THE FOLKCOMMUNICATION THEORY

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Layout: Acessa Design

Cover art by Maria José Oliveira

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ppgl | programa de pós-graduação em letras
linguagens e representações

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We dedicate this book to the memory of Professors Beatriz Correa Pires Dornelles, José Marques de Melo, Luiz Custodio da Silva, and Verônica Dantas Meneses.

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Preface

Jack A. Draper III[1]

To preface this wide-ranging work, I cannot hope to provide a comprehensive summary of all the fascinating lines of thought developed herein out of the inspiration of Luiz Beltrão's writing. Instead, I will outline, firstly, how the reader of this collection will find both a revealing synthesis of the emergent field of Folkcommunication and also a genealogy of the field, or better yet, a debate that considers the significance of various ancestors to the field. Secondly, I will consider how the authors assembled here give a sense of the evolution of the field in recent decades, as well as the urgent need for Folkcommunication's dissemination in the English language, itself linked to its potential for application

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1   Associate Professor of Portuguese at the University of Missouri. Ph.D. in Literature and Latin American Cultural Studies, Duke University. B.A. in Comparative Literature, University of California at Berkeley.

both within and beyond the cultural contexts of Brazil, Ibero-America, and Iberia, areas in which it has already developed an active and growing research program.

A key insight about the study of folklore in an era of mass media that we find in the works of Folkcommunication in this collection and elsewhere - going back, of course, to the thought of Luiz Beltrão, the field's founder - is that the cultural production of Brazil (among other societies) is multidirectional in its flow, plurivocal, and situated within a diverse cultural geography. Thus, the mode of analysis of this cultural production needs to follow this dynamism and diversity with its own kind of multidirectional and multidisciplinary approach. This is a parallel approach to that later suggested as a goal for Latin American Cultural Studies by Néstor García Canclini (2004) - a synthesis of certain characteristics of anthropology and sociology. Such a synthesis finds a kind of happy medium between the more top-down, aerial view of sociology and the more grassroots, local view of anthropology. Specifically within the realm of communication, Folkcommunication scholars find a middle ground between analyzing the larger discursive structures and institutions of mass media on the one hand, and on the other, the agency of the socially excluded or marginalized and the activists and opinion leaders (or folkcommunicators) within those groups.

Having established this sense of a multidirectional flow of communication in society, in tandem with the spotlight on how the marginalized position themselves in relation to that flow in order to communicate at the local level or beyond, we have a sense of the two broad traditions of thought that came together in Folkcommunication, outlined by a variety of thinkers and from different angles in the chapters that follow. The first is the tradition associated with folklorist Edison Carneiro and a historical-materialist, Gramscian-inspired interpretation

of folklore emphasizing a hegemonic media and forms of resistance to it. The second is the tradition associated with functionalism in anthropology and sociology and its influence on the emergent field of Communication in the mid-twentieth century. We see a debate among scholars here as to the degree to which functionalism in its entirety as a field has really been embraced by Folkcommunication, but general agreement that, at the very least, Elihu Katz and Paul Felix Lazarsfeld's theory of the two-step flow of communication was critical in Luiz Beltrão's thought and continued to be so in that of his successors. Communication flow theory continues to evolve in the field, as the role of Katz and Lazarsfeld's "opinion leaders" was developed into the more horizontally- and popularly-oriented "folkcommunicator," "active media agent" or even "media activist," all iterations of a grassroots/folk agent akin to what Antonio Gramsci would have called an organic intellectual.

Folkcommunication scholars thus introduced a necessary dynamism and greater representativeness into the study of folklore and popular culture in modern society. Beltrão had already brought such a dynamic and representative focus to his philosophy of journalism in the 1960s, even prior to his theorization of Folkcommunication (cf. Maria Érica de Oliveira Lima's chapter in this collection). Anglophone readers may well be interested to learn of parallels between Beltrão's pre- and post-Folkcommunication thought and the thought of Paulo Freire, whose works are, up to now, far better known and disseminated in English. Luiz Beltrão's pedagogical, civilizing notion of journalism also resonates with Paulo Freire's thought on education, especially in Beltrão's notion of the active audience, a precursor to the notion of the active folkcommunicator. As Antônio Hohlfeldt demonstrates in Chapter 5, the strong parallels in Freire's and Beltrão's theories of communication

became even more clear as the latter published his abridged dissertation and later his seminal *Folkcomunicação: a comunicação dos marginalizados* (Folkcommunication: The Communication of the Marginalized) in 1980. For Freire, the relationship between oppressed and oppressor must be transcended in order to have real dialogue, which he sees as the foundation of communication. Such a dialogue involves an encounter of equal interlocutors, a communicational scenario that becomes an essential piece of Freire's notion of pedagogy. There is already, in this Freirean paradigm, a recognition of the importance of identifying a social hierarchy and how it might impact communication. The Folkcommunication approach of Beltrão echoes this important emphasis but also adds an understanding of the mass media and a more concrete sense of how certain popular agents might be able to negotiate some form of dialogue within a marginalized group that allows them to more actively engage with the mass media in some fashion, be it for education, entertainment, cultural production or some other purpose. There is another connection to Freire here in that there is something akin to a Freirean pedagogy performed by folkcommunicators who can engage in local, horizontal dialogues with their reference groups.

From the notion of folkcommunicators, these active media agents or activists of the popular classes, stems the counterhegemonic potential of popular culture. These activists can help shape collectives by giving them the ability to critique, resist, or reform the hegemonic culture and its ruling class/ideology. At the same time, they are working from the margins, from a position of subalternity. Here, Folkcommunication intersects with Subaltern Studies and could perhaps take a cue from the latter to problematize the moment of agency of popular media activists, or in other words, their moment of expression within the mass media system. In representing this moment,

scholars must carefully weigh the risk of simply speaking for (in the place of) the marginalized or subaltern subject. According to Gayatri Spivak (1993: 91), a Subaltern Studies approach involves systematically unlearning privilege, a process that "involves learning to critique postcolonial [or Folkcommunication] discourse with the best tools it can provide and not simply substituting the lost figure of the colonized [or the marginalized]." The moment of communication of the subaltern subject must be problematized because this is a critical encounter in a hierarchical system when subaltern expression enters the arena of the mass media and the ruling class that controls it. Are the voices of the marginalized simply reintegrated or coopted into a reformed hegemonic mass media and thus made to disappear as counterhegemonic voices? Are marginalized voices, or their representation via popular media activists, transformed in some way when becoming the object of study of the scholar? How is the discourse of Folkcommunication scholarship implicated in this communicational flow? Finally, should the subaltern or the marginalized be maintained as a theoretical category representing strictly that which is excluded from hegemony - a constitutive exclusion, as Alberto Moreiras (2001) calls it? These are questions inspired by Indian and Latin American Subaltern Studies that could serve as deconstructive, self-critical correctives to any simplistic notions about the power dynamics involved when communication flows to or from a marginalized group and when considering the very process of subaltern subject formation/representation in mass media and scholarly discourse alike.

Beyond a wide-ranging synthesis of common theoretical approaches of Folkcommunication with roots going back to its founding, this volume also contains ample evidence of the evolution of the field and points toward future paths of further study. Before continuing on to argue for the great urgency

of disseminating Folkcommunication scholarship in the English language, I will first consider some examples of evolution and trends in the field. Guilherme Moreira Fernandes' chapter is helpful in this regard, noting some developments in the field since the turn of the century. Fernandes demonstrates how a schematic of Folkcommunication genres has been updated from Beltrão's writings and complicated with a series of subdivisions of formats and types. For instance, José Marques de Melo proposed the genre of Visual Folkcommunication and subdivided it into four general formats with a variety of specific types grouped under each format - just two diverse examples of specific types of Visual Folkcommunication would be 1) tattoos, grouped in the pictographic format, and 2) cordel[2] literature, grouped in the printed format. By no means does this typography of visual and other genres of folkcommunication appear to be definitive - I see these lists of types as both calls for further research about these particular types, from the already well-studied cordel to the less-studied tattoo, and also an invitation to go beyond and expand what one might call the encyclopedia of folkcommunicational expression.

Fernandes also raises the issue of "the increasing presence of television" and Osvaldo Trigueiro's assertion that it has made for a more complex, mediatized society in which the audience members are not just passive consumers but instead actively engage with and "reinvent" the media products they consume. This is a conclusion that I can confirm in my own analysis of Brazilian cinema and its changing representation of television between the 1970s and the 2000s (see Draper 2017). Carlos Diegues's

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2   Cordel is a popular form of folk literature in Northeast Brazil. It is traditionally displayed in fairs and markets, hanging from thin ropes known as "cordéis." The artists, who are largely poets and illustrators, sell booklets that cover a wide range of topics, especially stories about life in the outback and folk tales from rural residents. (Ed. Note)

depiction of the impact of television in *Bye Bye Brasil* (1979) presents us with a television audience that is totally passive, even catatonic. This film demonstrates a nostalgia for pre-televisual popular culture, such as the circus and traditional music, that television had begun to draw audiences away from. On the other hand, a small-town musician ultimately embraces this relatively new mass medium as a way of performing regional country music (forró) to a wider audience. Twenty-five years later in Vicente Amorim's *O caminho das nuvens* (The Middle of the World, 2003), a similarly-structured road movie narrative about migrant Northeastern Brazilians, the protagonists of the film have a very different relationship to televisual media and the mass culture industry than most of the working-class or poor characters in *Bye Bye Brasil*. In *O caminho das nuvens*, rather than pop culture serving as a pacifying opiate of the masses as in the earlier film, migrants consume the rock music of Roberto Carlos on television, only to reproduce it in roadside performances to earn money. The migrant family in the film identifies strongly with the sentiments expressed in some of Carlos' songs and the family members even sing these songs in order to communicate with each other, expressing their own emotions through this pop music. In various scenes, the television is portrayed as a medium through which the children of the family watch Carlos' performances or soap operas and even through which they imagine an emotional connection to distant family members.

Although I originally conceived this analysis primarily within the fields of Brazilian cinema studies and emotion studies, it strikes me that the mediatic and cultural exchange that I analyzed in the two films is very much an example of folk media, as defined by Joseph Luyten in Chapter 3: "the use of elements provided by folkcommunication [by the mass media] and the use of elements of mass communication by popular communicators."

In these films, cinema represents both television and its audience, as well as the way that, through its national and local audiences, television has the potential either to marginalize folk/popular culture or to reproduce it in new ways and on a more massive scale. By extension, similar considerations could be developed regarding newer, internet-based media, and this should prove to be a ripe area for future Folkcommunication research. One sign of this would be the recent dissertation of Bruna Castelo Branco on the Saint John's festivals of Fortaleza, Brazil, and Braga, Portugal (Branco 2024). She compares not only the festivals within the geography of the two cities and their related folkmarketing, but the way that the two festivals were celebrated in online or hybrid online/in-person versions during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic and its aftermath.

To round out my comments on the evolution of Folkcommunication, let us return to Chapter 8. Fernandes also notes some major challenges in the Folkcommunication field. No doubt, these are also to be considered opportunities to grow and strengthen this field of study. In fact, it is evident that three of these challenges are directly addressed to a significant degree by this very volume, namely: the need to think about the theoretical principles of Folkcommunication flexibly and in practice, the systematization of typologies and a methodology for research on Folkcommunication, and the reception of Folkcommunication as an academic field within university Communication programs. All three of these challenges are faced by multiple authors in this volume in revealing ways, contributing to the general development of the field.

In closing, I will myself consider the challenge regarding the reception of Folkcommunication, focusing on the field's international reception in English language scholarship. If we consider works of this century published in the English language

in the field of Latin American Cultural Studies, we can see a significant lacuna in the representation of Folkcommunication. Collections such as Duke University Press' The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader (2004) and Routledge's Latin American Cultural Studies: A Reader (2019) contain no chapters devoted to Folkcommunication, for instance. A similar lacuna is evident in twenty-first-century English-language scholarship in the field of Latin American Communication Studies. Folkcommunication certainly merits more recognition than this in the relevant fields of English-language scholarship. As various authors point out in this collection, there is significant overlap in the lines of thought and zones of research of Latin American Cultural Studies and Folkcommunication, so much so that the latter could easily be designated as a Brazil-originated branch of the former. Similar common ground exists between Latin American Communication Studies and Folkcommunication. In both cases, Folkcommunication also has the potential to be applied more universally as a branch of Cultural Studies and of Communication outside of the Latin American context, the most obvious case being research and other professional activity (conferences, publications, etc.) in the Iberian Peninsula, but not limited to that region. Folkcommunication has already taken large steps in extending its reach beyond Brazil; over the past few decades, there are signs of the field being recognized and further developed not just in Lusophone Portugal but in Spain and Spanish America, overcoming in some cases, the Portuguese/Spanish language barrier in order to find a larger international readership and research base. Now it is high time for the discipline to be recognized and further developed in Anglophone research venues and institutions so that, at a minimum, young scholars in fields like Cultural Studies and Communication (of Latin America and beyond), or even those in Brazilian Studies outside of Brazil, will be reliably exposed to the field in their graduate-level, if not undergraduate education.

Taking a cue from the final chapter's celebration of *Modernismo*, the Brazilian artistic movement that first aspired to a home-grown vanguardism, I recall Oswald de Andrade's modernist call in his 1924 Brazilwood Poetry Manifesto for a Brazilian "poetry for export." In the same spirit, let us celebrate folkcommunication as a Brazilian "theory for export" that has already grown in relevance in other Ibero-American countries and is ready for further export to the Anglophone world. Folkcommunication is a field that is worthy of further development and refinement in any region or country of the world in which popular culture is articulated within a mass media or culture industry - which is to say that its potential application is virtually boundless.

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Prologue
Journalism, public opinion, folkcommunication [1]

José Marques de Melo[2]

(Translation by Pedro Arão das Mercês Carvalho)

Luiz Beltrão de Andrade Lima, a Brazilian citizen from the State of Pernambuco, was born in Olinda on July 8th, 1918. He lived mostly in Recife, where he studied and worked until

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1   Introduction to the book Formation of public opinion. Beltrão, Luiz. 2015. Formação da Opinião Pública. Juiz de Fora: Ed. UFJF; Intercom, 15-25.

2   Journalist, researcher and university professor José Marques de Melo was the first PhD in Journalism and one of the main communication theorists in Brazil. He graduated in Journalism from the Catholic University of Pernambuco in 1964 and became a professor at the University of São Paulo in the late 1960s. He wrote for newspapers such as O Estado de São Paulo, Folha de São Paulo, Correio Braziliense and Zero Hora. He authored 173 books, which addressed themes such as media, popular culture and journalism genres. Founder of the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Intercom). Founder of the Brazilian Network for Research in Folkcommunication. He passed away in 2018.

1964. One year later he was transferred to Brasília, where he worked as a professor and a writer until October 24th, 1986, when he passed away. He definitely succeeded as a journalist when he was elected by his peers to chair the Latin-American Catholic Press Union (UCLAP); He established himself as a writer when he was chosen to be a member of Brasília's Academy of Letters; he culminated his researcher career by receiving the title of Doctor in Communication Sciences from the University of Brasília.

His memory is preserved by his family, friends and followers. They surrounded him since the time in Ilha do Leite's lovable palace in Recife, where Maria José de Andrade Lima, the joyful Mrs. Zita, made friendships that grew until the good times lived by the couple in the bucolic Mansão Olinda, a country house located in the capital's flowery outskirts.

But not everything was a bed of roses for Beltrão and his family, while temporarily living in a functional well-located apartment in the area reserved for high-ranking federal bureaucracy officers. His transference to Planalto Central (Brasília) was totally out of the blue. Answering president Castelo Branco's invitation, mediated by his friend in common José Vamberto – working as Press Secretary of the Presidency of the Republic at the time –, Luiz Beltrão was responsible for implementing the School of Communication of the University of Brasília. There the master from Pernambuco had enough resources to continue the innovative project ICINFORM[3]. Even though he was welcomed by the dean Mosca de Carvalho, the modest space in the Catholic University of Pernambuco was a forbidding variable for Beltrão's utopic plans.

His initial projects faced operational obstacles. For example, the journal *Comunicações & Problemas* ("Communication &

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[3]   Institute of Media and Information Convergence Studies (Instituto de Estudos de Convergência Midiática e da Informação).

Problems") was released without a sponsor; its first editions only appeared thanks to Beltrão's volunteering. As he was in good standing for loans, he printed the journal issuing promissory notes rescuable with extravagant interest rates. To avoid being in the red, he included promotional articles praising local industries – Sanbra, Moinho Recife, Telefônica de Pernambuco – calling for the goodwill of their executives, who rarely refused to contribute to a work as inspiring as ICINFORM.

Castelo Branco kept up with everything by the metaphoric wickets present in the high ranks of the IV Army, that is, through José Vamberto, enthusiast of Luiz Beltrão's institutional work, and certainly sensitized by Zita's whines. This turmoil, whispered in the ear of the ladies who attended to charity meetings, impressed the wives of the officials who detained the functions of leading the headquarters. The wives were incumbered of telling the secrets to their colonel husbands, who informally passed them along to the commander in chief.

Anointed by the military corporation to take over the republican power, Castelo Branco found himself in the contingency of heading the transitional government, following the agreement signed by the civil and military 1964 coup supporters. They insisted on being recognized as "revolutionaries", which was denied by the civil population through the press.

The hegemonic media exerted huge influence in the public opinion favorable to the conspiracy blown by the commander of the headquarters of Juiz de Fora (Minas Gerais), but also realized the explicit continuity of the "citizens in uniform" who seized the government.

This was the scenario which Luiz Beltrão faced by being invited (compelled, in a way) to move from Recife to Brasília. The institutional conditions seemed durable, even though the

"hardline" officials were approaching the control of power, hastened by citizens looking for revenge.

Unfortunately, Beltrão was mistaken by sometimes recruiting unskilled people out of academia, but sufficiently able to conspire in the shadows. In the government transition from Castelo Branco to Costa e Silva, key people in Planalto Central undermined democratic moves.

"Hardliners" displaced the "castelistas" (Castelo Branco's supporters) from the leading positions to favor their allies. Inevitably, Luiz Beltrão was thrown out by his opponents. That resulted in the process of formation of a heterodox college, freely thought of by Pompeu de Souza, only possible thanks to his insertion in a bold university such as conceived by Darcy Ribeiro, whose philosophy of action rescued the main lines of UDF – Universidade do Distrito Federal –, which had been formulated by Anisio Teixeira in the 1930s, assimilating the empiricism of the North American community college. This model contrasted with the stationary spirit of the decrepit European universities, and had few chances to thrive in such conservative society as the Brazilian.

One of Luiz Beltrão's fundamental initiatives at UnB was the incentive for faculty to pursue degree advancement and in-service education by creating conditions to engage aged professors in doctorates and, at the same time, leading the younger ones to register in master's programs. In this scenario, the culture of scientific research had not yet been established in the country. This component hindered the harmonious coexistence between young teachers who valued research and older professors, who lacked motivation for laboratory activities and expressed unavailability for fieldwork, not only because of their age.

Seeking to set a good example, Luiz Beltrão applied for his doctorate, presenting the dissertation *Folkcommunication:*

a study of agents and popular means of information about facts and expression of ideas. Also, his wife, Zita de Andrade Lima, joined the master's degree, writing the thesis *Principles and techniques of radiojournalism*. However, the environment had changed radically at the campus due military government shift.

The appointment of Laerte Ramos de Carvalho – identified as "hard line" – as dean sparked a "punitive action" against several professors, among them Luiz Beltrão, who was dismissed from the position of director of the School of Communication. He reported and exhaustively documented the "demolition" of the college in an article published in the 8/9 issue of the journal *Communications & Problems*.

When he turned 60, Beltrão was in a period of "astral hell", licking the wounds opened by the brutal interruption of the construction work in Brasília. Despite that, he didn't give in. The solidarity of his colleagues and friends was very important. In 1969, São Paulo hosted the Biennial Congress of the Latin American Catholic Press, which he attended as a lecturer, alongside the erudite writer Alceu de Amoroso Lima.

A consensus was created in this conclave in the sense of shielding certain figures of regional vanguard by electing them to occupy prominent positions. They acquired worldwide visibility and were more protected from the persecutions ordered by the military dictatorships. That was how the influential Peruvian journalist Matilde Perez Palacios launched Luiz Beltrão's candidacy to chair UCLAP, which gave him authority to continue his journalistic teaching.

Long before that, when he was transitioning from union militancy (1950s) to academic life (1960s), Luiz Beltrão had published three emblematic books:

a) the novel *Os senhores do mundo* ("The Lords of the World", 1950), focusing on the daily life of the popular classes, particularly on the contingent of miserable dwellers of the *mocambos* built in Recife's mangroves, who soothe the ancestral hunger with remains of food deposited in the garbage of São José Market;

b) the book-report *Itinerário da China* ("China Itinerary", 1959), reporting facts, featuring characters and describing landscapes observed during the trip made to ancient China, integrating a delegation of journalist leaders invited by Mao Tse Tung's government to document the communist offensive towards overcoming the poverty of the Chinese population, previously condemned to endemic death due to hunger caused by capitalist relations of production;

c) the academic essay *Iniciação à Filosofia do Jornalismo* ("Initiation to the Philosophy of Journalism", 1960), which systematizes his knowledge and records his understanding of the journalistic daily life experienced in professional practice in Brazilian northeastern companies. It enquires in the union militancy in which he had engaged, in the country and abroad; naturally sewn by cognitive lines that are a result from reading of works that reflect on the journalistic praxis in the modern world.

These three narrative experiences by Luiz Beltrão – as a fictionist, as a pressman and as an essayist – set up a rhetorical profile marked by diversity, but also by the presence of variables that dialectically coexist in the Brazilian context, whose methodological matrix is based on the binomial unity/diversity.

This is the panorama where two vectors of Beltrão's intellectual itinerary bifurcate:

1) the foundation of the first Brazilian scientific journal in the field of communication sciences: *Comunicações & Problemas* ("Communication & Problems");
2) the offer of the course on the Formation of Public Opinion in Juiz de Fora (Minas Gerais), now turned into a book.

In the very first issue of *Comunicações & Problemas*, Beltrão launched the platform for a new discipline in the field of communication and information sciences: Folkcommunication. In the article about the "ex-voto"[4] Beltrão raised the gaze of communication researchers to a type of object that had already been competently studied by anthropologists, sociologists and folklorists, but neglected by communicologists.

The implicit argument was focused on popular manifestations, which - triggered by agents of "information of facts and idea expression" (Beltrão 2014) - had as much relevance on communication as those disseminated by mass media. Consequently, he resorted to the already tested and perfected methodological arsenal in the study of the conventional manifestations of mass-journalism (arranged according to post-Gutenberg's channels). He transported them to analyze unique expressions of what he suggested as representatives of folk-journalism (broadcasted on pre-Gutenberg channels or by using technologies as rudimentary as Mainz's press).

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4   Ex-voto is a Latin expression that designates an offer from a believer to keep a promise to a saint or deity of devotion.

In fact, Beltrão had discovered that in Northeastern Brazil modern processes of mass communication coexisted with pre-modern communication phenomena. They were reminiscences of the European medieval period brought by the Portuguese colonizers – resembling a kind of symbolic continuum. Such means of popular communication, or folkcommunication - as how he chose to call them -, even being primitive or artisanal, acted as mere relays or decoders of messages conveyed by the mass communication industry (newspapers, magazines, radio, television, etc.).

More than that: he theoretically identified a similarity between these processes and those that Lazarsfeld and his disciples had observed in North American society, better known as the "two-step-flow-of-communication paradigm". However, Luiz Beltrão's hypotheses took a step forward in relation to Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz's postulates. While these scientists attributed a linear and individualistic character to the communicational flow in two stages, as it depended on the persuasive action of "opinion leaders", Beltrão had the feeling that the phenomenon was more complex, revealing a collective nature and involving a bipolar interaction (since it included feedback from "popular agents" in contact with "mass media"). The reinterpretation of messages was not just a function of the individual and distinct "reading" of community leaders. Even adapted to the social group's "rules of conduct", it strongly contained the sense of group "cohesion", capturing signs of "social change", which is typical from societies that suffer the environment hardships and need to transform themselves in order to survive.

In a certain sense, Luiz Beltrão anticipated empirical observations in Brazil also made by Jesús Martín Barbero in Colombia. Those observations gave strength to his theory of 'cultural mediations'. The core of the contribution of culturalists

to Latin American communicational thinking. From this current, the Mexican Jorge González had already made explicit reference to the seminal studies of the Pernambuco scientist on the Brazilian subaltern classes. Martin Barbero emphasized this pioneering spirit in his analysis of Brazilian "contributions" to Latin America social sciences during the 1997 Intercom congress. Beltrão recognized Folkcommunication agents, in rural or peripheral societies, as an institutional character, similar to what Martin Barbero would later attribute to educational, religious, or political agents in metropolitan urban communities.

Before that, however, the originality of Luiz Beltrão's studies earned applause from the greatest Brazilian folklorist, Luís da Câmara Cascudo. After reading the article about the "ex-voto", published in the ICINFORM journal, Cascudo sent a stimulating letter, intended to motivate the article's author. Beltrão would transcribe it in the next issue of the journal:

> Your opening paper (…) is a magnificent masterplan. It will praise everyday life, the vulgar, the actual popular in resemblance, origin and function. Do not expect an outside name to appear, or a faraway book teaching us to love what we have before our eyes. Keep on, as you are doing, valorizing Brazilian people in their regular routine. Not just the products from these people efforts: believe in the strength of their affection in the analytical domain. Above all, see with your own eyes. Move on with your own feet. Then compare yours with others' conclusions and footsteps. (…) Suspect the full-time mentors who do not allow happiness to flow. The parrot, which speaks so much, does not have the skill to make their own nestles. And the caged singing birds learn that professional prisoners' skill (Cascudo 1965, 135).

Câmara Cascudo's encouragement was decisive, so much so that Luiz Beltrão organized and ordered his observations on the manifestations of Northeastern popular communication, linking them in folklore theories and comparing them with the paradigms of mass-communication. Two years later, he brought back the empirical evidence and interpreted it according to the theories of mass communication and popular culture, assembling them in the doctoral thesis he enrolled at the University of Brasília's School of Communication. The judgment was made by a high-level examination board, made up of Spanish communicologist Juan Beneyto, American Medialogist Hod Horton and Brazilian sociologist Roberto Lyra Filho.

When the thesis was approved, under the title *Folkcommunication: a study of agents and popular information means of facts and expression of ideas* (Beltrão 2014), in 1967, the judging commission also awarded Luiz Beltrão the first degree of Doctor in Communication obtained at a Brazilian university. Therefore, it is worth noting the boldness of Darcy Ribeiro who, when creating UnB, institutionalized a doctoral degree in all areas of knowledge, not only in those disciplines that were already academically legitimized. It was through this shift that Luiz Beltrão, despite having the status of full professor, gave an example of intellectual humbleness to his disciples and collaborators, submitting himself to a merit exam to legally boast an academic condition that he already enjoyed for a long time.

His doctoral dissertation became a book in 1971, entitled *Communication and Folklore* (Beltrão 1971), and expanded the diffusion of the ideas he built on Folkcommunication. However, its theoretical foundations were opaque, since Editora Melhoramentos - the publisher which accepted the thesis - chose to remove the introductory chapter, replacing it with a brief introduction to the topic. This is partially explained by marketing

reasons (sparing the common reader from the typical prolegomena of academic theses). But the real explanation lies on the editorial consultant's opinion, Lourenço Filho, fascinated by the author's authenticity, as well as perplexed by his theoretical audacity.

In addition to being based on North American theories of mass communication, Beltrão sought support in the "folklore dynamics" theses defended by the (leftist) folklorist Edison Carneiro. Those were times of cultural obscurantism, sustained by the extra-constitutional legislation enacted by AI-5 (dictatorial Institutional Act nº 5). Therefore, Luiz Beltrão's theory of folkcommunication was incompletely diffused until 1980, when General Geisel's "slow, gradual and safe" opening took place.

By publishing the second book on this theme – *Folkcommunication – The communication of the marginalized* (Beltrão 1980) – Beltrão somehow fulfills this gap, synthesizing and undoubtedly updating his theory. At that time, it was already much denser and more structured, as a result of the empirical research he carried out in other Brazilian regions, especially in Brasília (a cultural synthesis of the country), and by the comparisons with similar research executed in other countries. In this sense, he took Câmara Cascudo's proposal literally: "first walk with your own feet and see with your own eyes, then compare with the others' footprints and views" (Beltrão 1980, 37).

Luiz Beltrão's notions spread throughout the country, gaining followers that further developed his ideas as a result of the empirical trails he opened.

His ideas are being restored, updated and deepened in Brazil by the FOLKCOM Network, created with support from the UNESCO/UMESP Chair of Communication for Regional Development. It's a group of researchers with interfaces between mass communication and culture that has been meeting annually

at the Brazilian Conferences on Popular Communication. The first was held in 1998 on the campus of the Methodist University of São Paulo, in the industrial city of São Bernardo do Campo. The second one was at the campus of FUNREI – University of São João del Rei Foundation , in the city of São João del Rei. Following: Federal University of Paraíba – UFPB (João Pessoa-PB), in 2000; Federal University of Mato Grosso do Sul – UFMS (Campo Grande-MS), in 2001; Monte Serrat University (Santos-SP), in 2002; School of Philosophy of Campos/SESC Mineiro de Grussaí (Campos de Goytacazes/São João da Barra-RJ), in 2003; Univates University Center (Lajeado-RS), in 2004; Teresina Unified Teaching Center – CEUT (Teresina-PI), in 2005; Methodist University of São Paulo – Umesp (São Bernardo do Campo-SP), in 2006; Ponta Grossa State University – UEPG (Ponto Grossa-PR), in 2007; Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte – UFRN (Natal-RN), in 2008; University of Taubaté – Unitau (Taubaté-SP), in 2009; State University of Santa Cruz – UESC (Ilhéus-BA), in 2010; Federal University of Juiz de Fora – UFJF (Juiz de Fora-MG), in 2011; State University of Paraíba – UEPB (Campina Grande-PB), in 2012; Federal University of Ceará – UFC-Cariri (Juazeiro do Norte-CE), in 2013.

In Latin America, Luiz Beltrão's theory has inspired the scientific production of Grupo de Estudios de Folkcomunicación, created by ALAIC (Asociación Latinoamericana de Investigadores de la Comunicación), and entrusted to Roberto Emerson da Câmara Benjamin's coordination, who then transferred to Bethany Maciel. The first meeting of Latin American Folkmunication colleagues took place at the 4th ALAIC Congress, in the city of Recife, when a collective work about Beltrão's life and work was launched – Luiz Beltrão's Itinerary (Benjamim, 1998). The last meeting took place in Lima/Peru, at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, where the XII ALAIC Congress was held in August 2014.

The memory of these events and the entire work of Luiz Beltrão – a multifaceted thinker - is referenced in the book edited by Marques de Melo, Fortuna Crítica de Luiz Beltrão (Melo 2012), and its aspects of life in the book edited by Marques de Melo and Amaral Gurgel Luiz Beltrão: singular and plural (Melo and Gurgel 2014).

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Introduction

The Folkcommunication theory began in 1967 in Brazil's first doctoral communication dissertation. It was the result of Luiz Beltrão's research. He began by questioning how the lower classes had access to information, hence they could not understand the orthodox media outlets or decode their messages. The theory is based on the hypotheses of North American diffusionist research, which presents the communication process through intermediaries.

Upon realizing that a large portion of the population had no access to the conventional communication system, he presented the problem: How did the rudimentary and illiterate populations that lived in rural areas of Brazil have access to information? Beltrão then conveyed that the communicative agents outside the orthodox system and the modalities adopted to transmit their message had folkloric characteristics, noting a close connection between folklore and popular communication for transmitting news and expressing thought and collective demands.

In his dissertation formulating, Beltrão applied the purposes of informative journalism and opinion journalism and established the categories of oral information, written information, and folk opinion communication, presenting popular information centers and the means of expression used periodically and systematically.

The research, a novel exploration, proved the existence of a specific system of communication between marginalized groups of the Brazilian population. It brought the following conceptualization: "folkcommunication is, therefore, the process of exchanging information and expressing opinions, ideas and attitudes of the masses through agents and means directly or indirectly linked to folklore" (Beltrão 2014, 70).

Roberto Benjamin, Beltrão's disciple, warns when analyzing Beltrão's research: " Although tied to the concept of folklore that was being developed under the leadership of Renato Almeida, he already located some manifestations that do not fit into that conceptualization" (Benjamim 1998, 215).

José Marques de Melo (1970), another prominent disciple, emphasized the groundbreaking nature of the dissertation, given that Communication studies at that time focused on mass media and their effects. Marques de Melo warned Beltrão that Folkcommunication did not only fulfill the informative function and that the other communication functions—educational, promotional, and entertainment—could also be present through Folkcommunication. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the study objects were not restricted to those presented in the dissertation.

Beltrão did not give up his connection to Brazilian folklore but expanded the nature, structure, and process of folkcommunication in subsequent studies. Furthermore, the theorist realized that the message intended for the audience also had a specificity. When reviewing his theory, he states: "So

we only targeted culturally and geographically marginalized groups. Today [1974], we think that research should be extended to other excluded sectors, without access to the mass media, due to their philosophical and ideological position contrary to dominant cultural norms, sectors that could be classified as countercultural" (Beltrão 1976, 45).

Thus, when constituting the folkcommunication audience, Beltrão (1980) conceives three large groups: 1) marginalized rural groups, 2) marginalized urban groups, and 3) culturally marginalized groups. He subdivided the latter into three subgroups: a) messianic groups, b) political activists, and c) erotic pornographic. Such incorporations led him to make slight modifications to the previously presented concept. In the book "Folkcommunication: The Communication of the Marginalized," the theory is defined as follows: "the set of procedures for exchanging information, ideas, opinions and attitudes of marginalized urban and rural audiences, through agents and means directly or directly linked to folklore" (Beltrão 1980, 24). To the author:

Folkcommunication fills the gap, if not the void, not only in journalistic information but also in all other functions of communication: education, promotion, and entertainment, reflecting the living, wanting, and dreaming of the popular masses excluded for various reasons and circumstances from the civilizing process, and expressing itself in languages and codes that are a challenge to the new and already vigorous field of study and research of Semiology (Beltrão 1980, 26).

Nowadays, Brazil's socioeconomic and political reality differs from the time in which Beltrão conducted his studies. However, the foundations and contributions to the scientific field remain. Thus, we can state that Folkcommunication studies consider three essential elements: a) folklore or popular communication,

b) marginality, and c) artisanal and horizontal communication. Moreover, when the observation point of view is the message's meaning, the articulation factor is resistance to oppressive structures (Fernandes, Santana, e Woitowicz 2022).

The book that we now present to readers consists of the translation of 15 texts that seek to provide a contextual overview of the development of this theory in its original country. We divided the book into Founding Fathers, Dialogues, and Interfaces.

The book commences with a pivotal text by Professor José Marques de Melo, a renowned figure in the field. Originally written as a preface to one of Beltrão's books, this text not only introduces the profile of Luiz Beltrão but also serves as a gateway to the theory's development. It's a fitting start to our exploration of the theory's origins.

In "Founding Fathers," in addition to Luiz Beltrão, we brought other members of the pioneering generation, also responsible for conceptual advances, such as Roberto Benjamin, who proposed the "new scope of folkcommunication," Joseph Luyten, who presented the "Folkmedia" concept, which considers the interaction/confrontation between the two systems of cultural communication, that is, social communication and folkcommunication. Finally, still active, Osvaldo Trigueiro brings the concept of "media activist" given the new communication and technological scenario in which we live.

In "Dialogues," we bring the fundamental role of dialogue between different theories and the Folkcommunication theory in advancing this field of studies. This section of the book features authors such as Antônio Hohlfeldt, who, in his text "Generation of Pioneers: Communication as Dialogue in Paulo Freire and Luiz Beltrão," highlights the importance of dialogue as an essential tool for understanding communication in different contexts.

Furthermore, Iury Parente Aragão's work, "Links between folkcommunication and functionalism," explores the connections between folkcommunication and functionalism, highlighting the relevance of interdisciplinary approaches to studying popular communication. Flávio Santana, in his study "From Robert Park to Luiz Beltrão: The notion of marginality in folkcommunication," examines the notion of marginality in folkcommunication, highlighting how different theoretical perspectives can enrich our understanding of communication phenomena. In "Folkcommunication research after Luiz Beltrão: beginning of the 21st century, " Guilherme Moreira Fernandes analyzes the development of folkcommunication research at the beginning of the 21st century, highlighting the importance of innovative and collaborative approaches for advancing the field. Finally, Cristina Schmidt, in "Folkcommunication, activism, and Public Policies: Disciplinary Approaches for Acting in the political arena," examines the intersections between folkcommunication, activism, and public policies, emphasizing the need for dialogue between different disciplines to formulate effective strategies of political intervention.

"Interfaces" presents some contemporary studies on folkcommunication that explore its applications in different contexts and cultural manifestations. Betania Maciel and Marcelo Sabbatini, in "Folkcommunication studies as a trend in Latin America," offer a comprehensive analysis of the trend in folkcommunication studies in Latin America, highlighting their contributions to understanding popular communication dynamics. In turn, Marcelo Pires de Oliveira, Beatriz Corrêa Pires Dornelles, and Cristian Yáñez Aguilar, in "Folkcommunication: a Latin American Approach for the Research of Cultural Manifestations," show folkcommunication as a Latin American approach to the research of cultural manifestations, exploring

the connections between folkcommunication and cultural identity in the region. Maria Érica de Oliveira Lima, in "Evoking journalism from a Beltranian perspective," examines journalism from a Beltranian perspective, highlighting Luiz Beltrão's contributions to contemporary journalistic practices. Cássio Eduardo Machado Bêribá and José Claudio Alves de Oliveira, in "Faith saint sculptors: folkcommunication in popular religious art production of the 18th century", investigate folkcommunication in the production of popular religious art of the 18th century, revealing the complex interactions between faith, culture, and communication. Finally, Eliane Mergulhão and Sônia Jaconi, in "Centenary of the 1922 Modern Art Week: the Brazilian second cry of independence and the presence of folkcommunication", analyze the presence of folkcommunication in the 1922 Modern Art Week, contextualizing it as a second cry for Brazilian independence and highlighting its relevance in the construction of national identity. These interfaces between folkcommunication and different areas of knowledge demonstrate its vitality and breadth as a field of study, enriching our understanding of popular communication practices and their relationship with culture and society.

The translation

The project to translate folkcommunication works into English began in 2017, when we noticed the need for more literature on the subject in English. Faced with this void, we took the initiative to fill this gap, launching a call for work. However, the initial response was silent, without an immediate echo.

Undeterred by the initial response, we persisted in our mission, carefully selecting some articles considered fundamental to introducing the complexity and richness of folkcommunication to the English-speaking public. It was at this point that we achieved

an important collaboration with Professor Isaias Francisco de Carvalho and the UESC-English project. Under his guidance, we invited students proficient in English to translate the selected articles.

The translation process was meticulous and structured into clear steps. Initially, the translators undertook the arduous task of transposing the concepts and nuances from Portuguese to English. Then, the translators, together with the Translation Supervisors, Professors Isaias Francisco de Carvalho and Marcelo Pires de Oliveira, carried out a joint reading to guarantee the fidelity and fluidity of the translated text. Finally, the two supervisors conducted a thorough final review, ensuring the accuracy and clarity of the content.

This process necessitated the development of a specialized vocabulary and the exploration of concepts unique to folkcommunication, all with the aim of making them accessible to English-speaking readers. We are confident that the resulting text is not only clear but also serves as an excellent introduction to the theory of folkcommunication.

Internationalization

When talking about the internationalization of research or line of thought, much more than disseminating the names of authors or works to other geographies, perhaps the most significant effort involves building relationships, affections, and experiences that promote knowledge exchange in its complete sense. In the case of the present work and for the Brazilian Network of Researchers in Folkcommunication – Rede Folkcom, building and promoting the exchange of knowledge presupposes drafting alternatives within the scope of the contributions of Luiz Beltrão and the new generations of researchers in the Communication

and Popular Culture interface, to affirm the protagonism of processes, ideas and especially social actors in local daily life.

In the geography involving communication research between the Ibero-American and Anglo-Saxon worlds, it is necessary to highlight that more scientific initiatives and partnerships must happen. Even though the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies - Intercom has promoted some approaches and good productions in its bi-national colloquiums, the great truth is that there is a horizon that needs to be better mapped, known, and experienced, especially regarding the consolidation of an agenda of themes, methodologies and peer dialogues more based on aspects that bring the Northern Hemisphere closer to the issues currently highlighted in the main events and scientific groups in Latin America (Alaic, Compós, Intercom, AssIbercom, Folkcom).

In 2016, Rede Folkcom outlined the first movement of more systematized expansion of Luiz Beltrão's legacy to other geographies when it launched the work "Folkcomunicación en América Latina: diálogos entre Chile y Brasil." (Aguilar et al. 2016). This book is a collaboration between Brazilian and Chilean researchers that sought to popularize classic and more contemporary Folkcommunication texts in Latin American and Spanish-speaking countries. In this project, a task force composed of researchers from the Austral University of Chile (UACH) in Valdivia, Southern Region of Chile, translated the texts from Portuguese to Spanish.

To some extent, the success of this first foreign publication not only meant the circulation of Folkcommunication texts in places in Latin America where their approaches were still unknown but also increased the Folkcom Network's awareness of how much its theory and interfaces present a much broader

scope than Latin America, especially when it is vital to register the increasing presence of great North American researchers at events promoted by the Folkcom Network. Joseph Straubhaar (University of Texas, USA) and Jake Draper (University of Missouri, USA). Both references identified with Beltranian research and legacy in the field of Communication.

As a result, we are confident in the work carried out, and the resulting texts represent a significant step in the dissemination and understanding of folkcommunication internationally.

