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People on TV: A Mediated Public Space

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Abstract

It is believed that the journalistic Program "People on TV" of the Education Television of the Espírito Santo State, Brazil, was innovative for its interactivity and its community's journalism. It was the first program in Espírito Santo able to make live transmissions outside the studio. It shows that the program was used as a strategy of public communication from the governor Albuíno Azeredo to approach the poor people from the less favored periphery that elected him. Being the first black governor and from a humble origin, Albuíno Azeredo has failed to achieve campaign pledges of investment in education and improvement in their quality of life. This research was developed for the Master Degree in Social History and Political Relations of the Federal University of Espírito Santo, Brazil. It is based in oral history methodology and Carlo Ginzburg's evidence method. The theoretical reference is based on Pierre Bourdieu and Jünger Habermas from the vision of Mauro Wilton and Wilson Gomes, Georges Balandier, Michel de Certeau and Antonio Gramsci. The needy communities, found in it the way of transposing the bureaucracy, press the authorities for improvements in the poorest neighborhoods. The program has become a public square media. The "People on TV" Program has become nowadays a showcase for other successful media programs in different platforms targeted on the less favored communities of the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil.

Keywords: Community journalism, Media, Public communication, Public space, Power

Introduction

This study searched to recover the historical memory of an unprecedented period of public communication in Espírito Santo with investment in TV Educativa and Rádio Espírito Santo public vehicles of communication - for the analysis of the "People on TV" Program to understand the purposes and effects of the communication policy of Governor Albuíno Azeredo, from 1991 to 1994.

This program was strategically created to bring the government closer to the popular classes, becoming a media stage where the grassroots sought to achieve community improvements. Through the program, the governor was confronted and criticized by the popular classes for his administration and his political allies.

People living in impoverished neighborhoods in the Metropolitan Region asked to participate in this program with the hope of solving their basic community problems, such as: lack of basic infrastructure, poor water supply, power outage, lack of street paving, lack of street lighting and unsafety, poor schools, and lack of health care or irregular and inefficient public health service at the suburbs.

Our hypothesis is that Governor Albuíno Azeredo, believing in the effectiveness of the resources of dramatization and staging for communication and legitimation of his administration with the popular strata, invested in electronic media, which is according to Habermas (Gomes 1998, Sousa 1995) the public space of modernity.

Based on studies by Georges Balandier (1981) and Pierre Bourdieu (1996), we have verified if this program has been configured as an appropriate resource for the dramatization, staging and symbolic representation of political power.

We defend that the process did not reach the objectives because popular leaders discovered in this program a strategy to pressure the authorities to obtain works and to attend the community demand for improvements of the horrible public services.

We sought to understand what motivated the creation of the program and the participation of politicians in the media space, where there was invariably a confrontation with the popular classes and inquiries for improvement in the communities.

Initially, our work proposal was focused on the "People on TV" program, but throughout the research we realized that the program was part of an unprecedented communication strategy in the Priority State to invest in public vehicles in order to promote a greater proximity of the popular classes with the government.

This policy was implemented by Communications Superintendent Elizabete Rodrigues, who had the status of the Communication State Secretary, who was strategists and marketing professionals responsible for the election of Governor Albuíno Azeredo.

The TVE program of Espírito Santo "People on TV" was created in an effervescent period of the Capixaba¹ politics, when there was appreciation of communication as a resource for the relationship of the political public power with the common citizen. This program functioned as a public media square, where ordinary citizens had the chance to meet with representatives of the public power and present their demands. In some cases, the program has facilitated the execution of works and improvements in these communities.

In this program, the interviewee of the square, of the favela² and poor communities, for a moment broke the barriers and distances through the media and had access to the voice at that moment. He could become an actor in the process, empowered, capable of modifying in some way his social reality by pressing the authorities at the studio through live transmission from his poor community. He could denounce his horrible condition of life and lack of decent public services to the general public, watching it from their homes. He presented his claims for improvements in the poor suburbs and to achieve a better quality of life in general.

