

**COM2613 Seminários Avançados V**  
**Mídia e democracia na América Latina**  
**Prof. Arthur Ituassu**

CARGA HORÁRIA TOTAL: 45 HORAS

CRÉDITOS: 03

PRÉ-REQUISITO(S): Nenhum

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**OBJETIVOS** O objetivo do curso é debater a relação entre mídia e democracia no contexto latino-americano contemporâneo.

**EMENTA** A democracia na América Latina. A mídia na América Latina. Os sistemas de mídia. Reformas da mídia. A transição democrática na região. Mídia e cidadania na América Latina. Mídia e democracia em Colômbia, Peru, Argentina, Venezuela, Bolívia, Brasil, Chile e México. Americanização, modernização, novas tecnologias.

**PROGRAMA** O curso se constitui de 15 sessões descritas abaixo. A pasta do curso se encontra no link compartilhado: <https://www.dropbox.com/sh/glpargyx5zr7jzk/AABbMB6vVz67D7PCsifyLF5ra?dl=0>

**Sessão 1. Apresentação e metodologia**

**Sessão 2. Mídia e democracia: perspectivas normativas**

Texto

- 2a - SCHUDSON, M. How to Think Normatively About News and Democracy. **The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication**. OUP: Oxford, 2014.  
2b - MÁRQUEZ-RAMÍREZ, M.; GUERRERO, M.A. Media Systems in the Age of (Anti) Neoliberal Politics. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

**Sessão 3. A democracia na América Latina**

Textos:

- 3 - Dossiê democracia na América Latina - Revista da Universidade de São Paulo, abril/maio/junho, 2016.  
- PANFICHI, A.; DOLORES, J. Representação político-eleitoral no Peru: fragmentação e construção partidária (2001-2016). **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 11-30, 2016.  
- MAYORGA, F. Democracia na América Latina: mudanças e persistências. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 43-52, 2016.  
- CHERESKY, I. Dilemas e desafios da democracia na América Latina. Deterioração ou renovação? **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 53-66, 2016.  
- COUSO, J. Encontros e desencontros: balanço do estado da prática democrática na América Latina. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 67-74, 2016.  
- AVRITZER, L. Democracia na América Latina: da inovação institucional ao velho problema do equilíbrio entre os poderes. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 75-86, 2016.  
- VALENZUELA, R.A. A democracia no México. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 109, p. 87-95, 2016.

#### **Sessão 4. Mídia e democracia na transição**

Textos:

- 4a - SPARKS, C. Media and Transition in Latin America. **Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture** (University of Westminster, London), Vol. 8(2): 154-177. ISSN 1744-6708 (Print); 1744-6716 (Online), 2011.  
4b - LUGO-OCANDO, J. An Introduction to the *maquillas* of power: media and political transition in Latin America. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

#### **Sessão 5. Perspectivas gerais**

Textos:

- 5a - WAINSBORD, S. Latin America Media and the Limitations of the Media 'Globalization' Paradigm. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.  
5b - GUERRERO, M.A. The 'Captured Liberal' Model of Media Systems in Latin America. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

#### **Sessão 6. A democratização da mídia na AL**

Textos:

- 6a - WAINSBORD, S. Between Support and Confrontation: Civil Society, Media Reform, and Populism in Latin America. **Communication, Culture and Critique**, vol. 4, p. 97-117, 2011.  
6b - KITZBERGER, P. Against the current: The emergence of a media democratization policy agenda in Latin America. **Global Media and Communication**, vol. 13, n. 3, p. 229-248, 2017.

#### **Sessão 7. A democratização da mídia na AL 2**

Textos:

- 7a - MAUERSBERGER, C. Democracy, Media, and Their Democratization in Latin America. In: Christof Mauersberger, **Advocacy Coalitions and Democratizing Media Reforms in Latin America: Whose Voice Gets in the Air?** Nova York: Springer, 2016.  
7b - MAUERSBERGER, C. Conclusions and Outlook. In: Christof Mauersberger, **Advocacy Coalitions and Democratizing Media Reforms in Latin America: Whose Voice Gets in the Air?** Nova York: Springer, 2016.

