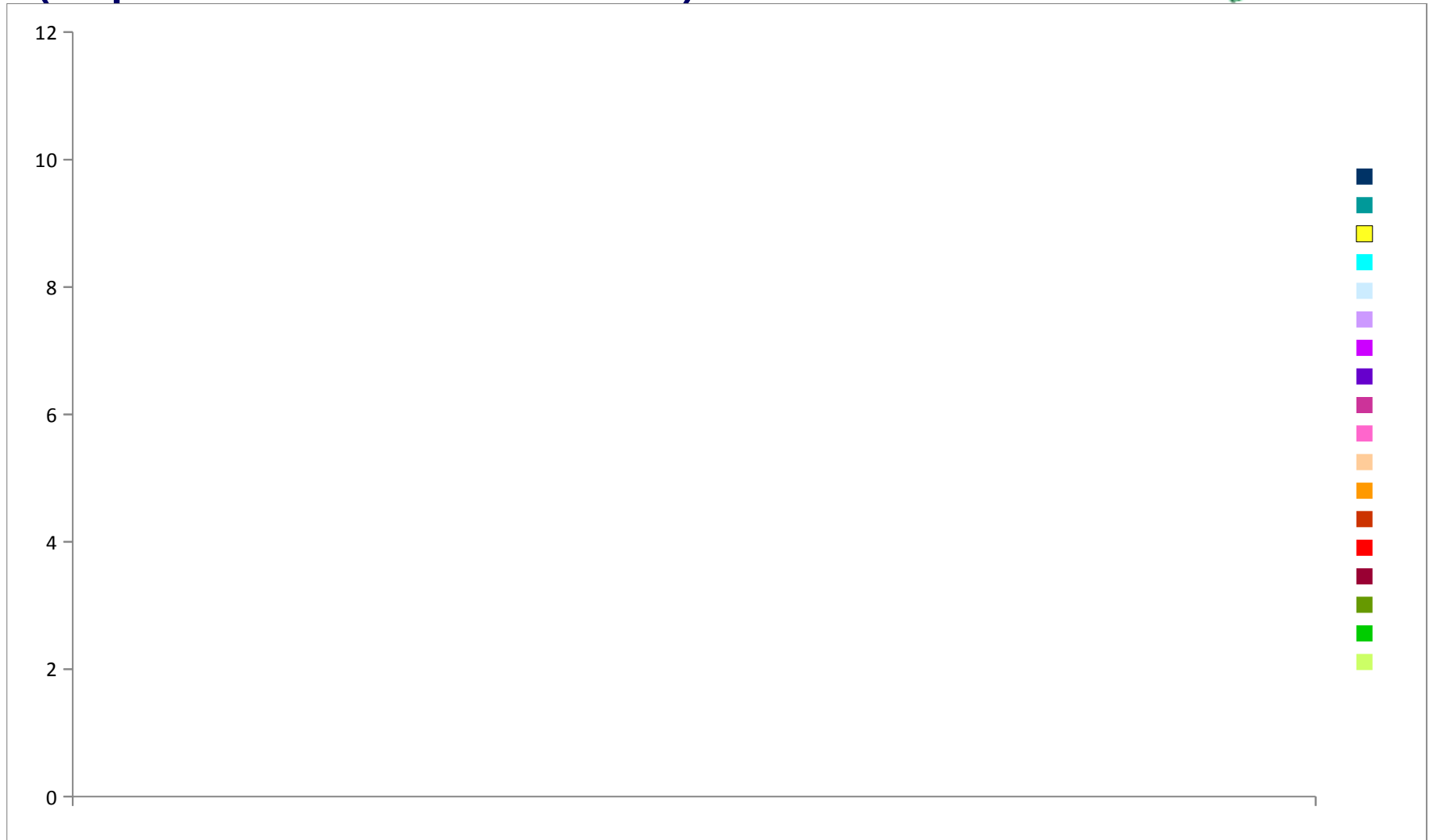
(Transparency International)