The "People on TV" has a historical relevance because it was the first state TV program broadcast live from the communities or from the Costa Pereira square³. Until that moment only the live transmission from the studio was possible. This program brought a new format with the acquisition of modern technological equipment for that period of live microwave transmission, which allowed a greater interaction between studio guests, usually politicians, and the community that participated in the program live directly from the poor suburbs or from the Costa Pereira square in downtown Vitória.

Literature Review

Through the analysis of the "People on TV" program, we considered it possible to demonstrate that Habermas's ideal public space did not end, as he defended, but it was reconfigured, moving from the public squares and French cafes frequented by bourgeoisie - an emergent and discriminated class by the aristocracy, during the late middle ages, who had the opportunity to exercise rhetoric without restrictions, - to the media in the contemporary world (Gomes 1998, Sousa 1995).

Habermas (1984: 14) conceptually explains that the "public sphere" itself presents itself as a sphere; the scope of what is a public sphere is opposed to the private sphere. It often appears simply as the sphere of public opinion directly opposing public power. As the case may be, it includes among the

¹ People born in the state of Espírito Santo, located in the southeast coast of Brazil.

² In Brazil poor communities without basic services and assistance provided by the State are called favelas.

³ Costa Pereira Square is located at downtown Vitória, the capital of the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil

"organs of the public sphere" the state organs or the media that, like the press, serve as a medium for the public to communicate.

To clarify how the "People on TV" became a public media sphere, we set out to look for traces and signs that may help us understand this program, which was extinguished a few years ago. The analysis of the programs and recorded interviews and testimonies of the journalists, politicians and community leaders interviewed at the time allowed us to understand the popular representation, the relationship of power and the political intentions of the governor Albuíno Azeredo the creation of the program was authorized.

This program was chosen because it was representative of Albuino Azeredo's government, when there was great appreciation of communication and political marketing. We wanted to verify if the governor of the time used the resources historically explored by several governors of staging and dramatization, aiming at the approach with the popular classes and the mass. Louis XIV in his divertissements used French opera and comedy as political resources. The great political actor commands the real through the imaginary. He can hold onto one or another of these scenes, separate them, govern them and produce the show (Balandier 1981: 6).

Balandier (1981: 6) reports that new techniques give even more advantages to what he calls "democratic dramaturgy". He specifies as new techniques the resources of media, propaganda and political polls. They reinforce the formation of appearances; link the fate of men with power to both the quality of their public image and their works. He denounces, then, the transformation of the State into a spectacle, into a "theater of illusion". Balandier (1981: 9) concludes what he calls "political theatricality", is accentuated by the circumstances and nature of the regimes.

Pierre Bourdieu (2005: 14) warns that symbolic systems owe their power to the fact that the relations of force expressed in them are only manifested in them in an unrecognizable form of relations of meaning. This process makes the politician committed to the journalist, who has a power over the instruments of great diffusion that gives him power over any kind of symbolic capital (the power to make or break reputations).

Martin-Barbero develops his work based on the theory of mediations between the receiver and the system/structure, represented by the media, having the culture and the meaning of life as mediators of the process and exit for reception, making it subject in the process. Mediations are processes of social fragmentation that interfere with the relationship of the receiver to the media. The individual can be exposed to the satisfaction of sensitivities. To achieve this sensitivity of people, who are fragmented, the media set in motion another dimension of life, of the imaginary, another representation of social, cultural, prestige, beauty, and youth. The medias are strong when the family structure is weak (Martín-Barbero 1995: 46-47).

Methodology

This research sought the signals and clues to recover the memory with documents and reports of actors of that moment of transformation, interaction and reprocessing of the message by the receiver who could participate in the various stages of the program. Initially, presenting its social reality, its problems and community demands, this became the agenda, the main motto of the program. Then, once again, this receiver became subject during the program when he made exposure - in front of the live cameras, without editing or cuts - of his reality and his questions, in a search for answers before the present authorities, also live in the studio.

At that moment, this media space became the contemporary public space, where what was worth was the force of argument, dialogue, and rhetoric. The public space advocated by Habermas (Gomes 1998) and Sousa (1995) was transferred to the media. There was a dispute of classes where the excluded sought through the program to transform their social reality by presenting their claims to the authorities by the media. In this space, the social excluded could overcome the obstacles imposed by the bureaucracy of the Public Power.