The Editors

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Founding Fathers

1. Communication Systems[1]

Luiz Beltrão[2]

(Translation by Marcelo Pires de Oliveira)

Because human society has its layered organization and many institutions inside its core, we can distinguish society from culture, culture from nation, nation from state, and one state from another state, thus existing at different levels of organization and development.

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1   Extracted from the book General Theory of Communication (Beltrão 1977)

2   Luiz Beltrão de Andrade Lima, born in Olinda in 1918, was a journalist and a lawyer. Founder of the Journalism program at the Catholic University of Pernambuco, he was president of the Pernambuco Press Association. In Recife, he worked for Diário de Pernambuco and Folha da Manhã. In Brasilia, he was director of the College of Communication at Brasilia Federal University (UnB). He has published several books, including Communication and Folklore (1971) and Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized (1980). He was the first Doctor in Communication in Brazil, defending the thesis "Folkcommunication: a study of agents and popular means of information of facts and expression of ideas at the Federal Brasilia University (UnB)", in 1967. He also wrote several books on the theory and practice of Journalism, the Theory of Communication, and novels and short stories. He died in Brasilia, on October 24, 1986.

Each particular society has differences in ethnic, geopolitical, economic, and cultural factors. In the same political society (state) groups coexist: those integrated into the civilizing process and the marginalized ones. The latter constituted due to racial or linguistic diversity, the divergence of beliefs, customs, habits, and traditions, economic differences, education, etc.

Also, concerning communication, such groups exist, whether in rural areas due to the isolation in which certain portions of the population live, or in urban areas, where access to the most efficient and modern means of preparing, transmitting, and receiving messages is not uncommon. It is the privilege of the dominant classes, the economically, politically, and intellectually more vigorous, responsible for directing and promoting social evolution.

Figure 1: Cultural Communication Scheme
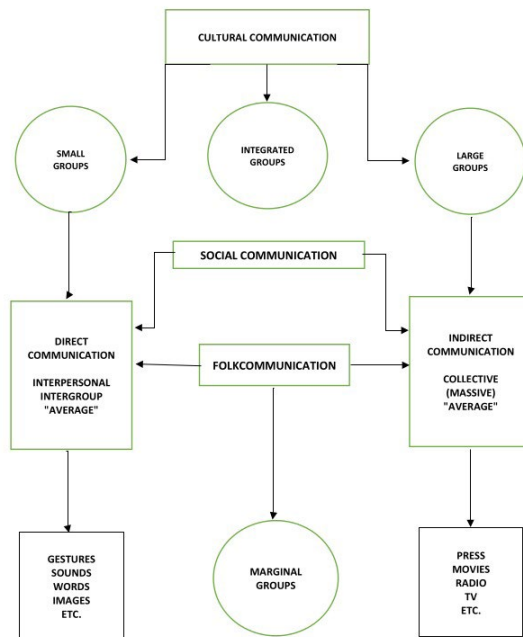
Source: Adapted from the original by Luiz Beltrão (1977)

The situation described in Figure 1 generates, for each group, a communication system. We may understand this system as a specific set of procedures, modalities, and means of exchanging information, experiences, ideas, and feelings, essential to the coexistence and improvement of the people and institutions that make up a specific portion of society, characterized by its degree of integration in the civilizing context. Consequently, we can identify two major communication systems in contemporary society:

I - Social Communication System - denomination enshrined in the preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council. It was convened by Pope John XXIII when the Secretariat of the Press and Shows "prepared a scheme on the subject... approved on July 13, 1962... under the title Constitution on the Instruments of Diffusion or the Social Communication", according to Romeu Dale (1973). The same author documents the project's progress that, after all, becomes the Decree on the Media of Social Communication, promulgated on December 4, 1963, by Paul VI, after homologation by the majority of the conciliar bishops. The document included the press, the radio, cinema, and television, as well as "other inventions of the kind" as means that, "if correctly employed, offer valuable assistance to human society, as they do much to recreate and enrich the spirit."

Both the text of the Inter Mirifica Decree and the letter and spirit of the Pastoral Instruction Communio et Progressio, which complemented it in 1970, make it clear when referring to the theater and to the education of communicators for various professional activities in the area. The system encompasses types of communicational relationships, interpersonal and intergroup, as mass media.

In turn, Pfromm Netto (1972), explaining the meaning of the expression social communication, writes: "it refers more to communication among the people who make up a group, designating the fertile lines of research on 'informal social communication' (Festinger, 1953) and 'communication networks' that Bavelas and Smith initiated, lines that have particular importance for labor psychology."

Francisco Gil Tovar (1967), a professor at the Pontifical Javeriana University of Bogotá, in 1962, adopted the expression, defining it as follows: "Communication, that is, the participation of some above others... - To make what belong to one be of another and vice-versa, through active infusion, propagation, diffusion, extension... Social: that affects groups of people linked to each other...That has a collective character, with the probability of being communal". It affects "those who maintain ties and mutual influences of different kinds." Also, by including Public Relations among communication activities and sciences, which characteristically employ both direct and indirect means, professor Tovar identifies, without a doubt, the nature and composition of the user groups of this system.

The economic qualification for the possession of channels (means) receiving messages and the intellectual level required for their decoding configure the system's audience as belonging to integrated social groups, to elites or majorities engaged or linked to the civilizing process of the "establishment." In turn, communicators, through the use of precise and formal language, specific methods of preparing messages, and the most sophisticated techniques to make them reach the recipients, unequivocally emerge as spokespersons for the same integrated groups. In whose service they act and to whose objective they likewise subject their performance.

II - Folkcommunication System - Folkcommunication, in opposition, is a denomination that we came up in 1967 in our doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Brasília. Later, we disseminated it in a book, which is being adopted today (1980s) in several universities and schools in the country. The Folkcommunication System originates, directs, and targets marginalized rural and urban audiences, minorities alienated from the surrounding society's economic and cultural developmental process, sometimes even in conflict with the forces that compose and maintain it.

The users of the Folkcommunication System comprise:

1 - Intellectually, economically, and geographically marginalized rural groups. They were the ones we researched for the dissertation mentioned above. Inhabitants of isolated areas, lacking in electricity, efficient transport routes, and modern means of communication, under-informed, unassisted by the institutions that drive social progress and the development goals pursued by the country's ruling classes. They are illiterate or semi-literate individuals, low income per capita, and whose culture is deeply rooted on traditional beliefs and habits. Therefore, the exchange of information and the expression of these audiences' opinions, ideas, and attitudes are carried out through agents and means directly or indirectly linked to folklore.

Preferably, they use direct interpersonal channels: conversations, stories and poetry slams, preachings and sermons, popular songs, dramatic and folklore plays and representations, ceremonies, and festivals on the religious calendar. In addition, they use some indirect channels, notably inscriptions, engravings

and paintings, *cordel*[3], almanacs and "timetables," handicraft products such as clay dolls, *ex-votos*[4], icons and medals, ribbons, candles, and banners. The composition and printing of leaflets, flyers, small newspapers, and magazines are typographic, box, and manual: artisanal techniques are the most primitive. When using products of technical progress for communication, the preference is for the most specific services, such as wired loudspeakers, instead of radio stations or photographs from box camera obscura, often manufactured or adapted by the operators themselves, known in Portuguese as *lambe-lambe*[5].

Given these groups' reduced and very particular vocabulary universe, they are unable or can hardly decode messages. In particular, messages received on the radio (although transistors have become popular), movies, and, more rarely, television, when the language of these media is not linear, or it reaches a certain degree of symbolic preciousness. The agents producing folkcommunication messages are perfectly aware of these peculiarities, which are those opinion leaders identified in research and studies by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Katz, and other theorists of mass communication, and who are not, by definition, in a small province community, the vicar or the political boss. These folk leader-communicators (singer, cordel poet, ceramist, etc.) generally have a social situation identical to that of their

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3　Cordel = string – it is a popular form of folk literature that is exposed in these thin ropes in fairs and marketplaces in Brazil Northeast cities. The artists, most of them poets and painters, sell their textbooks about a variety of subjects, most of them about the inner lands life and folkloric tales of the rural inhabitants.

4　An ex-voto is a votive offering to a saint or to a divinity. It is given in fulfillment of a vow (hence the Latin term, short for ex voto suscepto, "from the vow made") or in gratitude or devotion. Ex-votos are placed in a church or chapel where the worshiper seeks grace or wishes to give thanks.

5　Lambe-lambe are photographers that work in the streets and squares to take pictures of the passersby, this name was pejorative for many photographers. In Rio de Janeiro, the official title that was most accepted was "Garden Photographers". In São Paulo they were called as "Street Photographers".

followers (folk audience). Having the same life experience, they occupy a position of competence in a particular work field. They are extroverted, do not isolate themselves, and are significantly related to and appreciated by in the community. They make frequent visits to other places, thus having access to sources of information that their sedentary audience does not know of. They are more exposed than their audience to mass media and, finally, can recode the message so that they will understand it. Their style characteristics are simplicity, direct order, easily identifiable images, defined lines and contours, redundancy, vocabularies, and syntax accessible to mentalities not given to adventures of the spirit.

In the diagram in Figure 2, we give an idea of the process of folkcommunication based on the theories of communication flow in two or multiple stages. We also based it on the studies of Klapper (1960) and Dumazedier (1966). According to them, the message of mass communication atomizes and, for various reasons, including the degree of credibility that the issuer deserves, does not cause results except through the opinion leaders, who receive, translate, and broadcast it to their audience through the folk media (specific channels).

Figure 2: Folkcommunication Process
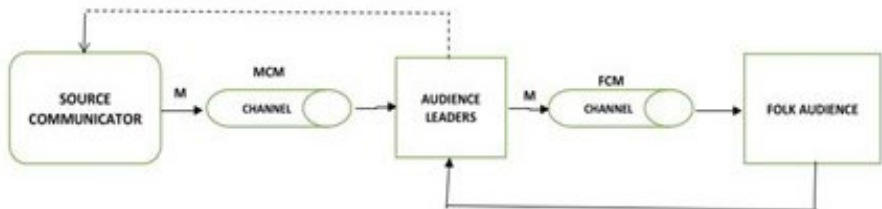
Source: Adapted from the original by Luiz Beltrão (1977)

2 - Socially marginalized urban groups. With a diversified composition, the majority have their characteristic in the reduced purchasing power of their economic income. For this reason, they inhabit slums and peripheral neighborhoods of cities, in shacks or shelters, start working as children and barely attend elementary school. They are undernourished, and unaware of the comforts and facilities enjoyed by other parts of the urban community.

Although their vocabulary universe is broader than the rural communities, surveys carried out through communication programs and public opinion institutes abroad and in the country, among which we highlight the one promoted by prof. Mário L. Erbolato: with his students from the Catholic University of Campinas, SP, he proves their reduced ability to decode messages elaborated in the language of the press and radio. These channels are more accessible to them in the social communication system since, for economic reasons, they do not go to the movies, and few are television viewers.

In addition from the communication means that rural groups use to receive messages from the outside world the urban groups prefer vehicles based on illustrations. According to studies and research by Habert (1974) and Bosi (1972), cited in this chapter bibliography, those media supports are comics, magazines, and photo novels. However, they interpret the messages according to their reality.

As for the expression of their thoughts and feelings, their aspirations and needs, they make use, above all, of collective manifestations, public acts promoted by their institutions, such as sports and charitable associations, samba schools, and other carnival and entertainment associations, brotherhoods, confraternities, and religious congregations, through games, joint effort, music, singing, allegories, leaflets, flyers, "chain letters",

inscriptions, folkloric acts, circus shows and street theatre, processions, pilgrimages, particular cults of popular catholicism, spiritism, umbanda and candomblé, in addition to pentecostal evangelical confessions.

Looking into the religious issue in Brazil, Camargo (1973) refers to the typology of catholicism found by Spitzer in a study on the complexity of this religion in a rural Mexican society. He pinpoints a category that he called "folk" or popular, and which Thales de Azevedo (1966) also adopts in his essay on "Culture and racial situation in Brazil." As with popular catholicism, mediumistic religions, and pentecostalism.

> The potential clientele […] comes fundamentally from specific sectors of the urban and suburban population. […] coming from traditional areas undergoing a process of social disorganization in the face of the emergence of new production ways. They also undersee the rapid development of the communication network and the national trading goods […] (encountering) severe difficulties in adapting to standards of behavior appropriate to an urban society in a rapid industrialization process. The functional sociological analysis of pentecostalism has as its central point the understanding of this religion […] as a way of reorienting the conduct, in sacral terms, of those who are unprepared to participate effectively in urban-industrial society. (Camargo 1973, 147)

According to the same author, such manifestations of religious background work with the idea of soul and body salvation. That is a fundamental doctrinal point and the great attraction of "divine healing". For which agents (possessors of "gifts of healing") employ therapeutic techniques "of biblical inspiration - They lay their hands on the sick, anointing them with oil, and blessing

pieces of clothing or objects." They understand medicine "as a therapeutic resource, limited by human science." As these groups cannot afford a doctor or buy medicine, the conversion and search for those with the spiritual gift of healing is verified due to the messages sent by the healed or "blessed" believers, or by the adopted therapeutic ritual.

The process of elaborating and disseminating messages to economically fragile urban groups in society is the same as in the above scheme. Therefore, the communicator agents must have the same leadership characteristics and capacity for dialogue in terms and languages fully understood by the audience.

Other urban groups, which use folkcommunication to spread their messages, are made up of marginalized individuals because of their opposition to established culture or social organization. These are agents of moral and political philosophy that diverge from the customs and practices of the community, from which they are voluntarily or forcibly separated, and who seek, through the expression of their ideas, to attract new elements to their ranks or to undermine the dominant institutions.

Such groups are characterized more by the clandestinity or deception they use in elaborating and transmitting their messages than by their economic situation, intellectual level, or social status. Depending on the audience they want to reach, they sometimes use folk media, inscriptions on walls, leaflets, mimeographed flyers, typed pamphlets, or magazine bricolage. Sometimes they surreptitiously penetrate the mass media through double-meaning messages, whether in graphic journalistic matters, including cartoons and photographic illustrations, or on the radio, preferably through the lyrics of popular songs, or on television, especially in "soap operas" and humorous programs, as well as in cinema, documentaries or fiction films. Thus, despite

these last vehicles being subject to censorship[6] of shows and public entertainment, many messages escape the generally insufficient knowledge of communication theory, narrow-minded regulation of action and decision, and even the level of humanistic culture, expected to be superior of public power agents in charge of such a delicate function.

Among the contesting groups, because of the most frequent incidences of their communicational actions, we can indicate the following:

A - the erotic-pornographic, which uses, in a systematic way, the walls of public toilets or highly frequented establishments, such as schools, restaurants, and hospitals; and

B - the extremist party-politician, who mainly uses inscriptions on walls for the folk public and the mass acts of terrorism (attacks, kidnappings, bomb explosions, riots, etc.) of great repercussion.

Both groups also have an underground communication network, which publishes and distributes leaflets, newspapers, prints, cinematographic films, records, and audiovisual resources that are not legally registered and whose dissemination is also done in secret.

Systems Integration

The cultural and economic demands for development programs conducted by states and regional organizations of nations include their dissemination to all segments of society, with a view to effective participation in their execution and,

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6 At the time Luiz Beltrão wrote this paper the Brazilian government was a dictatorship and all movies were subject to censorship. (T.N)

consequently, to their benefits. However, following the extremist party-political group procedure example, the social institutions planning and promoting the programs mentioned above face different systems reality. Therefore, they must integrate those systems so that the messages are conveyed in a language accessible to each part of the population and suitable for specific media so its users can decode them and react as expected.

Research and studies such as those by Schramm (1976), Dumazedier (1966), Lerner (1972), and other social scientists on the role of communication in development, referred to in the bibliography of this chapter, offer a valuable contribution to the effective use of the system's mass media of social communication. However, only in the last two decades has folkcommunication been investigated. In several Brazilian and foreign Universities, programs follow one another, and research is promoted, not only in Communication careers, but also in departments and schools of agronomic sciences for specialization in rural extension and domestic economics. Such activities will likely grow to other areas of university education, notably marketing, medical sciences, social work, and economics.

Perspectives for expanding these efforts opened up when, in November 1972, at the request of UNESCO, under the auspices of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, "twenty-two experts in folklore communication" met in London. The group included "anthropologists, folklore scholars, and officials in charge of important programs and extensive experience in the social application of folkloric means." They included the following objectives in the agenda of this meeting:

(a) - the identification of folklore media (including oral literature, visual and representative arts) used in social development regarding family planning;

(b) - a study of the cultural, sociological, and practical aspects of using folklore for family planning purposes;

(c) - the extension of folkloric means through the means of communication...;

(d) - instruction and guidance in the use of folkloric means, etc.

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2. Folkcommunication: from Luiz Beltrão's proposal to contemporaneity[1]

Roberto Benjamin[2]

(Translation by Isaias Francisco de Carvalho
& Pedro Arão das Mercês Carvalho)

1   First published in Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias de la Comunicación, year 5, nº 8 and 9, p. 281-287, Jan. and Dec. 2008.

2   Professor Roberto Emerson Câmara Benjamin was born in Recife, in 1943. He graduated in Journalism and Law. He worked as a Prosecutor and was professor at the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco (UFRPE). He was a visiting professor at the University of Poiters, France, and president of the Pernambuco Folklore Commission. He published several articles in scientific journals on Afro-Brazilian culture. He coordinated the publications "Contos populares Brasileiros" and "A fala e o gesto: ensaios de folkcomunicação sobre narrativas orais". He is author of the books "Arte-educação em Pernambuco", "Folguedos e Danças de Pernambuco", "Folkcomunicação no contexto da massa" and "Pequeno dicionário do Natal". Apart from other copies of the series "A África está em Nós", some of them written in co-authorship with Janete Lins Rodriguez and Maria Carmelita Lacerda, he also published "Carnaval - cortejos e improvisos", co-authored with Maria Alice Amorim, "A festa do Rosário de Pombal", co-authored with Osvaldo Meira Trigueiro, the educational extracurricular narratives "Ali e os camelos", "O mansa Musa", "A rainha Ginga" and "A serpente de sete línguas", illustrated by Antônio Jirônimo Bizerril Neto and Alzir Alves de Pontes Júnior. Considered one of the greatest theorists of Folkcommunication, Roberto Benjamin highlights popular contexts as paramount to communicational practices. He passed away in Recife on October 20, 2013.

> In 1959, as soon as I published my journalistic communication studies about the conventional manifestations and the consecrated communication vehicles such as newspapers, radio, television, and cinema. Seeking to isolate its essential attributes and appreciate its philosophical conditions, I felt attracted by other aspects of the dissemination of information and expression of public opinion, which escaped the social activity to which I had dedicated my efforts of scientific inquiry. (Beltrão 1971, 11)

In March 1965, Luiz Beltrão de Andrade Lima (Recife, 1918 - Brasília, 1986) published, for the first time, his thoughts on folkcommunication in a scientific journal. The article was about the ex-voto as a journalistic vehicle, and it was published in the first issue of *Comunicações & Problemas* ("Communication & Problems", Beltrão 1965).

As he went forward on his research, Beltrão noticed that the communicator-agents from outside the conventional system and the modalities they adopted for message transmission were folkloric characteristics.

> The close connection between folklore and popular communication, recorded during data collection, inspired the author to name this schismatic type of news transmission and expression of thought and collective demands. (Beltrão 2014, 79)

He pointed out that many demonstrations should be taken as journalistic, and that the identification of opinion leaders as active agents of folkcommunication affiliated studies in this area to the "multi-step flow theory", originally proposed by Katz and Lazarsfeld as "two-step flow theory" – based on data from

election polls in the USA[3] and amplified by Wilbur Schramm, graphically represented by Schramm's "tuba"[4].

Then, the establishment of a work program and the opening of the first paths defined a new area for communication research and theoretical thought in Brazil.

In the formulation of his doctoral dissertation (at University of Brasília, in 1967 - the introduction is dated from 1966), Beltrão applied the classification, then current, of informative journalism and opinion journalism to the popular manifestations, stipulating the categories of oral information, written information and opinion folkcommunication, distinguishing the centers of popular information and the means of expression periodically and systematically used. He defined folkcommunication as "the process of exchange of information and expression of mass opinions, ideas and attitudes through agents and means directly and indirectly related to folklore."

The non-publication of the dissertation presented at the University of Brasília jeopardized the dissemination of the theory to the public. Only in 1971, Beltrão published *Comunicação e folclore* ("Communication and Folklore"), which represents, with slight differences in wording, the second part of his research. The work edition, without a theoretical introduction, was delayed due to political and personal issues that ended up removing Luiz Beltrão from managing Universidade de Brasília's School of Communication. In the II Congress of Brazilian Christian Union of Social Communication (Guaratinguetá, 1974), Beltrão started to share thoughts on folkcommunication again when, despising

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3   LAZARSFELD, Paul. Os meios de comunicação coletiva e a influência pessoal. *In*: Panorama da comunicação coletiva. Rio de Janeiro: Fundo de Cultura, 1964, p. 87-96.

4   SCHRAMM, Wilbur. Comunicação de massa e desenvolvimento. Rio de Janeiro: Bloch, 1970

the official concepts about folklore in the country, he spread manifestations in this new field of study:

> So we only targeted culturally and geographically marginalized groups. Today, research should extend to other excluded sectors, without access to the mass media, due to their philosophical and ideological position contrary to dominant cultural norms. These sectors could be classified as counter-cultural. (Beltrão 1976, 45).

Only with the work *Folkcomunicação: a comunicação dos marginalizados* [Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized] (Beltrão, 1980) he could expose the theory he introduced (and named) in Brazil, while sharing the empirical research on which he bases it.

After that work, Beltrão published only three studies on folkcommunication, in contrast with his other activities as a professor of journalism technique and a mass communication researcher. They were: *As piedosas recordações* [Pious Recollections] (Beltrão 1982b), which tackles little statues of saints commonly distributed in requiem masses, analyzed from the folkcommunication point of view; *Videntes & volantes - presença das ciências ocultas na Folkcomunicação* [Psychics & Flyers - Presence of Occult Sciences in Folkcommunication] (Beltrão 1996b), a work in which he analyzes the phenomenon of belief exploitation in clairvoyance in contemporary society, and the use of flyers for its dissemination; and *Almanaque de cordel[5]: veículo de informação e educação do povo* [Cordel almanac: People's Means of information and Education] (Beltrão 1982a), in which

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5   Cordel = string – it is a popular form of folk literature that is exposed in these thin ropes in fairs and market places in Brazil Northeast cities. The artists, most of them poets and painters, sell their textbooks about a variety of subjects, most of them about the inner lands life and folkloric tales of the rural inhabitants.

he focuses on almanacs edited by popular poets linked to cordel literature that discloses - in prose - calendars, horoscopes, weather forecasts and favorable conditions for the practice of different plantations in Brazil's Northeast.

In a 1977 conference, at the II Laranjeiras Cultural Conference (in the State of Sergipe), Beltrão discussed Folklore as a manifestation of communication based on the assumptions of Semiology. This approach, however, was only printed after the publication of *Encontro cultural de Laranjeiras 20 anos* [Laranjeiras Cultural Conference 20th Anniversary] (Beltrão 1996a), already in a posthumous context.

Despite not publishing the dissertation he defended at the University of Brasilia - which hindered the theory dissemination -, his students took it up again in academic works which project Luiz Beltrão's ideas and theoretical concepts, due to his commitment to his career as a professor. Because of the introduction of the 1969 curriculum reform - through Resolution 11/69 of the Brazilian Federal Council of Education, which restructured Social Communication programs -, some Brazilian universities (such as Catholic University of Pernambuco and Federal University of Juiz de Fora) included Folkcommunication among compulsory complementary courses or optional courses, while others included his study as part of the courses on Scientific Foundations of Communication. The Federal University of Paraíba created a Folkcommunication division (for research and extension activities) in its Pro-Rectory of Community Affairs. With the new curriculum, Folkcommunication is placed in the core curriculum in the Communication Systems course. Folkcommunication is studied in universities in Brazil also at the postgraduate level.

Folkcommunication teaching and research at Brazilian universities have resulted in the publication of studies from

fieldworks, theoretical reflections and application of research methodologies.

Luiz Beltrão's successors sought to expand the conceptualization of Folkcommunication, and to establish a relationship between the manifestations of popular culture and mass communication. That included studies on the mediation performed by popular manifestations in the reception of mass communication, the appropriation of popular tradition by mass media and the appropriation of aspects of mass culture by popular culture.

Nowadays, folkcommunication is conceived within the following scope:

Topics	Study Area
1. The communication - group and interpersonal - that occurs in folk culture	**Message elaboration**
2. The mediation of folk channels for reception of mass communication	**Reception**
3. The appropriation of mass communication technologies and the use of mass channels by folk culture carriers	**Elaboration**
4. The presence of mass culture traces absorbed by folk culture	**Reception and effects**
5. The appropriation of elements of folk culture by mass culture and by erudite culture (folklore projection)	**Elaboration and message effects**
6. The reception in the folk culture of elements of its own culture reprocessed by mass culture	**Reception and effects**

The UNESCO Chair at the Methodist University of São Paulo has been promoting specific scientific events on Folkcommunication since 1998, with conferences held

on campus (1998); in São João del Rey (Minas Gerais, 1999); João Pessoa (Paraíba, 2000); Campo Grande (Mato Grosso do Sul, 2001); Santos (São Paulo, 2002); Campos dos Goytacazes (Rio de Janeiro, 2003); Lajeado (Rio Grande do Sul, 2004); Teresina (Piauí, 2005); Ponta Grossa (Paraná, 2007) and Natal (Rio Grande do Norte, 2008).[6]

In addition to the plenary conferences, finished and in progress fieldworks were presented in all those events. The movement on the subject led the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul to publish Luiz Beltrão's whole dissertation (Beltrão, 2014). Several books by folkcommunication researchers and annals of specific events have also been published (printed or on CDs).

Aside from ALAIC (Asociación Latino-Americana de Investigadores de la Comunicación), folkcommunication has a working group that meets in congresses of the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (INTERCOM). A virtual network of folkcommunication researchers was also created, which brings together scholars from Brazil and abroad.

The working group at ALAIC

The Folkcommunication Working Group of ALAIC (Asociación Latino-Americana de Investigadores de la Comunicación) was implemented at the 1998 Congress, in Recife, as a tribute to Luiz Beltrão, creator of the folkcommunication theory.

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6   In sequence, we had the following events: Taubaté (São Paulo, 2009); Ilhéus (Bahia, 2010); Juiz de Fora (Minas Gerais, 2011); Campina Grande (Paraíba, 2012); Juazeiro do Norte (Ceará, 2013); Cuiabá (Mato Grosso, 2015); Recife (Pernambuco, 2017); and Parintins (Amazônia, 2018).

The working group participated in congresses in 2000 (in Santiago, Chile), 2002 (in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia), 2004 (in the city of La Plata, Argentina) and 2006 (in San Leopoldo, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil).6 A total of 56 works were presented, by researchers from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, as well as participants from Spain and France.

The presented works correspond to a wide variety of themes in which the theory of folkcommunication has been applied: ethnicity (2), festivities (4), revelries - folguedos (8), literature (7), media (11), myth (1), music (4), religion (14), and theory (5).

In all events, the turnout has been increasingly significant. ALAIC's Working Group has played an important role in spreading folkcommunication theory in Latin America.

Works Presented at ALAIC Conferences - themes

Ethnicity

- CÂNTIA, Aline; BOLONI, Leonardo. Na terra e na memória dos descendentes de escravos, uma cultura que o país ainda desconhece. Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte; Universidade de Uberaba, Minas Gerais. Brasil. 2004.
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Festivities

- AÑEZ SALVATIERRA, Lenny; ANTELO SAUCEDO, Karenina. Los imaginários culturales / comunicacionales del carnaval cruceño en el año I del siglo XXI. Universidad NUR. Bolívia. 2002.
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- LUCENA FILHO, Severino Alves de. Semana Farroupilha: um evento no contexto da folkcomunicação. Universidade Federal da Paraíba. Brasil. 2002.

Revelries (Folguedos)

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Media

- BENJAMIN, Roberto. A mídia e os mitos. Universidade Federal Rural de Pernambuco. Brasil. 2000.
- LUCENA FILHO, Severino. A cachaça e a rapadura. Universidade Federal da Paraíba. Brasil. 2000.
- MACHADO, Maria Berenice da Costa et al.. Abaixo a ditadura da mídia: pichações e grafites e as tendências políticas da sociedade porto-alegrense em 2004. Centro Universitário Feevale, Novo Hamburgo, Rio Grande do Sul. Brasil. 2004.
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Music

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Theory

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Conclusion

From this analysis, the conclusion is that the studies of folkcommunication are consolidated and its area has expanded beyond the initial concept. Its evolution corresponds to the performance of scholars of this theme in following the cultural changes that have taken place in the past decades.

Cultural exchange makes possible to verify that the problem of communication regarding folk culture populations and their relations with mass culture is also an object of interest for academic

research (albeit under other names) in different parts of the world, including countries where folk culture populations are absolutely a minority and where mass culture tends to be regarded as the only cultural expression.

By expanding the scope of Folkcommunication, the challenge lies on how to proceed with research for consolidating this scientific knowledge.

When conducting investigations, one must focus on interdisciplinary work and resort to the application of various research techniques used in the humanities and in language sciences – combined with the experimentation of techniques and creativity, without disregarding scientific rigor.

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3. Folkmedia: a new perspective on Folklore and Folkcommunication [1]

Joseph M. Luyten[2]

(Translation by Pedro Arão das Mercês Carvalho)

Certain impatience has increasingly been noticed regarding traditional studies of folklore in both the field of academic research

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1   Conference delivered by Joseph M. Luyten in the V Folkcom – V Brazilian Folkcommunication Conference, held in Santos, São Paulo, in May 2002.

2   Journalist and professor in many Brazilian universities (USP, Objetivo, Cásper Líbero, ESPM etc.). Dutch by birth, he held a doctor's degree in Communication Science from ECA-USP. He was Luiz Beltrão's follower. Author of the book A notícia como literatura de cordel, among others. He idealized the Hedra Publisher's Cordel Library Collection (São Paulo), with more than 15 books published. Researcher of Cordel, he assisted with the constitution of the collection "Rayznond Cantei literature de cordel", considered the biggest in the world, and the cordel collection of Japan's National Museum of Ethnology, in Osaka. He was also one of the founders of Folkcom, the Brazilian Network of Studies and Research in Folkcommunication. Luyten passed away in July 2006 and left an important contribution to Folkcommunication.

on popular culture and the popular means of communication. This area of knowledge has undergone many obstacles since its creation in 1846, when English archeologist William John Thoms coined the term "Folk-lore" meaning the people's traditional knowledge. This new field of study engaged various motivated scholars around the globe, including Brazil. Starting in the 1930s, a new group emerged under the leadership of Luís da Câmara Cascudo and Mário de Andrade, and followed by Renato Almeida, Rossini Tavares de Lima, Theo Brandão and others. Guided by the willingness to determine their scientific consceptions, they were academically very strict.

Later in the 1960s, starting from the analysis of studies on the social communication phenomenon, Luiz Beltrão came up with the word "Folkcommunication" to represent the communicational elements through means linked to Folklore. Indeed, this can be considered the biggest contribution made by a Brazilian to the studies of Communication internationally.

From researches conducted by Beltrão, there was an increase in the interest in popular communication issues. However, this movement faced attacks from old school folklorists who insisted on considering Folklore as necessarily being made by the people, accepted by a specific society and produced anonymously. These three elements received an ever-growing neglect by communication researchers, considering the interpenetration of many levels of culture and communication. It became very difficult to maintain the old canons of genuinely popular culture, especially in Brazil, where in about 50 years more than half the population moved from the countryside to cities. Furthermore, the biggest matter of interest turned to focus on mass media – or simply media –, which became the moderator of all considerations, including the "folk" culture producers.

A new term was then coined: folkmedia. It means the interaction between popular and mass cultures. This word had already been used in England, in 1972, and two years later in New Delhi, but it meant something like "the means of communication based on elements of folklore", which was very similar to folkcommunication. It was the period of the "extensionists", those who wanted to implement new ideas and technologies through means that complied with established traditions in popular segments unaware of social and scientific progress. In Brazil, scholar Roberto Benjamin, Luiz Beltrão's follower, kept using the term "Folkmedia" and defends his positions in his own book *Folkcomunicação no contexto de massa* ("Folkcommunication in the mass context"; João Pessoa. Ed. Universitária, UFPB, 2000).

As the term Folkmedia in this case is presented more as a synonym of Folkcommunication, we think that it is better to use it in situations that are becoming more common worldwide which consists of the initiation between the means of mass communication and folkcommunication. In other words: the use of elements provided by folkcommunication and the use of elements of mass communication by popular communicators.

Luiz Beltrão, pioneer in the studies of folkcommunication

Undoubtedly, one of the biggest contributions to the studies of communication in Brazil was Luiz Beltrão's work, still in the 60s, when he combined the opinion leader role, described by Lazarsfeld, to communication systems observed in Brazilian society.

He then called the phenomenon "folkcommunication", and defined it as an "exchange process of information and expression of mass opinions, ideas and attitudes through

agents and means directly and indirectly related to folklore." He reported his first impressions from the until then little explained ex-votos, very common in popular peregrination spots in Brazil's Northeast. Beltrão noted that the presence of some kinds of ex-voto perfectly demonstrated the social condition of the region, such as objects thanking for the cure of certain common illnesses in the area, or pictures of happy brides – very representative in such region known for the evasion of young grooms.

Subsequently, in 1967, Luiz Beltrão shows the complete result of his precursory work on his doctoral dissertation in the University of Brasilia. This study was only partially published by Editora Melhoramentos in 1971, under the title of *Communication and folklore*. It is noted that the word folkcommunication doesn't even appear. Just much later, in 2001, by the persistence of José Marques de Melo, Beltrão's dissertation was fully published by the Pontifical Catholic University – PUC de Porto Alegre – with the title *Folkcommunication: a study on the popular agents and means of information of facts and expression of ideas* ("Folkcomunicação: um estudo dos agentes e dos meios populares de informação de fatos e expressão de ideias"). Beltrão published not only numerous articles and conferences about the topic, but also, in 1980, a work which made him famous nationally and internationally: *Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized* ("Folkcomunicação: a comunicação dos marginalizados"). In the preface, his former student and follower José Marques de Melo writes:

> The pace opened by Beltrão found, however, some followers spread in many universities and research centers that are restoring the Brazilian popular culture not only while reminiscent manifestations related to means of material production structuration and ways

of social organization in development process, but also as communication channels of popular resistance to the overwhelming capitalism actions that settle fundamental changes in the working masses modus vivendi!

In this book, Luiz Beltrão already mentioned the inevitable link between his work and the media, but his major concern still was properly placing the concept he created:

> In folkcommunication system, even though the utilization, in certain cases, of modalities and indirect or industrialized channels exist (sport transmissions by TV, songs recorded in disc format or printed messages on flyers or newspapers), expressions are mainly a result of an artisanal activity of the communicator-agent, while its dissemination process evolves horizontally, taking into account that the typical users receive messages by a particular intermediary in one of the multiple levels of its diffusion. The reception without this intermediary only occurs when the addressee masters its code and its technique, having the capacity and possibility to use it in the answer or in the emission of genuine messages. In other words, folkcommunication is, by nature and structure, an artisanal and horizontal process, similar in essence to interpersonal communication types, considering that its messages are elaborated, codified and transmitted in languages and channels familiar to audience, known psychologically and livingly by the communicator, even if it's diffuse (Beltrão 1980, 27-28).

Therefore, it is clear that Luiz Beltrão himself, although he had previously visualized the inevitable connection between the two communication types – the popular/folklore and the mass media –, was more concerned about establishing his pioneer ideas about folkcommunication per se.

Among the most important followers of Beltrão are the researchers and university professors José Marques de Melo and Roberto Benjamin. The first one, still in the 1960s, due to the political condition at the time, went to São Paulo and became one of the most famous researchers on the communication phenomenon in Brazil and Latin America. The second one takes Beltrão's principles further, enriching it with his own observations and studies.

José Marques de Melo and the spread of Luiz Beltrão's ideas

Virtually in all his writings about Folkcommunication, José Marques de Melo refers to his ex-professor, master and friend Luiz Beltrão. He didn't manage to move forward with the studies specifically following Beltrão's principles, since his major concern was always to spread the contribution of Brazilian and Latin-American ideas, both nationally and internationally. However, due to his theorical contribution in a more general sense, José Marques de Melo shows his perception while facing the phenomenon of the interpenetration of mass communication systems with the ones with a folklore origin. It was his idea to establish a course on Folkmedia in the Social Communication Master's Program at the Methodist University of São Paulo, eventually taught by the author of these lines.

For that matter, his observations published in the magazine *Imprensa*, by the title "Media and popular culture in the globalization era", are very important:

> When presenting his Folkcommunication theory to the academic community, the Brazilian researcher Luiz Beltrão anticipated the concepts of hybridization

and mediation, lately elaborated by the Argentinian/
Mexican Nestor Garcia Canclini and by the Spanish/
Colombian Jesus Martin-Barbero (Melo 2001, 82-83).

His analysis of empirical communication acts by agents
of culture placed in rural enclaves and Brazilian urban peripheries
points to the overcoming of borders between popular, erudite
and mass communication. The phenomena noticed and described
by Beltrão prove the symbolic exchange between culture producers
placed in different strata of our society.

Mainly because of that, he proclaimed the "trans-class"
nature of these expressions while claiming the interculturality
particular to their spatial settings. Even though they were
anchored in national, regional or local territories, they didn't
refuse the icons that come from other peoples or nations. Beltrão
explained these events as the result of the dissemination streams
or natural conflicts inherent to the civilizing process.

Massification and globalization

Luiz Beltrão's concepts faced opposition in two intellectual
poles. The conservative folklorists considered the overlap between
popular culture and the mass media as unacceptable. They feared
the ruin of genuine values of traditional manifestations by the
modernizing content of the media industry. In turn, avant-garde
sociologists reacted against the massification outlook supported
by culture multinationals that suffocated national symbols
and replaced them by an eminent transnational culture.

Thirty years later, the theories formulated by Luiz Beltrão
vigorously bloomed again, showing that the *apocalyptic Cassandras*
were wrong, both left and right. In contrast to their alarming

forecast, the media represent a stimulating factor to strengthen the popular culture nationally, existing simultaneously and dynamically with erudite and mass culture.

Ultimately, it's possible to say that José Marques de Melo's texts only lack the term "folkmedia".

Roberto Benjamin and the consolidation of Luiz Beltrão's studies

It was Professor Roberto Emerson da Câmara Benjamin, president of the Folklore National Committee, who closely followed the pace of his also ex-professor, master and friend Luiz Beltrão. Since the 1960s, Roberto has been publishing articles about issues regarding folklore and communication. In Brazil, he was also the first one to use the word "folkmedia" when referring to the relation between folkcommunication itself and mass communication. In his significant work *Folkcommunication in the mass context*, Benjamin (2000) dedicates many chapters to this topic, especially in chapter VI – "The appropriation of folk culture elements by the mass culture". However, in the 1970s, there was a persistent bond with concerns related to the problem "communication of new ideas", in the sense of using elements and systems owned by the "folk" environment to spread new technological and social aspects in lower classes. According to Roberto Benjamin:

> The worry with folkmedia and the possibility of use in development programs is old and has been growing in academic centers and development agencies in Europe and the US (Benjamin 2000, 101).

International debate

In November, 1972, the International Planned Parenthood Federation gathered in London, sponsored by UNESCO, experts of many regions worldwide who worked with folkcommunication issues, with the purpose of discussing the integrated application of folkmedia and mass media in familiar planning programs.

The aims of this meeting in London – published as Expert Group Meeting, IPPF/UNESCO, London, 1972, in n. 12 of Instructional Technology Report (Washington – USA, 1975) – were: a) to identify the folkmedia available for social development use; b) to study cultural, sociological and practical aspects of folkmedia utilization; c) to analyze the possibility of popular channels extension by mass media; d) to discuss ways of training and orientation for the use of folk media; e) to verify the contribution of educational programs for planned parenthood through folkmedia in the community development.

In the same text:

> Two years later, a new meeting was accomplished in New Delhi with the same goals, which were to analyse programs in action, finished researches and Indian folkloric manifestations useful for the development programs! (Benjamin 2000, 102-103)

> In the New Delhi Seminar, ten principles were established:

> 1. The folkmedia can be a part of all rural development programs. Sometimes they can be integrated with mass media; but in all cases the integration with the extensionist work is vital;

2. The prerequisites for using these means to provide the rural population with reaction to attract their attention and their participation in development activities;

3. The use of folk media in communication programs must be seen from a cultural perspective and not just from a socioeconomic development one;

4. Folklore reflects changes in society and evolves while maintaining its interest in rural populations;

5. Not all folkloric manifestations can be used to spread development programs; it is necessary to analyze them from the point of view of content and characterization of their possible adaptation to convey development messages;

6. Popular manifestations are committed to the social environment and narrate the customs of local communities;

7. As folkmedia has sociocultural roots, its use must be maintained at the level of local events and its main role is in the strategy for localized communications at the community level;

8. Efforts must be made to preserve the original forms of each manifestation; adaptations must not alter or destroy the original forms;

9. For an effective communication strategy, the use of folkmedia and mass media should be encouraged to obtain the optimal impact and the desired feedback; 10. Collaboration between folklore bearers and program communicators is essential to the successful integration of folk media and mass media into communication

strategies for development (1974 New Delhi Seminar and Workshop on Folk Media. *In:* Instructional Technology Report, Washington No. 12, 1975).

Roberto Benjamin also broadly speaks about the problem. He quotes authors, such as Juan Bordenave and Paulo Freire, when they warn us about the possibility of committing abuses while using people's communicative elements, with the aim of penetrating their culture and causing, then, psychological mutations (Benjamin 2000, 108-109).

We can conclude that for Roberto Benjamin, as for the extensionalists, the term "folkmedia" and what Luiz Beltrão calls folkcommunication perfectly match.