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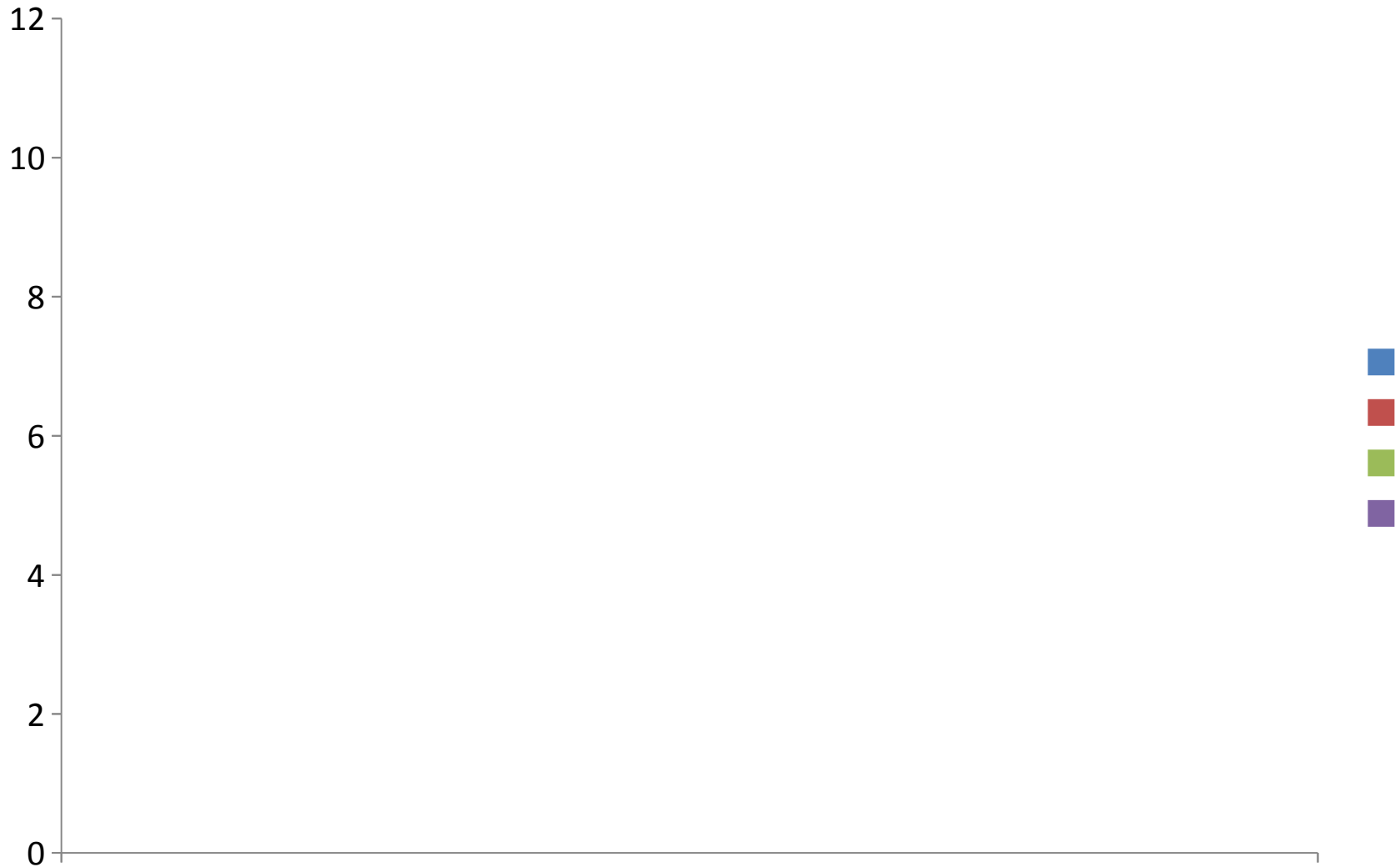
Press Freedom Index

(Reporters Without Borders)



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Media Freedom by Environment



Media Freedom in Democracy



- **2006 New Brazilian Constitution**
is a major step
- **Particularly 1967**
Press Law
electoral courts;
- **Supreme Court**
supports a freedom
of expression
- **Politicians often**
try to stifle

Investigative Journalism and Corruption in Brazil



- Since 2003, Brazilian journalists have won the Prize for Investigative Journalism in Latin America more than any other country (Transparency International)
 - 1st place : 2011, 2009, 2007
 - 2nd place: 2010, 2008, 2005 (x2)
 - 2006 *special mention* to Brazilian press for coverage of “mensalão” and related scandals

Mensalão



- Originates from article in *Veja*, weekly news magazine, Sep. 8, 2004
 - Follow-up articles in *Jornal do Brasil* following week
- *Veja* reports in May 2005 of new scandal in Brazilian Postal Service
 - Video of Post Office chief on the take aired on TV news

Dilma's Depleted Cabinet



- June 2011: *Folha de S. Paulo* reveals Dilma's Chief of Staff increased income 20x as consultant while serving in congress; he resigns amid allegations
- July 2011: *Veja* reports on bribery scheme in Ministry of Transportation; minister resigns
- Aug. 2011: *Veja* reports on irregularities with lobbyist and Ministry of Agriculture; minister resigns

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~~Sept. 2011: Minister of Tourism resigns because~~

Civic Engagement



- **Todos Juntos Contra**

- Anti-corruption movement on the Internet

- Motivated by rampant resignations of several

- Not organized by traditional
 - organizations

- Supported, however, by OAB, ABI, CNBB, etc.



Contra Corrupção



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