To understand the meaning of the "People on TV" program, we searched a record of memory, using the technique of oral history in interviews with members of the team responsible at the time for the creation, production, transmission and live presentation of the program.

In the definition of Verena Alberti (2004: 18) oral history is a method of research (historical, anthropological, sociological, etc.) that privileges interviews with people who participated in or witnessed events, conjunctures, worldviews, as a way of approaching the object of study. As a consequence, the oral history method produces sources of consultation (the interviews) for other studies, and can be gathered in a collection open to researchers. It is about studying historical events, institutions, social groups, professional categories, movements, conjunctures, etc. In the light of the testimony from people who participated or witnessed them.

This resource of oral history was used because we found it difficult to reconstruct what the program was, as there were only fragmented records of some edited community stories. There was almost nothing recorded left from the live moments of the program, which were the true essence and purpose of the program. "People on TV" were responsible for the novelty and popular acceptance of the program.

Many of the resources used in the production of this program were extinguished in the change of headquarters of the TVE (Education Television) from the building of the Legislative Assembly in the Center of Vitória to the Carmélia Maria de Souza Theater in Santo Antônio in 2001. The reports of the programs were practically inexistent, as well as many video tapes of the programs were damaged by a flood at the new headquarters of the Carmélia de Souza Theater. In this way, we tried to know the memory of that period in the use of marks, signs, vestiges, clues, testimonies and fragments left by social actors, journalists and politicians who participated in this historical context.

For this reason, the research has used, among other techniques, the evidential method developed by the Italian theorist Carlo Ginzburg based on the studies carried out at the end of the 19th century by Giovanni Morelli. Morelli's goal was to identify the fakes of famous paintings using more neglectable details and that were less influenced by the characteristics of the school to which the painter belonged, such as ear lobes, nails, the shapes of the fingers and the feet (Ginzburg 1998: 143-144).

According to Ginzburg, Morelli's books are unusual in relation to other art historians because they have illustrations of fingers and ears and minute features that identify a particular artist as a criminal is identified by his fingerprints. Any museum of art studied by Morelli immediately acquires the appearance of a criminal museum (Ginzburg 1998).

Castelnuovo (Ginzburg 1998) brought Morelli's indictment method closer to what was attributed to Sherlock Holmes by its creator Arthur Conan Doyle. The art connoisseur is comparable to the detective who discovers the perpetrator (of the painting) based on imperceptible evidence for the majority.

Ginzburg (1998) summarized that one can speak of an indicial or divinatory paradigm, directed according to the forms of knowledge, the past, the present or the future and had the medical semiotics on the double face, diagnostic and prognostic.

He further emphasized that this is a method not only used and accepted by society and physicians in identifying the disease through symptoms, but also in one of the earliest gestures of human intellectual history by the hunter crouching in the mud, which scrutinizes the prey's tracks (Ginzburg 1998: 154).

In order to achieve the objectives outlined in this study, we used a variety of resources, such as production research, reporters' time reports and program directors. To reinforce the work, we counted on the oral testimonies and interviews of professionals who participated in the program: journalists, producers, anchors, interviewers and interviewees (residents and leaders of the communities where the program staff was recording live).

Results: The Organic Intellectual on the "People on TV"

The journalist of the "People on TV" functioned as a facilitator of this process of mobilization and popular class consciousness. He created the conditions for this awakening of consciousness that broke the barriers imposed by the bureaucracy of public power and confronted the authorities live through the media, which has become a public space reconfigured in contemporary times.

The journalist personified the organic intellectual advocated by Gramsci. We left the traditional concept of the intellectual as a man of letters and started with the formulation of Gramsci as one who acts. Resende (Rodrigues 2005: 37) shows that Gramsci amplified the action of the intellectual and thought in an innovative way:

It is in action, effectively, that intellectual work is given. It is this action that transforms the intellectual into organic. Moreover, intellectuals, contrary to what Gramsci says, are not autonomous, nor independent of the dominant groups. They are, in fact, instruments for the exercise of social hegemony and political government; hence they are the work of translating the consensus of the masses into social orientation.