Folkmedia, a new sense of the word

Taking into account that the mass media, since the beginning of the 20th century, have been increasing their dominance and, as a consequence, the need for observation and study, there is a need to use appropriate nomenclature for various phenomena that this progress is bringing up. Among these, the utilization of folkcommunication elements by the media became an object of study, especially in academia. Since the word media stands for "means", that is, mass communication systems, and folk (written with "k", as Luiz Beltrão wanted)[3] is a suitable abbreviation for "folkcommunication", we conveniently highlight the term

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3   Nowadays, in Brazilian Portuguese, due to the new Portuguese spelling agreement, the word Folklore is written with 'c', being its use since then as '*Folclore*'. In 1967, the word spelling in Brazilian Portuguese was with 'k' as Folklore remains in English language. (T.N.)

folkmedia as a significant use of folkcommunicational elements by mass communication systems.

Thus, we believe that we are contributing to a better understanding of a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly more evident in an era like ours, in which the interrelationship of many forms of communication is gaining interest on the part of scholars in the field of the general phenomenon we call Social Communication.

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4. Cultural Mediators and the Folkcommunication Updating Movement[1]

Osvaldo Meira Trigueiro[2]

(Translation by Marcelo Pires de Oliveira)

Introduction

Luiz Beltrão, by publishing the book *Initiation to the Philosophy of Journalism* (1960) and *Folkcommunication: The Communication Of The Marginalized* (1980), among many others, confirms his pioneering spirit. I see more and more how advanced his studies were in the theoretical and empirical field of communication

sciences and their approximations with sociocultural interactions, mainly in rurban[3] cities in the Brazilian Northeast.

Rereading Luiz Beltrão's *Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized* (1980), in the chapter "Civilization and Communication", one will find historical reports about the Iberian Peninsula, ranging from the invasion of the Moors, the expansion of Christianity through the Middle Ages, the great discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries, the commercial revolution, and the human mobilities that formed and developed a sociocultural blend of the Iberian peoples that populated different locations on earth. In the same chapter, quoting the folklorist and ethnologist Edison Carneiro in his work *Dinâmica do Folclore (Folklore Dynamics)* (1965), Beltrão states the following:

> Under the pressure of social life, people constantly update, reinterpret and readapt their way of feeling, thinking, and acting concerning the facts of society and the cultural data of the time. Doing so through folklore, which is dynamic because "despite sharing, in a good percentage, the tradition it is characterized by resistance to fashion… it is always, at the same time as an accommodation, a comment and a claim" (Beltrão, 1980, p. 24).

From this quotation on "the dynamics of folklore," Beltrão linked folklore with popular communication, which inspired him and helped to create the Theory of Folkcommunication.

In the chapter "The Folkcommunication System," Beltrão justifies the use of the expression "marginalized", based on the

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3   The neologism – rurban or rurbanisation – was used by Gilberto Freyre (1982) to define a community that inhabits a conceptually urban perimeter but that, in reality, continues to maintain its rural cultural, economic, and political characteristics. Cities with less than 10 thousand inhabitants are the degree of density of human occupation in that perimeter, urban or non-urban.

concept created in 1928 by North American sociologist, professor, and journalist of the Chicago School, Roberto Park, in the analysis of his studies on the relations of races, migrations, social movements and the disorganization of occupations of urban spaces. "Marginalized" here is not used in the pejorative sense of the connotation linked to the marginal offender and the bandit (Woitowicz 2007).

Beltrão also demonstrates his pioneering spirit by calling attention to the migrant as a cultural hybrid subject who, in foreign lands, although sharing their cultural traditions with other peoples, despite all the socioeconomic and political difficulties, does not forget their roots.

The marginal expression appears in scientific literature for the first time in 1928, in a paper by Robert Park on human migrations, published in the American Journal of Sociology. The migrant is defined there as a "cultural hybrid," a "marginal," who, although sharing the life of the cultural traditions of two different peoples, never decides to break, even if allowed, with their past and traditions. The migrant is never wholly accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society where he/she seeks to find a place (Beltrão 1980, 38-39).

In re-reading Beltrão's book and looking up the following words [in Portuguese]: update [atualiza], time [tempo], melting [caldeamento], marginalized [marginalizados] and cultural hybrid [híbrido cultural], I began to seek and understand the different updating processes of popular culture and folklore in the course of the historical time of human society since the Middle Ages to the present day. In these updating processes, new cultural mediators emerge with greater intensity in the folkcommunication system, now in the mediatized society, as operators of mediation between the producers of media cultural goods and the reception in urban communities. From this perspective, I have investigated

contemporary and traditional popular festivals and their different updating processes in the context of mediatized society and folkcommunication.

It is not a study on religions. It is neither anthropological nor sociological. I may say that it is all that. However, it is mainly about understanding folkcommunication processes in traditional popular piety festivities that are increasingly associated with media events, and that undergo profound changes in production and organization structures. That happens because the interests of the entertainment industry, tourism, and local political players are boosted. Therefore, one observes the party as a mobility of relations between primary groups and society through the negotiations of cultural mediators and the technological mediatization provided by the entertainment and tourism industries in geographically delimited spaces, local, regional, and national. That is a massive communication flow in the context of folkcommunication (Melo 2008; Benjamin 2000). This field of negotiation involves partnerships of contracts between public and private agents aiming at carrying out the parties, including local producers of popular festivals, here referring to representatives of institutions in the city that own the cultural assets of the festivals and representatives of foreign institutions that, almost always, invest in parties as profitable businesses in the entertainment industry. Over time, these practices of holding sacred and profane festivals have always been part of the processes of cultural and religious transformations in human society, giving rise to the various protagonists and their performances in producing and performing the festivities of the liturgical calendar of popular Catholicism. Those ancient practices reach the present, with their national, regional, and local diversities. They encompass new meanings and references impregnated with appropriations and incorporations of symbolic values of consumer

goods that restructure and update the cultural, religious, political, and economic dimensions of popular festivals in a mediatized society.

As an essential part of society, human beings organize their parties to disseminate their cultures and stories and remember their important events. In the observations and interpretations of popular festivals, communities discover the codes, rules, and statutes that construct teaching and learning the diversities of individual and collective culture (Brandão 1974).

It is essential to say that popular religious festivals have undergone modifications. However, that does not mean the end of every organization of sacred and profane parties. What changes are the systems of production and carrying out of these parties in different cultural contexts to meet the demands of the entertainment industry, tourism, and local political groups (Trigueiro 2008).

Nowadays, it is almost impossible to disconnect the manifestations of popular culture and folklore from the new communication and information technologies, since the participants of these cultural manifestations are also usually connected to the internet via gadgets, social media, and so many other means that register, record, publicize and even broadcast live events of everyday life and those of their parties. In other words, they are no longer entirely dependent on outside or professional support to document media events in their social group and rurban community.

Folkcommunication networks are currently impregnated with cultural mediators (Beltrão 1980; Ferreira 2012), who operate the different mediatization processes (Sodré 2002), as media activists and mediators (Trigueiro 2008), between companies in the entertainment industry and local institutions that hold

the calendars of traditional popular festivals. Therefore, in today's society, the cultural mediators of the folkcommunicational network act in the production and carrying out of these parties, where traditions of the liturgical calendar are reinvented in time and space to meet the demands of this mediatized society. On these occasions, the cultural mediators of folkcommunication intensely carry out mediatization processes between the cultural meanings belonging to external institutions (entertainment, tourism industries, etc.), including institutions that own the liturgical calendar of local traditional popular festivals (city halls, churches, community associations, the associations of folk groups, religious brotherhoods, corporations, etc.). However, they all converge towards the same objectives: the production and carrying out of parties. Therefore, mediators act with greater quantity and quality of information according to their cognitive world by the degree of thematic relevance. The greater the field of common interest between sender and receiver, the greater the level of reception in the field of folkcommunication.

Cultural Mediators and Mnemonic Communication Networks

Popular religiosity, since ancient times, has always been fueled by the creativity, spontaneity, and acculturation of its followers who, through the long years of pilgrimages towards the sacred places, told the stories of life at fairs, in processions, in the payment of promises, in religious festivals of popular piety and many other activities of daily life strongly marked by the presence of the church, mainly in the Middle Ages. Moreover, the pilgrims have continuously operated communication

strategies in the extensive mnemonic networks[4] often disguised, astute, and camouflaged, as coexistence and convenience tactics, when necessary, but never inattentive, resisting and questioning the facts even between a rock and a hard place of domination of the church in medieval Europe (Zumthor 1993).

The processes of updating popular religious festivals are as old as the very expansion of Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula. The traditional communication networks operated by different peoples on the pilgrimages, with the participation of cultural mediators, were of great importance in the redefinitions of religious traditions and in the processes of updating popular culture over time.

Since ancient times, cultural mediators appropriated the official discourses of the court and the church. They gave new attributes to the contents for social practices in their primary and secondary groups. However, the interference of cultural mediators in antiquity was horizontal, through face-to-face or group mediation, and not mediatized as it usually happens today. That does not mean that the horizontal and face-to-face system is not crucial in urban communities today. However, the interaction systems in local groups are increasingly "affected" by mediatization systems. They are increasingly operated by agents, cultural intermediaries as media activists in mediation negotiations between external institutions and local ones. In the mediatized society, residents of urban cities remain linked to their traditions while adding new cultural meanings conveyed by the media in their daily activities. In these interactions between media

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4   They are networks of interactions of oral practices whose narratives are accumulations of experiences transmitted by several generations through oral tradition. Therefore, we understand mnemonic network as a cultural manifestation, in time and space, in an intense circulation movement of memorial events, open to the reception of contemporary events, in space and time, constructive of horizontal communication networks operated by various social agents of particular groups or communities.

networks and folkcommunication networks in urban communities, cultural mediators emerge with greater intensity as mediators of the different processes of updating new consumption of goods and new sociocultural trends.

Popular Festivities from The Middle Ages To The Media Age and The Updating Process

The Easter we celebrate today has undergone essential transformations from the rites of nomadic peoples to the occupation of the Holy Land of Israel. During the liturgical season, other festive celebrations such as Pentecost, Corpus Christi, Our Lady of Conception (December 8), Christmas (December 25), Saint Joseph (March 19), and popular saints – such as Saint Anthony (June 13), Saint John (June 24) and Saint Peter (June 29) – also underwent critical updating processes. Finally, I highlighted some festive days of the liturgical calendar with more significant repercussions in the devotion of popular piety in Brazil. Those festivities have occurred since pre-Christian times in the northern hemisphere in periods of season changing, according to the dates of the cosmic-astronomical calendar that determined the feasts of the winter and summer solstice and the spring and autumn equinox (Martin 2000).

In the Middle Ages, the Church incorporated religious festivals to pagan gods into the liturgical calendar and, little by little, exchanged ritualistic symbols of these deities for religious celebrations to the saints of popular Catholicism. In the medieval period, the Church had great power in the daily life of communities, in scheduling the festive dates of the liturgical calendar and scheduling work and leisure. That is, the Church exercised a power of domination in almost all instances of society,

from birth to death. Almost everything was under the control of the church hierarchy and religious meanings.

Therefore, here in Brazil, these evolutions and evocations reach the present day, already incorporated into our calendars of religious tradition and popular Catholic festivals. Our popular festivities are a direct legacy of Iberian festivities, which over the years crossed the Atlantic and incorporated tropicalized cultural goods from the native peoples and Africans who arrived here in the colonial period. One cannot forget the more recent influence of other ethnic groups who arrived here after the rule of the kingdom of Portugal. In popular piety, the people appropriate and incorporate new cultural values of contemporary society into the festivals as part of the updating process of the liturgical calendar and the demands of the interests of the entertainment and tourism industries. These essential modifications gave new meanings and motivations to religious festivities, sacred and profane, of popular piety. Traditional religious festivals have had the same repetitions for centuries, and every repetition has something new. In other words, the parties are constantly updating processes, even because going back in time is impossible. There is no going back, no turning back, and any attempt to go back in time is nothing more than a simulacrum of something that once was (Miranda 1999). Festivities are extraordinary occasions that recreate and rescue time, space, and social relations (Damatta 2000). These instances of updating popular festivals are most important in the field of folkcommunication research (Trigueiro 2007).

In the fourth century, Christian pilgrimages had significant mobility toward the Holy Land and Rome. From the 11th and 12th centuries, pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela grew as an important center of convergence for pilgrims from different regions of Europe, taking with them new cultural values and different

interpretations of the church's liturgy, which spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

On the way to Santiago de Compostela, pilgrims structured intense traditional communication networks. The mnemonic networks of cultural and religious diffusion. These networks, for centuries, from city to city, spread fairs, festivals, theater, handicraft, legends, chivalry romances, myths, and many other cultural manifestations that are even today in the imagination of our popular traditions with their archetypes. With its variants narrated by its interpreters and cultural producers from the Middle Ages to the Media Age, the roads of Santiago de Compostela continue to be a prominent center for pilgrimages and the dissemination of cultural diversity. Therefore, these cultural and religious manifestations of the past reach the present day increasingly incorporated into the contexts of mediatized societies, expanding the speculative and practical field of Folkcommunication studies today.

The battles between Christians and Moors narrated through time are, more than ever, alive and updated in media content production (soap operas, films, series, etc.). However, they keep the narratives from medieval Christianity to Christianity in mediatized society. One can find in popular Catholicism in Brazil today the ideas, values, and fidelity that constituted the expansion of the church in the Middle Ages. They are narratives that mark the various popular Brazilian cultural manifestations represented by the battles between Moors and Christians – the scarlet and the blue –, the battle between good and evil. They appear in dances, festivities, popular literature, and cordel literature, in chivalry stories and novels, and in the artistic expressions that continue to compose the repertoires of the Brazilian people in sacred and profane festivals (Barreto 1996).

People with other purposes rather than religious ones also journeyed to sacred places in the Middle Ages. They were merchants, artists, gypsies, tavern keepers, artisans, prostitutes, sorcerers, idlers, and adventurers. Everyone related to each other through mnemonic communication networks through intense social interactions in which traditional oral narratives operated by cultural mediators responsible for telling the stories of the places they wandered.

Mediators and the Cultural Welding in the Folkcommunicational network

Pope John Paul II, during his apostolic visit to Santiago de Compostela, addressed a speech to the participants of the Europeanist Act on November 9, 1982. He emphasized the importance of pilgrimages and especially of Compostela as a center for dissemination of the Christian faith and European culture, especially of the Iberian peoples from the 11th and 12th centuries to the present day, when he states:

> The pilgrimage to Santiago was one of the crucial elements that favored the mutual understanding of European peoples as diverse as Latin, German, Celt, Anglo-Saxon, and Slav. The pilgrimage brought together, connected and united those peoples who, century after century, convinced by the preaching of the testimonies of Christ, embraced the Gospel, and at the same time, it can be said, emerged as peoples and nations. (John Paul II 1982, 1).

The pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela in the medieval period were primarily responsible for religious, economic, and cultural development processes in the Iberian Peninsula as a center of convergence and interaction of the various peoples

of Europe. It was a vital time of dissemination through extensive mnemonic communication networks of new ideas, new customs, new technological inventions, and new sociocultural behaviors, which made significant advances in western modernity possible.

In Santiago de Compostela, news traveled the world in time and sacred spaces, determined by religious celebrations and popular festivities, which circulated in mnemonic communication networks. With advances in new communication systems, and the rupture of the domain of oral and written information by the church, the communication networks operated by nomadic groups evolved and persisted over time, incorporating writing on a large scale and, currently, with new technologies. Therefore, in the mnemonic networks, orality, writing, and now the new communication technologies have evolved and converged to double communication systems of the media of great reach of audiences, and that of Folkcommunication directed to certain social groups.

Now we live in a new Middle Age or the Media Age, another moment of excellent mobility of people over great distances in shorter times, of great technological inventions and cultural globalization. Nevertheless, at the same time, we are experiencing a moment of growth of neonomadism – pilgrims – tourists – who tread the medieval paths towards sacred places such as Jerusalem, Santiago de Compostela, and many others, almost always made possible by packages from tourism companies (Eco 1984).

Commenting on the assertion of the German sociologist Georg Simmel about the role of the wandering subject – nomadism – in society as a disseminator of cultural and business innovations in Europe, Michel Maffesoli says that:

> The stranger and the foreigner played an undeniable role for Simmel in social interactions. They serve as mediators

with exteriority, which includes various forms of alterity. From this point of view, they constitute integral parts of the group and structure it as such. Whether this happens positively or in contrast, those mediators influence the "relations of reciprocity", fundamental elements of any human sociability (Maffesoli 2001, 44-45).

Umberto Eco (1984) draws a model of the "New Middle Age" we live in now. He compares it with the end of the "High Middle Ages" when significant transformations occurred in intellectual life, in the dialogues between barbarian civilizations and the long journeys of monks through Europe on the way to the pilgrimage centers or towards the lively medieval cities. Alternatively, Michel Maffesoli (2001) emphasizes the importance of the wandering subject as a cultural mediator, carrier of repertoires of traditional events, between exteriority and local groups, as negotiators of individual and collective interactions today. The importance of cultural mediators in the mobility networks of nomadism in the Middle Ages through mnemonic communication networks is undeniable. Nowadays, due to neonomadism, mobility also happens through Folkcommunicational networks.

Luiz Beltrão (1980) had the same thought when he defined the cultural mediators of folkcommunication as nomadic subjects – wanderers – who circulated in the interior of northeastern Brazil. To Beltrão, they lived mainly in urban communities as cultural animators, dealers of new consumer goods, interpreters of events between producers of media cultures, and producers of popular cultures. In other words:

In the Folkcommunication system, despite the existence and use, in some instances, of indirect and industrialized modalities and channels (such as sports broadcasts on TV, songs recorded on vinyl, or messages printed on leaflets

and pamphlets), manifestations are mainly the result of activity craftsmanship of the agent-communicator. Their diffusion process develops horizontally, taking into account that the characteristic users receive messages through a specific mediator in one of the multiple stages of the process. (Beltrão 1980, 27)

Therefore, the new cultural mediators of Folkcommunication are subjects who carry the codes that predominate in their social groups, and bearers of the new codes conveyed by the media systems that act as activist mediators in the different negotiation processes. Contrary to popular belief, the cultural mediators of Folkcommunication are increasingly important in the context of mediatized societies as decoders of interconnections between the different constituents of the audience in their social groups and in the communities that inhabit urban cities. Moreover, these new Folkcommunication cultural mediators are promoters of new cultural trends produced by media systems. Just as the role of cultural mediators – wanderers – nomads – of the mnemonic networks have been updated, the activist agents – wanderers – hybrid cultural subjects of the Folkcommunication networks have also evolved as media operators and activists of the mediations between the different processes of emission and reception of media contents, partly responsible for the new sociocultural lifestyles in rurban cities.

Currently, news travels worldwide in real time and space, through live broadcast on social networks, reaching urban and rural communities in Brazil, especially the northeastern region. Therefore, urban communities access the contents conveyed by the media instantly. In this movement of circularity between the global and the local, the cultural mediators operate different mediations in the Folkcommunication networks. Those operations happen in a set of exchange procedures propagated

by their media activists for the use and consumption of media content in their individual or collective practices in everyday life.

Final Remarks

Even with all the evolution and update, religious festivals of popular piety continue essential cultural characteristics, which continue to be present in festive, sacred, and profane practices from the Middle Ages to the Media Age. The magician – in the broadest sense and not only by superstitions and beliefs, but also by intuition and supra-rationality. The symbolic and imagery – the importance of images, creative fantasies, and popular communication. The sarcastic/comic – the satirical, the critical, the humorous, the world inside out. The mystical – emotional, experiential charge. The festive and theatrical – celebrations and shows in public and private spaces. The communal – community celebrations, solidarity, brotherhoods, confraternities (concern for others and charity). Popular religiosity creates a sense of belonging in the community, involving several people in prayers and festivals, in the sacred and the profane actions. Therefore, it is almost impossible to separate religion from popular culture. However, one must understand that, between both, there has always been and will continue to exist a zone of conflicting symbolic exchanges and coexistence in the intersections of the sacred and the profane: syncretism – mysticism – cultural hybridization. Rodrigues de Carvalho (2018), in his book published in 1928, already anticipated current Latin American studies. He used the word hybridism, and not exclusively syncretism and miscegenation, to define the overall exchange processes of traditional cultural diversities that form the Brazilian identity.

Nowadays, one can say that, in popular Catholicism, the evolutionary trends of traditional religious festivals are almost always moving towards a typology of not sacred and increasingly moving away from the festive typology dictated by the clerics (Costa and Costa 1978). In other words, popular religious festivals gain new connotations of fun and spectacularly in the media society. Moreover, the interference of producers and directors responsible for the parties (before, during, and after) linked to the entertainment and tourism industries encourage the extreme pleasure of consumption of cultural goods and, with that, expands profane manifestations and diminishes sacred manifestations. Nevertheless, this removal of popular religious festivals from the sacred field – church – and an expansion into the profane field – secular – occurs in almost all parts of the world. Traditional festivals are increasingly media events of economic, tourist, political, and spectacular interest.

How does one study and research popular festivals in the context of folkcommunication? Are they authentic or not? Is there a polemic about tradition, modernity, and cultural diversities? Can they even survive in the present day? These and other questions I ask. We have overcome some already, and, for others, we try to understand the consequences of these transformations in popular festivals in entertainment and tourism industry products, and those brought about by local governments. That is, how to understand the contracts between the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) in the production and organization of popular festivals? What we must do, as scholars and researchers of folkcommunication, is, above all, to follow the festival's evolution. We must perceive the updates of different processes from the Middle Ages, now no longer under the power of the Church as in the past, but increasingly under the power of the entertainment industry, tourism, and media events. We already have a methodology and tested methods that make it possible

to understand the different communicational processes of mediation and reception in the different instances that make the parties. However, these instances operate with shared objectives, such as holding traditional festivals on the annual calendar of liturgical traditions of popular Catholicism, but with new patterns of interactions that almost always transform festivals into spectacles to meet the demands of a mediatized society. As José Marques de Melo (2008b) says, when launching a research protocol on popular festivals in the context of folkcommunication:

> This eminently communicational profile assumed today by popular festivals profoundly altered their primitive appearance. New patterns of sociocultural interaction are replacing old traditions. Media and commercial institutions transform parties into collective spectacles enjoyed by dispersed users, often summoned randomly, even outside civic or religious calendars (Melo 2008b, 77).

The investigation protocol of popular festivals presented by José Marques de Melo (2008) at the Folkcom Conference in 2001 in Campo Grande-MS continues to operate. We should proceed it in the following way: methodological strategies, thematic axes, communication processes, inventory lists, cultural references, memory/format/content/mediations, and perspectives of events in the context of folkcommunication. In addition, the proposed protocol allows each researcher to schedule other elements that he/she considers crucial in the investigation of the party in the geographic space and time of its local, regional, and national organization. The updating processes of the parties did not happen now with the advances of new communication technologies. They have been updating since the Middle Ages. Nowadays, they are no longer under the church's influence as in the past, but increasingly attending media and all their interests.

It is an indisputable fact that the evolutionary trends of popular religious festivals are moving towards a profane typology and away from the sacred, increasingly structured as media events of economic, tourist, and political interests. It is also true that they are losing the sense of clericalization. However, they retain their sense of popular festival events with the critical participation of the people that reframe traditions and customs, giving them a new meaning (Ortiz 2015).

Popular festivities undergo necessary resignifications in the organization – before – during – after – the events themselves. That is, spontaneous and traditional parties are increasingly becoming institutional or institutionalized events whose strategic objectives are of political, religious, and economic interests, and by meeting the demands of these interests they become media mega-spectacles (Benjamin 2004). Nevertheless, one cannot deny that, with the processes of updating spontaneous and traditional parties, the trend is towards a closer relationship between popular culture and the entertainment and tourism industries in a mediatized society.

However, this happens in different parts of the world. I may mention some recent secular festivals I have been observing in Portugal already inserted in the context of media society, such as Saint Anthony, in Lisbon, and Saint John, in Porto. Others are still transitioning from a clerical to a secular festival, such as Saint John, in Braga, and Valongo, in the north of Portugal, the Tabuleiros festival, in Tomar, and many others. Here in Brazil, I highlight the Saint John's festivities, in Campina Grande, State of Paraíba, and in Caruaru, State of Pernambuco. Ciro de Nazaré in Belém, State of Pará, the Parintins Festival, in the State of Amazonas. I can add the renowned Carnival in Rio de Janeiro, considered one of the most extraordinary open-air shows in the planet. However, I cannot exclude popular festivals in medium-

sized and small towns. To a lesser extent, those incorporate external interests into their production and organization to meet new lifestyles and trends in the consumption of cultural goods that "affect" habits and customs in urban cities (country music, stylized forró, etc.). We are facing new sociocultural facts which modify events very quickly, which make it almost impossible today to study and research manifestations of popular cultures and folklore unrelated to the entertainment industry, tourism, and the media. Nevertheless, even with the "displacement" of the magical-religious meaning, or even from the sense of sacred to profane, one cannot say that parties are ceasing to be popular. Because since the Middle Ages, in the mnemonic networks of communication, until nowadays, the popular classes have developed their means of communication and constantly incorporate new creations that go from orality to images to scriptures, and nowadays, with the incorporation of new communication technologies. In this intersection zone, folkcommunication fills the gaps left for a new field of study in the traditional everyday networks operated by producers of popular cultures and folklore.

It is not the globalized world and much less the mediatized society that will end traditional popular festivals because we are seeing the resurgence of these manifestations in almost all parts of the world. Therefore, by rereading the theoretical and practical thinking of Luiz Beltrão's pioneering research, I come to believe that the purpose of research in the field of folkcommunication in the context of a mediatized society in the 21st century is to try to understand popular festivals by observing the different processes of updating provided by the new lifestyles and socio-cultural trends of the Brazilian population, especially those who inhabit urban cities.

In other words, it is essential to deepen the observation of the role of the new Folkcommunication cultural agents

who operate mediated negotiations as media activists in the gray area of Public-Private Partnership contracts (PPP in production and organization – before, during, and after) of popular institutional or institutionalized parties in the context of the spectacle society (Debord 1997), and media society (Moraes 2006). The consequences of removing magical-religious meanings and the "displacement" of traditional spontaneous parties are more towards the field of media events.

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Dialogues

5. Generation of Pioneers: Communication as Dialogue in Paulo Freire and Luiz Beltrão[1]

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(Translation by Fabricio Moreira Barros &
Suellen Thomaz de Aquino Martins)

A reflection about the possible approximations between Paulo Freire and Luiz Beltrão is not unwarranted. They belong to exactly the same generation, and were born in the same region – Northeast Brazil. Luiz Beltrão was born in Olinda, on August

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1   First published in Revista Latinoamericana de Ciencias de la Comunicación (ALAIC), year 6, n. 11 July/December 2009. Available at: https://www.alaic.org/revista/index.php/alaic/article/view/101/99

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8, 1918, and died in 1986. Paulo Freire was born in Recife, on September 19, 1921, and died on May 2, 1997. As we can see, both were relatively long-lived: Luiz Beltrão lived for 68 years, and Paulo Freire reached the age of 76.

Generational proximities

There are even closer ties between them. Both descend from deeply Catholic families, which had a decisive influence on their education. Luiz Beltrão studied in a Catholic seminary: he wanted to become a priest. Paulo Freire absorbed, from religious teachings, a philosophical basis, marked by humanism, which would result in his strong militancy with the rising organized groups of the Catholic Church, through "*Juventude Estudantil Católica*" – JEC (Catholic Student Youth), and "*Juventude Universitária Católica* – JUC (Catholic University Youth), which would later lead to the organization of "*Ação Católica*" – AC (Catholic Action), the fundaments of the future "*Comunidades Eclesiais de Base*" (Base Ecclesial Communities) and characterized by the controversial Liberation Theology. Thus, it is said that Paulo Freire engaged in the so-called radical Catholicism, in the strict and historical sense of the term, which would later lead him to the "*Movimentos de Cultura Popular*" (Popular Culture Movements), of which the "*Movimento de Educação de Base*" – MEB (Basic Education Movement) would be one of the outcomes. Upon connecting with the *ISEB - Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros* (Brazilian Studies Higher Institute), at the time of former president Juscelino Kubitschek, he organized the first adult literacy courses, including his teaching manuals, a process that would be interrupted by the 1964 military coup.

As a matter of fact, the dictatorship implanted in Brazil after 1964 had profound effects on the life and profession of both intellectuals. In 1961, Luiz Beltrão had participated in the foundation of the first Journalism program in the country, at the Catholic University of Pernambuco where, in 1963, he established the first university research institution in the field of social communication – *ICINFORM* – *"Instituto das Ciências da Informação"* (Information Sciences Institute), which he then left in 1965 to reorganize the Social Communication program at the University of Brasilia, devastated by the dismissal of dozens of professors after the 1964 coup. In the Brazilian capital, he required an international examination board, and became the country's first Doctor in Communication. His dissertation launched the theoretical basis of a new field of communication studies – Folkcommunication. Unfortunately, for political-ideological-military reasons, his work would remain unpublished until 2001, when I had the opportunity, thanks to Prof. Dr. José Marques de Melo, who kept the originals, to publish it via the Graduate Program in Communication (PPGCom, FAMECOS) at PUCRS – Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul.

With the beginning of the military dictatorship, Paulo Freire and Luiz Beltrão experienced persecution, dismissal and imprisonment: Paulo Freire ended up going into exile. Reaching Bolivia, then Chile, later the United States, Switzerland, and the rest of the world. He became an internationally recognized scholar, thanks to the pedagogical actions he started developing under the sponsorship of UNESCO.

Luiz Beltrão, on the other hand, remained in Brazil. He dedicated himself to journalism and, when he could, to his professorship. He then continued studying and writing, deepening the theoretical principles of folkcommunication, a communicational approach that translated, as Paulo Freire did,

his deep concern for the fate of the underprivileged and those he called marginalized.

Venício Artur de Lima shows, in a revealing book about Paulo Freire (Lima 1981), that the period he lived in can be characterized by some events that will be evidenced in his works. In fact, what Lima says about Freire can also be applied to an entire generation and, most especially, to Luiz Beltrão:

1. The emergence of the popular classes occurs, first with the process of populism and, soon after, as a consequence and thanks to the emergence of more responsible minds, with the formation of emerging popular leaderships;

2. A nationalist feeling develops, based on post-World War II experiences, worked on first at *Centro Internacional de Estudios Superiores de Comunicación para América Latina* (CIESPAL) and, in Brazil, at *Instituto Superior de Estudos Brasileiros* (ISEB). As a consequence, specific theories emerged in the fields of education and communication, of which precisely Paulo Freire and Luiz Beltrão were the references;

3. Radical Catholicism emerges, drawing closer to secular political currents of Marxist origin, thanks to the development of Liberation Theology; even after the 1964 coup, these influences will remain, generating countless cultural processes;

4. Popular Culture Movements are organized, in a way that causes popular culture, or that of the then called subaltern or marginalized classes, to start being examined and studied in its specificities, since the studies on folklore by Edison Carneiro, which will serve as justification for the military to persecute and marginalize him, after the 1964 coup.

Therefore, the existential, philosophical, political, and cultural origins of both authors are very similar. I would even say that where one stopped, the other continued, and this is what I intend to demonstrate here, albeit briefly.

Some Perspectives on Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire was fundamentally an educator. His educational project was directed to the education of the great mass of illiterate people. It was from a pedagogical concern that Paulo Freire leaned into communication theory. For him, it is "impossible to teach someone", and this is very clear in *Extensão ou Comunicação?* (Extension or Communication?)(Freire 1980), which he wrote based on the experience of working with rural extensionists in Chile: the pedagogical process needs to be developed among equals. Learning - and not teaching - is only possible through dialogue.

Paulo Freire realizes that the meaning of words is contextual. Therefore, when addressing the Chilean rural extensionists, he highlights the various meanings that the word extension could have, and shows how wrong the wording was to designate the task these professionals intended to develop with the people from the countryside (a misunderstanding that still remains, even in early-21st-century Brazil). More than that, it shows that if the extensionists did not realize the true objective and, consequently, the necessary way in which they should relate to the rural communities, their objectives would never be truly achieved.

For Paulo Freire, neither persuasion nor propaganda can actually transmit any values or principles. Human beings need to adhere to an idea, for which they must find themselves in absolute freedom. Technical action, if not truly assimilated

by the person, will be more of a magical action, like any other practiced by sorcerers, and not by scientists. Humans are, by definition, relational beings. Through relations they transform nature, thanks to their labor. But in order to attain knowledge, it is fundamental that they develop a dialogical relationship with their peers. In a learning process, according to Paulo Freire, there is not an emitter that only teaches and a receiver that only learns about an object. There are two subjects who think together, who learn from each other, constituting a true communicational process, in which neither one teaches the other, but both learn together.

Learning does not admit passive beings. Communication, being an active process, allows dialogue through signs, which constitute a set of meanings. In this sense, learning, as a communicational process, requires admiration towards the object; it constructs convictions because it is born out of adherence; it establishes a contextual relationship and is realized as an eminently humanistic perspective (Freire 1980, 70-73).

All texts written by Paulo Freire arose primarily from his own practices, which is why he always qualified them as experience reports. In this sense, his perspective is always dialectical, because it is imbedded in an intrinsic relationship between thought and action.

Venício Artur de Lima, in the work already cited, shows that, for Paulo Freire, the pedagogical perspective requires a communicational viewpoint, since he starts from some paradoxes that need to be solved:

1. Impossibility of dialogue between antagonists; hence the oppressed helps to liberate the oppressor;

2. Mistrust about the ambiguity of the dialogue that is held with the oppressed; from where it is necessary to always keep in mind that, by not trusting the oppressors,

the oppressed also tend to keep distant from them: the great challenge, therefore, is to gain their trust;

3. The mysterious character of dialogue: beyond a face-to-face relationship, as defined by North-American theories of communication, dialogue, in Paulo Freire's view, is always an anthropological, epistemological and political process, that is, an eminently social one, because it is collective and collectivizing.

Paulo Freire recognizes the need to overcome what he calls the *culture of silence*, historically constituted through the colonizing process. It is evident that, to the initial existentialist perspective of his work, he incorporates some concepts of Marxist philosophy, but he remains faithful to a humanistic religious perspective, which allows him to go beyond Marxism, in search of a so-called *liberation*.

In another work, Venício Artur de Lima (1996) summarizes Freire's anthropological perspective, showing that communication, to the researcher, allows these three different previously mentioned perspectives: the anthropological perspective, given that communication is a natural constituent of the human being; the epistemological perspective, since knowledge is born from dialog, a relation between two subjects mediated by an object that they want to know; and the political perspective, because it demands an egalitarian relation of power. It is thanks to this condition that education is a liberating and transforming social policy.

Paulo Freire says:

> Communication [is] the co-participation of subjects in the act of thinking... it implies a reciprocity that cannot be broken. What characterizes communication as this act of communicating is that it is dialogue,

> just as dialogue is communicative. Education is communication, it is dialog, in the sense that it is not a transfer of knowledge, but an encounter of interlocutors who seek the signification of meanings (Freire 1980, 66)

In the conclusion of his study, Venício Artur de Lima admits that two questions remained unanswered in Paulo Freire's studies: a) the problematic of mass communication and its adequacy to Freirean theorization; and b) the possibility of non-human communication.

I confess that the second question surprises me, coming from a researcher like Venício Artur de Lima, because, in my understanding, we are all concerned with social communication, and this is, of course, an exclusively human phenomenon. Therefore, the possibility of there being or not communication between other living beings, animals or plants, is a problem for other fields of knowledge.

As to the first question, I will risk saying that the answer ended up being given by Luiz Beltrão, and it is him that I want to address from now on.

Communication of the marginalized

Before anything else, I want to highlight this word, which is both an adjective and a noun. *Marginalized* implies recognizing that such a condition was not chosen by those who carry it, but rather was imputed to them by someone else. This is the starting point of the whole folkcommunicational theory developed by Luiz Beltrão, and this is why it is important.

His perspective is cultural as well as social and historical. He does not limit himself to noting a present situation, which

he identifies, describes and studies in detail, but searches for its origins and foundations. Like Paulo Freire, he finds them in the project of colonization of the country. Both *Folkcomunicação - um estudo dos agentes e dos meios populares de informação de fatos e expressão de ideias* [Folkcommunication: a study on the popular agents and means of information of facts and expression of ideas] (Beltrão 2014) and the later *Folkcomunicação - a comunicação dos marginalizados* [Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized] (Beltrão 1980) include evidence by Luiz Beltrão of a rupture between the different segments of the Brazilian population, at a certain moment in its history. This rupture begins with the nascent colonization, with the introduction of slavery. It deepens with the system of captaincies, which allows for large-scale property ownership. And it becomes institutionalized, definitively, with the birth of the press, after the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family and, later on, after independence. This is what we read, both in the exemplary passage in *Folkcommunication: a study on the popular agents and means of information of facts and expression of ideas*, as well as in another text found in Media and Folklore. Let's look at the two passages:

> Paradoxically, the emergence of the press, whose ownership remains with the intellectual elites and the rulers, does not contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of Brazilian unity, splitting the Nation in the regency period and developing among the rural and urban proletarian populations a specific language, which collects information and expresses itself only through agents and means of a folkloric nature and form (Beltrão 2014, 123).

Here is the other passage:

A predominant characteristic appeared in the selected agents-communicators and in the modalities they adopted for the transmission of their messages - the folkloric characteristic. PEDRO CALMON had pointed out, with great precision, during the turbulent phase of the Regency, the beginning of the divorce between the social classes of the nascent nation: "the Nation was fragmenting". And it was fragmenting exactly when the first periodicals entered the fray, becoming, right away, spokespersons for the ruling and educated elites. This fragmentation would continue throughout the fourth century and would have its cycle completed with the abolition of slavery, which would remove a significant population of the senzala [slave quarters] from the influence of the casa grande [slave master's house]. The black slaves would swell the ranks of those alienated from the thought and culture of the elite. And they would vigorously incorporate their traditional forms of expression into the socio-cultural heritage of the favela[3], the mocambo[4] and the tapera[5]. Which the sobrado[6], the palace and the farmhouse would not understand, worsening at each step the abyss we see today (Beltrão 2001, 70-71).

Let's review the concept of communication, as expressed by Paulo Freire:

Every act of thinking requires a thinking subject, a thought object, which mediates the first subject from the second, and communication between the two, which

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3   The better translation for English is slum (T.N.)

4   The better translation for English is hut (T.N.)

5   Is an ancient Tupi word that means "village that was, extinct village, destroyed village" and which, in current Portuguese, means "house in ruins, abandoned house". (T.N.)

6   The better translation for English is Townhouses (T.N.)

takes place through linguistic signs. The human world is thus a world of communication (Freire 1980, 66).

Let us read what Luiz Beltrão writes about communication:

> By itself, the marginalized portion of the Brazilian population has no conditions to emerge from the underworld in which it vegetates. The ruling elites in all areas can devise the best plans, feed the purest purposes, *but without the participation of the silent majority*, these plans and purposes do not produce positive effects [my emphasis]. (Beltrão 2001, 157).

For Beltrão, therefore, the participation of that marginalized population - hence the emphasis in the passage - is necessary for the communicational process to take place. Therefore, the care with which he named his dissertation: *Folkcommunication: a study on the popular agents and means of information of facts and expression of ideas.*

I want to highlight these popular *means of information of facts and expression of ideas*. It is in this designation that we find Luiz Beltrão's entire program and ideal: the marginalized populations - who were not "self-marginalized", but were marginalized by the elites, let us remember - make use of popular media - that is, media that they themselves idealized and materialized - to seek information of facts and to express their ideas.

Now, if we read carefully this double activity, we will find here the same dialogical principle defended by Paulo Freire, that is: the popular masses do not only *receive information* - factual information - but they also *express their ideas*. Communication is, therefore, fully achieved because it is a two-way process, it is dialogical. Hence the concept of folkcommunication that Beltrão develops:

> Folkcommunication is, by nature and structure, a handmade and horizontal process, similar in essence to interpersonal communication types, since its messages are elaborated, codified and transmitted in languages and channels familiar to the audience, which is psychologically and experientially known by the communicator, even if dispersed (Beltrão 2001, 168).

Note the horizontal perspective adopted by Luiz Beltrão, which corresponds to the same perspective of similar positioning between apprentice and master, advocated by Paulo Freire. In the classic passage of his dissertation, he specifies the whole complex process he decided to study, in a pioneering approach that would come to constitute the field of folkcommunication:

> Folkcommunication is thus, the process of information exchange and manifestation of opinions, ideas and attitudes of the masses, through agents and means directly or indirectly linked to folklore (Beltrão 2014, 79).

For Luiz Beltrão, therefore, unable to escape their surroundings, that is, the reality of industrialized mass communication, the popular masses seek to appropriate and adapt those media and those messages to their own technologies and understandings, using specific and differentiated channels, through some of their members, who live doubly with both societies - the elite and the marginalized.

Far from imagining that such marginalization is exclusively located in rural areas, Luiz Beltrão is incisive, in *Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized*, when identifying at least three large groups of marginalization: the rural, the urban and the culturally marginalized. In the first, we find, evidently, from indigenous and black people to varied rural communities; in the

second group, we have those low-income groups, almost always coming from rural areas and that are marginalized, both physically, socially and culturally, generally concentrated in slums. The third group are those who, by contestation or exclusion, find themselves on the margins, like hippies, messianic groups, activist-political groups or sexually segregated groups, like transgender people and others.

One can say that, with this perspective, Luiz Beltrão, in a way, answers Venício Artur de Lima's question about how Paulo Freire's concept of communication (as a study of dialogue) could be applied to the mass communication process. Luiz Beltrão shows that this is indeed possible through a mediation that takes place between equals, through what he calls opinion leaders - a concept he seeks in the functionalist theory of Paul Lazarsfeld, Robert Merton and Elihu Katz, adapting it to the reality of societies whose differences are as stark as Brazilian society. He justifies his perspective in this way:

> Collective communication is not made between one individual and another as such, but in collegiate form: the communicator is an institution or an institutionalized person, who transmits his message, not to anyone in particular, but to as many as wish to pay attention to him (Beltrão 2001, 128).

