

Media organization and disinformation in Latin America: a bibliographical study

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Introduction

This report aims to synthesize relevant impressions and texts in Portuguese, Spanish, and English about the organization of the media in Latin America. The central focus is on analyzing the evolution of the interaction between journalism and the internet over recent years, intending to establish connections between these dynamics and the emergence of the current scenario of information disorder in Latin America.

Even though the internet has expanded along with promises of democratization of information — in many cases in a utopian and deterministic way — Latin American media organizations are still highly influenced by traditional political and economic structures, with private monopolies exercising a broad dominance in different communication sectors.

In this sense, the relationship between journalism and the Internet in Latin America does not escape the logic widely seen with other technologies. Despite the hopes that come with the arrival of new tools, private economic power appropriates the arsenal presented and begins to exercise control over much of what is supposed to strengthen the common good. After all, technology cannot promote democratic change on its own; it must be analyzed within its social, economic, and political context.

To conduct this analysis, we built a preliminary lexicon of keywords to guide the search in online article repositories. In the first phase, we explored, both individually and in combination, the words: (i) Ecosystem/system; (ii) Media; (iii) Latin America (Brazil, Mexico, Argentina); (iv) Digitization / Digital; (v) Internet; (vi) Journalism; (vii)

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Platforms; (viii) Politics; (ix) Concentration; and (x) Monopoly. The search for articles happened on Google Scholar, Scielo, Jstor and the University of São Paulo Unified System.

However, the first attempt to collect data proved unfeasible due to the significant volume of texts found. An example is that the simple combination of the terms "System And Media" resulted in more than 869,000 results on Google Scholar. This scenario highlighted the need to refine our lexicon, focusing on more specific terms relevant to the phenomenon we were trying to address.

For our second bibliographic survey, we opted for a more focused approach, organizing the searches into specific categories: (i) Media and bias in Latin America; (ii) Sensationalism and disinformation in Latin America; (iii) Monopoly, concentration and media regulation; (iv) Agenda setting and media in Latin America; and (v) News deserts in Latin America. We used the same search platforms as the first attempt, collecting texts that covered at least two terms from the categories mentioned. Although the second collection still generated many texts, the delimitation of the themes made it possible to analyze most of the results, culminating in preparing a table containing the texts related to the research object.

The resulting table aggregated 139 texts considered pertinent to the research. We selected 12 for a more in-depth analysis and the construction of reading lenses. Below, we will summarize each one, highlighting the main points related to media organization and the formation of a scenario of information disorder in Latin America.

Independent/local media

1. Information and the Public in Debate: the Experience of Mídia Ninja and the Cultural Collectives from the 2013 mobilisations in Brazil. Marco Antônio de Almeida, Héctor René Mena Méndez. 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvnp0k8v.4?s=&seq=4>.

The central aim of this text is to explore and question how digital media collectives in Brazil - particularly Mídia NINJA - organize themselves as cultural and social producers of information and knowledge. Ethnographic study techniques were used to

achieve this goal, which included a bibliographic survey, participant observation and in-depth or non-directive interviews. The collectives are groups formed by actors antagonistic to prevailing values, led mainly by unemployed young people with some academic training. They see the internet as a technical tool and an instrument for social organization, cultural expression and political autonomy. Representative cases include mobilisations in Tunisia, Occupy Wall Street in the US, #YoSoy132 in Mexico, Passe Livre in Brazil, "Renuncia ya" in Guatemala and the Indignados in Spain. The transient nature of some of these collectives' actions raises questions about their viability in contemporary societies. Finally, using ICTs by collectives redefines concepts such as the public sphere, information, culture, communication and the public, indicating a change in the conceptual universe.