The journalists of the "People on TV" have acted as organic intellectuals in this Gramscian model. The journalist Geruza Conti recalled that the program achieved what other TV stations in Vitoria did not succeed, which was to gather the "crowd" around a television program. They thought it was their channel and that they had an answer. They did not have all the answers, she explained, but managed to solve some community problems such as repairing some streets and pipelines and contain sewage which overflowed and transmitted diseases to the needy population residing there. They were works of smaller size, but of great significance to the poor population.

Journalist Magda Carvalho recalls there was an open channel with the population who participated in all moments of the program, from production to completion. The people participated live and on the phone while the TV program was on air. "The program was so concerned about reaching the person in need of it. It was a public service". Magda believed the districts of Cariacica, Viana and Serra in Great Vitória were the ones that presented most of the problems, which were very similar in most cases. She has reported there were many complaints about the streets that were in the archives of the city hall as being paved, but that they were not in fact.

People reported the irregularities through the program and often got a commitment from the authorities in the studio live. "The difference is that there was no edition", said Carvalho. "The great merit of the program was to open this space to the needy community", she summarized. She said that the "People on TV" mediated the relationship of the community with the authorities. She added: "We learned to exercise citizenship in journalism, to respect the people who participated in the program".

The producer Maria Aparecida Barbarioli reflects on two points of the program. The first is about the historical importance of communicating the Espírito Santo as it was the first direct live experience of the community, and the other is that it was an experience that worked. This space of the "People on TV" served to demystify, in her evaluation, the assumption that people who are in a non-privileged situation do not speak.

Discussions on "People on TV"

On the public media space provided by the program "People on TV" the common man was in the condition of the participant, of the actor in the process and in the condition of the viewer. It has become a space in which he reworked and reinvented his daily life. Michel de Certeau (1994) argues in his book

*L'Invention du Quotidien*⁴ about the arts of making that ordinary man silently escape from the conformation established by the mechanisms of domination and organization of social life, which assigns a place, a role and products to consume. He invents daily life thanks to the arts of making, resistance tactics by which he alters objects and codes, reappears of space and uses them in his own way. This description of the behavior of the simple man fits on the viewer and participant of the "People on TV". He was like a survivor that overcomes all the difficulties and challenges of everyday life.

Like Certeau says in his book that this common man is able to make turns and shortcuts. He has ways to strike. He highlights that this tricky man uses thousands of inventive practices in a way that proves "the crowd without qualities" is not obedient and passive, but opens its own way in using of imposed products, in an ample freedom in which each tries to live "the social order and the violence of things" in the best possible way (de Certeau 1994).

We found the overcoming of the daily traps specified by de Certeau (1994) when analyzing the "People on TV" Program, observing how the poor communities managed to transpose the bureaucracy and present their demands in the public square of the media. The live program, on March 30, 1992, in the Penha district of Vitória, is an example of this public media square. The most serious problem pointed out by the community was the lack of security. They also complained about the public lighting, open sewage, lack of pavement, staircases, the retaining wall, leisure area and garbage. All these problems were presented in the recorded report made previously. The community leader Jorminda requested through the program a police module or trailer on the spot. She said there was a police station in the neighborhood that was shut down after the sheriff set fire to a boy. Another resident asked for policing near her home and denounced the presence of criminals in the poorly lit alleys. Another resident reinforced the complaint of the lack of security and denounced the high incidence of marginality in the neighborhood. She reported she was assaulted twice, and she was hurt in one of them.

To these complaints the representative of the police the delegate Manuel Buick answered there was only one sub delegacy in the place that was extinguished because there were changes in the police. The neighborhood began to be attended by the police station of the neighboring district, Jucutuquara. He promised, in the coming months, a district police station. About the fire set on the boy, he replied the former delegate was "patronized" by authorities and politicians. He vowed to reactivate policing and to put a vehicle on the spot on that day. But he made it clear that the competence for ostensive policing was of the military police and he was a civilian. As for the security request, Buick indicated the emergency telephone number 147. Community leader Jorminda replied that the 147 hotline did not work. He stated the threat was from outsiders, not those from the neighborhood, who were acting on the scene. She warned the villagers to defend themselves by

⁴ "Practice of everyday life" or in Portuguese version "A invenção do Cotidiano" (de Certeau 1994).