This function is developed by the opinion leader, so identified by him, quoting Levy Bruhl:

> The opinion leader has this capacity: he is a translator, who not only knows how to find words but also arguments that sensitize the pre-logical forms that, according to Levy Bruhl, Bastide, Malinowsky and other sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists, characterize

the thought and dictate the conduct of these social groups (Beltrão 2001, 138).

Luiz Beltrão, however, also searches in Edison Carneiro for the concretization of his dissertation:

> He was in agreement with EDISON CARNEIRO's thesis, according to which "under the pressure of social life, the people constantly update, reinterpret and readapt their ways of feeling, thinking and acting in relation to the facts of society and the cultural data of the time", making themselves through folklore which is dynamic, because "despite sharing, in a good percentage, tradition, and being characterized by resistance to fashion (…) it is always, at the same time as an accommodation, a commentary and a claim. (Carneiro 1965, 2 quoted in Beltrão 2001, 144)

In believing that it is possible, and in defending that the participation and integration of these populations into the nationality as a whole is necessary, Luiz Beltrão idealizes the folkcommunicational theory, because "participation requires communication: if I do not share the ideas, feelings and information that I have and do not receive back the reaction of the other, I will never establish a link between myself and my audience" (Beltrão 2001, 157). It is from this perspective that folkcommunication is born, as "a set of procedures for the exchange of information, ideas, opinions, and attitudes of marginalized urban and rural audiences, through agents and means directly or indirectly linked to folklore" (Beltrão 1980, 24).

What should be highlighted and recognized in this formulation is that, with it, Luiz Beltrão succeeds in providing these marginalized people with a real communicational alternative, because it is developed among equals, horizontally,

in the sense that the opinion leader(s), by coexisting with two distinct universes, propitiates the approximation of both, in a dynamic agency that promotes a double movement of concession of each one of the sides in favor of the other.

It is evident that over the years, and especially after Luiz Beltrão's death, the concept of folkcommunication has expanded, widened and modified itself. Today, it is no longer limited to folklore, but to popular communication as a whole, an opening that, by the way, Beltrão himself propitiated, when he mentioned urban and culturally marginalized groups. With this, the concept and its theory have become more dynamic, with a much greater applicability, to the point that it's enough to just mention the different studies that have already been released, for example, around the so-called urban legends, such as those stories involving the theft of human body organs or the potential existence of poisons in soft drinks, including through the Internet.

Integration projects and actions

In any case, it should be noted that Luiz Beltrão and Paulo Freire, each in their own way, but complementarily, took important steps towards the integration of these marginalized populations, recognizing their means of self-affirmation, dialogue, and recognition among the literate, economic, and cultural elite. Therefore, it is important that we get to know their actions, their theories, and the potentialities that their studies reach us with. We need to be inspired by them to seek everything that can be done, to reduce the distances that separate our populations, before the real possibilities of these bridges are definitively cut.

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6. Links between folkcommunication and functionalism[1]

Iury Parente Aragão[2]

(Translation by Brenna Maria Lopes Barbosa)

1. Introduction

Luiz Beltrão, a Brazilian researcher from the state of Pernambuco, observing, in the 1960s, that the mass media did not reach the entire Brazilian population, wondered how people who lived on the margins of the political-economic system communicated and they circulated their beliefs, often

turning them into political actions. From this question, the scholar realized that the marginalized classes used their own means of communication, many of which were built in a handcrafted way, such as twine, ex-votos, mamulengos. He noted, therefore, that communication could occur through folklore / popular culture, through what he called folkcommunication.

Folkcommunication would seek to understand the communicative forms of marginalized populations, proposing to study how they dialogue, how they do so that information from outside the social circle is understood and what are the ways of acting so that their opinions and actions are visible and strengthened.

This research path gained some followers, such as José Marques de Melo, Roberto Benjamin, Osvaldo Trigueiro, Joseph Luyten and a few others, so much so that between 1967 and 1998, year of the 1st Brazilian Conference on Folkcommunication (Gobbi and Betti 2011), few publications used it as a means of analysis. Based on the chapter "Bibliography of Folkcommunication" (Aragon et al. 2013, 1039-1071), we find, in this period of 31 years, only six books in which the content is directly linked to folk communication.

From 1998 onwards there is a noticeable jump in the number of publications and emergence of new researchers, as well as greater diversification of theorists used for research in folkcommunication. Still following the chapter "Bibliography of Folkcommunication", we found 16 titles in a period up to 2012, that is, 14 years, and other authors (in organized or self-authored books), in addition to those already mentioned, among whom: Cristina Schmidt, Severino Alves Lucena Filho, Sergio Luiz Gadini, Karina Janz Woitowicz, Maria Cristina Gobbi, and Wolfgang Teske.

In addition to the emergence of new authors, there were also new theoretical supports. Luiz Beltrão, in 1967, for example, resorted to Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz, Câmara Cascudo, Edison Carneiro, Djacir Menezes and many others. Among researchers in folkcommunication before 1998 who followed Beltrão's perspective, the references are similar to those used by him, as in Joseph Luyten (1988). In the works after 1998, the authors forming the theoretical research base are others. Guilherme Fernandes (2010, 13-16) carried out a bibliometric study with articles directly linked to folkcommunication presented at the NP/GP of Folkcommunication at Intercom National Congresses in 2007, 2008 and 2009. The research results show that Luiz Beltrão is the most remembered, with 44 citations in the sum of three years, followed by José Marques de Melo (27 citations), Néstor García Canclini (21), Roberto Benjamim (19), Cristina Schmidt (13) and Jesús Martín-Barbero (12). Of the authors referenced by Beltrão himself, few remain in the current research on folkcommunication.

From this scenario, several questions arise, such as: why was there a change in the theoretical framework? And why is there a change of path from 1998 on? However, a more complex question, about the theoretical links of folkcommunication, arose in debates in this field, and the answers are far from consensus: for some researchers (such as Jacks and Escosteguy 2003), folkcommunication "is clearly linked to assumptions of a functionalist social theory", for having authors such as Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Katz and Merton as references. And this statement (which is based on the analysis of Beltrão's dissertation) has resonated. On the other hand, there are authors who saw an approximation of folkcommunication with Cultural Studies[3], while others brought

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3   As Antônio Hohlfeldt, Karina Woitowicz, Guilherme Fernandes and Osvaldo Trigueiro.

it closer to denunciation criticism (Cimadevilla 2004, 191) or "Dialectic Conflict Paradigm" (Temer and Nery 2013, 163).

Thus, from discussions exposed in the previous two paragraphs, more questions arise: is folkcommunication in the scope of functionalism? Does it approach research aligned with Cultural Studies? Or is it part of neither? Anyway, they are more questions involving an attempt to understand and, in a way, to give (or reinforce) an identity to folkcommunication.

Answering all of these questions in an article is an impossible task if you want to have certain depth in discussion, but such questions are relevant for indicating the debates that have arisen and for giving clues to topics that can be investigated.

By resorting to the cliché that to understand the present one must understand the past, and that a current situation is the result of past events, we chose (among so many enquiries raised), for this article, to investigate the origin of folkcommunication, if its initial theoretical link (from the 1967's work) is, as defended by Jacks and Escosteguy (2003), functionalism. Thus, in addition to being another study in search to understand the initial links of folkcommunication, it may also be, perhaps, another available voice to be recovered in future works that choose a perspective of historical exposure of events, or that choose the use of a dogmatic method, in which a more recent study can serve as a starting point for another (Comte 1978, 27).

For this study, the methodology used was bibliographic research, which, according to Gil (1996, 48), "is developed from previously elaborated material, consisting mainly of books and scientific articles", since much of the material for analysis was composed of published texts. However, a differentiation must be kept in mind: bibliographic research is divided, following Ruiz (2002, 58), in sources and bibliography, with the first referring

to original texts on a determined subject, being important writings that were able to generate reflections and literature on them. Bibliography, on the other hand, "is the set of productions written to clarify sources, to disseminate, to analyze, to refute or to establish them". Thus, the initial work of folkcommunication and those of functionalist authors selected here were treated as sources, once they created new knowledge and generated debates around them.

For the reading of Luiz Beltrão's dissertation, a table was designed, including the following categories: theoretical aspects, methodological aspects and communicational aspects. The first one referred to theory that the work used and/or helped to build; the second one dealt with the methodology used in research and/or the elaboration of new knowledge; for the third item, links/ideas/proposals of the author with/for Communication were verified. Two columns were added to them: one for the names of the authors cited, and another one for the author's ideas effectively used.

In the selection of which authors (commonly seen as functionalists) should be studied in order to compare them with initial ideas of folkcommunication, we sought, in Beltrão's own dissertation, for researchers cited that had a prominent position both in Brazilian research and in the functionalist school/theory/method: Robert K. Merton; Bronislaw Malinowski; Elihu Katz, and Paul Lazarsfeld. Having them as a framework for comparison, other authors had to be studied, such as Augusto Comte[4] and Émile Durkheim[5], for the understanding of the origin

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4   By Augusto Comte, the following works were read: Positivist catechism, Positive philosophy course, Preliminary discourse on the whole of positivism, Discourse on the positive spirit.

5   From Émile Durkheim, the following works were read: The elementary forms of religious life, The rules of the sociological method, The division of social work, Suicide.

of positivist thinking and the functionalist conceptual basis. Books by these authors were analyzed taking into account some aspects commonly seen in functionalist characterizations (Timasheff 1973; Mattelart and Mattelart 2003; Genro Filho 1987; Merton 1968; F. Fernandes 1962), such as: functional analysis structure, organic analogies and the functional method. Thus, the following topics will deal with these themes and verify if there are links with folkcommunication.

2. Functionalism and Folkcommunication

On the basis of some theoretical references used by Beltrão in his dissertation and some passages[6] from it, the conclusion that folkcommunication is functionalist is usually defended (see Jacks and Escosteguy 2003). This link may result in interpretations that attach researches in folkcommunication to "bourgeois", "conservative", "racist", "imperialist'' values, to quantitative analysis, etc. In fact, it is clear how functionalism is, not rarely, interpreted by Latin-American researchers associated to communication as a theory that "underpins bourgeois morality as a worthy value of being revered and accepted", which is "grounded in studies of an empiricist nature that use formal and mathematical models", that "normality" (which should be maintained in order to keep a healthy society) was the American capitalism and its imperialist hegemony (Genro Filho 1987),

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6   As an example: "[...] And, especially, when it is intended to indicate ways to the success of campaigns for the diffusion of new ideas and practices, as in the current phase of the Brazilian evolution, considered as a transition towards socio-cultural and economic development. Since the great conventional means of collective communication do not work to obtain positive effects for the pretensions of the cultural and political elites - the developmental goals - because their messages are not assimilated, by social interaction, in the studied groups, it is the task of the researcher to research which vehicles traditionally serve to convey messages understood and accepted in such segments of society." (Beltrão 2014, 70).

and that functionalist uses in Latin America had the following consequences:

> The functional-biological analogy in which the social becomes "natural-organism" and "machine" allowed the functionalist reason to construct a series of genocidal, racists, ethnocentric and authoritarians' inferences. The central themes of the theoretical elaboration of these authors were conditioned by the needs and the geopolitical, militaries and financial objectives of the American power. (Maldonado 2004)

Leaving the communicologists aside, it is possible to find authors who go in the opposite direction to much criticism that is made to functionalists, such as Florestan Fernandes, as he argues that their analyses do not presuppose a state of perfect or stable balance of social life, that "the method of functionalist interpretation does not require that it is accepted, either by conviction, fiction or hypothesis, that social life has a 'static nature' and that social phenomena can be described in a 'static way.'" (Fernandes 1962, 197). This approach moves functionalism away from ideological positions:

> [...] science is not responsible in itself, for the ideologies of the surrounding social environment. It suffers its influences in multiple ways, through intellectual accommodations of the scientists themselves and is sometimes even represented by products of these accommodations, as if the ideological components were inherent to scientific thought. (Fernandes 1962, 201)

Therefore, in order to understand how the connection between folkcommunication and functionalism operates (or doesn´t), we decided to go beyond the readings of commentators: we also resort to source works, as we explained in the first topic

of this paper, to then compare Beltrão's dissertation with some functionalist characteristics.

2.1. Theoretical aspects (functional analysis and organic analogies)

The observation of society as a structure and the use of organic analogies is noticeable among authors called functionalists since Durkheim, as seen, for example, in the Division of social work (Durkheim 2013), a study in which he presents his view of social structure, his definition of function, and in which he also uses biological analogies to the development of some observations.

The function, for Durkheim (2013), is the correspondence relationship between vital movements and some needs of the organism, or, in the words of Timasheff (1973, 152), "a correspondence relationship between the considered fact and the needs of the organism". According to Thompson,

> He used the organic analogy to make intelligible the correspondence between the functions of government institutions (of the state) and certain needs of modern industrial society, comparing it to the functions of the brain in relation to the needs of the body. (Thompson 2003, 83).

From this perspective, it is observable that there is an integrated system composed of organs, each one performing its function and generating solidarity. However, their functions are not fixed and immutable, as the organs may have another function if it's necessary. For the French sociologist, the

> [...] organ is independent of function, that is, if it remains the same it can serve different purposes, it is true both

in sociology and in biology. From where it is concluded that the causes that give him the being are independent of the ends for which it serves. (Durkheim 2002, 80)

And the individual, being part of this system, is free, because, in the case of having to perform a certain function, he chooses it, it is an option of will (Durkheim 2013, 203-219).

Malinowski (1970), like Durkheim, works with functionalism, often with biological aspects as a model of understanding, but gives culture a prominent position in his research, including trying to create a functionalist cultural analysis, which he imagined as a scientific theory of culture. In elaborating this theory, he dealt with topics such as function, institution, satisfaction, need, culture, social structure, etc. In other words, he showed and explained the items and the reasoning that must be taken into account in a functional research.

In the book Argonauts of the Western Pacific, in the analysis of Kula, the question of society as a coherent whole can be perceived, in which, to be understood, the researcher must verify all the components that are part of a determined object of study. In the case of Kula, Malinowski observed the region, the inhabitants, the rules, the myths, the spells, the canoes, the ceremonies, the expeditions, and the exchanges, among other aspects. And the functional analysis acted by ordering all this information and allowing the system to be observed in all its interrelations.

Another exponent of functionalism (and who has strict theoretical connections with authors cited by Beltrão in his dissertation) is Robert K. Merton, who showed the development that functionalism has undergone during its trajectory and who, according to Lazarsfeld (1979, 116), gave new life to this sociological current.

Merton (1968, 117-121) proposes a procedure for the functional analysis, informing which aspects should be observed by the scientists in order to provide a guide for the analyses, to lead the researcher to the postulates and assumptions that are in the substrate of the functional analysis, and "to sensitize the sociologist not only in relation to the strictly scientific correlations of various types of functional analysis, but also their political and sometimes ideological correlations." (Merton 1968, 122). In its eleven steps (as indicating the observation of standardized items and subjective dispositions, taking into account that social structures are interdependent, knowing which ideological aspects can be present in research etc.), there is the definition of function, or rather, of functions: manifest and latent; and also, the distinction between functional and non-functional aspects (Merton 1968, 118-135).

In relation to biological analogies for social analysis, Merton sees that it is possible, with this correspondence, to obtain ways of better interpreting social objects, but makes it clear that social and biological realities are different:

> […] profiting from the logic of the process successfully used in the biological sciences is not falling for the acceptance of largely irrelevant analogies and homologies, which for so long have fascinated the devotees of organicist sociology. (Merton 1968, 115)

In the reading of the so-called functionalist authors selected for this study, there are some differences between them. However, there are several characteristics that connect them, such as observing society in structure, using organic analogies, conceptualizing function and exposing its mechanisms. When we consider Beltrão's dissertation and look for elaborations that can put it together with the functionalists,

it turns out that the development of the author's reasoning does not have any of these characteristics. Beltrão does not work with the idea of function, does not make use of organic analogies, does not describe what the social structure is like, and the communicational structure is not elaborated in the relationship between parts, function and structure.

Although he cites authors who have more or less similarities with the functionalist thinking, the theoretical basis of Beltrão's dissertation is far from these characteristics. For the elaboration of his work, the theoretical references (present in Part I - Theory of folkcommunication: theoretical foundations and methodology) have more similarities with ideas from authors linked to Communication Research[7] (especially with those who were at Ciespal - International Center for Higher Studies in Communication for Latin America - in the 1960s)[8] than with functionalism, such as when addressing issues of collective communication and personal communication, assessing public reaction by communicators and approaching developmental policies proposed by UNESCO (Schramm 1976).

The theory developed by Luiz Beltrão in his research on folkcommunication was not yet, as he said[9], sufficiently elaborated, but there is a certain security when we affirm (based on practically all the folkcommunication publications after 1967) that it started to be interpreted in a way to address the problems of the marginalized classes. That paradigm shift placed these

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7   Taking into account Schramm's characterization (1965, 5), two of three main brands of Communication Research in the 1960s were (1) investigating communication from both mass media and interpersonal media, and (2) worrying about its effectiveness and effects.

8   As W. Schramm (1964), G. Maletzke (1963) and B. Berelson (1964)

9   He said that in his doctoral research there was a lot of empiricism and that he was still concerned with folkcommunication as it still needed "many more elements for a theory of folkcommunication. In fact, I think we are in need of many more elements for a theory of communication itself." (Beltrão 1987, 14)

lower social strata at the center of the debate and approached ideas by authors such as Edison Carneiro and Câmara Cascudo, although, until 1998, the use of Katz, Lazarsfeld and Schramm was still common.

2.2. Methodological aspects

It is quite common to find positivist traits in functionalists, such as the search for universal laws, the indication of direct observation of the phenomena, the importance of objectivity, the use of the historical method and the design of analysis of the permanent institutions of society. Many of these characteristics come directly from Augusto Comte, such as "seeing to predict", "taking all phenomena as subject to invariant natural laws"(Comte 1978, 7) and the observation of static (when objects coexist) or dynamic (when objects succeed historically) connections.

Tiski (2011) argues that in positivism there are methodological variations according to the study area, saying that observation and reasoning are used in the analyses, but that each of the seven sciences[10] has its own methodological characteristics, such as mathematics being done by deduction, physics being the field of experimentation, biology making comparisons, sociology having "the methodological nuance of the historical method" etc.

Malinowski, in A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays, for example, sought for a universal law, something that Durkheim also tried to find in The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. This author, too, made a lot of criticism, as well as Comte, to speculation, stating that by using it the researcher would only

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10   Comte divided the existing sciences into seven, starting from the least to the most complex, and consequently from the most general to the least. They are: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology (biology), social physics (sociology) and morals.

obtain provisional and hypothetical opinions, which would always be under suspicion (Durkheim 2008, 440).

Although there are similar marks among functionalists and between them and Comtian positivism, there are also disagreements and issues addressed by some and not observed by others. An example is given in questions about the use of a historical look, which is indicated by Comte, used by Boas, accepted and criticized by Malinowski (Malinowski 1970, 165) and rejected by Durkheim in The Rules of the Sociological Method, but used in The Elementary Forms of Religious Life.

A commonly questioned aspect of functionalism is that it refuses subjective analyses. See Durkheim's example (2002) defending the social fact as the point to be observed. This indication by the sociologist results in some rules in his method: 1) Social facts are independent of individuals: it is society that must be analyzed, not individuals; 2) Sociology must be explained by social processes, not psychological ones: "[...] whenever a social phenomenon is explained directly by a psychic phenomenon, one can be sure that the explanation is false." (Durkheim 2002, 91).

However, if we refer to Malinowski, we see indications contrary to those of Durkheim's, because he did studies in psychology, as criticizing Freud and the Oedipus complex in *Estudios de Psicologia Primitiva*, a work cited by Beltrão in his dissertation. Malinowski also made use of the idea that responses are generated by stimuli, which refers to behaviorism. Psychology played an important role in Malinowski's analysis, because it was possible to understand the customs and actions that existed in the studied societies. In addition to behaviorism, psychoanalysis, despite some criticism, was acknowledged: "[...] it has clarified the stratification of human psychic life, demonstrating its strict dependence on the different stages of development that follow the child." (Malinowski 1963, 191).

A point that deserves attention in the analysis of functionalism is related to quantitativism. Merton does not give indications on the use of mathematical and quantitative aspects, which is also not present in Malinowski. In Durkheim we find an interesting case because, according to Peter Halfpenny (quoted by Lacerda 2009, 328), there are 12 types of positivism, the French author's being "a theory of knowledge according to which the natural science of Sociology consists of the collection and statistical analysis of quantitative data about society." Durkheim sees statistics as something very relevant to science, stating that "what each number expresses is a certain state of the collective soul" (Durkheim, 2002, 7), but it is not something used in all of his works. Suicide is the research in which statistics is widely used, however it is not present in his other studies as relevant.

Field research was also very prominent among functionalists, with Malinowski as a great defender. While anthropologists of dates close to the Polish functionalist usually used in their studies information obtained by other people who visited the localities, he believed that the researcher should live among the people studied, participate in the collective life and obtain reliable information from good informants of the studied social environment, because "it is possible for the ethnographer to go into more concrete details, with greater conviction, when he describes things he really saw."(Malinowski 1984, 278)

Of these methodological characteristics outlined above, some are present in Luiz Beltrãos's dissertation, such as the historical observation of the facts, the use of qualitative analysis and the conduct of field research. But the other options – such as finding a universal law, seeking causal relations, choosing quantitativism and carrying out a functionalist observation (Fernandes, 1962, argues that functionalism is more a method than a theory) – do not correlate with folkcommunication.

Beltrão's doctoral research for his dissertation does not have a methodological order, as he has already said: "From the method point of view, social research is a field that a person like me did not have many chances of carrying out in order. There was a lot of empiricism in everything I did at that time and maybe there is still today." (Beltrão 1987, 13). When observing his dissertation, the action of a journalist who goes to the field, interviews people, visits places of interest and searches books and material documents to help him answer his research problem is noticeable. In other words, there is no methodological organization: the option for bibliographic, documentary, historical and field research was more a decision stemming from his experience as a journalist than an alignment with functionalist authors and works.

2.3. Communication Aspect: Opinion Leader

The great theoretical connection of Luiz Beltrão's dissertation with the so-called functionalist authors is usually inferred because of the use of the idea of opinion leader, which is quite prominent in his research, including an entire chapter dedicated to debating this concept and, consequently, the double flow of communication.

Luiz Beltrão had realized that the mass media were not all-powerful and found that some investigations in the United States had proved this, naming Lazarsfeld, Berelson, Gaudet, Katz, Merton and Lewin. This perception highlighted the opinion leader, a figure of direct contact with recipients, who knew their social realities and who had more contact with the media than, according to Beltrão (2014, 68), "his followers".

In his dissertation, Beltrão cites the study The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, by Lazarsfeld, Gaudet and Berelson, but he used a lot,

the results of another book also mentioned, Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications, by Paul Lazarsfeld and Elihu Katz. However, the cut and adaptation of Beltrão's idea of an opinion leader generated some simplifications and divergences from what is said in Personal Influence.

Lazarsfeld and Katz carried out an extensive study on personal influence, and sought to transpose verticalized models of relationships. For these two authors, the opinion leader works in formal and informal groups and can act through personal contact or addressing broad audiences, guiding opinions and changing actions (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1979, 144). But, differently from what can be interpreted in Beltrão, it does not mean that he/she is a subject with abundant knowledge, capable of indicating the paths on all subjects to the people who are connected to him/her. It is not someone who imposes information/ideas. It is not a position for the few: it is a role that can be played by many. According to the authors, "[...] the opinion leaders in the constituent group, and the leader of the opinion is not a trait that has a person and the other, but an integral part of the existing exchange in each relationship personal." (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1979, 35)

The idea of opinion leaders (and consequently of personal influence and dual communication flow) is part of folkcommunication, as well as the notion that the mass media are not all-powerful, that personal influence has great strength, that leaders act as translators to their neighbors and who may have information from mass media and other groups.

However, there is a marked difference between folkcommunication and Personal Influence: the research carried out in the United States makes it clear that leadership is not a personal position: it is varied and variable, with the same

group being able to have several people who simultaneously occupy that position, depending largely on the topic addressed. The interpretation that can be had of Luiz Beltrão's dissertation is that the leader occupies a central figure in a group.

Beltrão's dissertation does have links with the ideas of Lazarsfeld and Katz, which does not mean that folkcommunication is linked to functionalism, as it is not safe to say that Personal Influence has a connection with functionalist precepts (interaction of system and subsystem, organic analogies, balance, cohesion, manifest and latent functions, function and dysfunction, etc.). Katz and Lazarsfeld's research is closer to the central characteristics of Communication Research (as characterized[11] by Schramm, 1965, p. 5) than functionalism.

It is known that Paul Lazarsfeld has functionalist ties, as his name is commonly remembered along with that of Robert K. Merton, but this opinion leadership research used by Beltrão in his dissertation is not linked, at least in the interpretation that we reached in this study, to the ideas of the functionalist theorists treated here.

3. Final Remarks

Folkcommunication, when thought of by Luiz Beltrão in the 1960s, had its own social and academic contexto. For example, in the 1950s, the illiteracy rate in Brazil was above 50%, and in 1960, at 39.7% (IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics 2000); the country was going through a rural exodus process (Ribeiro 2006, 181-182); and only 35.18% and 4.30%

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11 Communication research: 1) is quantitative; 2) is concerned with the effectiveness and effects of communication; 3) and Communication is seen as both the typical expression of newspapers, radio and television, as well as interpersonal communication, the spoken word, signs, photographs, etc.

of the Brazilian population had access to radio and television, respectively, in 1960 (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics 1960).

In the Brazilian academic context, we had a strong presence of French scholars in teaching at universities, such as at USP – Universidade de São Paulo –, and North Americans in research (Massi 1989). In Latin America, Americans were also present, as can be seen in the book Social Science in Latin America, which contains texts (by authors such as Manuel Diégues Júnior, Florestan Fernandes and Octavio Ianni) with a diagnostic character of the relationship between the USA and Latin America. In this publication, much criticism was made of the Americans, as few of them were concerned with both the Latin American region and the progress of the social sciences for this social space (Fernandes 1965, 130).

In the field of Communication education, there was also a strong presence of the USA, especially with the setting up of Ciespal (a center with a UNESCO seal for the training of journalists and communication researchers for Latin America) in the late 1950s and early 1960s. From a survey carried out by Córdoba (1967, 113-129), we found that the Ciespal publications between 1960 and 1967 were mostly by authors linked to institutions in the United States (12 publications), followed by France (8).

In other words, Beltrão's research context for the elaboration of his dissertation was the population with low access to mass media and formed in large part by poor and illiterate people. What's more, in relation to the academic part of Communication, the North American theoretical references were highlighted and were taught and disseminated from Ciespal – a place attended by Luiz Beltrão, where he was even a teacher in 1963 and used the Ciespaline bibliography in many of his books, as in Scientific

Foundations of Communication (1973; "*Fundamentos científicos da comunicação*").

Thus, because Beltrão resorted to authors such as Lazarsfeld and Katz as a relevant part for the elaboration of the "folkcommunication theory" (term used by him in the dissertation) – and these linked to the United States and the first having contact with Merton, writing articles on the line functionalist –, the creation of the folkcommunication-functionalism link is understandable. However, the paths are diversified among authors. Therefore, the first remark we make, for this last section of the paper, is that the creation of an adjectival common to all functionalists hides many relevant characteristics of this current. Defining it as quantitative, conservative, defending social immutability and in favor of vertical relations may or may not be correct: it depends on the author and the context. And, as we saw, both folkcommunication and Personal Influence are neither close to these characteristics nor to the indications given by some functionalist theorists. The second remark we make is that it is not enough to just cite theorists from a theory X to make it belong to it.

Some questions may arise from what we have said, such as: functionalism in Latin America had a direct political influence on government actions; Communication Research and developmental policies were based on functionalism; and Beltrão wanted to understand local cultures so that government policies could change them. All these issues are very pertinent and will be discussed in a later work, but some clues we have been working on are that politics can make use of scientific bases, but science cannot always be responsible for this use, as defended by Florestan Fernandes (1962); that Communication Research used functionalism, but they are not the same, with the story of one being independent of the utterances of the other;

the link between folkcommunication and functionalism is not strong: the elements indicated for functional analysis, from more distant authors (Durkheim and Malinowski) to the closest (Robert Merton), are not found in Luiz Beltrão's dissertation. And the idea of an opinion leader is found and highlighted by Luiz Beltrão (although there is a difference in the way in which he sees the centrality of this leader), but the quantitative and qualitative research by Katz and Lazarsfeld that resulted in this concept also does not use the various designs of functionalism, not even those of Merton, the nearest theorist.

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7. From Robert Park to Luiz Beltrão: the notion of marginality in folkcommunication[1]

Flávio Santana[2]

(Translation by Levi Silva Santos)

Folkcommunication as a tool for development

The communicational approach to the problems of Brazilian society, during the initial phases of the economic development

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process[3], around the first half of the 20th century, highlighted the people's powerlessness in the face of mass media. There were obstacles in communication between the most diverse social groups, mainly in the Northeast of the country, where a ruling elite disregarded the people's organization alternatives, revealing, on the one hand, a Brazil in full development, and one marginalized, on the other.

In this regard, Luiz Beltrão (1980) understood that despite the colonized peoples be considered uncultured, excluded, and marginalized due to their forms of civilization without the social artifacts of communication - such as typography, book, and newspaper – they developed their popular media - ex-votos, string literature, dances, handicrafts, etc. According to Luiz Antônio Barreto (2005), those media occur in varied manifestations of creation, recreation, or repetitive use, as characteristic of memorial experiences.

Luiz Beltrão (2014) comprehended the communication issue as a continuous historical process, guided by the dominant ideals that, allied to the media, spread a discourse that disqualified the people as deprived of knowledge. That comprehension made it possible for Luiz Beltrão (2014) to understand the "artisanal" communication channels as possible ways of speeding the transformation of society. Therefore, it is based on the recognition of the contents, codes, and meanings of popular circulation as methods that satisfy the reality of the common space among individuals and do not need traditional media to gain relevance.

Thus, we understand that Folkcommunication is one of the mechanisms that supply the field of Communication

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3   This period regards the transformation of artisanal activities into new ways of production, distribution, and consumption, determined by the industrial advance during the long-awaited Brazilian Industrial Revolution (Bresser-Pereira, 2003).

for Development (C4D)[4], concerning methods of cultural recognition and appreciation of peoples in circumstances of communicational exclusion. From this perspective, the beltranian theory seeks to think about proper methodologies aimed at understanding the regional demands in disseminating information, in the guidance of public opinion, and promoting the common good. It also considers that the population strata become larger and more dispersed, differentiated by their culture, ethnicity, and social, spatial distances, and organized through missions and interests. Betania Maciel (2012) rightly points out that the media must understand popular expressions to consider such groups and facilitate dialogue. However, besides that, one must value the critical awareness of the "dominated classes" (Freire, 2018) and the empowerment they obtain through the valuation of knowledge within the struggle for transformation, based on a horizontal communication model and effective participation.

As a result, we understand that folklore started to play a fundamental role in popular culture as a representation and expression of the people. Besides, due to its disseminating nature, it guarantees effective communication connected to people's reality. According to Amphilo (2013), it also commits to preserving traditional practices that are important in a community, highlighting its ways of looking at its past to project the future. This discourse is characterized by a counter-hegemonic look from popular culture towards erudite culture, materialized by the struggle to make voices and claims heard for the common good.

Folkcommunication is based on the premise of seeing artisanal mechanisms as popular media and, at the same time,

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4   Communication for development is understood as a tool that aims to achieve participation and social change through interpersonal communication combined with the media used in projects designed to strengthen the application of social policies aimed at development.

promoting the recognition of groups frequently excluded. It is also configured as a paradigm-breaking mechanism to see and denounce a problem rooted in Brazilian society. As Marques de Melo (2008a) pointed out, it is not by chance that this theory is not well accepted among conservative folklorists, who defended popular culture from the effects of modernity. It is also the same position of communication experts, who adopted popular manifestations as artifices of political demand instead of seeing them as symbols of resistance to people in situations of poverty and marginalization.

The notion of Marginality in Robert Park

Karina Janz Woitowicz and Guilherme Moreira Fernandes (2017) divide Folkcommunication into two historical moments. Based on Edson Carneiro's (1965) understanding, the first moment relates to the doctoral dissertation and the authors' understanding of folklore as a discourse of the popular classes. The second moment is the expansion of the folk audience based on the concept of marginality, through Robert Park's[5] perspective, from the Chicago School[6], in 1928. As Marques de Melo (1980) pointed out, Beltrão (1980) gives a better understanding regarding

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5   As a professor and researcher at the Chicago School, Robert Ezra Park's work has been referenced in several studies about the dynamics of cities and the positions of individuals, based on formalized relationships in their own group and the insertion of immigrants.

6   The Chicago School of Sociology or School of Chicago emerged from a group of professors and researchers on the initiative of American sociologists who were part of the teaching staff of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago. They met around the 1920s to study and discuss issues related to sociology, also contributing to Social Psychology and Communication Sciences. The emergence of the School of Chicago is linked to the process of urban expansion and demographic growth in the city of Chicago in the early 20th century, bringing to the fore the growth of crime, juvenile delinquency, gangs, poverty, unemployment, and immigration, the result of the accelerated industrial development of the metropolises (Becker, 1996).

the popular groups' communication practiced in workers and peasant communities, as well as in middle-class groups, opening the discussion to raise the question about folklore and popular culture as exclusive objects of theory.

In folkcommunication, the term "marginalized" was used to identify the social group that did not respond to the appeals of the Mass Media, that was in a situation of cultural, economic, and political exclusion, deprived of the journalistic messages of conventional media (Beltrão 1980). Due to the imposition of dominance, this social group remains situated on the margins, building their means of expression and popular communication, determined to carry symbolic effects reverberated by media practices.

This perspective sees the cultural manifestations excluded "not only from the political system but also from the media, both aimed at preserving the status quo defined by the ideology and the planned action of the ruling groups." (Beltrão 1980, 39). Therefore, Beltranian serves to understand the cultural process in contemporary times and see culture as a space of dominance, not restricting its angle of observation to popular culture.

It is essential to consider that Beltrão (1980) did not establish the term "marginal" to identify the audience of folkcommunication randomly. The term first appeared in the paper "Human migration and the marginal man", by journalist and sociologist Robert Park, published in 1928 in the American Journal of Sociology. Park was one of Chicago School's most influential theorists. He gained prominence from his studies on migration, race relations, human ecology, and urban sociology.

Park's work (2017) is based on studies about the city regarding the contacts and conflicts between peoples in competitions and domination. The author identifies the civilizing process

as relevant to the evolutionary dynamics and development of peoples. In other words, through contact and communication among peoples, movements and mixtures are formalized, which cause unexpected and disastrous changes to their customs and habits and, on the other hand, determine the emancipation of the individual man.

In this way, the author understands the community as a space with a territorially organized population living in a mutual inter-relationship. This community, where most are firmly attached to the place they live in, keeps in balance the preservation of their identities and integrity as individual units. However, interests and the formation of competitions are defined from the position of individuals in the urban social environment, which consequently influences the emergence of domination (Park 1936).

From competitions, articulations, and domination, it is necessary to question how human migrations, movements, contacts, and confrontations influence social and cultural relations. Based on the psychosocial approach, we seek to understand the migratory process not only by its effects or how it is expressed in customs changes, but also through the perception of how it impacts the individuals who live this process, both in their subjective manifestations and in their personalities. "The individual becomes free for new adventures, but he/she finds himself/herself almost without direction and control." (Park 2017, 118). Within this perspective, he referred to "marginal man" as:

> [...] a cultural hybrid, a man who lives and intimately shares the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never too willing to break, even if he is allowed to do so, his past and his traditions, and not very accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He is a man on the edge

of two cultures and two societies, which never wholly
interpenetrate and merge (Park 2017, 121).

Sharing cooperative and economic relations can be seen
as crucial to homogenizing different groups and affirming their
characteristics. Based on this assumption, it can be said that
the marginal are the ones who live in two worlds, two different
cultural groups, where they are somewhat strangers. In other
words, they are subjects with a personality resulting from this
conflict between cultures, due to the impacts they experienced
in face of the different and the ones who do not belong to that
reality. "Finally, it is in the mind of the marginal man - where
changes and fusions of culture are taking place - that we can better
study the processes of civilization and progress." (Park 2017, 122).

Thus, starting from the transition period where old habits
are disregarded and new ones are established, Park's work (2017)
clarifies moral disorder from the new cultural contacts manifested,
and where the culture changes and fusions show the processes
of civilization and progress.

Park's work (2017) brings significant importance
to folkcommunication concerning the contact between different
cultures, the constant outrages to relationships, and the importance
of the communication process between individuals from different
societies. Conflictingly, as "outsiders", these individuals will
put their traditional culture into practice, configuring it based
on new ways of life and establishing a relationship with the new
habitat. This way, modifying both themselves and what is around
them. Therefore, they will be between the two cultures. Due to
the transition process, they will no longer be part of the previous
culture, and they also will not be part of the new one, since they
do not have a sense of belonging.

From this point of view, the marginal, in Beltranian theory, is understood not as migrants, but as the individuals who are on the margins of two cultures - the dominant one, constantly processed by the media, and the subaltern one, belonging to their group, built from their traditions.

Applied Marginality

The marginality phenomenon has become an important social issue, and it reminds us of stereotyped ideas about the marginal spaces that affect millions of poor. According to Janice Perlman (2002), marginalization is closely linked to ideologies and modernization, with implications for capitalism and imperialism. The portions of the population that do not have good living conditions are framed in terms of inferiority, assuming, in general, concomitant social, cultural, economic, and political characteristics. Marginality refers, albeit vaguely, to several groups that are generally confused by other five different defining factors, which are commonly used to define the term: 1) location; 2) unsatisfactory situation in the economic-occupational scale; 3) migrants, newcomers, or members of different subcultures; 4) racial and ethnic minorities; and 5) the strayed.

Maria Célia Paoli (1974) says that the construction of marginal spaces results from serious social problems, such as the rural exodus caused by an uneven development process. It is a problem that is evident in our society, which denounces a capitalist system under an exclusive economic logic, further defining that man himself becomes an object in the face of a history torn by exploitation.

In Latin America, marginality is a social label of a political nature based on economic interests commonly used to refer to the

poorest due to their historical roots. That happens because cities relate to class and power limits and the development of slums in the urban context, in which the newcomers are treated as plagues. Thus, as the city's subnormal population grew, so did unemployment (Perlman 2002). This way, the economy could not incorporate that portion of the population in the labor force, so it reinforced the threat of social and political collapse. Paradoxically, this influenced the confrontation of this threat, integrating that part of the population into the system that makes them socially and economically marginalized.

These individuals are agents "who do not have access to sources of stable and profitable work, being, for this reason, barred from enjoying desirable consumption patterns effectively earned by other people." (Paoli 1974, 120). In other words, labor force relations and income distribution justify and emphasize the poverty of a group, differentiating them from others that do not share the same conditions. This system structures and submits the individual who lives in this reality to the condition of poverty. In this context, poverty also generates the place and things specific for the poor. Finally, impoverishment imposes mutual recognition and structures the situation of participation and exclusion.

In terms of communication, the marginality is understood as the perception of the Mass Media and their mechanisms of ideological articulation, due to their influence on the social environment. Besides, because it guarantees the ruling class control over the subordinate classes. More specifically, it is about seeing the media as instruments of political domination of the population, while aware of their power of interpenetration to make people conscious of the existing contradictions of the capitalist system.

Perlman (2002) emphasizes that the institutions responsible for the solutions to this problem and the policies towards

building slums contribute to maintaining stereotypes, reinforcing and perpetuating them. In this regard, these institutions consider these spaces as irregular, composed of unskilled illiterate sub-proletarians, under low standards of living. Besides that, places of refuge for criminals, parasites, and contagious diseases. "This contradiction between the fear of the 'growing barbarian masses' in cities and the awareness of their inevitable existence is underlying the ideology of marginality and its political manipulation." (Perlman 2002, 124).

From this point of view, Paoli (1974) emphasizes that the economic integration of a population, considering the regional or local situation, tend to be justified by the ways of life, economic resources, and the cultural level of the locality. Besides, taking advantage of the constant urban interventions and the mangrove landfills, this population settle down in those underdeveloped places. For this reason, society classifies them as marginal.

Several studies understand marginality from the same point of view linking the term to the urban poor and opposing it to the middle class. Nevertheless, "there is little empirical evidence that all members of the modern urban middle class have such attributes, or that other groups do not" (Perlman 2002, 130). Despite this, many of these studies are contradictory because they have different analyses, periods, indicators of the same concept, or qualitative and quantitative studies (Perlman 2002). Nonetheless, it is crucial to consider that through all the perspectives presented there is a relevant common ground to this discussion: culture as a dominance factor.

Paoli (1974) understands culture as the "universe of meanings constituted and institutionalized, which manifests and establishes the relationships between groups and social classes in a concrete social formation" (Paoli 1974, 115-116). Thus, culture gains

a dimension of domination based on its historical logic by the meanings constructed with social behaviors among its agents which are dictated by the locality's intrinsic and peculiar values and customs, preventing an understanding of the historical character of domination. These concepts support marginality in social relations and the interactions between cultural agencies to maintain domination and the subjects exposed to them.

It is known that culture is originated by the ways of representing the experiences and interests of a people in a continuous way. Considering this, it is possible to evaluate that the relationships in the daily lives of human groups are attributes of social interactions through which meanings are "communicated" by the actors involved. Thus, from a modernizing development process, society presents a problematic distribution relationship, illustrated in a "needs field", where the symbolic concept of poverty is mistaken.

Within this perspective, the relationship between the media and their dialogue with society requires two critical observations. First, communication establishes the exclusion of participation of a particular group. Second, it continues creating and disseminating stereotypes of those groups that do not have access to the social production, expanding their marginality from a symbolic perspective. Therefore, this culture generates a symbolic universe, since it is structured from a social way of being which is, on one side, positive for establishing a response to participation-exclusion, but, on the other side, it is distorted when it understands the situation as social disorganization, comprehending poverty as a reference to wage labor and consumption.