#### **Sessão 8. Mídia e democracia na Colômbia (I)**

Textos

- 8a - GAMBOA, L. The Peace Process and Colombia's Election. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 54-64.  
8b - MONTOYA-LONDOÑO, C. In Search of a Model for the Colombian Media System Today. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.  
8c - BONILLA, J.I.; MONTOYA, A.N. The Media in Colombia: Beyond Violence And a Market-Driven Economy. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

#### **Sessão 9. Mídia e democracia no Peru (II)**

Textos:

- 9a - VERGARA, A. Virtue, Fortune, and Failure in Peru. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 65-76.  
9b - PROTZEL, J. Media Systems and Political Action in Peru. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.  
9c - ALDANA-DURÁN, C. The Media in Peru: The Challenge of Constructing a Meaningful Democracy. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

## **Sessão 10. Mídia e democracia na Argentina (III)**

Textos:

- 10a - REPOLL, J. Política y meios de Comunicación en Argentina: Kirschner, Clarín y la ley. **Andamios**, vol. 7, n. 14, 2010.  
10b - VIALEY, P.; BELINCHE, M.; TOVAR, C. The Media in Argentina: Democracy, Crisis and the Reconfiguration of Media Groups. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.  
10c - LIOTTI, J. The Complex Relationship Between the Media and the Political System in Argentina: From Co-option to Polarization. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

## **Sessão 11. Mídia e democracia na Venezuela (IV)**

Textos:

- 11a - CAÑIZÁLEZ, A. The State in Pursuit of Hegemony over the Media: The Chávez Model. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.  
11b - CAÑIZÁLEZ, A.; LUGO-OCANDO, J. The Media in Venezuela: Televised, but No One is Really Watching. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

## **Sessão 12. Mídia e democracia na Bolívia (V)**

Textos:

- 12a - FAGUET, J. The Lessons of Bolivia. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 89-101.  
12b - VILLANUEVA, E.T. The Media in Bolivia: The Market-Driven Economy, 'Shock Therapy' and the Democracy that Ended. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.  
12c - QUINTANILLA, V. Clashing Powers in Bolivia: The Tensions Between Evo Morales's Government and the Private Media. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

## **Sessão 13. Mídia e democracia no Chile (VI)**

Textos:

- 13a - GONZÁLEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, G. The Media in Chile: The Restoration of Democracy and the Subsequent Concentration of Media Ownership. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.  
13b - ARAYA, R. The Global Notion of Journalism: A Hindrance to the Democratization of the Public Space in Chile. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

## **Sessão 14. Mídia e democracia no México (VII)**

Textos:

- 14a - GREENE, K.F.; SÁNCHEZ-TALANQUER, M. Mexico's Party System Under Stress. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 31-42.  
14b - HUGHES, S. The Media in Mexico: From Authoritarian Institution to Hybrid System. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.  
14c - MÁRQUEZ-RAMIREZ, M. Post-Authoritarian Politics in a Neoliberal Era: Revising Media and Journalism Transition in Mexico. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

## **Sessão 15. Mídia e democracia no Brasil - Conclusão**

Texto:

- 15 - ALBUQUERQUE, A. de. "Protecting Democracy or conspiring against it? Media and politics in Latin America: A glimpse from Brazil". *Journalism*, DOI: 10.1177/1464884917738376, 2017.

**AVALIAÇÃO**

Os encontros serão divididos em duas partes. A primeira parte será mais expositiva, a segunda, de discussão entre o grupo. Todos os presentes podem ser chamados, a qualquer momento, para relatar a sua visão sobre os textos, procurando sempre ressaltar o contexto temático das leituras, os argumentos apresentados, a sustentação dos mesmos e as dúvidas ou questões suscitadas. A avaliação terá por base a participação do(a) aluno(a) nos debates, bem como a realização de uma prova a ser feita em casa no prazo de uma semana com questões relacionadas às leituras debatidas em sala.

**BIBLIOGRAFIA PRINCIPAL**

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ALDANA-DURÁN, C. The Media in Peru: The Challenge of Constructing a Meaningful Democracy. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

ARAYA, R. The Global Notion of Journalism: A Hindrance to the Democratization of the Public Space in Chile. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

AVRITZER, L. Democracia na América Latina: da inovação institucional ao velho problema do equilíbrio de poderes. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 93, 2012.