arming themselves. The reporter asked Buick if it could be improved. He replied that the hotline of the police worked and the occurrences were all recorded and promised to do everything within his power. He pointed out that the module or trailer depended on the PM (Military Police) and condemned the arming of the villagers to defend themselves from the criminals. According to him, the gun could be used by the villains against the villagers or could be stolen by them to be used for assault. On the telephone, a viewer informed the delegate she had been assaulted in Jacaripe, in Serra, and when she went to the local police station, the police officer said he had no men and no vehicle to help her. He had suggested that she looked for the judicial police, because that month he would be administering the jurisdiction of Jacaraípe. Another viewer on the telephone made the defense of the population's armament to defend themselves against the criminals.

On March 31, 1992, the community leader of the Penha neighborhood, Jorminda, searched the program to report she had spent a night of terror. An interview with her was recorded and was released the same day during the Vila Garrido community program in Vila Velha. Jorminda said the bandits had shot at her house and demanded she must leave the neighborhood. She stated they did not want her on the spot because she disturbed the drugs' selling they ran on there. On the recorded interview with the community leader, it was stated that the TVE team has suffered threats from the local bandits too. In the interview Jorminda asked for police protection. In the program carried out in the Penha favela, the problem of lack of security was not the only one presented by the community, which also complained about the public lighting, open sewage, lack of pavement, staircases, retaining wall, trash and the leisure area. In response to these problems, besides the head of the judicial police, Manoel Buick, the advisor of the Municipal Secretariat of Works of Vitória José Leal and the representative of Escelsa (light power company) José Carlos Coelho, attended the live studio.

In response to the complaints about the lack of lighting, Escelsa issued a note on the program promising in two months it would install nine posts and ten light bulbs. Regarding the open sewage and the construction of the retaining wall, the representative of the municipality José Leal had promised the City Hall would resume the work after the month of April, when the IPTU (taxes) resources would come into the accounts of the municipality. As for the construction of the leisure area, he admitted the possibility of small work, which did not depend on budget funds. On the issue of rubbish and the clean-up of the vacant lot, he kept the issue to the Secretary of Urban Services of that time, Waldir Klug.

We analyze these testimonies of the participants of the "People on TV" from the view of Bourdieu (1996), who defends the existence of a market of senses where the discourses carry out a symbolic exchange, in which the profit is for the one that has more dominion of the field. For him, the discourses reach their value (and their meaning) only by a relation with a market, characterized by a special law of a particular formation of the prices:

The value of discourse depends on the relation of forces concretely established between the language skills of the speakers. It is understood at the same time as the capacity of production, appropriation and appreciation or, in other words, the capacity of the different agents involved in the exchange to impose criteria of appreciation more favorable to their products (Bourdieu 1996).

For Bourdieu (1996), there is no doubt the relationship between such language skills contributes to determining the law of price formation that ends up prevailing in a particular exchange. Nevertheless, the relation of the linguistic force is not completely determined only by the confronting linguistic forces. On the other hand, it is the whole social structure that is present in each interaction (and in this way, also present in the discourse), through the spoken languages, the speakers that speak them, or rather, the groups defined by the possession of the corresponding competence (Bourdieu 1996).

In this price formation law, authorities with symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2005) have advantages that the residents of poor communities (favelas) try to overcome by the open discourse and rhetoric exercised in the public square of the media (TV live program). Momentarily, they are able in the exercise of rhetoric to face the authorities by exposing their needs and claiming their rights to improve their quality of life. In this way, breaking the barriers imposed by the government of "nobody", that according to Arendt (2000), is the bureaucracy. At that moment, the "People on TV" program became the public space advocated by Habermas (Gomes 1998) and Sousa (1995).

In some cases, the poor community (favela) used the program to mediate the negotiation of works for the neighborhood with the authorities. One example is the letter from the Community Movement of Alecrim - sent on November 25, 1992 - requesting help to show the mayor of Vila Velha Jorge Anders and the commander of the Fourth Battalion of the Military Police the problems that existed in that community. On the correspondence, signed by the president of the community Oswaldo Maturano and vice president Santo Venturino de Souza - with several errors of Portuguese - the main demands of the community were security, basic sanitation, public medical care and public telephones. They claimed to have watched the "People on TV" program in the Santa Rita community and would like to have the same opportunity as their neighbors. They said they were anxious for the visit of the program' staff to their community and wanted to show to them the poor neighborhood that was isolated and forgotten by the authorities and the government.