The culture of poverty is formed by the mechanisms of organization denied to the individuals inserted in this context. It maintains the function of "adapting the poor people to an

adverse situation, which creates it as their culture to survive in the face of the continued improbability of self-realization in society" (Paoli 1974, 122-123). This is a typical effect of capitalism on societies since, during urbanization, they marginalized part of the people and evacuated them without any institutional pattern. Besides, it highlights the type of work and the lack of consumption. However, this culture of poverty forgets that it is not characterized as poor if we observe that this group significantly absorbs and integrates ideas according to their exclusion within the limits of exclusion. In other words, "it is not a poorer culture than other symbolic stocks specific to other groups in society, although they have an effective monopoly on information" (Paoli 1974, 124).

It is essential to consider that, in one way or another, poverty generates an idea that the individual should abdicate from other needs and pay attention only to their survival and possible sources of income. Thus, it is very likely that this situation highlights a dominated individual's "masked" role, considering that they are prevented from organization and mobilization. This place in which the subject is covertly inserted prevents them from overcoming their condition of "marginal". "The more survival is imposed as a first and urgent data, the more there is a barrier to the ability to understand his life to be able to control it: he submits to whatever comes and goes" (Paoli 1974, 125).

From this, Paoli (1974) understands religion and the mass media as magical experiences, and she blames them for maintaining the dominant relations imposed on marginal groups. Thus, within the marginal universe structured by the symbolic field, the workforce and the income distribution are vital for characterizing the group. Moreover, they are also important to maintain poverty, configuring particular identities and the institutionalized identity of other groups in society.

In a first moment, the religious experience and the interaction with the products disseminated by the mass media establish the vision between real life and the world of the imaginary where the individual "becomes a world that can be controlled, unlike the real world, uncontrollable and resistant to the realization of rational practice" (Paoli 1974, 129). With this said, this control of appropriation over the imaginary world is connected with the real world, allowing this individual to understand it from the rites and relevance of the imaginary. While religion helps the excluded to "integrate themselves peculiarly in society, by visualizing it as a divine manifestation" (Paoli 1974, 132), the media provides access to goods and a desirable lifestyle. "As a compensatory share, the products of the cultural industry keep the world of consumption symbolically accessible and accentuate the dilution of the borders of exclusion, stating that the magic will happen at any moment" (Paoli 1974, 139).

It is important to highlight that this role of the marginal coincides with the ideological universe of affirmative culture, sometimes culturally distinguishing individuals belonging to this group, while sometimes revealing their differentiation at the economic level. Therefore, the link between culture and domination does not explain whether the political potential of the group in question may or may not be politically inoperative. The lack of experience in organizing and claiming of these individuals promotes the significance of the symbolic agencies mentioned (religion and media) "when trying to manipulate this denial and become the level of manifestation of the experience of poverty, inverting the historical meaning of this process" (Paoli 1974, 143).

From the perspectives anchored to Paoli (1974) and Perlman (2002), Folkcommunication gains dimension to understand marginality as a condition where individuals continue to articulate

different development methods outside the limits of other social spaces. Furthermore, this is done through their ways of life organized and communicated among their common participants. Besides, this process is carried out based on a poor political and social organization, which does not offer suitable devices within the media spaces. Moreover, under shady economic purposes, it continues to disseminate images and symbols that significantly keep people on the margin.

Contribution of the Notions of Marginality to Luiz Beltrão's thought

Folkcommunication studies are based on the contributions of Park (2017) and follow the notions designed by Paoli (1974) and Perlman (2002) regarding the understanding of culture as a domination space. Also, they clarify that popular groups, rural or urban, are marginalized both from the political and the social communication system to preserve the status quo that is reinforced by the actions of the leading groups. As a result, Paoli's work (1974) was influential in Beltrão's (1980), first for understanding culture as an ideological imposition based on concepts supporting the maintenance of marginality in social relations, and secondly for understanding the interactions between cultural domination maintenance agencies and the subjects exposed to them. The author based her ideas on observing religion and the media, considering them as magical experiences and explaining that they promote the maintenance of the dominant relations imposed on marginal groups.

The fact is that poverty, rooted in marginal spaces, demonstrates that the State has failed to promote public policies to develop them following the other spaces that have progressed.

These marginal spaces continue to find alternatives for survival in the face of high tax rates, rampant unemployment, and a lack of support projects. We consider that such a process results from a bad political and social organization that, under economic arguments, does not offer suitable tools capable of improving issues such as precarious labor conditions and poor education. Furthermore, it cannot even offer possibilities for the people to seek their development, both locally, in their community, and regionally.

As Perlman (2002) adds, none of the large cities in developing countries may be doing what is necessary to promote job opportunities, urban services, infrastructure, accommodation, and administrative capacity capable of absorbing the current population growth. In this way, as we have highlighted, folkcommunication continues working to attend to the local needs of these people, finding ways to professionalize them.

With all that said, Beltrão (1980) bases his work on the current communication model that remains contrary to the marginalized masses. Furthermore, he identifies the abstention of these groups in the communication process; precisely because of the economic dictates and the modernizing dispositions that Brazil underwent during the economic development.

> The social communication system, such as mass communication, demands an expensive, industrial, economic, mercantile infrastructure. […] For this reason, they are practically forbidden to low-income audiences, since they also require preparation, specific training, "literacy" in each language, in a way that they do not allow themselves to be deceived or overwhelmed, but keep its critical spirit and its decision-making capacity for spiritual enrichment. (Beltrão 1980, 21)

Because of this questioning, it is important to consider that, besides the economic aspect, provoked by poor distribution of income and the marked level of poverty, the social vulnerability also acts as an essential element in the way mass media are established in society, considering the high levels of illiteracy, poor population distribution, conditions of sexual and religious intolerance, and the ideology contrary to the current one[7].

Thus, from the contribution of the notions of marginality, we understand that folkcommunication provides mechanisms to legitimize popular culture and all handicraft elements, within the scope of marginalized groups, in opposition to the conspiracies of the ruling elites (Amphilo 2010), and to question the communicational model that covertly draws on popular expressions and their identities.

Beltrão (1980) assumes the importance of this new look at folkcommunication since it is a more vigorous study that composes "a trait of universality that comes from its foundation in folklore" (Beltrão 1980, 40) referring to the discourses of the marginalized and the recognition of roots, trunks, and branches of popular culture rooted in human nature. The communication of the marginalized has been observed, since then, from "words, graphic signs, gestures, attitudes, lines and forms", not necessarily separate from the folk discourse, once both have "very tenuous relations with the language, writing, dance, rituals, plastic arts, work and leisure" (Beltrão 1980, 40).

Therefore, we must consider that Beltrão (1980), based on the postulates about marginality, interpreted different positions to define how culture and popular expressions fit in the "marginal"

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7   Fernandes and Woitowicz (2017), in remembrance and update of Beltrão's work from the aspects of contemporary gender studies, present homosexual groups as key objects to demonstrate the constant resistance to current cultural standards and the struggle for their civil, political, cultural, and communicational rights.

label. Besides, he divided the folkcommunication audience into three major groups: marginalized rural groups, marginalized urban groups, and culturally marginalized groups. Each one has its vocabulary and syntax, which allows the communicator-agent to use a channel that best responds to their reality.

Marginalized rural groups are characterized as those composed of inhabitants from isolated areas, usually under-informed, helpless, or with little contact with the institutions of society. From an intellectual point of view, the level of education of individuals belonging to this group is low, with a reduced and particular vocabulary (rich in dialects and colloquial expressions). Beltrão (1980) states that even without access to the mass media, they are still informed and express their opinions, carried out by direct contact in conversations, "tales", and stories. The communication opportunities of this group are presented in the celebrations of religious events (such as the Christmas cycles, Lent, and patron saints) and collective activities of production and commerce.

Marginalized urban groups are characterized by reduced purchasing power due to low income. This group is composed of underemployed individuals who do not require specialized labor and those who live on illegal means (thieves, prostitutes, pimps, and street bookmakers). Generally, the group focuses on clusters of houses in the peripheral neighborhoods of cities. According to Beltrão (1980), individuals belonging to this group are misinformed or mistakenly informed by the media system. The expression of its thought is generally practiced in collective demonstrations and public acts promoted by its institutions (unions, samba schools, religious organizations, etc.). They have great communication opportunities at urban religious parties (regardless of creed), civic celebrations, and carnivals (maracatu, samba, and frevo schools).

Furthermore, finally, culturally marginalized groups organize to challenge the current culture and social organization. It is made by adopting practices contrary to the shared ideas and practices within their community. Thus, such groups are separated from the others, but they use means and methods to attract other individuals to their group. "Until they reach privileged situations, whether due to the number of adherents, good organization or loosening of legal restrictions, they work in hiding" (Beltrão 1980, 103). They are the messianic, the political activists, and the erotic-pornographic. To this group, it is essential to remember a discussion by the author:

As for the expression of their thoughts and aspirations, they use, like the other marginalized groups, the means we call folk. However,

> It is in collective manifestations and public acts, promoted by own institutions [...] that, under traditional forms, covering current contents, under rites, sometimes universal, but consecrated by the opportune and especially situated repetition, this popular urban mass it better reveals its opinions and demands, exercising criticism and warning the groups of the dominant social system of its purposes and its strength. (Beltrão 1980, 60)

Future Perspectives

It is a fact that Folkcommunication has become a relevant academic discipline in contemporary times. According to Marques de Melo (2008a), it has been gaining prominence and a more significant number of professors and researchers, which is due to the expansion of local and regional cultures, associated with the appropriations of the media and advancing new technologies.

However, we are sure that much remains to be done. Moreover, although we consider the work of Woitowicz and Fernandes (2017) quite relevant for folkcommunicational studies and research, we recognize that research in Folkcommunication, in general, has not given significant attention to concepts regarding marginality, neither about how we can understand these groups beyond folk practices.

Therefore, from the contributions of the notions of marginality presented to folkcommunication, we understand a considerable expansion in the folk audience. However, although this public uses popular communication codes and symbols, they are not part of the folkloric universe. Also, there is evidence of a development process with a problematic distribution relationship, illustrated in a deficiency field where the symbolic concept of poverty is mistaken. Such perspectives help us understand culture as an ideological imposition, based on conceptions supporting the maintenance of marginality in social relations and the interactions between cultural domination maintenance agencies and the subjects exposed to them.

From this perspective, folkcommunication is inserted in a contemporary society aiming at explaining how the media appropriates popular culture for consumption through the dictates of the cultural industry (Melo 2008b). We take into account that the media practice has accompanied the expansion of the cultural industry. For that reason, currently, the entertainment sector has become one of the most active and promising in the global economy, valuing the consumption of manners and customs attributed to gaining value and dominance. A cultural field is formed, which constantly turns to production, circulation, and consumption. Therefore, it is important to reflect on the constant articulation between the media and the modernization processes that were part of the Brazil's formation, where

"rural" and "artisanal" habits and customs are underestimated. We understand that this characteristic is based on the effects of capitalism on societies, which, when urbanized, marginalize part of the people, excluding them, without any institutional standard, but producing a point of view of their own functions.

We are sure that the notion of marginality also contributes to the debate of folkcommunication concerning the perspective of C4D in the sense of establishing a dialogue between the ruling elites and the marginalized masses, besides the importance of the exchange of information in the communication process. Through this point of view, it is possible to affirm that today the means of communication work as articulation tools between individuals since, in a global sphere, they recognize local events and events from other realities. Here, we draw attention to the fact that the media must have social responsibility regarding cultural appreciation and its significant potential to consider all spheres and social groups.

If, on the one hand, Beltrão emphasizes that the leading groups must pay attention to and establish effective communication between the groups, on the other, he insists that these groups do not necessarily need the means of communication to develop. The sociological view of the notions of marginality allows seeing the phenomenon and questioning the use that mass media have used. It is not just about establishing communication but questioning how these groups are portrayed in the media.

To that end, we are certain that understanding the marginality process helps us reach a more critical level and question how the State sees and monitors the individuals in the marginal domain. In folkcommunication, the term becomes a preponderant factor in understanding the popular groups excluded by the ruling elites of the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres.

We do not intend to question the relevance that culture reached in the media. We also do not attempt to maintain intact the traditions once that is impossible due to the dynamism of a society. Our intention is going against the notion of culture as dominance to have it in mind when and how it can cause exploitation and marginalization. However, it is necessary to recognize the importance of keeping balance in the analysis of social phenomena. It is not recommended only to see those advances without presenting any significant questions, once it can also contribute to legitimize ideas that, sometimes, have impeded profound observations of the process of rising power and dominance, which are historically interpenetrated in our society.

Also, it is important to observe the communication practice by all groups as a mechanism organized according to their realities. From this point of view, Marcelo Sabbatini (2012) mentions that, first of all, one must consider specific care and rigor in the concepts to continue perpetuating archaic and prejudiced ideas historically related to these groups.

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8. Folkcommunication research after Luiz Beltrão: beginning of the 21st century[1]

Guilherme Moreira Fernandes[2]

(Translation by Pedro Arão das Mercês Carvalho)

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1   This is an expanded version of "Legado pós-beltraniano: integrados, apocalípticos ou culturalistas?", first published in Metamorfose da Folkcomunicação: Antologia Brasileira ("Folkcommunication Metamorphosis: Brazilian Anthology"), edited by José Marques de Melo and Guilherme Moreira Fernandes (2013).

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Introduction

Professor and journalist Luiz Beltrão (1918-1986) is still recognized as one of the most important Brazilian theorists of Communication. He is the creator of the only genuinely Brazilian theory of Communication. His death did not prevent the erasure of his contributions to Communication, Journalism, and particularly Folkcommunication Theory. The aim of this work is to make some notes on theoretical progress and perspectives of studies within what Beltrão called Folkcommunication: "the set of procedures for exchanging information, ideas, opinions and attitudes of urban and rural marginalized publics, through agents and means directly or indirectly linked to folklore." (Beltrão 1980, p. 24).

José Marques de Melo, Beltrão's disciple and promoter of folkcommunication, in his debut book, states that Linguistics, Education and Folkcommunication form the group of Individual and Group Information Sciences. Also, according to Melo (1971, p. 59), Folkcommunication is a "subject that has been recently consolidating itself, and its specific purpose is virtually defined – the study of popular communication enshrined by tradition." Although this text was written more than forty years ago, it is still current. Folkcommunication (as well as Communication Science) is neither a consolidated academic major nor an autonomous field of study.

Folkcommunication derived from Luiz Beltrão's journalistic perspective and from the assumption (later confirmed) that mass media did not communicate with a large part of the population, and that the latter had its own channels and manifestations. Hence the article "O ex-voto como veículo jornalístico" that gave rise, two years later, to Beltrão's doctoral research, where folkcommunication was conceived.

Beltrão (2014, 1980) defines Folkcommunication within diffusionism, anchoring his theory in the North American communicational thinking, especially the one led by Lazarsfeld, Katz and Schramm. However, as Isabel Amphilo (2010) warns, there is an epistemological problem in Beltrão's research (1980) continuation and in the empirical part of his doctoral dissertation (2014):

> The development of his [Beltrão's] research reflects an ideological contradiction by integrating Marxist categories, such as superstructure, marginalized, and alienated, among others, into the basis of his investigation of a functionalist/diffusionist nature. Beltrão's enthusiasm in assimilating the process of "folkloric recomposition" by neo-Marxist sociologist Edison Carneiro, who approaches social dynamics from a dialogical perspective intending to overcome "non-communication" and understands the codified and complex messages of popular "tribunes." Beltrão creates an "ideological deviation" in his research, generating confusion about the epistemological nature of an investigative line for the researcher. His doctoral thesis used bibliographical and documentary research on communication in Colonial Brazil but from the perspective of historical and dialectical materialism. (Amphilo 2010, 73-74).

The following generations did not bother to "solve" or discuss this epistemological "problem". However, we noticed that some actions – led especially by professors José Marques de Melo, Roberto Benjamin, Antônio Hohlfeldt, Joseph Luyten, Cristina Schmidt, Osvaldo Trigueiro and Severino Lucena – helped to consolidate the field, thus representing important theoretical progress. It was up to the newest researchers' generation to work on a critical/epistemological thinking. It is this legacy that we propose to discuss.

José Marques de Melo's Legacy in Folkcommunication: Genres and Formats[3]

A first-hand follower of Beltrão, Professor José Marques de Melo is one of the main Communication theorists in the Latin American scenario. In an interview to Pesquisa Fapesp (Moura, 2012, p. 33), he states that his main contribution to the field of communication in Brazil is the definition and systematization of journalistic genres. The functionalist study of journalistic genres and formats is precisely what also characterizes José Marques de Melo's main contribution to the studies on Folkcommunication.

Beltrão (2014), in his doctoral dissertation, characterized the informative and opinion research on Folkcommunication as extremely connected to journalism (or "folkjournalism"). This means that the focus was on the use of folk channels in the following modes: written (cordel, almanac, calendars, fortune booklets *livro de sorte*), oral (singers, traveling salesmen, truck drivers) and opinion (Judas burnings[4] "Queima de Judas", carnival, popular music, mamulengo[5], bumba-meu-boi[6], craftworks and popular plastic arts).

Melo (1971) starts to give a greater dimension to Folkcommunication, covering its area of studies, thus incorporating the communicational process as a whole. In an attempt to systematize the curriculum of Communication programs (Melo, 1979), he conceives, based on Umberto Eco

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3   Other contributions by Marques de Melo to Folkcommunication studies can be consulted in Gobbi and Fernandes (2012).

4   The burning of Judas is an Easter-time ritual that originated in European Christian communities where an effigy of Judas Iscariot is burned. Other related mistreatment of Judas effigies include hanging, flogging, and exploding with fireworks. A similar ritual in Jewish tradition would be the hanging and burning an effigy of Haman and his ten sons during Purim, although this is not a widespread contemporary practice. (Wikipedia 2022)T. N.

5   Puppet-show – (T.N.)

6   The Ox Bumba Party. Bumba is a name of an Ox. – (T.N.)

(2011), a division of Folkcommunication into the following genres: Written Folkcommunication, Oral Folkcommunication, Iconic Folkcommunication, and Kinetic Folkcommunication. The functionalist classification and expansion of Folkcommunication held by Melo found support in Beltrão's (1980) work. Therefore, in his second book dedicated to Folkcommunication, Beltrão expands the communicational dimension of the theme and conceives the folk audience in three large groups: the urban marginalized, the rural marginalized, and the culturally marginalized. As an attachment to the text, Beltrão indicates a summary bibliography for research in Folkcommunication, following the genre logic: oral Folkcommunication, musical Folkcommunication, written Folkcommunication, iconic Folkcommunication and Movement Folkcommunication (kinetics).

On two other occasions, Melo (2006, 2008) made changes to genre and format classifications. The current version includes four genres: Oral Folkcommunication, Visual Folkcommunication, Iconic Folkcommunication, and Kinetic Folkcommunication.

Oral Folkcommunication is carried out through the hearing channel and uses verbal and musical codes. Melo (2008, 91-92) defines ten formats (symbolic diffusion strategies determined by the combination of intentions [sender] and motivations [addressee]) and forty types (strategic variation determined by the symbolic options of the sender, as well as by residual or reception factors) for the genre (form of expression determined by the combination of channel and code) of Oral Folkcommunication. The formats and their receptive types are: Singing (aboio, acalanto, drinking singing, beggar singing, working singing, bandstand, embolada, preaching, toada); Music (baião, chimarrete, chula, choro, dobrado, lundu, moda de viola, samba de breque); Prose (fairy singing, legends, greetings, sermons); Verse (singing, glossing, parlenda, trova); Colloquiality (small talk, collusion);

Rumor (rumor, gossip); Babbling (catchphrase, slang, swearword); Mockery (anecdotes, nicknames); Pastime (divinations, riddles, proverbs); and Prayer (blessing, eulogy, litany).

The Visual Folkcommunication genre is expressed through the optical channel, using linguistic and pictorial codes. Melo (2008, 92-93) defines four formats and types: Written (petition, anonymous letters, devout letters, sentimental mails, chain letters); Printed (cordel almanacs, pharmacy almanacs, grace achieved, cordel literature, mediumistic literature, miraculous prayers, pamphlets, advertising saint figure, advertising flyers, popular woodcut); Mural (posters, leaflets, banners, bathroom graffiti, mural newspapers, wall graffiti, posters on reverse-Lampoon); and Pictographic (stickers, t-shirts, epitaphs, pennants, truck captions, mediumistic paintings, tattoo).

Iconic Folkcommunication makes use of optical and tactile channels and uses aesthetic and functional codes. This genre is divided by Melo (2008, 93) into seven formats and twenty-nine types, namely: Devotional (amulets, ex-votos, images of saints, medals, cribs); Recreative (rag dolls, clay dolls, handmade toys, children's games); Decorative (personal ornaments, bed and table embroidery, basketry, household ornaments, decorative figures, lamps); Nutritive (cakes, cookies, bread); Bellic (weapons, uniforms, standards, trophies); Funeral (wreaths, tombstones, shrouds, tombs); and Utility (faience, furniture, clothing).

Finally, the Kinetic Folkcommunication genre uses multiple channels, and gestural and plastic codes. Melo (2008, 94-95) conceives eight formats and ninety-two types, subdivided as follows: Association (carnival blocks, mothers' clubs, grassroot communities, samba schools, Sunday school, collective effort, mockery); Celebration (Afoxé, Candomblé, Macumba, Creole Mass, procession, pilgrimage, toré, Umbanda, vigil for Iemanjá);

Distraction (hopscotch, bazaar, capoeira, street circus, horoscope, animal game, mamulengo, street soccer, fair, Creole rodeo, bullfight); Demonstration (campaign, rally, parade, strike, march, march, parade, Judas burning, freshman hazing); Festivities (Baiana, Bumba-meu-boi, cavalcade, caboclinho, fandango, revelry of kings, warrior, marujada, maracatu); Celebration (carnival, civic party, patron saint party, production party, Divine party, June party, Christmas party, forró, carioca funk, São Paulo rap); Dance (batuque, caiapó, catira, congada, cururu, ciranda, coco-de-roda, Mozambique dance, flamengo, frevo, gallop, jongo, march-rancho, maxixe, mazurca, quadrille, samba, tap dance, tango, ticumbi, waltz, xaxado); and Rites of Passage (birthday, baptism, wedding, baby shower, bridal shower, bachelor party, graduation, wake).

Melo has numerous other contributions to Folkcommunication, but we only highlight his functionalist formulation of its genres and formats. Melo is also a great supporter of studies in Folkcommunication, supervisor of theses and dissertations on the subject, creator of the Folkcommunication Studies and Research Network (Rede Folkcom), and author of many articles on the subject.

Roberto Benjamin's legacy to Folkcommunication: The New Scope[7]

Along with Melo, professor Roberto Benjamin stands out in Beltrão's studies, since he authored the first monographic study on Folkcommunication – Folhetos Populares: intermediários no processo de Folkcomunicação ("Popular Leaflets in the process of Folkcommunication") – after the defense of Beltrão's doctoral

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7   A more complete spectrum of Roberto Benjamin's contributions to Folkcommunication can be found in Fernandes and Oliveira (2012).

dissertation in 1967. Benjamin's pioneering work addresses the functions of poets and popular leaflets from a "personal influence" perspective as designed by Katz and Lazarsfeld. It was Professor Benjamin (2000) who introduced the concept of folk media (or folkmedia), defined as the channels of communication at folk level, in Folkcommunication studies. He also opened "trails" for Folkcommunication interfaces with organizational communication and with tourism. From there, Severino Alves de Lucena Filho, one of his disciples, expanded and conceptualized Folkmarketing and Folktourism.

However, we believe that Benjamin's main contribution (2000, 2004) is the "New Scope of Folkcommunication", structured in six topics, as shown in the following chart:

New Scope of Folkcommunication	
Topics	**Study Area**
1. The communication - group and interpersonal - that occurs in folk culture	**Message production**
2. The mediation of folk channels for reception of mass communication	**Reception**
3. The appropriation of mass communication technologies and the use of mass channels by folk culture carriers	**Production**
4. The presence of mass culture traces absorbed by folk culture	**Reception and effects**
5. The appropriation of elements of folk culture by mass culture and by erudite culture (folklore projection)	**Production and message effects**
6. The reception in the folk culture of elements of its own culture reprocessed by mass culture	**Reception and effects**

Source: Benjamin (2000, p. 16).

As Beltrão, Benjamin uses functionalist concepts from Lazarsfeld, Katz and Schramm to structure the new scope of Folkcommunication. However, some topics can be studied from the perspective of communication schools, such as Frankfurt and Birmingham. It is up to the apocalyptics to critically analyze the folklore appropriation by the culture industry, its mischaracterization and its spectacularization. Culturalists are responsible for studying the reprocessing of cultural elements, both from popular culture through mass media and vice-versa. For some time, we have been arguing[8] that Folkcommunication theory is not "tied" to just one methodological form of study, that is, to functionalism, as Beltrão, Melo and Benjamin guide their research. We believe that folkcommunicational studies that use both the cultural paradigm and the radical-critical one are not epistemologically or phenomenologically mistaken. The same premise is also valid for other models, such as the mathematical-informational, conflictual-dialectical, media and horizontal-interactional[8] models.

Benjamin was also a pioneer in the curricular implementation of Folkcommunication as a field of study in undergraduate and postgraduate programs. He organized a team of leaders and innovators on Folkcommunication including scholars such as Luiz Custódio da Silva, Osvaldo Trigueiro, Betania Maciel, and the aforementioned Severino Lucena.

Antônio Hohlfeldt's Legacy to Folkcommunication: Conceptual Criticism

Professor Antônio Hohlfeldt, former president of the Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Intercom),

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8   For definitions of the paradigms listed, see Polistchuk and Trinta (2003).

is one of the most important theorists of Communication Science in Brazil. However, he still owes the academic community a work on Folkcommunication. The material we have are articles spread in various collections. I highlight three theoretical interventions by Hohlfeldt, commissioned and presented at the IV Brazilian Conference on Folkcommunication (Folkcom), in 2001, in Campo Grande (Hohlfeldt 2006)[9]; in the Folkcommunication NP of the XXV Brazilian Congress of Communication Sciences, held in Salvador-BA (Hohlfeldt 2003), in 2002; and, finally, at the XIV Folkcom, in 2011, in Juiz de Fora-MG (Hohlfeldt 2012).

Hohlfeldt's interventions are provocative and conceptual, and certainly contributed to the post-Beltranian legacy in terms of Folkcommunication. The professor notes that, in Beltrão,

> Folkcommunication, thus, came to study communicational and informational chains that, on the sidelines or concomitantly with the formal circuits of communication, took to the most distant audiences that information that either interested them or ended up reaching them, according to the interests of their issuers. (Hohlfeldt 2003).

And

> Consequently, Folkcommunication is the communication of marginalized groups not only socially, leading the author [Beltrão] to identify, at first, three primary characteristics of this type of communication: a) horizontality, in the sense that both senders and receivers place themselves on the same situational level (social, cultural, financial, etc.); b) dialog, in the

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9   From the book Folkcomunicação na arena global: avanços teóricos e metodológicos ("Folkcommunication in The Global Arena: Theoretical and Methodological Progress"), organized by Cristina Schmidt and published by Ductor, in 2006. The same text is also in the Unesco/Umesp Yearbook of Communication for Regional Development, n. 5, published in 2002.

sense that the sender/receiver functions are proper alternatives and, finally, c) the complete and broadest participation of the entire community, thanks to the accessibility enjoyed by the communication process, which is eminently artisanal, the that provides total interactivity that the means of social communication so much pursue nowadays, through artificial strategies. (Hohlfeldt 2006, 66).

Hohlfeldt (2003, 2006, 2012) considers Folkcommunication the only genuine Brazilian communication theory, and points out its "positive opportunism" for studying communication in folklore manifestations and popular culture. Hohlfeldt (2003) also notes that the term "Folkcommunication" was not accepted in academia for two reasons, but he also recognizes that since 1998, thanks to annual meetings and the creation of Folkcom Network, Folkcommunication tries to regain the space lost in the 1980s and 1990s. According to him, the reasons for this neglect were: 1) "The lack of coherence, refinement and theoretical accuracy that many Folkcommunication researchers show, confusing the concept of folkloric manifestation or popular culture with Folkcommunication", and 2) "Prejudice and suspicion, largely motivated by our complex of cultural inferiority, lead us to favor the adoption of foreign perspectives over national ones, when studying sociocultural phenomena; for that very reason, there is a predominance of perspectives imported from cultural studies or hybridity theories" (Hohlfeldt 2003).

Ten years later, Folkcommunication conquered other academic spaces, and even the Folkcom Network received the Luiz Beltrão Award from Intercom in the Innovative Group category. However, those two "problems" listed by the researcher still persist, even though I believe less severe than in 2002, when the text was written. In an attempt to refine the folkcommunication

concept, Hohlfeldt was emphatic. His definition was accepted on a large scale by researchers, and it is considered the main definition of Folkcommunication in the global arena:

> Folkcommunication is not, therefore, the study of popular culture or folklore. It is good that it stands out clearly. Folkcommunication is the study of communicational procedures through which manifestations of popular culture or folklore expand, become socialized, coexist with other communicational chains, suffer modifications due to the influence of mass and industrialized communication, or are modified when appropriated by such complexes. Folkcommunication, therefore, is a complex field, interdisciplinary - necessarily - that encompasses various, sometimes even contradictory, knowledge in its making to achieve its objectives and account for its object of study. (Hohlfeldt 2003).

In his view, Hohlfeldt (2003) perceives three possibilities for the study of Folkcommunication: 1) North American diffusionism of field research in the 1930s and 1940s; 2) Birmingham's British Cultural Studies, especially those linked to Gramsci's concepts of hegemony and organic intellectuals; 3) Latin American School of Communication studies, based on García Canclini and Martín-Barbero.

Following this line of thought, Hohlfeldt (2012, 57-61) suggests possibilities/potentialities and difficulties/challenges within Folkcommunication. As potentialities/possibilities: 1) Folkcommunication is a communicational theory suitable for societies whose composition is very distinct; 2) Folkcommunication is, above all, the study of collective communication phenomena; 3) Folkcommunication is a dynamic discipline, open to a constant reinterpretation and breadth of the concept developed by Beltrão; and 4) Unfoldings

of the Folkcommunication theory (Folkmarketing, Political Folkcommunication, etc.) show the theory's flexibility and scope of application.

There are also four difficulties/challenges for Folkcommunication: 1) Difficulty in accessing Beltrão's original bibliography; 2) The need to think the theoretical principles of Folkcommunication flexibly and in practice 3) Systematization of typologies and a methodology for research on Folkcommunication; and 4) Reception of Folkcommunication as an academic field within university Communication programs.

> Finally, a fundamental theoretical observation: Folkcommunication is a practice and a science. It is a practice when we consider it as that set of uses, customs, games, and activities of the most varied kind that happens with the popular masses outside or in dialogue with industrialized communicational processes. But it is a science because it implies that kind of study aimed precisely at those practices. Therefore, folkcommunication has – and should have, in fact – a theoretical basis, as much as it needs describable methodology(s), both in data collection and in data analysis and interpretation, which implies adding, to our list, quantitative-qualitative research, more the latter than the former, as the basis for folkcommunicational studies. (Hohlfeldt 2012, 58).

The professor also has other contributions, such as dialogues with Paulo Freire and works related to Political Folkcommunication. Hohlfeldt guides theses and dissertations on Folkcommunication. In order to "close" the range and concept of Folkcommunication, I believe that Cristina Schmidt's work (2006a) dialogues with the concepts expressed by the professor. She emphasizes:

> Folkcommunicational processes are neither autonomous realities, independent of social-economic life, nor mere reflections of it. Folkcommunication is a possibility of dialogue between folk agents and the market, a mediation of interests. In the capitalist world, mediation strategies are very well delimited, as they tend to undermine the authenticity of relationships, thanks to the emergence of an economic set that aims to take over all manifestations of human life. (Schmidt 2006a, 89).

Researchers at the Folkcom Network currently work with these concepts, however, it is always important to emphasize, as Roberto Benjamin shows: "It is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that Folkcommunication studies constitute a field of Social Communication and, therefore, the use of concepts elaborated by folklorists must be subject to the communicational nature goals" (Benjamim 2004, 12-13).

Joseph Luyten's Contributions to Folkcommunication: A New Dimension of Folkmedia

Professor Joseph Luyten, a great connoisseur of popular culture, played a fundamental role in the consolidation of Folkcommunication in the late 1990s. His death in 2006 left a gap in folkcommunication studies and also in the formation of a stricto sensu level, since the professor maintained a line of research in Folkmedia at the Postgraduate Program on Communication at Methodist University of São Paulo. Luyten left us a great legacy, especially about cordel literature. However, we believe that his main contribution was the resizing of the term folkmedia, brought to Brazil by Roberto Benjamin (2000).

Luyten (2000), when writing a critical review of the book "Folkcomunicação no Contexto de Massa", written by Benjamin, notes that the term folkmedia used as "channels of communication at the folk level" does not present an innovation to folkcommunication and, thus, he chose to use the term as the appropriation of folkcommunicational elements by mass vehicles.

> We can deduce from this that 'folkcommunication' is the possibility of communication at the folk level and that 'folk-media' are the specific channels that folk communicators use. There is another interpretation, not used by the author [Benjamin], that folk media would already be very used by the mass media for elements of 'folkcommunication'. (Luyten 2000, 214).

Or:

> As 'Folkmedia' in this sense is more a synonym of 'Folkcommunication'. We think it is better to use it for a situation that is becoming more and more frequent all over the world that consists of initiation among the mass media and Folkcommunication, that is, the use both of elements from folklore by the media and the use of mass communication elements by popular communicators.(Luyten 2006, 41).

The "new meaning" of the word Folkmedia conceived by Luyten gathered many followers. When talking about folkmedia, we already think of popular culture and folklore as being reprocessed by the culture industry. In addition to Benjamin (2000) and Luyten (2000, 2006), the term Folkmedia gains new dimensions in texts by José Marques de Melo (2007) and Cristina Schmidt (2006a).

José Marques de Melo (2007, 50-51) points out two different historical forms of folklore representation in media. The folklore of industrial society reflected the appropriation of popular culture by mass culture, processing symbols and images rooted in hegemonic countries national traditions and converting them into commodities for mass consumption. On the other hand, media folklore, typical from the post-industrial society, is configured as a mosaic of signs that come from different national or regional contexts, seeking to project secular or emerging cultures in the map. In this category, Melo suggests there is a double-side. While assimilating ideas and values from other countries, there is a concern with the projection of national identities.

This process of media folklore transmutation pointed out by Melo (2007) reflects the perspective of incorporation of information from the mass media to the folk media. Thus, we can verify that the researcher sees folkmedia (or media folklore) as Luyten had established. Despite all the sign transmutation examined by Melo to media folklore, Cristina Schmidt (2006b) notes that folkmedia still occurs in the communication process at the community level, turned to a dialogue with a world (not to the world). She understands that:

> Mediated media insertion can create new channels for citizen communication; since it is up to the locality and the performance of its leaders, the choice of community actions can go through: from resistance to coexistence. And even independence as long as it is in line with the interests of their reference groups and with the conditions of appropriation/understanding of the cultural goods they produce. (Schmidt 2006b, 213).

Then, we assume that the term folkmedia allows some study possibilities, defined as the specific channels of folkcommunication

users, as pointed out by Benjamin (2000), or as the presence of popular culture in mass culture and vice versa, as defined by Luyten (2006). It's possible to research folkmedia through its transmutation due to globalization, as diagnosed by Melo (2007), or in its local/community form as Schmidt (2006b) perceives.

Osvaldo Trigueiro's Contributions to Folkcommunication: The Media Activist

Following the perspective of Latin American cultural studies, Osvaldo Trigueiro (2008) presents the concept of media activist. According to him, these activists would be the cognitive intermediators between culture makers and consumers. His research focuses on "rurban" communities (a neologism created by Gilberto Freyre for cities with rural characteristics) in the countryside of Paraíba state. The scholar points out that the increasing presence of television makes the studies on audience even more complex in the mediatized society,

> where each constituent represents a sociocultural identity, which interacts with other different groups. But with the same sociocultural approaches that reinvent their products of use instead of being a mere passive consumers of media messages. Those interactions, by the media, at various levels, of the constituents of the television audience generate media activism, advances, transformations, and/or renewals of popular cultures when they incorporate media products into their daily practices or appropriate them. (Trigueiro 2008, p. 21)

As Trigueiro (2008) shows, when the decoding is performed by a media activist, he/she is more likely to reinterpret

the information when broadcasting to his audience. He also notes that there is no empty space in communication. The audience is active, even if not all of it act with the same intensity. However, there is still a specially mobilized type, which is the individual activist (2008 p. 47). The active one performs an action, participates in activity, and is always in motion; the activist one is a militant who organizes, plans the participation of others in movements, who takes a stand against or in favor of a given situation. So,

> The media activist acts motivated by his interests and those of his native group. He formats the symbolic and material practices of traditional and modern cultures. He is a narrator of everyday life, guardian of memory and local identity, recognized as a spokesman for his social group, and transits between traditional and modern practices. He appropriates new communication technologies to circulate popular narratives in global networks. (Trigueiro 2008, p. 48)

In the globalized environment we live in, according to Trigueiro (2008), many of the intermediators conceived by Beltrão (truck driver, traveling salesman, street vendors, gypsies, etc.) don't actually have much relevance to the folkcommunication system, as small city dwellers and remote Brazilian municipalities have access to television, landline telephone, radio, internet, among other information vehicles.

Melo (Melo, 2008, p. 65) points out that the media activist role is bivalent, as he interprets media content for the consumption from people in his surroundings and schedules folkcommunicational content in the continuous flow of culture industries. Trigueiro (2008) notes several possibilities for a person to be a media activist, such as a classroom teacher who explains some tradition described in a TV soap opera, or an answer to a television quiz. Another example reported by the researcher

was that of a hair stylist in a rural town who carries forward television fashion to the clients' hair: he functions as actor and theater director, as he makes references to themes already portrayed on television, but in a way in which the message decoding says something to the local reality.

Finally, Trigueiro's notion of media activist is an important argument for folkcommunication researchers who use the culturological paradigm in their research. He also has other major contributions to folkcommunication, but we believe that the notion of media activism is his main theoretical contribution to the post-Beltranian legacy.

Severino Lucena's legacy: folkmarketing

Severino Alves de Lucena Filho is one of the main renovators of the Folkcommunication Theory. Bringing together Organizational Communication strategies with the elementary form expressed by the folkcommunicational culture, the author created and conceptualized the term Folkmarketing. In fact, the book "A Festa Junina em Campina Grande-PB: uma estratégia de Folkmarketing"[The June Festival at Campina Grande-PB: a Folkmarketing strategy] (Lucena Filho, 2007), the result of his doctoral research, supervised by Antônio Hohlfeldt, is part of the mandatory book list required to understand social communication, especially the new scope of folkcommunication. Previously, Lucena Filho had already published "Azulão do Bandepe: uma estratégia de comunicação organizacional"[Azulão do Bandepe: an organizational communication strategy] (Lucena Filho, 1998), in which he analyzes the symbolic and commercial appropriations of carnival associations, the result of a master's research developed with Roberto Benjamin's supervision.

There is also the work "Festa Junina em Portugal: marcas culturais no contexto de Folkmarketing" [June Festival at Portugal: cultural brands in the context of Folkmarketing] (Lucena Filho 2012), the result of post-doctoral research developed at the University of Aveiro, in Portugal, under Maria Manuel Baptista's supervision. This book marks a trilogy of books by Severino Alves de Lucena Filho that should be read concomitantly. In the three studies, carried out with different objects and methodologies, we understand the organizational communication strategies with products linked to popular culture. The concept of Folkmarketing (although it appears in his debut book, in a Salett Tauk's comment, was not used in the text body), defended and structured in the 2007 work, was incorporated by the academic community and earned other contexts, which makes Lucena Filho an exponent of the post-Beltranian folkcommunication legacy. It is important to emphasize that the researcher's work was carried out with different methodological approaches: participant observation in a Carnival block, Discourse Analysis in the Brazilian June festival and Content Analysis in Portugal. In this way, the concept and application of the Folkmarketing theory are not tied to just one research method.

Folkmarketing is a new scope of folkcommunication studies, that is, they appropriate objects and signs of popular culture to make products and services of an organization that is visible to its target audiences. In the "rurban" and urban marketing context, folkmarketing is an integrated organizational communication tool that uses elements of a regional/local culture to sell products and services.

Public and private organizations use folkmarketing in the search for identification with their audiences speaking the language they want to hear and showing the images they want

to see, in an aim to convey credibility and sympathy by linking their brands, products and services to regional cultural mega-events.

The word "folkmarketing" emerged for the first time in the flap of the book "Azulão do Bandepe: uma estratégia de comunicação organizacional", the result of Severino Lucena Filho's master's thesis. When presenting the work, Salett Tauk (1998) states that "by combining the study of folkcommunication manifestation as an institutional marketing strategy, the author places us in front of a new line of study: Folkmarketing". Later, when carrying out his doctoral research on the Festa Junina in Campina Grande-PB, Lucena Filho (2007) presents the concept:

> Folkmarketing is a communicational modality based on the theoretical matrices of Folkcommunication and marketing theory, strategically adopted by communicational managers of regional markets, presenting as a differentiated characteristic the appropriation of symbolic expressions of popular culture, in its constitutive process, by public and private institutions, with marketing and institutional objectives. (Lucena Filho 2007, 90).

The Folkmarketing modality has the following characteristics: approximation of the regional market and its consumers (due to the dissemination of its products in popular festivals); set up scenarios in companies to enhance local culture and identity; communicative expressions that focus on regional and local culture, such as certain slogans; and the use of expressions linked to popular culture knowledge and practices, which seek to strengthen the brand's relationship with its audiences. Adopting these characteristics, the feeling of belonging will be evidenced, which brings the brand closer to the client/consumer.