Highlights:

- It analyzes the context of information and social networks in contemporary times, questioning how the internet influences the conception of public space;
- Concerning the specific analysis of Mídia NINJA and the June 2013 Journeys, the text highlights the initial context at the World Social Forum in 2005, where the Movimento Passe Livre (MPL) emerged;
- The June 2013 demonstrations in Brazil are analyzed as multi-causal, involving corruption, public spending on the World Cup, insecurity in big cities, and urban mobility.
- The participation of young people in the Jornadas is explored as part of a generation that uses ICTs intensively. The text highlights the generational change marked by the technological revolution and the rise of digital activism, including right-wing movements that consolidated in the 2015 election campaign with aggressive speeches, using robots, and disseminating rumors.
- The authors mention the consolidation of collectives, such as Free Journalists, aligned with the ideology of democratizing information.
- It should be noted that this has been happening on Facebook since 2013, in a process through which organicity has been replaced by an economic logic that favors those who pay for greater visibility ("Economic power has imposed itself on spontaneity");
- The direction of these collective phenomena organized in networks is aligned with a paradoxical perspective: On the one hand, the contemporary political

economy enhances the concentration of knowledge and information, as well as the privatization of institutions and economic resources, but on the praxis side of cultural actions and policies, we see an opening up of the public, access and sharing of information and knowledge;

- The collective action addressed in the research differs from traditional organizational models, assuming increasing autonomy from political/economic systems.
2. Independent Voices of Entrepreneurial News: Setting a New Agenda in Latin America. Vanessa de Macedo Higgins Joyce. 2018. <https://palabraclave.unisabana.edu.co/index.php/palabraclave/article/view/7497/pdf>.

The paper seeks to understand the innovations Latin American journalists sought amid recent changes in the media context. In addition to political changes, there has been a destabilization of traditional media companies, often resulting in layoffs and freelance work growth. There has also been a shift of emphasis to online media, where traditional and newer organizations find new opportunities and challenges. Against this backdrop, entrepreneurial journalism has emerged as a more recent trend in Latin America, where many journalists have broken ties with conventional organizations and financial structures to present journalism under new norms. The study situates entrepreneurial journalism as news organizations related to typically digital media, created by one or a small group of individuals, often journalists, who seek to innovate in independent media. It points out that the analysis focuses less on technological innovations and more on the perceived purpose of the news produced by entrepreneurial journalists in Latin America.

Highlights:

- The text points out that, despite democratization in the recent period, much of journalism in Latin America still operates under traditional oligopolistic structures, with governments exerting a significant influence on news production, both through intricate relationships with media elites and through advertising and government funding;
- The concept of independence emerges in the analysis as a return to the essence

and in opposition to traditional media, similar to the understanding of entrepreneurial journalism presented by Cohen (2015).

- The transformations in Latin America, both in the field of journalism and in the political and social systems, allow journalists to play interventionist roles in a new context, which is considered an innovation;
- Changes in organizational ties, along with the potential for innovative business models less dependent on government and commercial funding, and a fragmented audience, have allowed entrepreneurial news organizations to focus on new representations of the events of the day, potentially destabilizing conventional norms of news selection;
- Although financial independence relieves organizations of corporate and governmental pressures, it does not mean that the pressures will cease completely - nor that new pressures will not arise - so entrepreneurial journalists must devote time and energy to ensuring the sustainability of their projects.
- Entrepreneurial journalism in Latin America fits into a recent global trend of new, typically digital journalistic ventures. However, it is necessary to contextualize the initiatives within the specific realities of their respective countries.

3. Media desertification in local sports journalism: an exploratory study in the context of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul. Lucas Barbosa Silva, Marcos Paulo da Silva, Silvan Menezes dos Santos. 2022. <https://www.scielo.br/j/mov/a/KjL5MwLnDr67wXMSLHccX9D/?lang=pt#>.