BLUMLER, J.G.; COLEMAN, S. A democracia e a mídia revisitadas. **Compolítica**, vol. 7(2), 2017.

BONILLA, J.I.; MONTOYA, A.N. The Media in Colombia: Beyond Violence And a Market-Driven Economy. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

CAÑIZÁLEZ, A. The State in Pursuit of Hegemony over the Media: The Chávez Model. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

CAÑIZÁLEZ, A.; LUGO-OCANDO, J. The Media in Venezuela: Televised, but No One is Really Watching. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

CHERESKY, I. Dilemas e desafios da democracia na América Latina. Deterioração ou renovação? **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 93, 2012.

COUSO, J. Encontros e desencontros: balanço do estado da prática democrática na América Latina. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 93, 2012.

FAGUET, J. The Lessons of Bolivia. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 89-101.

GAMBOA, L. The Peace Process and Colombia's Election. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 54-64.

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HUGHES, S. The Media in Mexico: From Authoritarian Institution to Hybrid System. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

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LUGO-OCANDO, J. An Introduction to the *maquillas* of power: media and political transition in Latin America. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.

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- MAUERSBERGER, C. Conclusions and Outlook. In: Christof Mauersberger, **Advocacy Coalitions and Democratizing Media Reforms in Latin America**: Whose Voice Gets in the Air? Nova York: Springer, 2016.
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- MAYORGA, F. Democracia na América Latina: mudanças e persistências. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 93, 2012.
- MONTOYA-LONDOÑO, C. In Search of a Model for the Colombian Media System Today. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- PERALVA, A. Globalização, América Latina e os desafios para a democracia. **Revista da Universidade de São Paulo**, n. 93, 2012.
- PROTZEL, J. Media Systems and Political Action in Peru. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- QUINTANILLA, V. Clashing Powers in Bolivia: The Tensions Between Evo Morales's Government and the Private Media. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
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- VERGARA, A. Virtue, Fortune, and Failure in Peru. **Journal of Democracy**, Vol. 29, n. 4, October 2018, pp. 65-76.
- VIALEY, P.; BELINCHE, M.; TOVAR, C. The Media in Argentina: Democracy, Crisis and the Reconfiguration of Media Groups. In: Jairo Lugo-Ocando (ed.) **The Media in Latin America**. Berkshire: Open University Press, 2008.
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- VOLTMER, K. Comparing Media Systems in New Democracies: East meets South meets West. **Central European Journal of Communication**, vo. 1, 2008.
- WAISBORD, S. Between Support and Confrontation: Civil Society, Media Reform, and Populism in Latin America. **Communication, Culture and Critique**, vol. 4, p. 97-117, 2011.
- WAISBORD, S. In Journalism we trust? Credibility and fragmented journalism in Latin America. In: Katrin Voltmer (ed) **Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies**. Londres: Routledge, 2006.
- WAISBORD, S. Latin America Media and the Limitations of the Media 'Globalization' Paradigm. In: Manuel Alejandro Guerrero; Mireya Márquez-Ramirez (eds) **Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America**. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

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COMPLEMENTAR

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- AVRITZER, L. **Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America**. Nova Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002.
- AZEVEDO, F.A. Mídia e democracia no Brasil: relações entre o sistema de mídia e o sistema político. **Opinião Pública**, Campinas, vol. 12, n. 1, Abril/Maio, 2016, p. 88-113.
- BLUMLER, J.G.; GUREVITCH, M. **The Crisis of Public Communication**. Londres: Routledge, 1995.
- BLUMLER, J.G.; KAVANAGH, D. The Third Age of Political Communication: Influence and Features. **Political Communication**, 16:3, 209-230, DOI:10.1080/105846099198596, 1999.
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- LUGO-OCANDO, J.; SANTAMARÍA, S.G. Media, Hegemony, and Polarization in Latin America. In: ZIELONKA, J. (Ed.) **Media and Politics in New Democracies**: Europe in Comparative Perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- MATOS, C. **Journalism and Political Democracy in Brazil**. Nova York, Lexington, 2009.
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- VOLTMER, K. (ed.) **Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies**. Londres: Routledge, 2006.