The epistemological debate of Isabel Amphilo and Iury Parente Aragão

Two doctoral theses defended in the Postgraduate Program in Communication at the Methodist University of São Paulo had the theoretical reflection of Folkcommunication as empirical object.

The first thesis author is Isabel Amphilo (2010) and was supervised by José Marques de Melo. Divided into three parts, Amphilo did a very impressive job. We are specifically interested in the epistemological questions presented in the first part, divided into three chapters: epistemological basis; sociological and anthropological basis; and communication basis.

The first question raised by Amphilo, which had already been documented by Castelo Branco (2006), is that Folkcommunication is born from the journalistic view of Beltrão. It is the reporter's perception that led him to perceive ex-votos as a journalistic vehicle and that later led him to formulate the theory. From the particular to the general: an inductive method. The first part of Beltrão's (2014) thesis, as Amphilo (2010) thought, is anchored in North American research of functionalist nature. However, the researcher remarks the fact that Beltrão used Marxist concepts and especially the historical-dialectical method – even without any mentions to him or its authors – to prepare the first two chapters of the second part of the thesis, in which the author analyzes folkcommunication evidences in pre-colonization and colonial Brazil.

We agree with Amphilo's observations and, although Beltrão (2004) has stated that folkcommunication is not a classist communication, the historical-dialectical method is used in his research. Although we have already written about this on another occasion (Fernandes, Pinheiro, and Martins 2016), the use of historical-dialectical method does not necessarily mean

starting from the assumptions of class conflicts and other Marxist ideas, but the fact of understanding that the human being is the result of a historical process, which concepts of "time" and "space" are essential for its understanding.

Before Amphilo, Melo (1980 p. VIII) bashfully made a similar criticism by pointing out a "theoretical haziness" and "ontological hesitation" in the Folkcommunication theory reformulation expressed in Beltrão (1980), when there is an expansion of public to which the theory applies itself. Amphilo's considerations carried on, although she also did not provide answers to the problems mentioned, she thought them masterfully. As a legacy, she proposed a discussion that we have to face, and only then we can talk about progress.

Another doctoral thesis that also masterfully reflects the Folkcommunication theory genesis - the period from 1959 to 1967, when Beltrão did his study - was carried out by Iury Aragão (2017), and was defended at the Methodist University of São Paulo PPGCOM under the supervision of Magali Cunha. Aragão's thesis seeks to investigate folkcommunication through the functionalist social theory of development; and Carneiro's folkloric research. What most draws attention in the work is the effective concern to deepen into functionalism. Precisely because the previous reflections were not elaborated as a full text, the entire theoretical/epistemic question about functionalism is presented en passant, whose main focus is the concept of "opinion leader". Aragão, on the other hand, went deeper and studied the "true" theorists of this branch, such as Durkheim, Malinowski and Merton. When confronting the functionalist characteristics with Beltrão's thesis, the scholar is categorical: "ao encontrarmos características importantes recorrentes em autores funcionalistas e as compararmos com a tese de Beltrão, percebemos que elas

não se fazem presentes no trabalho do brasileiro" (Aragão 2017, 77).

Afterwards, Aragão unravels the methodological options followed by Beltrão, although not outlined and explained by Luiz, such as the use of historical, field, bibliographic, and documentary research. These research techniques may or may not be related to different theoretical models, including functionalism.

In the next chapter, the author discusses the developmentalism in Latin America, with contributions from Ciespal studies and also the North American influence of Mass Communication Research (MCR), of which Lazarsfeld is member. The author makes clear that although MCR and functionalism have positivist bases, functionalism cannot be treated as synonymous as is sometimes presented in communication theory manuals. For the author, Folkcommunication is conveyed both to the purposes of the MCR and to the Latin American developmentalism defended by Ciespal. But that's not all – what would be implied by reading only part 1 of Beltrão's thesis. As noted by Amphilo (2010), the empirical part of Beltrão's thesis deviates from what the author outlines in the theoretical-methodological part. In seeking to understand these questions, Aragão (2017) goes beyond the diffusion with historical/dialectical materialism and finds answers in the dynamics of Edison Carneiro's folklore (1965). It is exactly in the neo-Marxist researcher's view that Beltrão found his subsidies, so Aragão brings as a hypothesis that folkcommunication is conveyed to Carneiro's folkloric research proposals.

> We found a strong influence of Edison Carneiro in LB's thesis, notably through the idea of "dynamics of folklore". Although the man from Pernambuco denied a Marxist branch in his study, we could see, from the references

in Carneiro, that some of these, even if perhaps used unpretentiously, are there. (Aragão 2017, 224).

The author makes clarifies that his appreciation of the thesis is not definitive. However, as well as Beltrão, he "opened stings". It's essencial to consult Aragão's work in order to analyze the Folkcommunication theory and its theoretical development nowadays.

Final Remarks

Umberto Eco (2011) argues that it's very unfair to subdivide human attitudes into two generic and controversial concepts such as "integrated" (functionalist) and "apocalyptic" (Frankfurt School). Eco, in fact, criticizes the two "worlds", and prefers to define himself in a potential border between them – precisely the culturological paradigm. When approaching mass culture as anti-culture, the researcher is sarcastic on the functionalist and Frankfurt's view of the term:

> Whether this culture emerges from below or is processed and packaged from above to be offered to defenseless consumers is not a problem that concerns the integrated intellectual. Not least because, if apocalyptics survive by packaging theories on decadence, the integrated intellectuals rarely theorize. They are more likely to be busy producing and transmitting their own messages in every sphere, on a daily basis. The apocalypse is a preoccupation of the dissenter, integration is the concrete reality of non-dissenters. The image of the Apocalypse is evoked in texts on mass culture, while the image of integration emerges in texts which belong to mass culture. (Eco 2011, 9).

This final "preamble" is precisely for us to think, in short, whether it is necessary to divide visions that ultimately complement each other into two extreme poles. Being functionalist, culturalist or associated with the Frankfurt School is a theoretical/methodological option for the researcher. Beyond that, in any of these schools it's possible to study the communication processes in popular culture, in folklore and also in "media folklore". Amphilo (2010) shows that Beltrão used two distinct paradigms (the functionalist-pragmatic and the conflictual-dialectical) to formulate his thesis in his doctoral research. Experts on Beltrão are divided into two large groups: those who continue to carry out functionalist research and those who adopt other perspectives, most of them British or Latin American Cultural Studies. I believe that with the development of a Folkcommunication epistemology we will be able to find subsidies to realize that the conception of Folkcommunication in multiple Communication paradigms is not a "problem".

This text certainly did not contain the entire post-Beltranian legacy, it would be too pretentious to account such a large volume of research in just a few pages. We actually sought a conceptual cut with the purpose of making Beltrão's theory compatible with our time and space, in order to understand Folkcommunication on the threshold of the 21st century.

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9. Folkcommunication, activism and public policies: Disciplinary approaches for acting in the political arena[1]

Cristina Schmidt[2]

(Translation by Fabricio Moreira Barros)

Introduction

In principle, the different cultural groups establish permanent communicative processes for coexistence and existence, since

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they are not autonomous realities, independent of economic life, instead parts of a global context of social, political and economic aspects. They form networks that facilitate the dialogue between cultural producers and social life, a mediation of interests. Today, mediation strategies need to be very well defined in order to highlight the role of different cultural groups in this diverse context. Groups that, delimited in the popular sphere, for example, have an active position as mediating protagonists within a "dense network of everyday communication." (Schmidt 2014, 47)

This process leads to the understanding of the communicational and cultural practices negotiated - mediated interactions - in which cultural goods are permanently mediated either interpersonally or mediatized. In the latter, understanding the relationships in the context of production and mass communication; in the former, identifying the dynamics of everyday communication in different cultural groups.

These negotiated practices stem from what Canclini (2005) calls economic and symbolic "reconversion" of groups of people on the move, migrants and immigrants; or of those involved in different social processes that mobilizes them in making their cultural products to generate approximations and relations of social or market exchange. Also, the reconversion linked to the technology and new policies that lead workers and companies to reformulate the industrialized productive process. But, according to the author, in both cases there remain historical references that allow a differentiated and even singular production depending on the cultural group or mode (Canclini 2005, 14).

And this occurs in different social and cultural production sectors, such as, for example, a popular festival that originated from a religious expression and becomes a tourist business opportunity; or a dish from the cuisine of an identity group, such

as pizza, is transformed into a transnational product; a popular tale or myth is transposed to a soap opera; a specific garment of a group is incorporated into different cultures unconsciously and without resistance, such as jeans.

In addition, many cultural productions seek to maintain their originality, but appropriate from technologies and the creative market to strengthen their productions and the relationship with their public/audience; or even more relevantly, when it constitutes in world reference as material or immaterial cultural heritage. Both the producers' marketing and the reception can express themselves in these communicative networks with two postures: active and activist. Active as an agent inserted in the scope of heritage as creator, codifier, and producer; and activist, engaged in this cultural sphere, acts as decoder and disseminator in bigger arenas, including the political arena.

According to Osvaldo Trigueiro (2006), the audiences are always present, whether they are from the big mass media or the popular expressions and media.

> There is no empty space, there is no absent subject or one without the ability to decode the large volume of messages arriving through hypermedia communication. What exists is a greater or lesser relevance, a greater or lesser degree of engagement of the subject constituting the audience (…). (Trigueiro 2006, 4)

These articulated actions between the producing and receiving subjects are what will create guarantees for cultural diversity and the constitution of public policies. Since, in one way or another, they are situated in the socioeconomic scenario, as either a process or product/heritage, and require support whether for recognition, attention, regulation, or fomentation. And in this sense, they require an articulation that goes beyond the cultural

spaces of manifestation, to the public space, configuring itself as a "public problem," a public policy instrument, or as political actors.

Schmidt and Santos (2017) explain that communicative networks can create different relationships among different groups, including between actors and public power, and articulate diverse imperatives in order to meet the demands of cultural diversity in the reflection, mobilization, and constitution of public policies. And since the networks provide a space for dialogue, they also present themselves as a medium for communication between different subjects to take place. Simultaneously with the exchange of information, the communicative network adapts and reconfigures itself, permeated by people who transit through different realities, given that such spaces do not have restrictive measures regarding the public, but are created by it. It is a sample of cultural network, understood by Schmidt (2016) as a folkcommunication space,

> (…) as the primary dimension for interpersonal communication and the composition of active audience groups, that is, social networks as sets of multiple and simultaneous communication actions that provide interaction between different individuals, groups and levels in cultural processes. They give individuals the power to participate in communicative networks that go from the interpersonal to the corporate, from the personal to the communitarian, and to the planetary through interactive resources proper to each culture. The Networks are established based on common interests that range from economic to religious, from affective to artistic of its active agents and promoters and other participants. (Schmidt 2016, 13)

In this folkcommunicational space, each participant can, from interpersonal bonds, reflect about themselves, their way of life,

and their way of understanding the context in which they work, live, and participate in cultural practices and political actions.

Currently, as a result of the "digital revolution", as important or even more so than the industrial revolution itself, a more direct approach between producers and receivers of cultural diversity is made possible, also intensifying the possibilities of network dialogue by means of computers and mobile telephony. Moreover, the technologies resulting from this scenario are supported by public and private policies that determine the standards of production and cultural promotion, which requires an agile articulation of social groups sufficient to act in society with prompt decision.

However, despite all this favorable scenario for intercultural dialogue (UNESCO 2009) and coexistence among communities, divergences and oppositions have marked societies. On the other hand, in this context of creative industry, the production and dynamic culture is coining mechanisms that generate estrangement and inequalities that are steered by the great economic and political processes. Divergences and conflicts mediated by the business possibilities of the culture industry and of all other industries; which end up destructuring public policies that support the culture of peace.

Public policies, actors and agenda

When talking about public policies, it's important to address the concept itself, since there is a terminological difference that can distance or bring them together. The conceptual difference lies in the context and in the action, since not every political action is a public policy, but can lead to one. The use of the word "politics" in countries of Latin origin such as Brazil, Spain, Italy,

and France is differentiated and brings two connotations: one in which politics is understood as political activity, the exercise of power; the other, related to action or organization. But in both cases, they offer room for distorted meanings.

In English, for example, there are two words to indicate these two abstract concepts: politics and public policy. In Leonardo Secchi (2017) these terms are presented in detail so that there is no doubt about the terms and appropriations for the actions of social actors, regardless of the cultural group they belong to.

"Policy is more concrete and has to do with guidelines for decision and action." In public, private, and third sector organizations, this term expresses the way of managing, of positioning oneself in the market or in society. The term public policy, on the other hand, deals with "the concrete and symbolic content of political decisions, and the process of construction and implementation of these decisions." Public policies are accompanied by qualifiers: educational, health, economic, tax, etc. (Secchi 2017, 1-6)

Santos and Schmidt (2017) explain that, in the field of public policies, there are those known as social actors. These members of the political scene play the important role of acting in the process of management, construction, implementation, and unfolding of public policies. According to Secchi (2010), social actors are people or groups that act raising public awareness about the relevant issues, or even focus their action directly in the development of proposals that will be converted into public policies. These actors perform in the political arena, i.e., "the place where political dispute occurs".

These actions in the political arena lead to the setting of an agenda, considered in general as a "set of problems or issues perceived as relevant", and specifically the "formal agenda" as the

one directly related to the public power that relates to the "set of problems or issues that the public power has already decided to face. It is also known as the institutional agenda." There are also two other types: the "political agenda", which is related to the evaluation of institutional or political actors and includes the "set of problems or issues that the political community perceives as worthy of public intervention". And the "media agenda", that encompasses the "set of problems or issues that receive special attention from the various media" (Secchi 2017, 151).

Therefore, it's important to clarify that the individuals, groups, and organizations that influence the political process do not have static behaviors or interests, but are dynamic according to the roles they play. The actors must interact and participate equally in the processes, define agendas and projects, seek resources, promote approaches and dialogues, make coalitions, and resolve conflicts in the political arena (Secchi 2017, 77).

It is the social actors who should guide the agendas of managers for public policies, especially those that, also recommended by UNESCO (2009), include:

- cultural diversity as a fundamental dimension of sustainable development;
- The perspective of diversity in human formation;
- The recognition of ancestry as intangible heritage;
- Racial, generational, and gender belonging among other diversities as an existential dimension;
- Understanding cultural expressions for the creative industry;
- Perceptions about poverty and its eradication, etc.

Cultural Policies, Diversity and Social Movements

The theme of cultural diversity is in different public policies - from federative to regionalization, and are guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, state and municipal legislations. And, more broadly, this area is transversal to UNESCO's activities in various sectors, which have special emphasis on aspects involving cultural production, such as those related to heritage (worldwide, both material and immaterial), cultural and creative industries, languages, sustainable development, and intercultural dialogue.

Diversity is also a preponderant point for UN negotiations and positions, and a central theme that defines international treaties. But, as far as the Brazilian reality is concerned, cultural diversity was the guiding factor in the formulation of the 1988 Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, and serves as the supreme parameter for all other regionalized norms. It was named by the Brazilian citizens as the Citizen Constitution precisely because it understood the demands of Brazilian cultural diversity.

The differentiated presence of multiple and diverse peoples in the national reality, throughout a historical process, has been delimiting society life in material and immaterial aspects. With a complex dynamic that has been consolidated in everyday life, social groups have incorporated, assimilated, and formed expressions that define Brazilian culture. It is a succession of exchanges that has occurred (and still occurs) in such a way as to interfere in the political scenario in a more systematic way.

According to UNESCO's 2009 Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue Report, culture is a living, ongoing, and dynamic process within complex societies that include in singular or plural ways a diversity of expressions involving:

> Indeed, "culture" has two different, yet absolutely complementary meanings. First, it is the creative diversity embodied in specific "cultures" with their unique tangible and intangible traditions and expressions. Second, culture (now in the singular) alludes to the creative instinct that lies at the root of the diversity of cultures. These two meanings, one which takes itself as a referent, and the other which transcends itself, are inseparable and are the key to the fruitful interaction of all peoples in the context of globalization. (UNESCO 2009, 8)

Also according to the UNESCO Report (2009), culture, civilization and communities have different connotations according to the context, for example, scientific or political. Societies are inserted in the context of civilizations, and need to recognize themselves in the diversity of the formation of their peoples as heterogeneous, and thus organize themselves in a less imposing and exploitative way, to be promoters of intercultural dialogue.

Culture is understood more as a process, in which societies change themselves according to the ways that befit their processes. Their communities consolidate themselves as open and mobile (mutable) identity groups in which they change or modify the context to establish themselves as a civilization. Some studies show that this dynamic happens mainly in moments of conflict or social crisis, where the need for survival becomes a strategy for group strengthening and identity. This movement will constitute different ethnic-social, political, and economic political stances.

In the social process, cultural manifestations arise from the primary needs of symbolic and material exchanges for survival in community, and are linked to specificities that range from housing to food, from health to faith. Different cultures create

systems for survival and coexistence by appropriating natural offerings and transforming them to meet their needs. Each social group manifests itself in order to create references, establish dialog, and conquer social spaces that provide them with a better life.

According to Downing (2004) these manifestations are the result of different circumstances generating the "social movements", which have been characterized in different ways since the ninth century. For the author, first the term "social movements" was used to understand and define the insurrection of the masses, whether politically or counterculturally motivated, that reverted into spontaneous manifestations of protest and rebellion. Later, the same expression was used to define popular movements organized for class claims or groups collectively mobilized around humanitarian and social causes such as feminism, abortion, racial equality, etc. These movements were composed of large marginalized groups from the hegemonic decision centers and expressed in public manifestations such as marches, strikes, cultural performances, pamphleteering and otherforms of communication specific to the receptor - which in Luiz Beltrão's theories (1980) are the "folk medias".

And, the third type of social movement, differently from the previous ones that were more directly related to political or economic claims, is connected to what he calls "new social movements", focused on personal development or collective identity, through festivities, arts, crafts, and other cultural and group-specific forms - what Beltrão (1980) defines as folkcommunicational processes.

Social movements are directly related to communication. For Downing (2004), the public sphere materializes the Greek agora, and it's possible to observe different webs of communication in it, in circles that conversate and enable mutual communications,

which favor debate at different levels. And for Beltrão (1980) these movements are the result of interpersonal relations at different levels, with various mediators who decode and value the messages and channels that make possible the speech, form, and place of marginalized groups in the public scenario.

However, markedly in the last three decades, cultural manifestations have received strong interference of the world creative industry which, through a marketing discourse along with the globalized economy, is the co-author of local and global cultural reconfigurations. Canclini explains this occurrence through the concept of cultural hybridity and, according to him, there are three processes to explain hybridization: "(…) the breakdown and blending of the sets that organized cultural systems, the deterritorialization of symbolic processes, and the expansion of impure genres" (Canclini 2005, 264). Still in this view, this productive panorama involves all aspects and segments of society, which in our view encompasses cultural diversity understood in its broadest denomination: of gender, ethnicity, class, age, religion, nationality, etc.

Such a system creates a hegemonic network that defines worldview and consumption needs in a global and imposing way, which is only broken or countered by interpersonal communicative networks (Castells 2015). This means that the rupture of this hegemonic network can occur through folkcommunicational processes, with references in common and universal principles, such as those defined by UNESCO (2009) regarding cultural policies, such as Citizen Constitutions or Human Rights Constitutions.

It is in this sense that folkcommunicational networks and public policies do not develop in an individual context. Both folk communicational actions and activities related to public policies manifest themselves in interaction territories, in which

collective action, regardless of the number of subjects, articulates itself in a dynamic movement (Santos and Schmidt 2017).

This means that social movements operate as fundamental actors in the political arena and not only manifest the aspects related to a situation, but also present characteristics arising from the social context in which they are inserted, giving them form and meaning. Therefore, in the capitalist and globalized society, the manifestations assume different statuses: of resistance, of divergence and opposition, of convergence and accommodation, of decision. This means that cultural manifestations adapt their expressions in such a way as to become an important instrument for criticism, pressure, and the formulation of policies, and may become part of the public agenda.

Final Remarks on cultural heritage, activism and public policies

The properties, constitutors of the cultural heritages linked to their producer groups, establish a communication process with a world of domain of each cultural group, even when they haven't yet been recognized as such, and guaranteed by public policies. This ensures effective management and promotion of the heritage. On the other hand, still, the mediations between different groups make possible the creation of new dialogue channels and even citizen-made cultural production; since it's up to the groups and their leaders or authors to choose their actions in the societies.

The cultural heritages that have a link with their production groups, even if they have not yet been recognized and guaranteed by public policies, establish the process of belonging and empowerment with a singular world for positioning in the plural world. This ensures the production's ability to take

actions that gain public recognition. On the other hand, still, the recognition by means of a mediated political action enables the creation of new channels for cultural dialogue and the promotion of citizenship.

Therefore, communities at the margins of the hegemonic and globalized production context can form communicative networks in unique ways, to stance their cultural production and act as a pressure group, with folk agents/leaders or media activists. They go about establishing relationships from the local range to the global, to demarcate their territoriality as a way to reflect on policies of their interest, just as they establish mediated interactions for the elaboration of their cultural goods (Schmidt 2014, 48).

This conjunction of marginalized groups, linked in their folkcommunication processes, with significant presence of media activists, can be understood through the practice of active subjects and media activists. For Trigueiro (2006) all those who exercise an access activity to communication vehicles are considered active subjects, which differs from activists, who besides accessing, perform an activity of militancy, and thus plan and participate in movements in which they manifest their positions.

The media activist is a motivator, who goes from anonymity to public recognition, i.e., becomes visible in the neighborhood, in public institutions and in various social mediums. And, in this context in which globalization is configured in a more pernicious and subtle phase for the dismantling of cultural references, Trigueiro (2006) evaluates that it is fundamental to understand both the folkcommunicational systems and the role of media activists that "act in the participative movements of citizenship, as communicator agents, linked to cultural movements that use strategies that legitimize their participation as citizens,

who are aware of their role in the organization of civil society" (Trigueiro 2006, 10).

Therefore, in the constitutive processes of cultural policies, it is attempted to cover the characteristics resulting from the diversity expressed in distinct manifestations, that combine both material and immaterial heritages in each regulatory framework. In fact, it is precisely the result of this diversity - of the manifestations in their dynamic configurations, of the new codes, of the updated elements, of the transgressions - that matters when reflecting upon, evaluating, and proposing public policies. And, especially, the communities on the margins of the hegemonic productive context need to mobilize themselves, both to position their cultural production, and to act as activists and drivers of the public agenda.

Finally, the emerging priority is to create increasingly clear and firm mechanisms for societies to respect their diversity with economic and political practices of mutual understanding and respect. These mechanisms are being consolidated through social practices and public policies to guarantee, even if forcibly, world harmony and peace among peoples.

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Interfaces

10. Folkcommunication studies as a trend in Latin America[1]

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(Translation by Marcelo Pires de Oliveira)

1. History of Folkcommunication in Latin America

Folkcommunication is the first Brazil-originated theory of Communication Sciences. It was developed under the sponsorship of two other pioneering initiatives: the foundation of the Institute of Information Sciences of the Catholic University of Pernambuco, ICINFORM, in 1962, and the publication of the first journal of scientific studies and research in Communication in Brazil: Comunicações & Problemas. That was how popular culture, as an object of scientific studies, gained multidisciplinary dimensions, and "inaugurated the dissemination of communication sciences in Brazil." (Melo, 2008, 19).

The person behind this accomplishment was Luiz Beltrão (1918-1986)[4], journalist and researcher from Pernambuco. He dedicated himself to developing and solidifying the foundations of higher education, more specifically in the education of journalists. Under the influence of CIESPAL, he added to his goals the incentive to research culture and communication, thus paving the foundations of a new field: folkcommunication. In the first issue of the journal above mentioned, he published the article "Ex-voto as a journalistic vehicle", the germinal seed of this theory. However, what was this idea – so original and so questioning of the current order – about?[5]

According to the creator's definition, folkcommunication is the "study of agents and popular means of information of facts and expression of ideas.", or else it is "the process of exchanging information and manifestations of opinions, ideas, and attitudes

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4   Luiz Beltrão's biographical profile contains data and testimonies that confirm all his academic pioneering. In addition to his avant-garde work as a journalist and his unique incursions into the literary domain (Benjamin, 1998). Recently, Marques de Melo and Trigueiro (2008) approached his pioneering spirit.

5   As he based his doctoral dissertation on the "Folklore dynamics" upheld by neo-Marxist Edson Carneiro, the first chapter of his dissertation was suppressed in the book he published in 1980. The complete essay only came in 2001, by Professor Antônio Hohlfeldt initiative.

of the mass, through agents and means linked directly or indirectly to folklore." (Beltrão, 2004). As a result of this definition, it is then possible to narrow it down:

> Folkcommunication is not, therefore, the study of popular culture or folklore. It is good that it stands out clearly.[6] Folkcommunication is the study of communication procedures of how the manifestations of popular culture or folklore expand, socialize, coexist with other communication chains, undergo modifications under the influence of mass and industrialized communication, or are modified when appropriated by such complexes (Hohlfeldt 2002, 1).

This theory starts from the valorization of popular aspects and folklore as a form of expression of thoughts and actions by the audience – mostly illiterate public and often excluded from the process of economic development, a state outside what would be the hegemonic class.

The initial observations that led to this theorization (Beltrão, 1971) were based on "evening" encounters held in small inland towns, at the pharmacies or barbershops. On the exchange of information brought by traveling salesmen, truck drivers, corner bookmakers, street guitar players, ex-votos pilgrims, and even the parish priest – "Countrymen who are on the margins of the power centers." That was how Beltrão followed many of the cultural manifestations of the rural people.

It is because of this audience that Beltrão asks himself: how do these people establish, create and transmit their values,

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6   "If Folklore comprises interpersonal or group forms of cultural manifestation carried out by subaltern classes, Folkcommunication characteristics is the use of artisanal mechanisms of symbolic diffusion to express messages previously conveyed by the cultural media in popular language" (Beltrão, 1980, emphasis added by the author).

references, knowledge, feelings, and way of life? Is there a specific communication process for the community in which they dwell?

Studying how these marginalized groups communicate, he noticed how they re-elaborate their communicative relationships. They do it differently, often questioning the vision of the hegemonic class.

Beltrão highlighted the so-called culture of the "marginalized". He understood it as a space for communication and expression of ways of acting, beliefs, and identity references of social groups that establish their communication systems. In this approach, Beltrão (1980, 2001) formulated the existence of three types of exclusion:

1. The marginalized rural groups, mainly due to their geographical isolation, their economic poverty and low intellectual level.

2. The marginalized urban groups are composed of individuals situated in the lower stratum of society. They constitute the subaltern, the unassisted, the underinformed – and with minimal access conditions.

3. Culturally marginalized groups, whether urban or rural. They represent contingents of contestation of prevailing principles, morals, or social structure[7].

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7   We found in this group what we can consider, perhaps, the most conservative aspect of Beltrao's theory when rescuing the symbolic universe of groups such as the erotic-pornographic, which does not accept a dominant morality. In the context of the sexual revolution he was experiencing, Beltrão highlights sex as a means of expression as a result of the evolution of the medieval tradition: "Although in ancient civilizations these protesting groups manifested themselves, especially through the vehicle still most used today, graffiti (inscriptions and drawings on walls and walls); even though erotic doctrines and practices have been disseminated and implemented through the ages, even including their leaders and choirs, their philosophers and their martyrs, only from the last century with the take-off of the graphic, photo and cinematographic, chemical, clothing, and after the widespread use of petroleum derivatives in the manufacture of plastic objects, eroticism and its offshoot – pornography – increased, producing currents of opinion within movements such as those for the liberation of women and youth, birth control, and ultimately, public recognition of homosexuality." (Beltrão, 1980, 210-211).

Although this perspective came from the Brazilian reality of the 1950s and 1970s, Beltrão's classification maintains its topicality and relevance, allowing valid considerations about the subject.

It is also significant to highlight the role of opinion leaders as an intermediary of information transmission to the other members of this marginalized group. They bring them closer to another universe – mass communication. The result is the process of acculturation that follows its rhythm, unthreatened by the interests and rhythms of external communities. As a characteristic, Folkcommunication has: a) horizontality, insofar as transmitters and receivers belong to the same cultural, social or financial stratum; b) dialogue, recovering the element of dialogue and alternation between the roles of sender and receiver; and c) "participativeness", with broad access by the entire community to this process.

Even more, Luiz Beltrão's legacy is constantly studied and renewed by the researchers of the Folkcom Network, which has aroused interest in contemporaneity, whether in the academic world or on the periphery, at a time when the cultural expressions of marginalized groups configure practices of resistance and citizenship in a globalized society. After all, like Marques de Melo (2008, 57) observes, "the communicational traditions of marginalized populations survive technological innovations, demonstrating a capacity for cultural resistance, in time and space."

In this perspective, and as the theme of Beltrão's seminal article, the ex-voto[8] appears as a relevant and viable research

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8   Acknowledgments for graces received from a saint – health recovery, disaster relief, financial and material matters such as obtaining housing, diploma or employment, or even love – constitute a unique form of expression of religiosity, and in the case of Northeast Brazil, of rustic Catholicism. It is also worth noting that in addition to the religious meaning, many ex-votos have an aesthetic sense, with sophisticated plastic elaboration through clay modeling or wood sculpture.

object. To understand how votive manifestations happens, Marques de Melo (2008, 19) comments: "he raised the gaze of communication researchers to a kind of object that had already been competently studied by anthropologists, sociologists, and folklorists, but was neglected by communicologists." In addition, other forms of expression and popular manifestation, such as cordel, singing, theater and popular dramatic dances, along with mural newspapers and graffiti, also compose an alternative universe to mass communication.

It is to strengthen this idea, through empirical research carried out by its followers and updated in its theoretical basis, that Beltrão's study stands out due to the following: his academic training and professional practice as a journalist and as a teacher; his ability to innovate; his fighting spirit, responsibility, and determination to build the Folkcommunication theory. Beltrão's work is a milestone as innovation and pioneering in the communication field of Brazil and Latin America.

2. The insertion of Latin American Folkcommunication in the international arena

The concept of Folkcommunication, and the researchers who develop and recreate this theory today, remain alive, with the quest for strengthening research, from the initial theoretical-methodological basis, especially in the Latin-American context. With a spirit of renewal, Folkcommunication has aroused the interest of academics and scholars in general in the field of Social Sciences at a time when the cultural expressions of marginalized groups configure practices of resistance and citizenship in a globalized society.

For this reason, it is crucial to provide an overview of the new fields of the application of the Folkcommunication theory, which is under consolidation through research groups spread across Brazil, Latin America, and other Ibero-American countries. Still, it is a theory that presents itself as an innovative proposal in the face of the complexity of cultural studies. One that has scientific value as a field within Communication Sciences, with the attempt to open new theoretical and methodological frontiers in the communication flows and cultural exchanges between global and local cultural understanding.

Like any new field of scientific knowledge, Folkcommunication not only faces the difficulty of consolidating its research object and methods, but also of obtaining acceptance within the paradigm of "normal science", using the concept of Thomas Kuhn. Perhaps because of its innovative and libertarian aspect, even concerning its object, perhaps because of the simple academic conservatism, the academic communication community would be at a loss today if it ignored the folkcommunicational contributions.

In the same line, Marques de Melo (2007b) also recalls how this field, almost relegated within the academic community, gained interest from John Downing's conference in Brazilian Society for Interdisciplinary Communication Studies - INTERCOM Congress, held in Belo Horizonte, in 2003. The reason lies in the identification of the "rebel communication" or "radical media" proposed by the British researcher (1984) with the resistance of the communicational traditions of marginalized populations, which had already been identified by Beltrão. However, the challenge to be conquered is still long because:

> Academic resistance to new research fields is part of the conservative trajectory of our universities. Even after half a century of the presence of communication

studies in Brazil, popular and mass cultures continue to be seen with contempt by university sectors, generally anchored in dogmatic postulates. That, however, should not frighten us. It is up to researchers in Folkcommunication, as in other related fields, to face resistance at the theoretical level, arguing, and, in addition, to advance in the knowledge production capable of demonstrating the pertinence of the chosen references. The legitimation of new fields of knowledge demands time, competence and perseverance. The more a new investigative segment swells and acquires density, it is natural that it arouses reactions, especially from those who feel threatened when they realize that they have lost their intellectual hegemony. We are living in a conjuncture marked by theoretical and methodological pluralism, where there is room for all currents of ideas (Marques de Melo 2006, 52).

Today, studying Folkcommunication theory translates into studying not only excluded groups, as Beltrão started before, but also studying the phenomenon of transformations carried out by the popular classes, which absorb the massive culture and transform it into a cultural product. That is why we present Luiz Beltrão's work in a configured way, in new fields of knowledge, in new areas of application, seeking a conceptual renewal.

3. Theoretical and methodological paradigms in Folkcommunication

To a certain extent, to follow the trajectory of folkcommunicational theory is following the history of Communication Theory. Beltrão's initial concept had the methodological arsenal of his time, focusing on mass journalism studies. In this sense, Beltrão appropriates Katz and Lazarsfeld's

two-step flow of communication concept, or simply, two-step flow theory, to highlight the role of community leaders in opposition to an omnipotent media. About this "folk" opinion leader, Beltrão points out:

> The folkcommunicator has the characteristic personality of opinion leaders identified (and in him, perhaps, even more sharpened) in his colleagues in the social communication system: 1) prestige in the community, regardless of social position or economic situation, thanks to the level of knowledge he has about specific topic(s) and the acute perception of its effects on the lives and customs of his people; 2) exposure to the messages of the social communication system, participating in the audience of the mass media, but submitting the contents to the sieve of ideas, principles and norms of their group; 3) frequent contact with authorized external sources of information, with whom he discusses or completes the information collected; 4) mobility, getting in touch with different groups, with whom he exchanges knowledge and collects precious subsidies; and, finally, 5) deep-rooted philosophical convictions, based on their traditional beliefs and customs, of the culture of the group to which they belong, to which they submit ideas and innovations before accepting and disseminating them, with a view to making changes that they consider beneficial to the existential procedure of their community (Beltrão, 1980, 35).

However, in addition to the functionalist perspective, Folkcommunication can be framed as a legitimate representative of Latin American Communicational Thought:

> In a certain sense, Luiz Beltrão anticipated empirical observations in Brazil also made by Jesús Martín Barbero in Colombia. Those observations gave

> strength to his theory of 'cultural mediations'. The core of the contribution of culturalists to Latin American communicational thinking. From this current, the Mexican Jorge González had already made explicit reference to the seminal studies of the Pernambuco scientist on the Brazilian subaltern classes. Martin Barbero emphasized this pioneering spirit in his analysis of Brazilian "contributions" to Latin America social sciences during the 1997 Intercom congress. Beltrão recognized Folkcommunication agents, in rural or peripheral societies, as an institutional character, similar to what Martin Barbero would later attribute to educational, religious, or political agents in metropolitan urban communities (Marques de Melo, 2007a, 22-32).

We can also observe the expansion of groups first identified by Beltrão, given the numerous situations in which the mass-individual, elite-popular, technological-traditional dichotomies impose themselves in the face of advances in information and communication technologies. The researches made by the second and third generations of scholars of Folkcommunication emphasize the spontaneous and collective character of cultural manifestations that function as parallel means of communication (Maciel, Marques de Melo, and Lima, 2011).

For Benjamin (2001), the different lines of research that outline the field are:

a) communication (interpersonal and group) occurring in popular culture, that is, the study of the production of messages;

b) the mediation of popular channels for the reception of mass communication –reception itself;

c) the appropriation of mass communication technologies and the use of mass channels by the bearers of popular

culture – the production of popular messages through typical means of communication;

d) the presence of traits of mass culture absorbed by popular culture, that is, the reception and effects of mass culture on popular segments;

e) the appropriation of elements of popular culture by mass culture and erudite culture – the effects of popular messages, as received by segments of the industrialized urban media and appropriated/transformed into new messages;

f) the reception of popular culture elements of its own mass culture – the mediatization of social communication between popular communication messages among folk recipients.

In a bibliometric study carried out on the body of knowledge represented by the ten years of publication of the Revista Internacional de Folkcomunicação, there was the identification of a diversified and plural character of the theoretical interfaces of Folkcommunication:

> The authorial references express an undeniably multidisciplinary dimension of the studies, which dialogue with perspectives from other fields of knowledge (other than communication, in its most varied sectors), such as sociology, philosophy, literary approaches, contemporary history, or semiology. In most cases relating to specific objects in the media field (even through journalistic production, photography, cinema, or advertising discourse). They established connections with the conceptual perspective already explored by Luiz Beltrão (Folkcommunication). (...) Other thinkers also cited are not known for their

contributions to media studies. But they are highlighted by the (multidisciplinary) relationships – forged by the researchers of such articles and essays – in proposals or attempts to understand phenomena, products, and relationships that connect aspects of popular culture and media production. It is, therefore, the multi (and, in a few cases, interdisciplinary) characters that Folkcommunication suggests, since its origin, as a discipline or sector of knowledge in communication, as presented by Luiz Beltrão (Gadini and Calixto, 2010, 225-226).

For this, numerous theoretical frontiers were opened: starting with the Latin American culturalism of mediations and cultural hybridism (Barbero, Canclini), the influence of the Chicago School (Robert Parker), the dialogue with the agenda-setting theory (McCombs) through Paulo Freire's theory of education for liberation, cultural studies (Stuart Hall), Ivan Illich's critique of institutionalized society, James Carey's ritual vision, the invention of everyday life (Michel de Certeau) and habitus (Bordieu).

Regarding the methodological aspect, one question arises: could Folkcommunication, as well as Anthropology, consist of more than a theory, but also a research method? There are sufficient indications that Luiz Beltrão sought at the same time to establish the explanatory approach of "communication of the excluded" and an adequate methodology that covered the various elements of the communication process including sender, receiver, message, channel, and effect, meeting valid criteria of investigation.

However, Beltrão's legacy points to a lack of methodological clarity. After so many years, a systematization concerning a methodological approach to studying Folkcommunication is not yet in sight. So,

> It is essential to clarify that research in this field deals with its object to diminish the dilemmas that may arise in this reflection. The objects are the manifestations of popular culture. However, the research does not adopt a specific methodological arsenal, allowing researchers multiple choices, which appear in the vast literature on research methods and techniques, especially the works that address the Communication field. Thus, what characterizes research in Folkcommunication is, above all, the definition of the research object and the theoretical framework selected for its analysis (Castelo Branco, 2006, 122-113).

Antônio Hohlfeldt considers that Folkcommunication is part of the greater field of Communication and that researchers may use the same methods and techniques. This researcher draws attention, however, to the fact that:

> (…) Folkcommunication is a practice and a science. It is a practice when we consider it a very diverse set of uses, customs, games, and activities by the popular strata outside or in dialogue with industrialized communication processes. However, it is a science because it implies that type of study aimed precisely at those practices. Therefore, Folkcommunication has - and should have, in fact - a theoretical basis, as much as it needs describable methodology(ies), both in data collection and their analysis and interpretation. That implies adding, to our list of methodological research approaches, quantitative-qualitative – emphasizing the latter –character, as a basis for folkcommunicational studies (Hohlfeldt, 2010, 57).

To close the description of this theoretical and methodological status, it is worth highlighting the areas of application of Folkcommunication. From an epistemological point of view,

this theory does not imply a context of a priori applicability, despite its emergence in the context of popular culture:

> The new characteristics resulting from the hybridization and the mediatization of culture emerge in Folkcommunication studies. The manifestations in their new configurations, the new codes, the updated elements, and their resignification are what interests the field of Folkcommunication. Communities on the margins of the hegemonic and globalized communicational context communicate in unique ways, although, from time to time, they include deterritorialized elements (Schmidt, 2007, 36).

By highlighting the peculiarity of the folkcommunicational process situated within groups that are in a way or another socially excluded, we realize that the development of Beltranian theory is not limited to the specific conditions in which the procedures of this parallel or alternative system of communication operate. Thus, the new generation of researchers applies folkcommunication theory to politics, tourism, advertising, public relations, religion, cultural production, and popular festivals. More recently, this range has extended to crafts, gastronomy, urban subcultures (rap, graffiti, tattoos, goths), the blues, street carnival, cyberculture virtual communities, the student movement, and digital/social inclusion.

However, nowadays, Folkcommunication's[9] very libertarian conception opens new routes for knowledge exploration. Thus, the "echoes of Beltrão's rebellion" reflects that,

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9   Among the manifestations of popular thought that Beltrão proposed to study is the "people's wall", which includes inscriptions on public roads, toilet graffiti, messages on truck bumper stickers. "Inscribed messages with ideas, protests, anxieties, and suggested solutions mock the system and its mentors and administrators, challenge, stimulate, excite and instigate passersby to action." (Beltrão, 1980, 227).

> (...) by practicing the "folkcommunicational imagination to explore the current thematic agenda, the new generation follows in the footsteps of the discipline founder. He feared its dogmatic freezing into conservative hypertrophy, avoiding the myopia of traditional folklorists who transformed popular culture into a museum piece, devoid of the dynamism that is particular to it (Marques de Melo, 2012, 34).

In conclusion, if Folkcommunication at a given moment was a research object, as a concept outlined by Luiz Beltrão, now it also exists in the dimension of the practice of research and the configuration of new fields, as carried out by its practitioners.

4. Geographical distribution of Folkcommunication research

Latin American culture receives many adjectives such as rich, as it merges elements from different historical periods with pre-Hispanic aspects, from the colonial period to the most modern period. The cultural wealth remains cultivated by indigenous communities, such as pre-Hispanic societies, who speak several languages even in the 21st century.

This universe is fruitful for the development of Folkcommunication theory studies, as is the case of different countries such as Chile, Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Uruguay, and Brazil. Mexico is a peculiar country that presents relevant and ancient cultural aspects, such as painting, dance, gastronomy, music, expressions of faith, and a religious character. Because of these reasons, Mexico has been very receptive to Folkcommunication theory, even more so with the contribution of the study of subaltern cultures by González (1990).