The article aims to identify trends and characteristics of online sports media coverage in Mato Grosso do Sul (MS) - Brazil. To this end, 698 news items were collected from 18 different portals in the state. According to the authors, sports journalism has faced various challenges in preserving its role in organizing and disseminating information about sports. This has led to a trend towards the disappearance of local media outlets, as pointed out by Abernathy (2020). In Brazil, 18% of the population lives in places considered news deserts (lack of active local journalism outlets independent of the public sector). In addition, 19% of all Brazilian municipalities are quasi-news deserts (the existence of one or two local news outlets). In this context, concerning sport, which largely depends on media and journalistic mediation for its livelihood, the lack of news circulation severely contributes to the impoverishment of local sports culture. Although the digital convergence of the media has appeared as a hope for the salvation of local media production, with promises of cost reductions, this has yet to be seen on the

Brazilian scene. The work indicates an intense process of media-sports desertification in Mato Grosso do Sul.

Highlights:

- A first indication of the process of media-sports desertification in Mato Grosso do Sul lies in the fact that almost 50% of the state's online news portals are not accessible or do not pay any attention to sport. In addition, a further 28.64% of the total number of portals, although they have space for sport, do not update the public with new information. In this context, approximately 80% of online outlets do not contribute to the maintenance and continuity of sports culture in Mato Grosso do Sul;
- A second indication of the desertification of sports media content can be seen from a geographical point of view: news from the national and international context occupies 75% of the newscasts, while news from the state and local scene occupies only 25%;
- A third indication of desertification is associated with gender inequality - both in the practices broadcast (77.04% of male sports compared to 4.59% of female sports) and in the voices (53% of male sources compared to 9% of female sources). The data shows that male domination continues in the sports-media field in Mato Grosso do Sul, in a similar way to what Brum and Capraro (2015) pointed out in a study in Paraná;
- A fourth indication is observed in journalistic practice: there is a high number of reproductions of news (65.57%) to the detriment of news produced in local newsrooms (34.43%), which indicates the precariousness of the professionalization of the regional press;
- A fifth clue is expressed in the sources mobilized by the media: there is a prioritization of primary voices (those directly involved in the event). Among the primary voices, athletes, coaches and event organizers stand out, mainly men;
- Based on these indications, the study states that the desertification of sports media content in Mato Grosso do Sul can be understood, on the one hand, as a manifestation in the regional context of the contemporary crisis in journalism; on the other hand, desertification expresses the process of economic globalization and cultural globalization - even though it is possible to notice remnants of the locality, what exists markedly is the cultural reproducibility of mass sports media content, especially from the large national media conglomerates;
- The article explores the possibility that there are limited public and private policies for the development of sport in the regional context, which may be the reason for the lack of data on local sporting events.

4. From the newsroom to blogs: the search for new economic modalities and alternatives to journalistic work. Cláudia Nonato, 2018. <https://revistaseletronicas.pucrs.br/ojs/index.php/revistafamecos/article/view/280>
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The article makes use of the research of *Journalists, bloggers, and communication migrants in search of new economic arrangements for journalistic work with greater autonomy and freedom of expression* (LIMA, 2015), based on the theoretical-methodological proposal to bring Communication and Work closer together, from the perspective of Value Theory (Marx) and Ergology (Schwartz). The fact that communication is the foundation of human activity and work processes justifies this approach. A relevant part of the article deals with the changes in "doing journalism" in the age of the internet and social networks. This is based on information from interviews with well-known journalists. Among the conclusions, the limitations of the freedom of expression defended in the exercise of having a journalistic blog stand out.

Highlights:

- The two studies: "O perfil do jornalista e os discursos sobre o jornalismo - um estudo das mudanças no mundo do trabalho do jornalista profissional em São Paulo" (Figaro, 2012) and "Perfil do jornalista brasileiro - Características demográficas, políticas e do trabalho jornalístico" (Mick, 2012) point out that the working relationship of these professionals has undergone significant changes in recent decades, such as the increase in the number of project-based or fixed-term work contracts (freelancers), the requirement to present invoices from legal companies (or PJs), as well as the propagation of discourse in favour of entrepreneurship, among other ways of reducing the employment contract with registration.
- Concerning the relationship with readers, the article points out that the relationship is now direct and instantaneous. Readers are connected and willing to participate in daily news, especially blogs. They praise and make suggestions but also criticize and even offend journalists. It's interesting because some journalists have turned to blogs to gain more independence, autonomy and

freedom of expression but have been forced to control their readers' comments to a certain extent.