Another example is the resident of Cobi de Cima, in Vila Velha, Lucília P. Santana who sent a handwritten letter with several mistakes of the Portuguese language, almost illegible to the editorial staff of TVE on March 22nd 1993. She asked particularly about the lack of security and therefore did not want to be identified. According to her, her house was broken into by criminals twice a year earlier and her husband fought with two criminals at the bus stop. She suggested that an area of Cesan (state water supplier's company) could be ceded by the State to the construction of a police station. She said she knew a resident who had been attacked four times. Other problems mentioned by her

were lack of sewage and public lighting. She asked the TVE team to forward the requests to the governor.

The requests for help by letter, the denunciations, and the desperate testimonies demonstrate how the media became the public space of contemporary times, according to Habermas (Gomes 1998) and Sousa (1995) to face an open dialogue in the square. The media demanded a better recognition of the linguistic market described by Bourdieu (1996), in the interrelations of forces, mediated by the journalist, who acted as an organic intellectual in the Gramsci model (Rodrigues 2005).

Conclusions

We concluded the implantation of the policy of innovative public communication by Elizabete Rodrigues counted on the political support of the governor Albuíno Azeredo. He saw in this strategy the possibility of approaching the excluded people who elected him. Although these people were excluded from the public policies throughout his government and for that reason he could no longer be re-elected for any public office and he left the government with a bad public image. The "People on TV" program despite having become a public media center and counting on its support was not effective in improving his image with the population and the excluded people that had elected him as his marketing team intended.

We conclude that one of the reasons for the negative image of Albuíno Azeredo at the end of his government was because the teachers went on strike a great part of his administration in search of salary improvements, professional valorization and better working conditions. However, Albuíno Azeredo was a charismatic politician who was elected due to his humble origins, being the first black governor who was well succeeded in life by education, he had not made any significant investment in education or in social policies to protect the excluded people and gave no support to the black movement as expected by them.

The testimony confirmed the support from the governor to the "People on TV" who did not interfere with the program by censoring despite the numerous complaints from his political allies in the Legislative Assembly. He remained coherent although he was threatened with impeachment by the deputies who held the political hegemony of the Legislative Assembly. On the other hand, during his government the media was used as a palliative in the fulfillment of the campaign's promises. This approach was made by the program "People on TV" which had broad support from Governor Albuíno Azeredo until the end of his government. We verified, based on the testimonies and studies of Georges Balandier (1981) and Pierre Bourdieu (2005), that this program was configured as an appropriate resource for the dramatization, staging and symbolic representation of power.

The journalist who worked on the "People on TV" program worked as an organic intellectual in the characteristics advocated by Antônio Gramsci (Rodrigues 2005) by awakening the conscience and transforming the reality of the residents of poor communities and opportuning by the program to present their demands for improvements to the authorities live on television. The "People on TV" program was an unprecedented interactive community communication experience and inspired numerous programs in the capixaba press because it gave voice to the people. It anticipated the implementation of mechanisms of transparency in the relation of the politician with the people by the media, characteristic of the contemporaneity advocated by Habermas (Gomes 1998) as a public space of the modern man, reducing the impediments imposed by the bureaucracy in relation with the public power.

Brazil has changed a lot and the level of population awareness has increased with the re-democratization of the country since the 1988 Constitution and the creation of mechanisms for consumer protection and the development of social movements. The media had to be adapted to the new social reality. Instead of the TVE having lost space functioned as a school and inspiration of conventional vehicles in the state. Most of the broadcasters' programs today are based on what TVE did by creating the conventional broadcaster programs inspired by the interactive experience of community journalism. This type of experience inspired the creation of television programs such as "Gazeta Community" and the "Well-being" on television, such as the "What is the claim?" Column "Promised and not fulfilled", "Tribuna in the community" and others. The school was TVE because the media has a pedagogical function and has a community function. The challenge of TVE from Espírito Santo is not being able to overcome itself today because it must be in the vanguard, anticipating trends, but there is a lack of support and public interest to make this process viable.