This set of spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional characteristics is understood as culture, which can also include ways of life, behaviors, laws, and fundamental rights and duties of a person who lives in society. One must also consider the values systems, traditions, and beliefs. From this thought, Folkcommunication needs to be placed in Latin America reality while its potential is evaluated in the Americas, in the world, and in the space in motion.

Currently, there are Folkcommunication Working Groups in congresses and conferences of major scientific institutions in Brazil and abroad that deal with Communication and Information Sciences. Some outstanding examples are: as ALAIC (Latin American Association of Communication Sciences), FELAFACS (Federación Latinoamericana de Asociaciones de Facultades de Comunicación Social), LUSOCOM (Lusophone Federation of Communication Sciences), IBERCOM (Associación Iberoamericana de Comunicación), as well as the presence in research groups in Lusophone and Ibero-American countries, such as Portugal and Spain.

However, such institutional articulation is due to the Folkcommunication Studies and Research Network – Folkcom Network. The idea of creating a network of Folkcommunication researchers was born during the discussions held at the international seminar on Latin American cultural identities, promoted by the Methodist University of São Paulo (UMESP) in 1995, as a preparatory event for the installation of the UNESCO Chair in Communication for Regional Development at this institution.

Under the coordination of Professor José Marques de Melo, a group of researchers organized and got together for the 1st Brazilian Conference on Folkcommunication. The Conference

took place in August, 1998, at the Methodist University of São Paulo (UMESP), when this group of researchers created the Folkcom Network. Since then, the researchers have played a decisive role in retrieving Luiz Beltrão's communicational thinking. Among other contributions of the master, José Marques de Melo highlights: "the ideas on the interaction between popular culture, media culture and erudite culture are decisive to neutralize the prejudice that certain segments of our intellectuality outline in relation to popular knowledge".

The UNESCO Chair played a fundamental role in this process as an incentive and catalyst for actions. In addition to promoting the annual conferences, the UNESCO Chair decided to carry out a series of comparative research projects to give academic meaning to the newborn Folkcom Network. The first research was carried out in 1996, focusing on media images of Brazilian Christmas.

The Folkcom Network is a non-governmental organization founded in 2004. Created as a non-profit civil association, it aims to legitimize its actions as a core organization to generate reflections about the field of folkcommunication. It intends to encompass the different views of the context of popular culture, folklore, and the media within the processes of mediated social communication.

The aims that guide the actions of the Folkcom Network are:

1. Outline the field of Folkcommunication by defining a methodological and theoretical framework;

2. Understand the context of Folkcommunication from the location of man: at parties, in cooking, in crafts, in music, in religion, in architecture, at work, etc.;

3. Carry out documentary and empirical studies describing and analyzing them as folkmedia processes and phenomena, locating their encoding agents, their

channels of expression, the type of message, and the intended audience;

4. Exchange subsidies with researchers linked to the Folkcom Network and with new researchers from other research organizations, including international ones;

5. Promote a seminar and/or scientific meeting at each researcher's home institution in order to broaden the discussion of Folkcommunication;

6. Disseminate research results in regional, national and international scientific events.

The series of Brazilian Conferences on Folkcommunication – Folkcom is one of the most important actions of the Folkcom Network, covering themes directly related to media and interactive media inside the folkcommunication process. These annual meetings (1998-2013) focus on previously defining a study perspective within the scope of Folkcommunication. The objective of this kind of approach is to stimulate academic reflection and production with shared references and parameters. In addition, it provides a more systematic concentration on specific themes according to contextual contributions (Schmidt, 2006). Furthermore, the events have revealed the thematic diversity of application of folkcommunication theory, as well as a continuous rethinking about the theory and the methodology.

The International Folkcommunication Journal (Revista Internacional de Folkcomunicação – RIF) (ISSN 1807-4960) is available on the internet for free access on a semester basis. The increase in the number of texts and materials received for publication confirms the academic channeling of demand for products in the field. At the same time, it has been strengthening the editorial proposal led by the current editor, Professor Sérgio

Luiz Gadini. The published texts show the thematic diversity of Folkcommunication.

In 2005, researcher José Carlos Aronchi produced the video "See and Understand Folkcommunication", with the theme of communication developed by specialists on Folkcommunication. Researchers such as José Marques de Melo, Roberto Benjamin, Sebastião Breguez, Antônio Hohlfeldt, OsvaldoTrigueiro, and Cristina Schmidt talk about their experiences in reinforcing this new theory of communication. Through the statements on the video, we see several possibilities in Folkcommunication studies with a combination of approaches. As José Marques de Melo comments, it is an opportunity, "(...) because it is a virgin field to be researched in Brazil."

The importance of Folkcommunication in Latin America became more evident in January 2008 and October 2011. This period is when, under Betania Maciel's editing, a special issue of the journal Razón y Palabra was published. Edited by Instituto Tecnológico de Monterrey (Mexico), this so-called "first electronic journal in Latin America specialized in Communication" was coordinated by Professor Octavio Islas, who was also a member of ALAIC's executive board. That special edition of Folkcommunication highlighted the role of this theory as genuinely Brazilian, and as one of the main theoretical contributions of its founder, Luiz Beltrão, to the field of Communication. This special edition of Razón y Palabra presented the Brazilian scenario of research, methodology, theory and practice of Folkcommunication, introduced to the international reader the future perspective of this discipline, its theoretical links, and its historical foundations, as well as characterized the role of the Folkcom Network and the UNESCO/Umesp Chair, for the consolidation of Folkcommunication as an academic field of study.

In 2008, the Folkcom Network became part of SOCICOM (National Federation of Scientific and Academic Communications Associations), created inside the 31st Brazilian Congress of Communication Sciences in Natal. SOCICOM represents dozens of entities in the Communication field research, including Intercom itself, the National Forum of Professors of Journalism (FNPJ), the Brazilian Association of Researchers in Journalism (SBPJor), and the National Association of Graduate Programs in Communication (Compós), among others. The common objective of these scientific societies is to consolidate the field of communication knowledge in Brazil, seeking academic convergence and broader representation in the society's interests.

Finally, the Folkcom Network, within its most recent activities, proposed the organization of two books where regularly associated researchers will seek to consolidate the theoretical and methodological knowledge of the Folkcommunication field, contributing to its improvement and better specificity of the sub-area. In a short time, the two projects were unified, and maintaining their two axes. The first was to establish a dialogue between Folkcommunication, a theory created by Luiz Beltrão, with paradigmatic authors from the social sciences and their respective theoretical lines, thus establishing new research directions for academic enrichment and strengthening of the field. The second aims to present the main methodological lines used in Folkcommunication and some specific techniques. In addition, among definitions and explanations of methods or techniques, the texts include a research review, as an example, thus constituting a guide for new researchers in the field. However, Folkcommunication future is conditioned by the theoretical and methodological dialogues carried out from now on.

5. Pivots, intersections, and trends of Folkcommunication

Nowadays, in Latin American Universities, students and researchers play their roles by including the Folkcommunication theory within Latin American Communication Thought.

Professor José Marques de Melo, a disciple of Luiz Beltrão, in a paradigmatic paper, used his knowledge as a communication scholar to establish a "watershed" in studies and research in Folkcommunication; a "stop" for reflection and intellectual organization of the possibilities that open up to the field and new generations of researchers. In his own words,

> After four decades of accumulating knowledge, it is essential to critically review the changes that occurred in the discipline in an attempt to discern which elements remained unchanged in the period, which were the evident mutations, and which trends were foreshadowed by the new generations that gave continuity to the original ideas of Luiz Beltrão (Marques de Melo, 2007b, 1).

Following, the signs identified as elements of mutation of the discipline are enumerated, one of its main elements being the "exegesis [the profound interpretation of a biblical, legal or literary text] made by folkcommunication analysts, based on the seminal texts of the founder of discipline." In this sense, José Marques highlights the concept of "media activism" developed by one of the first exegetes, Professor Osvaldo Trigueiro, for which he reserves "a privileged place at the forefront of folkcommunication studies." In this development, the former "folk" opinion leader is updated to the context of a globalized society, with an active and militant character:

> Media activists act motivated by their interests and the group to which they belong in shaping symbolic and material practices of traditional and contemporaneous cultures. They are narrators of everyday life, guardians of memory and local identity, recognized as spokespersons for their social group, and who transit between traditional and contemporaneous practices, besides appropriating new communication technologies to spread popular narratives in global networks. (Trigueiro 2008, 48)

Still, in the sense of renewing the theory founded by Beltrão, we find the concept of folkmedia, with the incorporation of popular messages and codes by the mass communication industry, as a strategy to get closer to the receiving audiences. This process, in addition to expanding the "radius of observation", would open the theory to new perspectives, especially about fiction and music. In this way, José Marques identifies in Folkcommunication its "nature of a mediating instance between mass culture and popular culture, leading bidirectional flows and consolidating processes of symbolic hybridization."

In this line of thought, the third major trend identified by José Marques de Melo in the direction of Folkcommunication is the dialectic between the local and the global. This tension was established from the intensification of the "global village" and a "cultural mosaic that the globalized media gives rise to daily, breaking the social isolation in which ordinary citizens lived until recently." No wonder the term "global village" is used; possibly considered démodé in academic circles: with precision, Marques de Melo relates the influence of Marshal McLuhan's thinking on Beltrão, specifically the "folklore of industrial society" presented in the Canadian thinker's debut book, The Mechanical Bride (1951).

By establishing links with theorists such as Renato Ortiz and Manuel Diegues Júnior, who analyzed the formation of Brazilian culture, this "cultural archipelago", Marques de Melo, thus, finds in Brazil a privileged locus for Folkcommunication studies. According to Marques de Melo, Brazil's situation is paradigmatic because it has a particular "cultural dualism" – the European tradition of our institutions and the versatility resulting in the "symbolic imbrication" from the blending of Lusitanians, Amerindians, and Africans, and the more recent communication flows arising from mass culture. In addition to this, the broad theoretical knowledge, and the dialogues established with different fields of knowledge (its "conceptual matrices"), especially Cultural Anthropology, and with several authors of Communication Theory, we have, as a result, a profoundly enlightening diagnosis of how Folkcommunication emerged as an object of scientific study, from its foundation to the its academic recovery, at the beginning of the 21st century.

Another thematic pivot that is currently relevant is the relationship between Folkcommunication and development, which can be a complex, holistic and multidimensional process that goes beyond economic growth, with a perspective of integration and empowerment of the communities studied. Development must be anchored in the desire of each community to present its identity.

Culture and development have evolved quite fast in postmodern economies. By knowing the popular culture, it is possible to think about participatory development. Here arises the importance of working more deeply on the theory created by Luiz Beltrão.

The importance of knowing the role of culture in studies on local development makes it possible to associate

the improvement of living conditions as a strategy to improve the organization of the production process and access to cultural goods, lucidly presenting this expansion of the geographic and cultural space.

This multiculturalism comes from the high circulation and mobility of people through digital networks, means of communication, and transshipment in aircrafts. The world today is a big village. The importance of studying Folkcommunication is precisely to understand their origins, strengthen what there is of culture and local societies, respect different historical profiles, and undertake projects in regions that allow the development and replacement of marginalized groups around the world.

In line with the culture of the excluded, the studies of the new communication strategies observed in Folkcommunication and currently used in the different processes of social intervention are based on the collective appropriation of knowledge and on encouraging the participation of the subjects involved in the construction of rural development processes. Undeniably, communities receive influences from hegemonic society as they originate from it, especially those involving the protection of popular contexts and cultural manifestations.

In this sense, social participation, empowerment, and autonomy of subjects and popular groups require the appropriation of essential elements that make up citizenship. In this case, the constitutionally constructed rights must come associated with applying means of communication and information to achieve better living conditions and a fairer society.

There is a need for the subjects involved to understand the messages received and sent. That can result in the construction of fruitful dialogues toward historically unmet social aims. Thus, popular cultures can reconvert the codes from the hegemonic

society to communicate their needs through processes that channel their claims and conquests, moving from the claim stage to the propositional level.

From the analysis of research on the relationship between projects in the cultural sector and the insertion and participation of popular communities in development processes, it would be possible to reflect on and conceptualize from experiences and practices that illustrate this mutual influence. Based on this, a programmatic line of research could be strengthened and integrate the scientific communication for local development, through Folkcommunication, culture, and society.

In order to build an environment conducive to integrated and sustainable development, a continuous process of participatory communication is more needed than any other type of strategy, privileging dialogue as a way of developing the "critical awareness of the dominated classes." That is, empowerment through the valorization of popular knowledge in the struggle for the transformation of reality. Thus, the political and democratic perspective of broad access to public space for collective decisions is highlighted, and social change is only possible when the entire community acts as an actor and manager in the quest for a more balanced collectivity in a joint and coordinated action among the community, other social institutions and the local government, that is, consultation.

To analyze the possibilities of the interrelation between communication of resistance, as we understand Folkcommunication, and the cultural processes that will trigger local development, the theoretical contributions of Tocqueville, Bourdieu, Putnam and Cole emerge, highlighting the concept of social capital. Furthermore, Martín-Barbero and Canclini contribute with the conception of cultural mediations to emphasize

the potential of cultural communication in the reconversion of the symbolic components of popular culture in the face of hegemonic culture, not dissociating communication from culture as an isolated process from the cultural sphere that involves the individual.

It is, therefore, a project to systematize a new field of studies, where empirical research will be required to validate the theoretical contribution of Folkcommunication as a subsidy to establish a relationship between these social and cultural parallel processes and the processes of local development.

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11. Folkcommunication: a Latin American Approach for the Research of Cultural Manifestations[1]

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Introduction

Between the 1950s and the 1960s, the so-called "communication studies" emerged in Latin America influenced by the perspectives of functionalist analysis and with emphasis on the industrial media. The beginnings of communication studies were linked to the opening of university careers in journalism, social communication, public relations, advertising, cinema, and television, etc. Among the dominant theoretical perspectives were the sociological functionalism of North American origin, on one hand, and the perspectives of the Frankfurt School, on the other. Some of these authors sought to critically unveil the mechanisms of ideological domination of mass media, film, television and even comics, as demonstrated in the anthological book How to Read Donald Duck (Dorfman and Mattelart 1991).

Brazilian authors emphasize that the beginning of industrialization, which starts to develop the complex techno-scientific system of the media, was carried out in a context of deep socioeconomic inequalities that not only showed a society with serious social problems and class division, where the subaltern classes held a cultural heritage through which they communicated. In this general context, as Canclini (2005) recalls, communication studies focused, mainly, on mass society, while anthropological and folklore studies focused on the ethnographic study of popular cultures.

However, a review of the Brazilian experience shows us that communication studies in Brazil emerged linking these two areas: studies of mass communication and cultural manifestations. In this context, Luiz Beltrão Andrade Lima stood out as a communication scholar. For several years, he worked as a journalist in the region known as northeastern Brazil, where he approached the cultural manifestations of the large marginalized social strata

for whom the Brazilian government's developmental policies were not implemented.

With the creation of journalism and communication colleges in Brazil, Beltrão entered the academic life in the Catholic University of Pernambuco where he taught Interpretive Journalism and other similar subjects. As a professor, he was one of the pioneers of the institutionalization of communication studies in Brazil. Proof of this is that he was the founder of the first Communication Scientific Journal of Brazil called "Comunicações e Problemas", a platform that was fundamental for the first researches in Brazilian communication studies. It was precisely in that journal that he published, in 1965, "The Ex Voto[5] as a journalistic medium", a seminal article pertaining folkcommunication studies. In this work, Beltrão's main hypothesis is that not all people have access to industrial media such as the press, television and film, in countries like Brazil, with a high illiteracy rate. Therefore, cultural manifestations such as festivities, ex-votos, and even popular dances, are mechanisms for communication by the subordinate sectors of society. His study advocates that the ex-votos are popular demonstrations of faith and express the feelings and social problems of the working class.

A letter sent by renowned folklorist and Brazilian ethnographer, Camara Cascudo, is an important aspect in the chronology of folkcommunication studies. In Beltrão's seminal article, Cascudo recognized a master plan for a research program that would value the dimension of cultural manifestations of the common men and women of Brazil at the time.

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5   An ex-voto is a votive offering to a saint or to a divinity. It is given in fulfillment of a vow (hence the Latin term, short for ex voto suscepto, "from the vow made") or in gratitude or devotion. Ex-votos are placed in a church or chapel where the worshiper seeks grace or wishes to give thanks.

Once the doctorate degree programs in Social Sciences initiated in Brazil, Beltrão enrolled in the first Doctoral Program in Communication at the University of Brasilia. In 1967, he presented his dissertation on folkcommunication before a panel that assessed it with maximum qualification. The title of the work was "Folkcomunicação: um estudo dos agentes e dos meios populares de informação de fatos e expressão de ideias" (Folkcommunication: a study of the agents, the popular means of information of facts and expression of ideas) (Beltrão 2014).

However, he faced problems to receive the doctorate degree because those were years of the military dictatorship in Brazil, and his theoretical perspective analyzed that the cultural manifestations had a social critique of public policies. That is why it took him a long time to spread his theory. The book "Communication and Folklore" (Beltrão 1971) was published with the key aspects of his doctoral dissertation, but with the editor's suppression of a central chapter that he considered to include thoughts that were too daring at that moment.

Only in 1980, he published the book "Folkcomunicação: a comunicação dos marginalizados" (Folkcommunication: the Marginalized Communication; Beltrão 1980) where he expresses his theoretical approaches and the case studies from which his work germinated, with greater clarity and without censorship. If at first Beltrão's approaches still have a journalistic bias, as Melo (2008) has pointed out, this book incorporates Lazarsfeld's thesis of "Two-step flow of communication" (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955) with more strength. In this paradigm, communication occurs in two stages and states in peripheral communities where there are persons who act as local opinion leaders who perform a kind of translation of the information that circulates in the mass media.

Hohlfeldt offers an important synthesis of the aspects that characterize folkcommunication based on Beltrão's work:

1. Folkcommunication is a process of exchange of messages;
2. Its agents and means are directly or indirectly linked to folklore;
3. Folkcommunication is a craft and horizontal process;
4. It is similar to interpersonal communication;
5. For dispersed audiences (Hohlfeldt 2012, 54).

As point of fact, it was just in 2004 and by the initiative of Hohlfeldt that Beltrão's full dissertation was finally published.

1. Two major influences: The dynamics of folklore and multi-stage flow

In the configuration of folkcommunication, there are at least two perspectives that influenced Beltrão, and the understanding of both will help to draw a theoretical-historical line of thinking. First, there is the perspective of folklore collected by Beltrão and influenced by the work of Edison Carneiro (1965), who linked expressive manifestations with the dialectical process and an understanding of society as a whole. Second, and due to the fact that in the 1960s there was an important predominance of functionalism in the study of communication in Latin America (Lopes 2003), and in order to elaborate his theory, Lazarsfeld's flow of communication in several stages was very revealing for Beltrão's theory.

1.1 Edison Carneiro and the dynamics of folklore

Edison Carneiro was a Brazilian intellectual who dedicated himself to the study of Afro-Brazilian manifestations. His work back in the 1930s about the dynamics of folklore was of the utmost importance to Beltrão in characterizing the fundaments of Folkcommunication Theory, once his perspective assumes a dynamic view over culture and folklore.

For Carneiro, most of the time, a manifestation that is considered traditional is the synonymous of archaic as is referenced into the bourgeois society. The analysis of the expressive popular manifestations must go hand in hand with an analysis of the society of which it constitutes one of its elements, in the case of an ideal bourgeois society. According to Carneiro (1965), folklore has nothing of quiet and immutable, and a dialectical and dynamic movement characterizes it. If there are expressive manifestations, it is because they exist within the context of a society in which they make sense. It is from this perspective that one must analyze what are the transformations that such manifestations have over time. It is for this reason that the manifestations not only speak of the past, but also of the present time and, fundamentally, of the future, since they can express ways of connection with the entire society and its social demands, especially in the case of marginalized groups.

One of the dimensions that Carneiro pinpoints is that of cultural resistance that can occur even in situations in which social groups accommodate to the dominant system. In this way, Carneiro locates the folkloric manifestations in the horizon of the social transformations that live in unequally organized societies like those of Brazil, where he has performed his investigations and conceptual contributions, and Latin America. A manifestation exists when the context in which it is developed persists. This

conception is key to understanding that Folkcommunication Theory takes a critical and dynamic view of folklore, not one presented by conservatives who understand folklore as anonymous, traditional and oral (Dupey 2008; Luyten 2006).

1.2 The Opinion Leaders in the functionalist perspective

As Lopes (2003) recalls, functionalism was the dominant perspective in Latin America during the process of institutionalization of communication studies, which rise under the techno-industrial process in which the cultural industries in Latin America emerged. In the case of Brazil - as presented by Beltrão -, a configuration of media with an elitist character. The creation of communication majors was strongly linked with functionalism. First, with the hypodermic needle theory. Later, with the theory of the flow of communication in several stages (Beltrão 2004).

The multi-stage communication flow is an intermediate point between the start and ending points of the communication process. This theory was developed with an emphasis on the book by Katz and Lazarfeld (1955), in a study that focused on the behavior of consumers of fashion and leisure in the selection of films. Mattelart and Mattelart (1997) highlights the importance of this theory in the Latin American context, as it was useful in the process of acquisition of new technologies: "either the adoption of a machine or a fertilizer by the farmers"(Mattelart and Mattelart 1997, 34). In the same text, it is argued that "Lazarsfeld exerted considerable influence abroad. He considered his relations with the international community as a scientific multinational." (Mattelart and Mattelart 1997, 34).

In the system of Folkcommunication, local actors emerge as opinion leaders from the peripheral sectors. They carry out a process of mediation. They can also carry out communication processes towards the hegemonic segments of society.

Until then, communication studies had made the subjects invisible as agents and had focused on the power of the media, both from functionalism and communication studies linked to the Frankfurt School. That is why taking the elements of the flow of communication also regained interest in the subjects of the marginalized sectors as communication actors.

2. Folkcommunication and the folklore of the industrial man

José Marques de Melo is one of the most important communication researchers in Latin America. He has made the most widespread use of Beltrão's theory on Folkcommunication at an international level (Melo 1998, 2002, 2008, 2014, 2016). Melo's analysis are set in the field of communication research regarding the processes of modernization in developing countries, in the sense that there are initial links between folklore and communication in the predominant works conducted at the time in Latin America.

Melo (2008) also states that the communication of lower-class groups is an object of study in the countries of late industrialization, despite the universality of the subject. He adds that one exception to this situation was the work by philosopher Marshall McLuhan "The Mechanical bride: the folklore of industrial man" (McLuhan 2011) in the middle of the 20th century. For Melo (2008), the outline of the theory of Folkcommunication "unquestionably corresponds to the Brazilian sequence of a historical episode that

was emblematically pioneered by Marshall McLuhan (1951)" (Melo 2008, 41).

In this book, McLuhan establishes a new facet of folklore. He states that the folklore of the industrial man is made by the mass media. McLuhan's thesis in mid-twentieth century is that there is an appropriation of popular culture by the so-called "mass culture". The latter has the ability to process images and symbols originating in national cultures and transform them into goods for multiple audiences. Here lies what McLuhan conceives as media folklore that "confused itself as an amalgam of signs from different national or regional geographies, seeking to procreate secular or emerging cultures in the new world map." (Melo 2008, 41). Hence the author notes that mediated folklore has two faces. One is the ability to appropriate symbols, and the other is their exportation and change into media products.

His work seeks to account for the so-called mass culture. He based his research on commercials and entertainment products such as film, television, and comics that were published in newspapers and magazines. "Implicit was the idea that the 'industrial man', living in the peripheries of the megalopolises, was inserted in a mass culture rooted in popular traditions." (Melo 2008, 43). This was the secret of the success of the media industry in the United States. It fed a symbolic universe that had its origin in rural areas built by contingents of former colonizers and migrants who shaped a powerful popular culture which was strengthened by the state and reproduced by nation-wide social media agencies. For Melo (2008), this was the basis of what would later be MacLuhan's theory of the Global Village.

Melo (2008) points out that, in the same historical context, Luiz Beltrão observed an inverse situation in Brazil. At that time, his country was characterized by an elitist media system that relied on scholarly elements. In this context, the process

of mediation of these media with the popular sectors of the Brazilian population becomes relevant. In his doctoral dissertation, Beltrão understands folkcommunication as the study of "popular means of information of facts and expression of ideas" (Beltrão 2014) to make intelligible these contents coming from an elitist media system. Folkcommunication system is thus configured as an alternative, in which it becomes relevant to understand how cultural expressions influenced by cultural industries become media for collective communication (Hohlfeldt 2012). Over the years, a movement has also developed that is dedicated to the study of the appropriation processes of popular expressions by the media, a situation that will be analyzed from a folkmediatic perspective that will be reviewed below, according to Luyten's perspective (2006).

As Gushiken (2011) highlights, the perspective of Folkcommunication lies in a historical analysis that considers how the subjects influence and are influenced by dominant media systems. This theory allows us to study how practices are refunctionalized in the modernizing process of Brazil.

In Folkcommunication: the communication of the marginalized, Beltrão (1980) takes a step back to the journalistic emphasis of his first texts. He makes a characterization that accounts for different marginalized audiences, a notion inspired by the Chicago School in early 20th century in the United States. This characterization is as follows:

1) Marginalized rural groups: due to their geographic isolation, their economic hardships and low intellectual level;

2) Marginalized urban groups: composed of individuals in the lower echelons of society and who constitute the underprivileged, underserved and least accessed classes;

3) The culturally marginalized: urban, or rural groups that represent contingents of response to the moral principles or the social structure in force. (Beltrão 1980)

In this way, Melo (2008) makes the connection between Beltrão's work in Brazil and that of McLuhan's. It was impossible to separate the study of popular culture from the influence of the media. In Latin America, folklore was predominantly conceived as synonymous with anonymous, collective and traditional manifestations (Dupey 2008; Luyten 2006). These opinions "became more and more difficult for students of communication given the interpenetration of various levels of culture and communication" (Luyten 2006, 40).

3. Further development of a field of study

At the beginning of the folkcommunication studies, there were several researchers associated with Beltrao's research, such as Roberto Benjamin and Joseph Luyten. They all made important conceptual contributions to this field of study. In the same way, Jose Marques de Melo was a remarkable scholar, who cultivated and helped to internationalize and spread this field of study.

Benjamin (2004) was a direct disciple of Beltrão's. He was a professor at the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco, and was President of the National Folklore Commission of Brazil. His work focused on the folkcommunication analysis based on the theory of "opinion leaders" in various stages of the American functionalism, fundamentally Lazarsfeld (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955). His descriptive studies focused on Brazilian northeastern "Cordel"[6] poets as opinion leaders of marginalized communities

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6   Cordel = string – it is a popular form of folk literature that is exposed in these thin ropes in fairs and market places in Brazil Northeast cities. The artists, most of them poets and painters, sell their textbooks about a variety of subjects, most of them about the inner lands life and folkloric tales of the rural inhabitants.

in the processes of industrialization and modernization that Brazil underwent after the 1950s.

The most important of Benjamin's contributions are the five communication processes, which, in his opinion, are relevant to understand the importance of the field of folkcommunication studies: 1) Mediation of folk channels for the reception of mass messages; 2) The appropriation of mass communication technologies (and others) and the use of mass channels by holders of folk culture; 3) Mass culture absorbed by the folk culture; 4) Appropriation of elements of folk culture by the mass culture and erudite culture; 5) Reception by the folk culture of elements of their own reprocessed by the mass culture.

4. Joseph Luyten and folkmedia

Although Joseph Luyten was the most enthusiastic researcher in the field of folkmedia, he was not its founder. The first time the word was written in Portuguese was by Roberto Benjamin, in his Book Folkcomunicação no contexto de massa (Folkcommunication in the mass context) (Benjamim 2000).

In this work, Benjamim dedicated some chapters to the folkmedia concept, which came first from UNESCO's effort at the beginning of the 1970s to discuss and use folkmedia in programs to communicate with lower-class and illiteracy communities throughout the mixture of their folkloric tradition and health, education and social issues to their better development (Institute 1975).

UNESCO's efforts are still producing results in Asia, Africa, and some other underdeveloped countries throughout the world. A great number of communicators are using the concept

of folkmedia to work with popular communities to teach them to make family planning, language teaching, and health care. Since this concept was presented in Brazil by Benjamim (2000), it has spread among a lot of Brazilian folkcommunication researchers. One of them was Joseph Luyten (2006). His main work was on the oral literature called "Cordel". In his view, this kind of cultural expression, in communication terms, was a folkmedia tool.

He dedicated all his work to collecting and bringing the value of this popular literature – which some intellectuals considered as a minor art form – to the academic scenario. Nowadays the folkcommunication researchers have developed new lines of study in folkmedia, such as hip hop culture, movies, Facebook communities, popular feasts, television shows, video games, and other mass media products. The folkmedia concept is evolving among communication researchers through the years, and now it can be understood as the studies of how the popular culture interpreters translate the mass media information to the popular classes, and how the mass media companies use popular traditions in their products to get closer to the popular classes.

5. Osvaldo Trigueiro and the media activists

Professor Osvaldo Meira Trigueiro is a well-known communication scholar and Brazilian folklorist who is an acknowledged folkcommunication researcher. In the early 2010s, he introduced the notion of media activist, a concept that seeks to distinguish agents that have always been the actors of the popular segments from the ones who play an active role in specific social situations.

At first, Trigueiro (2008) proposed to distinguish between the active role and the activist role. For the author, the active role

is the person who "exercises an action, participates actively, who is always in motion" (Trigueiro 2016, 68), while an activist role is a militant who organizes and plans "the participation of others in the movements, who stands for or against a given situation, dominates different knowledge, gives primacy to actions" (Trigueiro 2016, 68).

The media activists are part of the audience that leaves the anonymity and acquires visibility both among their peers and by the public and private institutions that shape society. They are activists who operate in their reference groups and as the ones who chain cultural transformations. According to Trigueiro (2008), media activists are the ones who are always in a process of building social practices through local cultural elements as media that operate in everyday life. That is why "they transit between traditional and modern practices, appropriate new communication technologies to circulate popular narratives in global networks" (Trigueiro 2016, 68).

What Trigueiro is trying to say is that the media activist is the person who seeks every opportunity to bring to a greater audience the issues of their social strata. The author recalls that the higher classes in society control and dominate the mass media communication system, and that the lower classes have little or no control or access to the messages the mass media system spread. Is in this environment that the media activist emerges who already has a role among their social group. However, when this activist reaches the mass media system, they are entering a space that is given in the course of a traditional/folk event – what Trigueiro (2016) calls "social time" –, and is always without the recognition of the media owners.

Media activists of the Folkcommunication system act as cultural animators of their street, their neighborhood, their town

or city, making visible the movement between the reality of their living world and the staging of television fiction. The cultural production of spontaneous popular groups in institutions such as schools, libraries, novenas, processions, church fairs, and countless civic, military and religious activities carried out in the vicinity of their territories of social dominion" (Trigueiro 2016, 68-69).

Trigueiro adds that media activists can operate in both informal and formal institutions. They participate in processes of construction of the social fabric among diverse actors, moving from the zone of activity to the zone of activism, always outside the limits of the State comprehension of its institutional role. Hence, starting from the studies of Folkcommunication, Trigueiro approaches with more emphasis on the political dimension of the local agents who carry out communication processes rooted on the manifestations of popular culture.

6. Folkmarketing: a new research field

> Folk = people, added to the word marketing [...] results in the expression folkmarketing, which, according to a generic view, means the set of appropriations of popular cultures with communicational goals, to give visibility to products and services of an organization to its target audience. (Lucena Filho 2007, 85).

The Folkmarketing concept was first developed by Lucena (2007) in his Doctoral dissertation. He had studied the traditional June popular festivities in the city of Campina Grande, in the State of Paraiba, Brazil. He noticed that a great number of companies trying to bond with the participants of these festivities used

some marketing strategies to blend their trademarks with some traditional elements of the celebrations.

To him, the actions of the folkmarketing "have well-defined objectives, besides the elaboration of strategies appropriate to the local situation, but in tune with the transformations of the industrial society" (Lucena Filho 2007, 85). That means that the companies have a very careful action to use symbols of the festivities to add some value to their products or services.

It is, therefore, necessary to understand the relationship between the "traditional" of popular culture, and the changes it undergoes in the process of globalization, and the way in which the media appropriates these elements with the objective of reaching a certain public through strategies of marketing organizations.

The concept of folkmarketing is actual and in the "*avantguarde*" of the folkcommunication theory because of its modern ideas that bring some market interests and the traditional cultures together. The combination of those two elements is in the minds of many advertising professionals to reach a more selective audience in the globalized world.

7. Contemporary dialogues between communication and culture in Latin America

As Mexican researcher Jorge González recalls, even in the 1970s in Latin America, social communication studies focused on the Mass Media:

> On the one hand, a positivist orientation generated in the Anglo-Saxon world that was oriented to the description of its effects on the population, and on

the other, a critical perspective from the conflicting political interests between the dominant classes possessing the mass media and the classes exploited and made stupid by the contents of such instruments of the bourgeoisie (Gonzales 2017, 496).

In Brazil, folkcommunication faced obstacles to be recognized due to the military context that prevailed in the period in which Beltrao presented his doctoral dissertation. Also, the language barrier that the Portuguese writings of Beltrao have encountered stopped his theory from gaining a greater reverberation in Spanish Latin America, and English America.

Precisely in a historical conjuncture marked by the influence of the Cultural Studies, the sociocultural approaches systematically permeated the studies of communication. Saintout and Larrañaga (2003) argue that it is recurrent in this period a movement from the study of the instruments (the media) to the study of culture, or plural cultures, as González (2017) puts it. This is how in the 1980s it became explicit in the field of communication that its study necessarily involved asking about the different ways of social construction meanings.

Among the works that had wide circulation in Spanish Latin America, Hybrid Cultures (Canclini, 2005) sought to think about the social-cultural transformations that occur in the various social groups in contemporary society. Another reference work was undoubtedly Martin-Barbero's (2010) From Media to Mediation, which highlighted communication as an area that requires working in an interdisciplinary approach. Until then, Latin American communication studies in the Spanish and Portuguese languages had understood orality as synonymous with illiteracy by the influence of the diffusionist currents. Without belittling the importance of orality as the old school folklorists did, Barbero's perspective pluralized a view of it that

allows us to account for different ways of understanding the world and processes in how subjects appropriate the contents driven by cultural industries.

Another important revitalizing perspective is the one that González (2017) carried out with his theory on the Cultural Fronts. His ethnographic research sought to understand the popular as a condition that is not "defined by its contents or its origin, but because the subaltern and instrumental classes of society use it in opposition to the culture of the dominant classes" (Gonzalez 2017, 498). He recalls that in his first investigations:

> [...] popular forms of communication were documented within a peasant community in Mexico, especially local dances and festivals, as opposed to external forms of communication (radio, television, cinema, industry Record label, etc.), which, in their own way, weighed in with the peasant cultural forms (Gonzalez 2017, 498).

Finally, it is relevant that Melo's (2008) approach recognizes that Beltrao and his folkcommunication theory addressed several aspects, which, since the 1980s, spread in Latin America with the work of Martin-Barbero. This reveals that folkcommunication is a theory that, although it has its origin in the studies of "communication", integrated the relations between communication and culture in Brazil before the 1980s, when these relations were first studied in the Americas.

Final Remarks

Folkcommunication - this Latin American theory – is still fresh, despite its promising approaches, by studying the communication processes of popular culture manifestations. Beltrao, as well

as his followers, faced much opposition to the argument that folkcommunication was a new theory and a new field of knowledge. But the tenacity of the researchers proved that there are many cultural objects that can be analyzed via folkcommunication, which also has a clear and efficient methodological approach to investigate different communicational phenomena that occur at the center of cultural manifestations. At first, some folklorists repudiated folkcommunication research because they thought that new folklorists would emerge without the support of the folklore sciences. Later, with due explanation and presentation of different results, they realized that, in fact, folkcommunication is not folklore, but rather communication within folklore. However, researchers in this field must know and respect the manifestations of popular culture so that they can understand what levels of communication are present in the manifestations that are the object of their research. In an era of fast technological and political change, folkcommunication studies are still a challenge as they merge two worlds: the new digital world, connected and globalized with the traditional, "disconnected", and localized.

Perhaps this is folkcommunication's greatest contribution to the field of social sciences, since the researcher is required to have both the knowledge of new and emerging technologies and the respect and knowledge of the traditional cultures, which unite and identify the peoples of America. Dominique Wolton (2009) called for a new globalization based on different paradigms. Folkcommunication may be a new paradigm, because it invites us to find the universal in the local and to proceed to a new globalization through the recognition of the multiple cultures that make us diverse and similar as Canclini (2005) clearly recalls.

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12. Evoking journalism from a Beltranian perspective[1]

Maria Érica de Oliveira Lima[2]

(Translation by Brenna Maria Lopes Barbosa)

Introduction

Luiz Beltrão. Pioneer. Precursor to the teaching of journalism in Brazil. How many of the new generation of students, researchers in the field of communication, journalism, should have you as a reference? One of the objectives of the I[st] Beltranian Day is precisely to evoke the memory of Brazilian journalism, from the perspective of those who went beyond their time and left us a

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legacy that is indeed current and fundamental. Through the efforts of some researchers in Brazil, with Professor José Marques de Melo as a great incentive, we can relive the contributions of the pioneer of Communication Sciences in a lively and productive way, demarcating the new generations some of the thoughts that, until today, our story. The day promoted by the State University of Ponta Grossa (Paraná) comes to feed this unforgettable moment. From the South - starting from here - to the North of Brazil, we must allow students to come and learn about Luiz Beltrão's life and work. As researchers and activists, we cannot be silent or even sparse with our journalistic roots. Precisely today, by means of the needs and gaps pulverized by doing journalism and also by teaching journalism, which we must, more and more, rely on, import, indicate and testify for an allusion that dignifies and strengthens us!

Figure 1 – Luiz Beltrão

Source: http://www.eca.usp.br/pjbr/arquivos/dic_l1.htm

Luiz Beltrão, Olinda (Pernambuco, Brazil), August 8, 1918. He studied at the Olinda Seminary and at the Pernambucano Gymnasium. He held a degree in Legal and Social Sciences from the Faculty of Law of the University of Recife. His professional activity was entirely dedicated to Journalism, which he began in 1936 for *Diário de Pernambuco*. He worked in the file department, and then became a reporter. In 1959 he published the book *China itinerary - a reporter visits the ancient and new country of the Far East* (Intinerário da China – um repórter visita o milenar e novo país do Extremo Oriente) via the Official Press of the State of Pernambuco. As a journalist, he worked for several press agencies in his home state, becoming a nationally known union leader. His reflections on journalistic performance and career were compiled in the book *Introduction to the Philosophy of Journalism*, which was awarded the Orlando Dantas Prize in 1959.

According to Duarte (2001), Luiz Beltrão became a Brazilian icon of Communication Sciences due to his triple pioneering spirit in this area of knowledge, here in Brazil: founder of the first university research institute (1963), creator of the first scientific journal (1965), and author of the first doctoral dissertation (1967).

Luiz Beltrão implemented the Journalism program at the Catholic University of Pernambuco in 1961, when he already had all his experience. Regarding the academic domain, Beltrão developed didactic strategies while taking over the "Newspaper Technique" Chair, from which there was the inspiration for the Journalism program. According to José Marques de Melo (2007, 29), "in three annual courses, the content structure was planned in a sequential manner, reserving the theoretical view of journalism for the first year, while the remaining two years for applied knowledge, that is, the initiation in journalistic practice."

Philosophies for Journalism

In April 2010, the Catholic University of Pernambuco (Unicap) generated a debate in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the launch of the book *Philosophy of Journalism*, by Luiz Beltrão. Retrieving a little of the honoree's history, his other works were also remembered, as *China's Itinerary*, through which he gained great notoriety, and *Introduction to the Philosophy of Journalism*, which won the Orlando Dantas Prize, and was sponsored by Editora Agir (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil), where it was launched nationally in 1960.

The most interesting thing that we can highlight in Beltrão's works pertaining journalism is their relevance today. According to Isabella Andrade (2010, 2), citing researcher Alfredo Vizeu, "his works are very up-to-date and already in the year of 1960 he brought themes on journalism, such as the importance of ethics and professional technique, in addition to preoccupation with people and attention to sensationalist journalism."

In Beltrão's writings, it is evident that he seeks for a serious, committed journalism, which promotes peace.

> "Without any of the basic bias that harm a healthy internationalism on the part of other great powers in the world; without imperialist instincts and expansionist impetus; with an ingrained conviction of racial equality and wide religious and political tolerance; wishing only, as the slogan of its flag says, progress achieved within order - Brazil is in a privileged situation to defend and spread, by means of free, responsible and conscious journalism, the principles of lasting peace, under the aegis of justice and universal fraternity." (Beltrão 1992).

Introduction to Philosophy of Journalism ("Iniciação à Filosofia do Jornalismo") presents a series of elements of journalism itself that are deeply current today, for precisely emphasising difficulties that directly interfere with the journalistic production process, evidenced by Beltrão as a technique, an industry and a profession. He discusses the role he had from the beginning of journalism until that moment, remembering his agents and conditions of production while introducing the issues of ethics, sensationalism, freedom of opinion, and the public power sphere.

Introduction to Philosophy of Journalism represented a milestone in Brazil, as Beltrão was able to systematize the investigation with much more methodological rigour taking into consideration data that could formulate propositions and theoretical basis. According to Vizeu (2007), we may highlight three important contributions of this book: the concept of journalism, the scope of the agents of journalism, and the ethical discussions about journalistic practice. If we were to think today, in the 21st century, in the slant that Beltrão presented to us in the mid-60s of last century, we would find profound validity in what was conjectured and then proven. Thomas Hanitzsch, theorist responsible for the *Worlds of Journalisms* research, at the Institute for Media Research and Mass Communication at the University of Zurich, Switzerland, tells us about three main elements of journalistic culture: institutional roles, epistemologies and ethics (Moreira 2009). Luiz Beltrão, already in the 60s, when talking about the concept of journalism, gives an epistemological character to the discussion. When tackling the issue of agents, he also resorts to the institutional role and, clearly, the ethical discussion that has always accompanied his reflections.