- In the context of blogs, journalists are held responsible for what they write. So, although they do not have to answer for what they post, they also do not have the legal protection of the prominent newspapers and broadcasters.
- Almost all independent bloggers have adopted crowdfunding to help them survive. According to them, the number of readers who subscribe or collaborate is still far from ideal. However, people's acceptance of the method demonstrates readers' interest in impartial information, opinion and good investigative reporting. With crowdfunding, power is taken out of the hands of the big media groups and passed on to other funders, i.e. the readers.
- Recently, the migration of journalists has become more pronounced, with journalists coming from large media groups to experiment with journalist collectives. This new alternative economic arrangement is appropriated by journalists interested in opposing the large hegemonic media.

Public interest vs. commercial interest

1. Commercial media and the legitimacy of public media: a thematic analysis of editorials on EBC. Gisele Pimenta de Oliveira, Nelia Rodrigues Del Bianco. 2020. <http://compolitica.org/revista/index.php/revista/article/view/358/283>

The article points out that although the principle of complementarity between private, public and state broadcasting systems is constitutionally established (art. 23 of the Federal Constitution) - which is fundamental to guaranteeing a plurality of voices and freedom of expression - the commercial media has prevailed over public broadcasters. It has occurred due to factors such as the influence of media patronage (the influence of businesspeople in the communications sector, especially the owners of large media corporations), the action and omission of the state, as well as the lack of regulation of other constitutional precepts, such as the prohibition of monopolies and oligopolies, the regionalization of radio and TV station programming and the encouragement of independent content production. The predominance of commercial media creates significant challenges for the strengthening of public broadcasters and their ability to play an effective public role.

Highlights:

- The article argues that Brazil's public media is often portrayed negatively in mainstream newspapers' editorials, emphasizing its historical ties to the government, questioning its reason for existing for the benefit of citizens and pointing out its lack of editorial independence. This scenario highlights the importance of re-evaluating and strengthening the public broadcasting system in the country;
 - The study shows that the majority of editorials (58.3%) do not mention the principles or functions of public broadcasting. It is also noted that the majority of editorials (66.7%) do not provide concrete examples of violations of the principles of public media;
 - Commercial editorials often distort concepts related to public media, which can lead to misinterpretations on the part of readers;
 - The Brazilian Communication Company (EBC) is generally portrayed as a synonym for TV Brasil rather than an institution encompassing various communication channels, television being one of them. Criticism of EBC is more common than praise in editorials;
 - The text concludes that the commercial media, by questioning the social importance of EBC - theoretically the primary representative of public broadcasting in the country - extends these negative views to the public media as a whole, undermining its role in the broadcasting system and the democratic balance;
2. Media Law and Regulation in Brazil: Brief Jus Economic Reports on Public Media Policies. Rhuan Filipe Montenegro dos Reis. Paulo Roberto de Almeida. 2022. <https://portalrevistas.ucb.br/index.php/EALR/article/view/13138>.

The article proposes the definition of characteristics to be considered in the cycle of public policies regulating social communication in Brazil. The study carries out this analysis around three topics: (i) the principle of neutrality in the provision of internet services, which, under the pretext of consumer protection, can generate negative externalities; (ii) the regulation of children's advertising and the scientific and moral influences on economic policies; (iii) restrictions on the provision of services related to broadcasting, through the system of concessions and quotas for cinematographic attractions, under the pretext of safeguarding the public interest and national culture. The study points out that, despite referring to a series of activities and undertakings

relevant to the legal world, communications (or media) law is still little explored in doctrine. In this context, although there are regulations with noble objectives, many of them can lead to little-discussed problems and legal obstacles that hinder freedom of expression and harm business activities.

