



## THE FEDERAL SENATE COMMUNICATION ON FACEBOOK: A CASE STUDY OF NETWORK INTERACTIONS AND COMMENTS ON LABOR REFORM IN 2017

Karla de Lourdes Ferreira<sup>1</sup>  
Maria do Socorro Furtado Veloso<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract:** This article presents an analysis of the public communication practices of the Federal Senate on Facebook. The objectives are to identify the characteristics of the publications, the interaction situations and the types of comments to a post about the 2017 labor reform. For data extraction, we used the Netvizz application between July and December of that year. We adopted Content Analysis, as well as interviews. We found that the posts and questions answered sought to provide transparency and access to information of public interest, but the interaction situations were negligible. The comments expressed polarization and a lack of confidence in institutions and politicians. It is concluded that public communication practices are still a challenge to guarantee an experience full of transparency and interaction.

**Keywords:** Public Communication; Facebook; Federal Senate; Transparency.

### Introduction

The pursuit of transparency in the accountability of public authorities, as well as more access and interaction with society's active participation in political decisions, are some of the essential prerequisites for public communication practice. The presence of these powers online in the social networks increases their visibility and forces institutions to maintain dialogue channels with citizens who seek to clarify their doubts and solutions to their demands.

Amongst those institutions is the Federal Senate, one of the most relevant legislative houses in the country, which joined the *Facebook network* through an official account in 2010. The purpose of this article is to investigate the senate's public communication practices and how they were *adopted on Facebook* between July and December of 2017. The goals are to identify the type of information that citizens had access to, the criteria for selecting published themes, and the language they used. Regarding interaction, we sought to verify the situations in which there was a dialogue with users and the political positioning of the Senate in these conversations. We also analyzed the participants' behavior in the publication entitled "URGENT: Senate votes on Labor Reform"<sup>3</sup>, identified as the one that received the most comments in the selected period. For the study, we used content analysis, as well as interviewing the person responsible for the social media center.

---

<sup>1</sup> Doctorate in Media Studies from the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte (UFRN). Email: [cacalofe@yahoo.com.br](mailto:cacalofe@yahoo.com.br)

<sup>2</sup> Doctorate in Communication Sciences from the Universidade de São Paulo. Professor at the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte UFRN). Email: [socorroveloso@uol.com.br](mailto:socorroveloso@uol.com.br)

<sup>3</sup> Available in: <<https://www.facebook.com/SenadoFederal/videos/1820590191290161/>>. Accessed on July 23, 2020.

This article is divided into four parts. The first part is dedicated to the discussion about transparency, considered one of the prerequisites of public communication. Next, we present the research results, the empirical analyses, and the theoretical basis for the hypotheses confirmation. The second part is devoted to the publications' characteristics analysis and the work description done on the *Facebook page*. The situations in which the interaction occurred are in the third part. In the last part, we have done analyses of the comments in the publication regarding the votes on labor reform, which obtained the largest number of participants in the second half of 2017.

### **Virtual public communication and legislative transparency**

According to Duarte (2012), public communication concerns access to public utility information, which means, those that address topics of general interest, such as services and guidelines, legislation, standards, public decisions, archives, legal nature information, rights and products. The concept of public communication is related to a proper space for the circulation of public matters and collective interest produced by networks and systems, "thus understood by debating essential values for the State, society, and individuals, both in the production and reception instances. These are the themes that have the most capacity to produce biased arguments, to reflect and demand public response" (WEBER, 2017, p. 43). One of the fundamental points in the practice of public communication, according to Zémor (2012), is listening to the citizen, listening to their demands, informing them, and reporting.

Weber (2017) points out that three dimensions constitute public communication. The first one, is the normative dimension, is made by the republican principles, whose "communication that produces the visibility of the State and society is thought from the ethics of politics, resistance and the vigilance of democracy; through investment in citizenship and social emancipation" (WEBER, 2017, p. 38). The second dimension, called phatic, refers to publicizing accountability and public policy actions and their visibility. The third dimension, called criticism, is related to the "reaction and contribution of audiences and institutions to public debate" (WEBER, 2017, p. 39).

The work of media professionals is based on some foundations for this type of communication practice. According to Duarte (2012), information, the first level of knowledge, is acquired by social interaction, which must be multidirectional and include a plurality of opinions. In this situation, access should be offered by the institutions so that citizens can obtain information quickly, which produces more transparency, clarity in oversight, and accountability. Duarte (2012) also emphasizes that institutions and communication professionals should stimulate and guide the public about the search for information and participation with their opinions. The improvement of communication strategies requires satisfaction surveys and information from the social ombudsman sector.