One of the important roles in public TV today was the promotion of digital inclusion. The TVE from Espírito Santo could move in that direction and be at the forefront of a process that was the future of public communication, which was to make a link between mass communication and the internet. Until this process depended on experimental projects that could be born in universities, in small colleges and on educational television of the world. Until such regulation and the definition of the limits of this free territory, the role of the public power as a feasible catalyst of investments is fundamental. The "People on the TV" Program was the visible part and one of the pillars of a communication project that provided for prioritization of the direct contact of the manager and authorities to the population with media intermediation, but without the formal media editing we were used to. This program analyzed was the opening, the breaking of a paradigm and the precursor of a process of transparency that is more sophisticated today with the publications of balance sheets in the internet, with a public auction and with an electronic auction. Duarte (2007) points out four axes for the communication of public interest: transparency, access, interaction and social ombudsman which we evaluated as having relevance on the "People on TV" program, highlighting the important contribution to

history, although it was not supported by the policy for its continuation in the next Government.

Public policies should seek to universalize access to information, expression and participation, be integrative, exercise a global vision and have a lasting perspective which was not possible in the analyzed case of the "People on TV" program with timely importance, but it was extinguished in the following government. Unfortunately, implicit policies tend to generate specific (case-by-case) welfare actions (the public agent is the "owner" of the process) and intuitive in contrast to the ideal model that would be structuring, integrated and global, emancipatory (for requiring active participation) and planned. Non-formalization leads to improvisation and a vision committed to the interests of the moment (Duarte 2007).

In the State of Espírito Santo the process of transparency began with the "People on TV" Program with the microphone, the camera in front of the governor and the free access to the common citizen on the other side, without editing, making inquiries to him. This meeting in the media public square is the heart of transparency. People had learned that it was possible to make this direct interlocution with the public power because the other generation came from an era full of intermediary. Everything was intermediated by the structure of government and bureaucracy. The people discovered the mechanisms and this communication with the public power has become an irreversible trend towards interactivity and transparency, with a prospect of expansion in the near future with the new tools of access to communication by media convergence.

The "People on TV" program represented a way out of communication in the live experience by allowing the needy population access to the authorities through the media's public square. The receiver was acting as a subject capable of transforming his community. According to Habermas and Gramsci parameters, he was discovering in the public media space an alternative for confrontation, interrelations of forces with public authorities.

In the quest for hegemony of the popular classes, the journalists role was to be an organic intellectual as predicted by Gramsci. He acted as a propelling agent of consciousness and a social transformer and his role was fundamental. Without him and his help as agent in this process, the ordinary citizen would hardly succeed in reaching the authorities and pressuring them for improvements for his community in the public media square.

The testimony of the people living in needy neighborhoods in the Metropolitan Region of Espírito Santo, southeast coast of Brazil, showed that people were asking to participate in the "People on TV" in hopes of solving their basic community problems. The program was set up as a "way", a strategy to circumvent the system that prevented the people from reaching the authorities to ask them for improvements and complain about the conditions of abandonment of their neighborhoods as suggested by Michel de Certeau (1994).

In the program a symbolic dispute with the use of rhetoric by the authorities and residents of poor neighborhoods was fought. For Bourdieu (1996), the discourse to function needs to be recognized, since it depends on

the effectiveness of all the mechanisms capable of ensuring the production of the dominant language and the recognition of its legitimacy. Discourses reach their value (and their meaning) only through the relationship with a market, characterized by a special law of particular price formation. In this sense, we could perceive that the "People on TV" program was a space where the needy population through the discourse faced the authorities and obtained a voice.

The "People on TV" program was an unprecedented interactive community communication experience in the State of Espírito Santo, Brazil, until that period and has inspired numerous programs in the Capixaba's media because it gave, for the first time in live broadcast, voice to the poor people who lived in the favelas (needy communities of the suburbs of Great Vitória).

It anticipated the implementation of mechanisms of transparency in the relation of the politician with the people by the media, characteristic of the contemporaneity cited by Habermas (Gomes 1998) as a public space of the modern man, reducing the impediments imposed by the bureaucracy in relation with the public power.

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