Highlights:

- The article argues that net neutrality can limit contractual design options in the face of uniform treatment for all users. It makes it challenging to customize service packages and pricing policies adapted to different consumer profiles, hindering cost reduction. On the other hand, the lack of neutrality can lead to blockages and restrictions on the diversity of traffic on different sites, promoting the vertical concentration of services. The balance between service pricing and network access can be achieved through regulatory measures that do not result in the total loss of access to certain data and traffic paths;
- Comparative public policies are considered relevant but insufficient, requiring attention to material factors and infrastructure distinctions between countries. Importing policies without considering the specific characteristics of each territory may be inappropriate, and regulation must be a response adapted to local problems and effects;
- Economic analysis suggests that regulations should go beyond the binary approach of prohibiting or not prohibiting, incorporating more complex logics that go beyond the Aristotelian dichotomy of "true and false".
- With regard to banning children's advertising on the pretext of protecting the rights of children and adolescents, it is necessary to consider the context of technical, scientific and moral aspects;
- Academic texts on children's advertising do not present consistent positions on the levels of economic regulation and their implications;
- The text addresses the CONENDA regulations (National Council for the Rights of Children and Adolescents), criticizing the lack of legislative process prohibiting children's advertising and highlighting the imprecision and excessive scope of the definitions. The text also questions the lack of consideration given to the economic needs and professional freedom of advertisers;
- Finally, about controlling public-private broadcasting under the pretext of safeguarding the public interest and national identity, the article argues that the Brazilian constituent power adopted a dubious approach to freedom of communication, with the Constitution establishing restrictions and reinforcements, depending on the medium. While print media were freed from the old censors, broadcasting services faced a strict system of concessions and

- authorizations, subject to parliamentary control;
- The approved design of concessions focuses on procedures, deadlines and quorums, offering ample room for the National Congress to deny or not renew concessions. However, the lack of limits on the content covered by the concessions, together with the absence of judicial control, can result in undemocratic decisions, such as the invalidation of outlets for political reasons or the maintenance of established markets;
 - The current system of concessions is considered an obstacle, leading to regulatory capture, where concentrated interests influence parliamentarians to the detriment of the public interest;
 - Although preserving national identity is a laudable cause, efforts in this direction are implemented in an artificial and inflexible way in public policies. Although there is a technical logic behind them, it is clear that participation in these debates is limited. Given this scenario, it would be more appropriate to prioritize the involvement of popular movements characterized by spontaneity;
 - Sector regulation, if not applied with adequate technical differentiation, can act as a barrier to entry, hindering the emergence or survival of competition and favoring the domination of established companies with political influence and economic power;
 - In addition, the disparity in legal assistance is another relevant factor. Larger companies have better advice to deal with regulations in court, find creative solutions to circumvent adverse effects of the legal text and explore "gray areas" of the law, while smaller companies can face difficulties. This scenario, known as "regulatory leakage", highlights the need for differentiated legal treatment for small companies, going beyond tax issues.
3. Mirada desde Europa, una encrucijada de los medios en América Latina y España: cuando la Anaconda empieza a mudar la piel. Manuel Chaparro Escudero, 2011.
<https://www.scielo.br/j/interc/a/ZDSDXgwp8SXNLYfKzywRWHr/?lang=es>

The article discusses what the author sees as Europe lagging behind Latin America regarding media regulation processes that are more committed to citizens' interests. According to the author, the media construct identities and promote values, which makes it necessary for their projections to respond to democratic aspirations, an objective that today requires legislative reforms to be achieved. For the author, Europe today must abandon "the skin it wears" and aim for media that are more connected to

the interests of citizens, empowering civil society, the capacity for critical response and participation based on the management of information that is committed to the truth.