Beltrão (1992, 65-66) defines Journalism as "information of current facts, properly interpreted and periodically transmitted to society, with the objective of disseminating knowledge

and guiding public opinion, in the sense of promoting common good". For this researcher, doing journalism is linked to life, not only in the idea of concepts, but stimulating collective thinking. Beltrão has always been concerned about the issue of journalistic as a duty. He sought to guide somehow and defended that a journalist must aim to transmit to society what is really relevant and meaningful, as far as he/she contributes to people's opinions, which, in turn, constitute value judgments about some facts. However, as Beltrão points out, the objective may not be to present the public with only what they would like to read, but everything that is important, from a fact-checking standpoint, which comes to public knowledge.

According to Luiz Beltrão, the main purpose of Journalism is an educational one, in the sense of establishing a direction to society with the objective of affirming and asserting common good.

> Reports and ideas expressed by journalistics vehicles are intended to allow man to make a statement, a decision, to promote him to action Society, as individual, may not escape to evolution; journalism, without intending to outline scripts and exacts, acts as a propellant of individual action, by offering the mass a summary and, at times, superficial surface analysis of events (Beltrão 1992, 99).

In other words, discipline and exercise confirm the propagation character of Journalism. Beltrão goes far beyond and says that Journalism collaborates to establish, as a daily practice, connection between the media and the audience. People of all walks of life, without knowledge of each other, including those who transmit opinions, create a link of belonging through television, newspapers or radio, which is often even much stronger than interpersonal interactions.

As Beltrão advocates, up-to-dateness is a central aspect of journalism:

> "journalism lives from the daily life, present, ephemeral, seeking to penetrate and extract from it what is basic, fundamental and perennial, even if this perennity is worth for a few days or hours" (Beltrão 1992, 70).

When he emphasizes Journalism as a complementation to society and highlights the presente time issue, of day-to-day, as something central in journalistic discussion, he gets us back to the persistence that we can find in most modern Journalism theory.

Journalism theories must deal with the social present, the fugacious, the habitual, as Beltrão (1992) states. Journalism is the idea of moment, novelty, usefulness, and up-to-dateness. This is undoubtedly an issue that has been addressed by many authors since Wolf (2000) to Brazilian and Portuguese journalism theorists. However, according to Vizeu (2007), the major contribution of Beltrão's *Introduction to the Philosophy of Journalism* lies in the reflection on the concept of journalism agents and the reference to journalism as a field.

Vizeu (2007) explains that Beltrão, when dealing with Journalism's multiplicity of sectors, objectives and themes, affirms that the field of journalism corresponds "to all quadrants of human activity, human beings, things and nature, all fields of intelligence and sensitivity" (Beltrão 1992, 75). According to Luiz Beltrão, this field is constituted of agents: the audience, the editors, the technicians and the journalists themselves (Vizeu 2007, 15).

For Beltrão, there is a function and a scope for each one of these agents in the field. He draws attention when dealing with

the *editor*, not as if it refers only to the professional responsible for editing one page in a newspaper, but also for a "broader categorization and includes in it owners and private companies or radio, TV and cinema concessionaires" (Vizeu 2007, 16).

As for the role of the *technician*, he conceptualizes it as the one who performs actions of doing, for example, graphics. To the *journalist*, Beltrão (1992) highlights an exclusive place. He/She fulfills "the creative, innovative and complex work of not only not being the appropriate instrument that facts use to become news, but also the one responsible for propelling man and society to action" (Vizeu 2007, 16). Still on the journalist and the production of events, Luiz Beltrão, inspired by the functionalist theory of that moment, argues that Journalism is a mirror of reality (Vizeu 2007).

In relation to the *audience*, Beltrão (1992) makes an important contribution to journalism studies. At that time, in an innovative way - as Vizeu (2007) pointed out - he recognizes the audience as an active agent. For the researcher, those who read newspapers are not empty boxes. They have an important participation in journalistic production so much that they are agents that constitute the field (Vizeu 2007). As an example:

> The complainant's case, writer of "readers's letters", producer of "listener's opinion", correspondent volunteers, who report, comment, criticize, appeal, report and give their opinion about everything that happens on their street, neighborhood, city, about themes and problems in focus (Beltrão 1992, 113).

The engagement of the active audience is fundamental for Beltrão (1992), because, through letters, doubts, complaints or amateur radio, accusations and invocations by these agents on television or radio programs are broadcast. In many cases,

it is possible to determine a thermometer of how a country or locality is, having freedom of expression as a human heritage. Take for example, here in Brazil, the importance of the *Center of Viewer Assistance* ("Central de Atendimento ao Telespectador" – CAT) for TV Globo - a direct channel with the public. In 2009, just to illustrate, 246,536 contacts were received, 167,531 of which were e-mails, and 79,005 were calls; 114,699 messages were requests for additional information, motivated by newspaper articles and shows aired in television scheduling[3]. Anyway, this functionality allows to evaluate actions, rethink strategies, etc. For Beltrão, the concept of audience still includes state bodies, trade unions and political parties.

According to Vizeu (2007), Beltrão's focus on audience anticipates the reception studies, which refuted assumptions of the functionalist theory in the early 1970s, and came to understand audience as an active agent. Therefore, this audience is no longer a passive receptor, but an agent able to play a decisive role in the communication process.

In the final part of *Introduction to the Philosophy of Journalism*, when Beltrão (1992) approaches the conditions of doing Journalism and denominates freedom and responsibility as fundamental, he emphasizes a basic and relevant question in the field of Journalism: ethics. He argues, in a clear way, what would be ideal in the sense of well-being and justice for individuals and society:

> A journalism divorced from moral or that underestimates ethical principles that inform human spirit and ennobled it will, possibly, be feared by its destructive force; will never be, however, accepted and disrespected by man, either as an isolated person or as a community

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3   Source: Rede Globo, Social Actions. 2009 Report. Rio de Janeiro.

member. And the day will come when, denounced as a corruption's instrument, it will be removed from social structure, replaced by a new institution that, effectively, corresponds to aspirations of humanity conscious of its ways and its temporal and eternal destiny (Beltrão 1992, 179).

Final Remarks

Luiz Beltrão's legacy, to several generations of students and researchers in Communication and Journalism, comes to prove and reinforce our historical identity when we think about teaching, research and journalistic practices.

Each country has its academic references as a contribution to pioneering, development and consolidation in a given field. Here in Brazil, in Journalism, without a doubt, Luiz Beltrão is one of those icons who, in mid-1960s, could develop (in a visionary fashion, he bet in the improvement and consolidation of an area) important Journalism's fundamentals. Also, his productions, uniquenesses and incentives were result of a lot of work, study, research and sensitivity that became a legacy for Communication Sciences.

We report to a new generation of students and researchers, wishing them not to miss readings, (re)readings, (re)interpretations, (re)updates of Beltranian works and thoughts as something to be considered a legitimate contribution to the field and the journalistic practice.

Therefore, the collaboration of the State University of Ponta Grossa (Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa) in the 1st Beltranian Conference on Communication Sciences is very commendable, in order to integrate and register the practice of Journalism in an increasingly competitive and turbulent scenario.

There are historical deficiencies of ours, as well as memories and rituals that do not reveal our affinities, similarities, to the point that we lose ourselves as dust along the way. In view of this panorama of a tangible modernity, however, ephemeral, slight, at every moment, it is auspicious for us to celebrate, gather and reflect about the thought of a determined author. It is in these conditions, and instructed in a Kantian epistemology – as I remember - on rationalism as transcendental idealism that aims to collaborate with this memorialization.

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13. Faith saint sculptors: folkcommunication in popular religious art production of the 18th century[1]

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Introduction

To revisit the folkcommunicational dimension of the colonial religious art production, it is necessary to understand and analyze

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Brazilian cult image by identifying two trends in crafting Christian sacred sculptures.

In advance, it is necessary to understand that researchers and art historians use different classifications for these two production trends in the study of Brazilian religious art. Some of them refer to these trends as a so-called official production, and another as an unofficial production.

However, for other authors, such as Eduardo Etzel (1979), these two ways of crafting these religious artworks were denominated by means of the division between erudite and popular cult image.

In this research, we adopted the denominations "erudite religious art" and "popular religious art"[4], not discarding or denying authors who work with the official and unofficial production denominations. It is essential to say that adopting the above classifications will be very importance for understanding the concept of the recovery of the cult image production in the folkcommunicational dimension.

Therefore, for an easy understanding of the discourse and the arguments that will follow, when the production is treated as erudite religious art, it is equivalent to the official production. On the other hand, when the production is treated as popular religious art, this is equivalent to what some authors call unofficial production.

Even with the difficulty in identifying or attributing the authorship of these religious images, as well as the lack

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4   The concepts of popular culture and erudite culture are very complex, considering the difficulties of definition and divergent ideas of researchers regarding the concept of the words that form the expression – "culture" and "popular". The classifications used in the study of the religious art divided into popular art and erudite art occurs to differentiate and identify the forms of production, the structural characteristics of the sculptures, the individual(s) who produced these sculptures and for whom these sculptures were produced, therefore, it is important to use these research sources.

of documentation regarding the production and specification of how religious sculptures were made, it is possible to come up with a brief history regarding the production of the sacred art production trends. Furthermore, it is also feasible to identify to whom and/or for whom these cult images were crafted.

The existence of a large number of Christian sacred sculptures in Brazil[5] is directly linked to the colonization carried out by the Portuguese. As the colonization process began, it also brought about the catechization and propagation of the Christian faith[6], in which religious institutions came from Portugal to implement the Christianization process through the so-called religious missions.

Among these religious institutions, we highlight four significant orders: the Order of the Carmelites, the Benedictine, the Franciscans, and the Order of the Jesuits (the one that was very important for the development of Bahia with its permanence in the city of Salvador, both concerning the education and the spread of the Christian faith). These orders, since their arrival and stay in Brazil, were extremely important to the population. Also, they were highly respected institutions and well regarded by the individuals of the colony.

> The prestige of lay orders was due, on the one hand, to the Council of Trent and the Constitutions since they envisaged greater participation by the population in the affairs of the Church. On the other hand, as has

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5   The Brazilian sacred sculpture accompanies the history of Brazil in its chronology. In our historical evolution, the progress of the arts was only an echo of the artistic development of the Western world. (Etzel 1979, 31).

6   Once Brazil's colonization started, clerics of the four great orders came here: the Jesuits, the Benedictines, the Franciscans, and the Carmelites. Their intention, besides the essential spiritual assistance for the colonizers, was catechization, as the religious fervor, a consequence of the Council of Trent that resulted in the Counter-Reformation, created catechetical excitement for the salvation of the savage souls who inhabited the New World. (Etzel 1979, 31)

> been said, because, although the King sponsored, in the Portuguese world, its construction and decoration, usually, of the main chapel of the churches, the rest was left to the care of the contributions of the brothers, lay confreres or the population in general. This explains, in fact, why many temples prolonged the end of their construction and decoration for many years. (Flexor 2014, 201)

The Church had a fundamental role in the formation and catechization of the colony. It influenced, dictated, and developed norms and documents of great importance for the conduct of life, art, the way of living, and preaching the faith in colonial Brazil. The religious institutions settled and established in Brazil, having as a primary mission the dissemination and propagation of the faith, followed norms and objectives that were developed and written in documents, decrees, and religious books of great importance, elaborated by the Church to formalize and inspect the cult of Catholicism.

Among these, it is possible and necessary to highlight two documents that played a direct and significant role in the colony society. They were responsible for dictating and guiding norms and standards for the production and devotion of religious images, which are our main interests. One of the records was the Council of Trent meeting, and another concerns the First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia.

In the propagation and diffusion of the Christian faith, specifically during the Protestant reform, art was considered an excellent ally for the Church because it brought the believers closer. During this period, people were unsatisfied with the Church's conduction and determinations, made under the name of God and faith, towards society. Then, the reform defended the non-cult of saints and relics, which was an essential practice before

the Church (it was believed to strengthen the relationship between the faithful and the sacred).

With the emergence and consequent expansion of Protestantism, profound changes reached the Catholic Church. In opposition to the reform, the Church, represented by Pope Paul III, convened a meeting in Trento, Italy, to elaborate the counter-reform. That was the creation of the Council of Trent (1545-1563).

One of the impasses between the Church and the Protestant reform was the different thinking concerning the veneration, worship, and devotion of saint images. These questions were essential for the Church, not only for the spiritual purpose, but also because the images were a fundamental educational mechanism for catechizing and spreading the faith.

However, "The theological basis on which Protestantism rests, that is, justification by faith alone, evidently condemned the worship of the saints and proclaimed Jesus as the only mediator between God and men." (Evangelista 2006, 12)

Among all the items that constituted the Council's sessions, one is particularly interesting: the ecumenical Council of Trent, the Invocation and Veneration of the Relics of the Saints, and the Holy Images, Session XXV.

Regarding the objective and the pedagogical potential that the images and relics had, Freire points out that:

> The Catholic Church decidedly did not want to abandon the tradition of the pedagogical use of images, of indoctrinating with religious art symbols, a practice that dates back to the Paleo-Christian era, much reinforced in the Middle Ages, where the image was the only possible means of communication to speak to the populations, in the vast majority illiterate, including the nobles. (Freire 2009, 2147)

Therefore, these images were essential to maintain the guidelines of the Council of Trent and the Church. Through those images, the Church tightened the links between the faithful and the Christian faith. They also contributed to propagating the faith and, consequently, strengthening the Church against the Protestant reform. Besides, they increased the faithful's participation in the Church's religious celebrations, such as the religious processions that frequently occurred in the colony.

As the Tridentine Council, another document that was extremely important and didactic, directed and conceived specifically for the Brazilian colony, was the First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia, which also reinforced the ideas of the XXV Session of the Council of Trent on the devotion and veneration of saints:

> The guidelines prescribed in the First Constitutions regarding religious images reiterate the norms established by the Tridentine Council (1545-1563). The bishops meeting in Trent were very hesitant to discuss, from a dogmatic point of view, the three questions that were reserved for the end of the Council: purgatory, images, and indulgences. Concerning the image, the Council did not aim to standardize religious art according to Christian decency and orthodoxy, but only to reject the false Protestant reform, which accused Catholics of idolatry. (Evangelist 2006, 12)

Constitutions regulated society's life concerning the Christian faith and devotion, and the entire course of the colony. Besides, religious life should be under what is determined and guaranteed by the guidelines of these documents. These guidelines prescribed the way of living, behaving concerning devotions to worship, and the spread of the faith to the execution

and mode of production of devotional images, which is our main focus. According to Casimiro,

> At the beginning of the 18th century, reflecting the moral theology in force and synthesizing the reigning religious ideologies, in Brazil, the first constitutions of the archbishopric of Bahia appeared, published in 1707, by the Catholic Church [...]. (Casimiro 2006, 2)

The constitutions influenced and prescribed actions and inspections regarding the manner and form of worship and religious devotion. They directed and guided religious leaders about the spread of the faith, as well as which images should be worshiped and placed on the altars of the churches (including the disposition of each saint according to their importance), in the oratories, chapels, and even in private oratories or shrines.

It is essential to clarify that these determinations, especially the premises of the Constitutions regarding the inspection and monitoring of images under the correct Church's parameters, did not exclude or mitigate these inspections concerning images of an individual or private worship. Thus, popular religious art was also examined for its permanence in places of devotion.

These images were checked, and it was notable the reproduction and preference of some invocations, such as the ones of the Virgin Mary. Most of these images seemed to be made and sequenced, almost as in an iconographic "repetition" process, due to their similarities.

What element or social elements provided the differences between the invocations represented by the popular religious art and the erudite religious art? How did the individual who created the popular images in his environment corroborated the process that resulted in the visual communication that is part

of the popular images? What communicational dimension is it possible to recover through the analysis of the images proposed in this research? To answer the questions, it is necessary to investigate the productions' social and cultural aspects and how the images were produced.

According to Maria Helena Ochi Flexor (2009), the Bahian cult images production was influenced by two empires, the Portuguese and the Spanish. They made sculptures in the Renaissance, Baroque, and other styles, in the Bahian territory and throughout Brazil over the years of the evolution of the images.

However, it is important to note that different forms of artistic production were created according to the economy and the materials available in each region. Thus creating elements that constitute a sculptural identity for each place:

> All Bahian religious art had an Iberian influence, both from Portugal and Spain, whose power extended throughout the Peninsula and domains between 1580 and 1640. Under its influences, both Renaissance and Baroque and Rococo sculptures were made that reached Bahia and Brazil. (Flexor 2009, 59)

This production, in line with the growth of the regions and the economy, and due to the great demand for the production of sacred art, caused the demand and specialization of artisans who performed higher quality products in this religious art.

Proença (1997) points out that, throughout the eighteenth century and decades of the nineteenth century, the quality of sacred artworks produced in Bahia maintained a significant level of improvement, which made the state a large and important commercial center for exports and orders to other Brazilian regions.

Among these regions, Salvador, the first capital of Brazil, was a great pole for the elaboration and diffusion of this sacred art, and of artists who had great prominence in the craft of sacred sculptures. The workshops spread throughout the city and became the most extensive and the most significant production in the colony. That made the city a major center of production and commercialization, especially for the regions of Brazil where the creation of the imaginary and its productive evolution was on a smaller scale. According to Flexor,

> Since the foundation of Salvador in 1549, the fervor and religiosity of its inhabitants have been verified due to its constant and close contact with the religious, especially the Jesuits. From the seven hundredths, with Bahian society consolidated - that is, institutional, administrative, and economically organized, with a more significant number of inhabitants occupying an urban space extended beyond the central nucleus of its foundation -, the religious behavior of its inhabitants, due to Europeans influences, tended more towards the act of externalizing the faith than towards a deeper understanding of Christian Catholic doctrine itself. (Flexor 2014, 198)

This relationship between faith and devotion influenced the production of images and the artists' improvement in their sculpture elaboration and fabrication process. This resulted in a variety of shapes, techniques, and materials used in making the pieces. The evolution and improvement of the techniques used for the modeling of the works, as well as the polychrome, contributed to a plurality of shapes and representations, mainly of the sculptures that portrayed the greatest of the celestial hierarchy: Christ Crucified, his parents, Our Lady and Saint Joseph,

his grandparents: Saint Joachim and Saint Anne, in addition to the various invocations of Our Lady Mary.

This demand in the production of religious art, provoked by the propagation of the faith and purchase orders, represented a significant development in the workforce specialized in the elaboration and quality of sculptural production. New artisans and saint sculptors appeared, improving their techniques and innovating in sculptural iconographies, which had a European influence, but with a great predominance of local characteristics.

This growth in demand around the production of Catholic sacred art led to a mismatch in terms of the number of priests and the number of faithful to whom the propagators of the faith should attend, especially in regions farther from the urban center, inland locations that were responsible for the emergence of domestic devotions.

Folkcommunication in the analysis of popular religious art

Folkcommunication is a theory that derives from communication studies in Brazil in the 1960s and 1970s, notably carried out by researcher Luiz Beltrão, from Pernambuco, who graduated in journalism. Beltrão, in his academic research, was interested in the strategies and means of communication used by some marginalized groups, who were not favored (or just partially favored) by the mass media – the so-called mass communication.

Beltrão analyzed and decoded how the popular strata used their manifestations as a vehicle to transmit information and thus generate a communication that served what he described as the "marginalized groups". In his view, these would be groups that

were on the "margins" – between two cultures, between two forms of thought and social organization that are not entirely merged –, which favors different communication processes. Fernandes informs us that:

> The doctoral thesis of Luiz Beltrão dates back to 1967. He was one of the first to venture into the scientific study of Communication in Brazil. Influenced by an article in the magazine Comunicações e Problemas in 1965 about artifacts left by devotees in the churches, Beltrão relied on Paul Felix Lazarsfeld to make his study. (Fernandes et al. 2013, 2)

However, at that moment, Beltrão came up with something highly new to studies related to the theories of communication, at a time when scholars were directing research and studies towards aspects that involved issues more focused on traditional and consolidated disciplines, as shown by Oliveira:

> In that decade, theories of communication were more focused on semiotic and semiological formations, weaving constructions in the fields of structuralism and further supporting the idea of Journalism […] (Oliveira 2010, 1-2)

However, Beltrão's interest in social productions made him seek to understand and analyze the means of communication used by marginalized groups, especially those that experienced, produced, and practiced popular traditions. The researcher's change in perspective and direction was challenging because the communication theories did not see a fertile field for studying and analyzing communication processes in folklore.

Beltrão directed his research and his inquiries regarding the productions and the means of communication used by the

marginalized strata, mainly as inner layers removed from the big metropolises. He aimed to verify how these strata provided their communicational needs since many of the groups did not have access to the means of communication of the big cities. "Hence the term Folk - popular, spontaneous, irreverent in the face of institutions and dates - and the term communication, reflecting on transmission, exchanges, diffusion." (Oliveira 2010, 2)

Even though it may be considered a new theory, folkcommunication attracts many researchers interested in understanding the processes that result in the communicational productions of marginalized groups. Researchers not only in the field of communication, but also from different areas who work directly or indirectly with artistic productions, material and immaterial cultural heritage, social differences, and the way of "knowing how" of excluded groups[7].

The main objective of folkcommunication, as previously mentioned, centers on what Beltrão calls the "marginalized groups" and their productions developed for their communicational process in contrast to no or little access to mass communication or larger-scale communication, which serves a broader group, usually living in big cities.

Folkcommunication[8] seeks to analyze and understand how marginalized groups and their cultural representatives[9]

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7 Folkcommunication taught and researched in the Brazilian academia has resulted in the publication of studies from fieldwork, theoretical reflections, and applications of research methodologies. (Benjamin 2008, 283) From this analysis, it is possible to conclude that folkcommunication studies are consolidated and their area expanded beyond the initial concept. Besides, their evolution corresponds to the performance of scholars of this theme in following the cultural changes that occurred in the last decades. (Benjamin 2008, 287).

8 "[...] folkcommunication has as its object of study communication through popular devices, that is, the mixture of popular tradition and historical events with a massive context." (Fernandes et al. 2013, 1)

9 The means of information – literature, art, beliefs, rites, medicine, the customs – of these social strata remain ignored in all their strength and truth. That makes impossible communication and communion between government and people, elite and masses. (Beltrão 1980, 18)

act in producing channels that serve themselves through mechanisms and languages specific to their culture. In fact, mass communication often focuses on the hegemonic culture, and does not meet the information/communication needs of these groups.

Therefore, folkcommunication "is a system where speeches are directed to a world and not to the world, like the mass communication system" (Schmidt 2007, 37); that world would be the one of marginalized groups and their modes of communication. This whole issue leads us to the first conclusion about this new concept. It studies the parallel between the communication of greater amplitude – which would be mass communication regardless of the vehicle used, its scope and legitimacy – and another communication produced by/for a specific group that arises from the lack and need to develop their communication, once they are not contemplated or partially contemplated by mass communication.

The figure of the saint sculptors as an opinion leader in the production of popular religious art

There is always a figure responsible for communicating the information that needs to be transmitted in communicational processes, and he/she needs to choose the means used for this transmission.

In mass communication, this individual (or individuals) is called the mass communicator or opinion leader. This person is the main source of information for the group he/she serves. The opinion leader is, in communication studies, an individual who acts as an influencer in the construction of opinions and ideas of a group/society. Through their influence and collective

participation, and using communication channels, they generate and disseminate information.

On the one hand, we have the opinion leader called the vertical leader, who is directly linked to mass communication and the communication of the elites, usually originated from a privileged social class. On the other hand, we have the horizontal opinion leader, an individual of low socioeconomic origin who plays the role of communicator through popular mechanisms and channels[10].

In the production of religious art, opinion leaders used sacred images as a communicative channel to meet the worshiping faith and the catechizing and educational intentions expected by the Catholic Church. They used sculpture as an artistic-communicative vehicle to transmit the information idealized by the Church and the communicators' ideals. This production makes it possible to differentiate and identify the leaders who attended to the erudite religious art and the popular religious art.

In erudite production, the leader of vertical opinion (mass communicator) would be the artist who produced it. However, a striking feature of this type of religious art production is the participation of a group of professionals who elaborate an image together. In other words, the official images were not initiated and completed only by a single artist, but by a team of artists. Each one played a role according to their expertise and specific work. Thus, more than one artist would create a single image, and they knew the necessary techniques of its production, seeking to meet

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10   An important difference between vertical and horizontal leaders is that those in the first group, despite occupying privileged spaces in the media, do not always have access to the folk media, while the ones in the latter do. In every social group, some people are particularly active and able to express themselves; they are more sensitive than the average of the group members and more anxious to manifest themselves in important moments. (Cervi 2007, 40)

the requirements and artistic characteristics (artistic styles) of the time when it was produced:

> Although sculptors worked independently of artists for a long time, the practice of a workshop, or tent in my workshop, as Manoel Inácio da Costa said, remained the same. As a result of this practice, the work was collective, bringing together teachers, officers, and trainees who performed different tasks according to the degree of knowledge. (FLEXOR 2001, 124)

These mass communicators of the erudite religious art played important roles in making and elaborating the images. In the 18th century, for example, the team was composed of the sculptor, who elaborated the structural part of the image in modeling or carving in the case of wood, and the painter, who was in charge of elaborating the incarnation, painting, and gilding of the piece. If necessary, the tailor made the garment, as was the case with images of processions. The hairdresser made the wig, and, in some specific cases, the goldsmith was in charge of making accessories in silver or gold to be placed in the images, such as earrings, necklaces, and bracelets.

Once we understand the mass communicators of the erudite religious art production, it is possible to identify who was the communicator of the popular religious art production through a folkcommunicational perspective and context. It is essential to add that the erudite production, being the most widespread[11], had greater acceptance by the faithful, primarily urban and high purchasing power groups.

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11 "[...] in the social communication system, the coincidence between opinion leaders and political, scientific, artistic, or economic authorities is very frequent [...]" (Beltrão 1980, 35).

Beltrão understood the agents of mass communication - subjects that produce and disseminate information with greater amplitude, even though not serving all social groups - as initiators of a communication process characterized by excellent visibility and acceptance.

In the folkcommunication process, the researcher identified and portrayed the individual who would be the communicator of the marginalized groups. Then, Beltrão's research moves on to come up with the communicative agent called folkcommunicator, leader of horizontal opinion, born or highly representative in the group, who manages to use channels for their communication, providing the lower socioeconomic strata with information that the elite and mass classes do not reach:

> This leadership achievement is closely linked to the credibility he deserves in his environment and the ability of the communicating agent to encode the message at the level of understanding of his recipients. Due to the discriminatory social structure maintained in nations like ours, the peasant mass, marginal urban populations, and even extensive proletarian areas communicate through a sparse and organized vocabulary within groups of their functional meanings. (Beltrão 2014, 61)

In this way, the opinion leader of "folk", understanding and realizing that the particular group (in which he was inserted) was not served or contemplated by mass communication, developed and elaborated for the group a particular communicational process that would meet the needs of the collective, through his knowledge.

> It can be said that the folkcommunicator opinion leader is responsible for connecting content disseminated by the mass media and the popular strata, respecting

the cultural diversities and different coding needs of the recipients to understand the messages better. (Cervi 2007, 40)

When the marginalized groups from the interior (population masses)[12] needed sacred religious art to attend to faith and devotion, the figure of the saint sculptor as a leader of folkcommunication opinion emerged in the production of popular religious art.

Therefore, a remarkable characteristic of folkcommunication implies individuals considered opinion leaders, in the case of popular religious art, the saint sculptors, who seek to communicate to create a system (popular devotional religious art) according to their reality. In this different reality, the erudite religious artists, through their aptitude and using the available resources, begin to create sacred images.

Thus, we identified saint sculptors as opinion leaders of folkcommunication in the production of popular religious art who absorb erudite elements that they have access to at church altars to produce their own. They made it using characteristic elements of their social group and their expertise – different from the artists of classical religious art. Thus, popular religious art is born.

Beltrão explains that communication opinion leaders usually have strong influence in the group they represent, possibly due to the fact of the group's acceptance as representative individuals, or because these individuals are an integral part as leaders, participants, and persons born and raised in the context:

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12   "The rural environment dependent on the city ended up engulfed, due to the deepening of the growing cultural chasm caused by economic decay and isolation, a consequence of distances and precarious communications; hence, due to the necessity and pressure of the environment, the native solution arose with the appearance of those who made the images, the local saint sculptors [...]" (Etzel 1975, 34)

> The influence of the opinion leader, a character almost always of the same social level and direct contact with those who let themselves be influenced, having an advantage over them: they were more subject in the media than their followers. They knew the world - that is, they had received and decoded the media messages, transmitting them second hand to the group with which they identified. (BELTRÃO, 2007, 31.)

This decoding of the message referenced by Beltrão breaks out precisely in the production of the religious art when saint sculptors interpret and understand the messages inserted in the images elaborated by the artists of the erudite religious art. Moreover, they elaborate the popular religious art using their messages, meeting their own group's communicational and devotional needs. Besides, saint sculptors approach the group with greater intensity since:

> [...] the saint sculptor, a spontaneous artist who, through pure intuition and in eventual learning with another of his own, older and more experienced, launches into the creation of original pieces, different from each other and which, apparently inferior compared to those by erudite, has appreciable creative by the artistic spontaneity that they demonstrate. (Etzel 1979, 30.)

Therefore, using the stages of recognition presented by Beltrão to acknowledge folkcommunication, we identified the folkcommunication process that occurred in the popular religious art production. Through this process, it was possible to observe the needs of a group, the marginalized group, the environment, the opinion leader, the communicational vehicle used, and the result of the production of this religious art.

In its structure, this religious art, as the result of the folkcommunicational process, presents characteristic elements

and shapes related to the items mentioned above, mainly concerning the environment in which it was produced and the individuals who produced it. Thus, it differentiates itself from the erudite art, even if both represent the same devotion.

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14. Centenary of the 1922 Modern Art Week: The Brazilian second cry of independence and the presence of folkcommunication[1]

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Modern Art Week: the second cry of Independence

The Modern Art Week, also known as Week of 1922, was a cultural artistic movement that valued Brazilian identity and culture, in addition to a new artistic language.

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The movement's objectives included the mental renewal of Brazilian artists of that time, the counterposition to traditional art, the defense of freer and more expressive art, and the pursue of themes that could represent Brazilianness.

The famous week took place between February 11th and 18th, 1922, in the city of São Paulo, at the Municipal Theater. These days were planned to mean a true intellectual and social movement. Its organizers had an urgent need to review the values that ruled national culture and, therefore, wanted a new art free from the cold and formal bonds of Parnasianism.

Before the actual week took place, the revolutionary movement was present in newspapers and conversations in bars and street corners. In Correio Pauslistano, Hélios (pseudonym for Menotti del Picchia) published advertisements about the new aesthetic and the group that was at the head of this cultural revolution. In Jornal do Comércio, Oswald de Andrade and Cândido Motta Filho wrote to spread the news.

> Never before has any human gathering been so affected by the futurisms of industrial activity and art histories, as this gathering in São Paulo. What are we, forcibly, unavoidably, if not futurists – people of a thousand origins, straddling a thousand boats, with disasters and anxieties?" (Aranha 1921 quoted by Bosi 1994)[4].

The creators of the Week of 22 wanted to see Brazil's true collors in music, dance, poetry, painting, sculpture, etc. They defended the breaking of the artistic patterns that had circulated in the country since the 19th century.

The Week of Modern Art was announced in O Estado de São Paulo, on January 29, 1922, as follows:

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4 "Reforma Literária", in Jornal do Comércio (ed. de São Paulo), May 19th, 1921.

> At the initiative of the celebrated writer, mr. Graça Aranha, from the Brazilian Academy of Letters, there will be a "Modern Art Week" in S. Paulo, in which artists who, in our midst, represent the most modern artistic currents will take part. It would also clarify that for this purpose the Municipal Theater would be open during the week from 11 to 18 February, installing an interesting exhibition in it. (Bosi 1994, 337).

Symbols such as the indigenous people, Brazilian legends, popular festivals and the customs of the Brazilian people became paramount of this new form of artistic and cultural expression.

In the appreciation of these themes, present in various artistic manifestations exhibited that week, the authors' interest laid in the communication of the people, the legends told in the candomblé terreiros, and in the popular festivals.

This relevance was also observed by Andrade (2004), in his statement that popular language had long been conquering its space in the Brazilian literary panorama, including themes related to Brazilian reality. This achievement began with Mário de Andrade whose work is close to the people, reproducing not only the language, but also the Brazilian culture.

> The language of the subordinate classes, for being used by stigmatized social groups for a long time, has been relegated to oblivion by the power-holding classes who used language as a way of oppressing and denying the excluded the voice that inserts them in the social process. (Andrade 2004, 1)

In 2022, there will be a double celebration: the centenary of the controversial and noisy Week of 22 which marked the artistic independence of Brazil, and the bicentenary of the political Independence of Brazil. It can be said that 2022 will be a year

in which we will celebrate Brazil's two cries for freedom. The first one was almost 200 years ago (1822), by the Portuguese Crown heir, D. Pedro I, freeing Brazil from its colony status. The second cry was intoned by a small group of transgressing artists almost a century ago (1922). Among these leaders were: Mário de Andrade, Anita Malfatti, Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade, and Menotti del Picchia.

About the desire for artistic freedom and, consequently, the selflessness of the aesthetic standard established in the country, speaker Menotti declared the following on the second day of that Week:

> Our aesthetic is one of reaction. As such, it is a warrior. The term futuristic, as mistakenly labeled, we accepted it because it was a challenging cartel. In the Carrara marble glacier of dominant Parnasianism, the aggressive tip of this verbal prow shattered like a battering ram. We are not, nor have we ever been "futurists". I personally abhor the dogmatism and liturgy of Marinetti's school. For us, its leader is an enlightened precursor, whom we venerate as a general in the great battle of the Reformation, which expands his front around the world. In Brazil, however, there is no logical social reason for orthodox futurism, because the prestige of its past is not such as to hinder freedom from its future way of being. Furthermore, our aesthetic individualism dislikes a school cage. We try, each one, to act according to our temperament, within the most daring sincerity. (Salgado, Menotti, Ricardo 1927 cited by Bosi 1994).

In these "independences" of Brazil – that of Colonial Brazil, in 1822, and that of Brazilian art, in 1922 –, it is noted that the two cries for freedom had similar goals, since they wanted the emancipation of orders and influences that came from outside, mainly from Europe.

In the case of Brazil's political independence (1822), the fight was for a nation with territorial and commercial autonomy, thus insubordinate to the Portuguese. In the independence proclaimed at the Municipal Theater of São Paulo (1922), the aim was the artistic independence, towards a truly autonomous Brazilian aesthetics, with the denial of foreign influences, mainly of European schools.

In the valorization of artistic independence, Brazilian modernism envisioned a total break of the artistic traditions that circulated in the country. At the same time, this manifesto wanted to be attached to the traditions of Brazilian origins, its roots and cultural expressions. As such, writers used literature as a crucial instrument to show Brazilian reality.

Luiz Beltrão (1918-1986) stands out as a writer who builds a structured panel related to communication and literature. In fact, according to Dias (2008), before Beltrão created Folkcommunication, a genuinely Brazilian science, he had already pointed out the cultural roots of his nation through his literary works.

> Studies of art history and culture have found that there was, among the intellectuals and artists participating in the Week, a vision of the future, which brought a desire for rupture, innovation and experimentation. But, at the same time, it revealed a feeling of nostalgia, a return to the cultural roots that marked the process of historical formation of the nation. In Brazilian artistic modernity, there is undoubtedly a point of tension between modernizing rationality and the reality of tradition. (Fabris and Gonçalves 2013)

In addition to the distancing from European influences, another issue that approximates the two independences is the

formation of resistance groups that sought to prevent the changes proposed by the two movements.

In the independence of 1822, the agrarian elite wanted to preserve traditional social structures and, thus, safeguard their profits and power interests. Likewise, in the second independence, several critics and art lovers appeared who did not approve of the new artistic manifestations, even going so far as to call them unimportant and disrespectful to the audience. Monteiro Lobato wrote in the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo, on December 20th, 1917:

> There are two kinds of artists. A composite of those who normally see things and consequently do pure art, keeping the eternal rhythms of life, and adopted for the realization of aesthetic emotions, the classic processes of the great masters. [...] The other species is formed by those who see nature abnormally, and interpret it in the light of ephemeral theories, under the strabious suggestion of rebel schools, which appeared here and there as boils of excessive culture. They are products of tiredness and sadism from all periods of decay; they are fruits of the end of the season, eaten at birth. Shooting stars, they shine for an instant, most often with the light of scandal, and disappear in the darkness of oblivion. (Lobato 1917)

The intellectuals who fostered the movement of the Week of 1922 were known as the Group of Five: Mário de Andrade, Anita Malfatti, Tarsila do Amaral, Oswald de Andrade, and Menotti del Picchia. When they organized the event that would present to society the new face of Brazilian art, it was a symbolic opportunity to celebrate the centenary of the Independence of Brazil, with an artistic movement that had in its essence the freedom of Brazilian artists from European fetters.

At that time, artists and defenders of Brazilian modernism came together and praised the arts that represented artistic renewal. It was a total of, approximately, 100 literary-musical works presented over the three days of the festival. Songs, poems, exhibits of sculptures and paintings, novels, etc., made up the program.

However, the Modern Art Week was much more agitated by the presence of those who were not pleased with what was being presented as art. The boos mixed with the applause of the movement enthusiasts. One of the presentations was reported as follows:

> The Week divided the audience between worshipers and detractors. On the second night, February 15, Os Sapos, a poem by Manuel Bandeira (1886-1968), who did not attend the event, would be recited by Ronald de Carvalho, amid the boos of the audience. By ridiculing the Parnassians for their attachment to metrics, Os Sapos represented a kind of declaration of principles by the modernists. From then on, the verses without rhyme were released. Finally, they removed the shackles of poetry. (Menezes 2013)

In the thought of Brazil's cries for independence, both for political and artistic freedom, attitudes were imbued with the desire for the removal of the mandates that come from subjects who live other cultures and realities, different from those experienced in Brazilian territory.

Specifically in the artistic independence, the cry was resounding and it is still possible to hear its echoes a century later, in the unfolding of critical studies, in the numerous reproductions of poems, songs, soirees, paintings and sculptures

presented in that busy week. Mainly, it remains in everyone's memory a century after its inaugural act.

Every year, radio and television shows, exhibits, seminars, newspaper articles, new studies, videos and films celebrates the Week of Modern Art. They talk about what happened in those days that undoubtedly marked Brazilian culture, sometimes highlighting one (or more) of its main representatives.

Thus, it will be no different in the centenary of the Modern Art Week. In 2018, the State of São Paulo, through the Secretary of State for Culture, began preparations to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Week of 22. To this end, it formed a commission to prepare a project for celebrations with people from different sectors of society.

In anticipation of the celebrations of the cries that entered Brazilian history, it is expected that the yearnings for freedom of expression, for the appreciation of our roots, beliefs, cultural and political manifestations will be strengthened and permanent.

Folkcommunication: a theory that strengthens the cultural identity of Brazil

Due to the interest in popular manifestations in various forms of expression, Beltrão, a communicator and researcher, came to seek answers to the regional cultural questions of his country, developing the theory of communication of the excluded: "Folkcommunication is the matrix that studies communication with a focus on agents and popular means of information on facts and expressions of ideas." (Beltrão 2001).

Thus, it is necessary to better understand who journalist, writer and researcher Luiz Beltrão was. According to José

Marques de Melo (2001), he stands out in the Brazilian panorama as a paradigmatic figure, and his name is immediately associated with Folkcommunication, a field that integrates the universe of Communication Sciences. Furthermore, Melo states that if we consult reference works of Brazilian communicational literature, it will be seen that Luiz Beltrão is synonymous with Folkcommunication.

Luiz Beltrão started his activities as a journalist in the Diário de Pernambuco, which led him to know closely the popular manifestations existing in the State of Pernambuco. That way, he used literature to describe the popular manifestations of the region.

> Luiz Beltrão affirms that the dynamic, which has been built since the action of the ancestors, makes it possible to now interpret the current situation in which we find ourselves. For this reason, the masses [and here he defends the idea that everyone succeeds, being literate or not literate] interprets and reinterprets cultural products, moving towards development, structuring reality with a view to reducing the limitations of the animal psyche and in search for intelligent, reflective behaviors, loaded with experiential meanings. (Dias 2008, 182)

In summary, if Folkcommunication is the study of the dynamics of cultural manifestations, which are almost always based on folklore, the literary works that are part of this context will have a very important meaning for a better understanding of the Brazilian reality, since it is known that literature is the recreation of reality, the art of the word.

Final Remarks

The reflection on the centenary of the Week of Modern Art leads us, almost inevitably, to think of the term "underdog complex". The cult of what is produced in foreign territory is still a very strong practice today, not only in the artistic and cultural field, but also in others such as fashion, sports, tourism, etc.

On the verge of turning two centuries of political independence, the Brazilian people barely freed themselves from the feeling of inferiority and of being a smaller nation, not in the sense of geographical extension, but in the sense of their intellectual, scientific and technical capacity.

The justifications that try to show the causes of this reputation that accompanies Brazilians are many, ranging from the guilt of miscegenation and the tropical climate that favors indolence and vagrancy to low quality education, etc.

Undoubtedly, the cries for freedom given in the past were important for a more participatory and autonomous development in the country, both in the social and political as in the cultural and artistic fields. Their echoes can be heard in the present, and the resonance of these cries cannot be silenced or have its true meaning lost: the fight for economic and political sovereignty and freedom of expression.

Therefore, the Modern Art Week was an important milestone for Brazilian artistic expression. In addition to denying the appreciation of imported art, it rescued the authentic cultures of the Brazilian people, their traditions and beliefs. So, it remains for us to celebrate the cries given in our recent history, albeit with some reservations that can be commented on in another essay, and, thus, overcome our "underdog complex", as pointed out by Marques de Melo (2014).

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