Highlights:

- The author draws interesting parallels between Latin America's legislative advances - especially with Argentina's Audiovisual Communication Services Law - and how Europe interprets this type of change, i.e. tending to interpret these regulations as attempts to censor freedom of expression. For him, this association is not only false, but it also hinders European progress in building media regulations that are more in tune with citizens' interests and democratic principles.

Tendências na comunicação

1. A new media ecosystem: the history of digital journalism in Brazil. Chapter 3: Current Issues in Digital Journalism. p. 231-292. Renato Rovai, 2018. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvnp0k00.8>

The chapter aims to analyze the main themes related to contemporary digital journalism. Thus, the text analyzes the impacts of the digital environment on journalism formats and genres, the maximization of data production, live streams, the power of algorithms and social networks, the hyperdistribution of content, the deconstruction of the role of the journalist, as well as new actors and points of view. If, at the end of the 20th century, digital journalism consisted of the mere transposition of printed content onto the web, the arrival of portals has promoted new possibilities, especially with regard to interactivity. In this process, the former passive reader is increasingly becoming an active participant. The blogosphere allows for the emergence of "collaborative journalism", in which the user plays a central role in communication. As Pavlik points out, the journalist's role is to tell the facts and connect communities. Another aspect widely explored in the chapter is that communication has become multimedia, especially given the increasingly powerful resources for storing data and editing content. In addition, mobility has played an important role in broadening

communication, with some press outlets now making smartphones available for the production of journalistic content.

Highlights:

- The text points out that the digital medium has made it possible to expand data journalism by combining old and new resources, which has promoted more dynamic and sophisticated content that facilitates both the process of constructing the news and its comprehension by readers.
- Another aspect of contemporary digital journalism is the livestream, made possible by the advancement and improvement of mobile devices and connection improvements. The livestream allows users, journalists and media outlets to transmit images and sound from any location, facilitating live coverage, interviews, debates and more. This innovation frees news consumption from a fixed location and enhances news production through portability. Although live broadcasting already exists in traditional media, live streaming has its own characteristics on the internet and is considered a digitally native genre.
- The text points out that today, many of the stories in the next day's newspapers and radio and television news programs have their origins in digital media. Digital is no longer just a space for transposition but has become the central platform in the information production process.
- With regard to the advertising market for digital advertisers, the text points out that in 2003, most of the revenue went to the media outlet. By 2010, according to Pariser, the media outlets kept only 20% of the revenue, while the rest went to intermediaries like Google so newspapers could only save themselves if they started to capture information about their readers' personal preferences and use this data to adapt to filter bubbles.
- Regarding the role of algorithms, the text points out that they are responsible for determining the order in which users view content or even what can be excluded in favor of other content. Thus, any change in the code can drastically affect the audience of a media outlet that uses Facebook or another social platform as a distribution channel.
- By focusing on the existence of a new journalism model based on social networks, the text argues that breaks in the model are not necessarily new and have accompanied journalism since the middle of the 20th century when radio

first became popular and then television. McLuhan (1964) stated, however, that the emergence of new media did not extinguish previous press. However they did create a new environment for the professional, causing previous technologies to be reprocessed.

- Throughout the text, Rovai refers to Ferreira (2018) as a way of broadening the debate on fake news. He argues that in Brazil, there is an exaggerated trend around this topic, motivated by economic interests and the attempt by large media companies to monopolize the market. According to Ferreira, fake news has become a kind of advertising mythology used to increase the value of the news product by creating a perception of information scarcity. In addition, he points out that there is an attempt to establish a new quality standard for news to maintain the informational dominance of the mainstream press.

2. Tendencias de las publicaciones especializadas en el campo de la educomunicación y alfabetización mediática en Latinoamérica. Gabriel Lotero-Echeverr. Luis M. Romero-Rodríguez. Amor Pérez-Rodríguez. 2019. <https://www.scielo.br/j/icse/a/3zLpPT9JpXry4vFdPsZX73m/?lang=es>.

The text aims to examine the communication journals published in Latin America that have the most incredible visibility in renowned international databases such as Scopus and Web of Science. It also evaluates the status of these journals in other databases, such as Scielo and Redalyc, and their presence in Google Scholar Metrics, using the H-5 index. The aim is to identify trends in the approach to themes related to the dynamic between communication and education in contemporary times, which is influenced by the digital dimension and represents a field full of opportunities and challenges. One hundred sixty-seven articles were examined, covering topics such as educommunication, media literacy and transmedia narratives. Individual authorship and association were prevalent with a single institution and country, particularly in Brazil and Spain. As far as content is concerned, the thematic focus on media and digital environments stands out, accompanied by a qualitative approach in the research.

Highlights:

- Regarding the relationship between communication and education, the authors point out that access is crucial and represents an achievement of public policies

aimed at guaranteeing the population's connectivity. However, this is not enough, as it is also necessary to have adequate media and digital skills to strengthen the social appropriation of ICTs in favor of educational processes and human development;

- In addition to media education, a scenario of convergence between communication and education has developed significantly in Latin America, forming a transdisciplinary field called Educommunication (Oliveira-Soares). In this field, users not only exercise their right to information but also play an active and critical role in the interaction processes between media and users, promoting more horizontal and democratic relations.
- 35% of the articles deal with topics related to digital communication, followed by more traditional topics in Latin America, such as journalism and the media. The relationship between communication and education is addressed in 15% of the articles, including perspectives such as health education, education, edu communication and media literacy.

3. Freedom of expression versus the right to communication: the regulation of audiovisual communication in Argentina. Glauciene Laura, 2018. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&ved=2ahUKEwiz0K-LqrCCAxUJAbkGHbMCAQ8QFnoECAsQAQ&url=https%3A%2F%2Fperiodicos.unb.br%2Findex.php%2FRDET%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F21577%2F19893&usg=AOvVaw14ZgbQCtpSIPOcEgMMZuRm&opi=89978449>

The text explores the conceptual relationship between "freedom of expression," "freedom of the press", and "right to communication" in the international historical context of NOMIC, considering doctrinal perspectives. Thus, it analyzes the change in the Argentine communication regulatory framework that took place in 2009. It uses a bibliographic review that, later applied to the Argentine scenario, seeks to identify the origin of these terms and their conceptual changes from the liberal revolutions to the present day. The conclusion highlights the absence of opposition between freedom of expression and the right to communication or between freedom of expression and regulation, as evidenced by the Argentine case, which has redefined the concept of freedom of expression since the implementation of Law 26.522.

Highlights:

- According to the text, in Latin American democracies, the privatist and neoliberal wave has affected the democratic regulation of broadcasting. In Brazil, during the 1987-88 Constituent Assembly, there was a battle for the democratization of communication, resulting in a merely consultative Social Communication Council. The regulation of Article 221 of the 1988 Constitution was never completed. Media entrepreneurs, in the country and elsewhere, defend freedom of expression as free from state intervention, associating it with freedom of enterprise. They resist regulatory efforts, often invoking the specter of dictatorship and equating regulation with censorship.
 - The author evokes Owen Fiss (2005) to argue that state non-intervention is not enough to guarantee freedom of expression. Market-oriented freedoms favor large conglomerates, restricting the access of smaller groups to the media and distorting the formation of public reason. Due to the lack of a fair debate, resistance to communication regulation, often seen as censorship, prevails in Brazil.
 - The text also discusses the media situation in Argentina, highlighting the concentration of ownership and cross-ownership as striking features. It highlights the replacement of Law 22.285 by the Audiovisual Communication Services Law in 2009, which seeks to ensure plurality and communication rights, as well as creating the Federal Authority for Audiovisual Communication Services (AFSCA). When referring to the country's new law (Law 26.522), the author points out that it limits the concentration of ownership, national and local programming quotas, and restrictions on foreign participation, among other points. However, she points out that implementing these changes is challenging due to obstacles from the government, opposition and concentrated private groups.
4. Agenda-setting: media and public opinion in the dynamics of public policies. Ana Cláudia Niedhardt Capella; Felipe Gonçalves Brasil, 2018. <http://www.compolitica.org/revista/index.php/revista/article/view/236>

The article consists of three sections that go through the history of agenda-setting studies and point to new research possibilities that relate to the different trajectories of

studies on the subject. According to the text, the main objective of agenda-setting studies is to analyze the process of the rise and fall of the importance of topics over time on the agenda of certain actors and the relationship between them (Soroka, 2002). Also, according to the text, Dearing and Rogers (1996), when carrying out extensive work identifying and mapping studies on the agenda-setting process, identified the existence of three lines of study that have been strongly developed in the area: (1) media agenda-setting; (2) public agenda-setting; (3) policy agenda-setting. Since the late 1970s and early 1980s, research into agenda-setting has not only been developing along the three axes (media, public and government). However, it has also begun to identify the relationship between them. The text concludes that studies relating to the media agenda and the public opinion agenda are developing with greater relevance in communication, while studies of the public policy agenda are still developing independently.

Highlights:

- According to the text, an analysis of the literature shows that although they share theoretical and methodological similarities, agenda-setting studies along different lines are still far apart, making it difficult to understand the relationship between the media's agendas, public opinion, and public policy.
 - By broadening the understanding of the dynamics of agendas, studies on public policy formulation can expand their explanatory capacity for this central phenomenon of political life.
 - The studies show that, although with significant variations, the agendas of the media, public opinion, and public policy are related when analyzed from the point of view of change over long periods.
 - With the dissemination of the model and the methodological contribution that unites relevant variables from the three trajectories of agenda-setting, the historical gap in the literature is giving way to a new research agenda for political communication.
5. The framing of media distrust: a proposal to understand media discredit. Claudia Ramírez Friderichsen; Pablo Matus Lobos, 2018.

<https://go.gale.com/ps/i.do?p=AONE&u=anon%7E52beb9cc&id=GALE%7CA717080618&v=2.1&it=r&aty=open+web+entry>

According to the authors, opinion polls warn of a growing belief among the Chilean public that the media are submissive to external powers. However, recent studies show that editorial homogeneity is not as prevalent as one might think, and journalists do not feel pressured. The text, therefore, proposes an explanatory model to bridge the gap between public distrust of the media and the reality of editorial production, based on the concepts of framing, the culture industry and the ideological apparatus. In this context, three variables are identified that contribute to the spread of the belief in external control of the media: firstly, the concentration of media ownership; secondly, the dependence of these media on other industries that finance them; and finally, the consequent homogenization of their content, often aligned with the interests of their owners or financiers. In addition, the text argues that symbolic elites play a significant role in building widespread distrust.

Highlights:

- The text makes use of two theories to address the scenario of mistrust: (I) Cultural Industry: Adorno and Horkheimer (1947) describe the predominant production logic in the modern media, characterized by the standardization of symbolic content, the standardization of the offer to the public and the influence of powerful actors. However, this view is criticized for its elitist perspective, which suggests that the phenomenon would not be perceived or questioned by the public; (II) Ideological apparatuses: Althusser conceptualizes the media as ideological apparatuses that install and defend specific belief systems, serving the interests of the ruling class. Although he initially referred to the state, the theory applies equally to the media, which are resources for disseminating these ideologies. The concentration of media ownership and editorial homogenization are clear examples of this phenomenon. This implies that external powers can control or strongly influence the media, limiting editorial independence.
- The authors also discuss the phenomenon based on framing theory (Bateson, 1987 [1954]), which describes the process of developing mental structures called "frames", which shape the understanding of reality and the acceptance of messages. These "frames" influence how people interpret and react to media

information and can be created by their own experience, social interaction or the media itself. In short, widespread distrust of the media can be explained by factors, including external influences on content, concentration of ownership, and how the public frames and receives messages.