In addition to the quantity, the citizen faces the technicality of public data. The usefulness

of this information depends on the simplified treatment, whose reading and interpretation are easy to understand so that access is stimulated. According to Duarte (2012, p. 63), the speeches and signs "may not be understood, information may be in an uncertain place and not known, may not reach the destination, be misinterpreted, misguided, distorted, may not be presented at the appropriate time [...]" I'm sorry, Regarding the technicality and bureaucratization of public data, Lovari and Valentini (2019) emphasize that social networking sites have caused significant transformations in the communication language, which is more direct and less formal. For these authors, the speed of information flow and the fulfillment of citizen expectations due to increasing demand for information, in addition to time pressure, forces public institutions to uninterrupted communication, agility in the dissemination of news, and their easy understanding. For Lovari and Valentini (2019), public institutions' communication functions have increased with social networking sites, as well as with the integration of interactive and personalized formats.

The interaction between the public sector and citizens is fundamental to the implementation of public communication. Information is achieved through social interaction and is dependent on "knowledge of its existence, availability, opportunity, access, the environment in which interaction is possible, appropriate language, pedagogy appropriate to circumstances" (DUARTE, 2012, p. 63). The reception to demands and personalized guidance, the aptitude for listening, and the training of professionals are crucial aspects, mentioned by Zémor (1995), for this practice. Lovari and Valentini (2019) claim that social networking sites empower citizens, who can collaborate with their ideas and also empower public sector employees, in the personalization of communications.

Public communication, therefore, goes beyond the mere provision of information. Duarte (2012) states that citizens should express their opinions and have the conviction that they will be heard; besides, they have the chance to participate actively in public and collective interest decisions. Duarte (2012) states that the implementation of communication also depends on the credibility of the enunciators, the means adopted, the facilitated access, and citizens' knowledge valorization. Enunciators need to know the characteristics, interests, and expectations of their audience.

Barros and Bernardes (2011) affirm that public communication is a concept adopted in government policies and missions as a positive connotation of transparency, interaction, and participation, replacing the image of inefficiency. In fact, among the public communication prerequisites is the transparency of information. In Brazil, the process of re-democratization, the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, the Transparency Law, and the Access to Information Law were important for the practice of transparency.

Gomes, Amorim, and Almada (2018) affirm that transparency fulfills the State's legal obligation, guarantees the citizen's right to information, and meets both: the moral and democratic principle. According to Meijer (2015), several terms were adopted in order to be named

transparency: open government, openness, open meetings, advertising, open decisions, access to information, secrecy, and disclosure. It can also be understood, according to Margetts (2011), as surveillance, accountability, simplicity, notions of governed rules and governance processes that assist citizens' rights to "know" about government.

Meijer (2015) considers that the provision of information and access to and appropriation by citizens through documents, publications, meetings, or decisions are key elements of transparency. According to the author, "an aquarium is a metaphor of transparency: those outside the aquarium can see what those inside it are doing" (MEIJER, 2015, p. 191, our translation).

Two phases can be identified in the history of transparency, Meijer (2015) points out: the conception of the term related to representative democracy (choice of political representatives) at the end of the 18th century, in 1960, the participatory democracy, in which citizens not only choose their rulers but actively participate in public issues. Meijer's studies found that increased transparency is linked to state modernization. Its growth has a progressive character.

Meijer (2009) presented three perspectives to improve the understanding of transparency: premodern, modern, and postmodern. There is a discussion between proponents and opponents about the impacts of computer-mediated transparency on trust in the public sector. Meijer's analysis showed that proponents of the modern perspective believe that this type of *online transparency* offers better information and favors social rationalization. Opponents, on the other hand, join a pre-modern perspective by affirming that forms of one-way, structured, and decontextualized transparencies can generate a loss of confidence. Those who adhere to the postmodernist perspective, on the other, advocate diversified forms of computer-mediated transparency processes.

Based on the application of these perspectives on Dutch school performance, Meijer (2009) concluded that there needs to be diversity in transparency systems aimed at expanding the effects on society's trust. Computer-mediated transparency allows for more openness, but less trust, says Meijer (2009). It allows the processing of information with more quality but with less value orientation.

The more people have access to information from public institutions and the more intelligible it is, the higher the level of transparency of the State with respect to: "(a) the issues and scopes on which public information can be produced; (b) the extent and quality of the information available, and (c) the number of people and classes of people to whom the access of that information is allowed" (GOMES; AMORIM; ALMADA, 2018, p. 5).

Barros and Bernardes (2009) state that the improvement of the idea of transparency and visibility is one of the reasons for the emergence of legislative media. With this, institutions such as the Federal Senate seek to make available all information that relates to their activities, expanding the scheduling of traditional media news. Thus, the citizen has alternatives to stay informed. For Barros and Bernardes (2009), it is important that these legislative media promote

service to the public interest of information, rather than serving the political governments propaganda.

Even as governments face obstacles and challenges in implementing online transparency initiatives, Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes (2010) believe that it is possible to overcome them by combining political will and technology. There is still no clear answer on the extent to which information and communication technologies are capable of generating a culture of transparency and openness, say Bertot, Jaeger, and Grimes (2010); however, the initial projects positively signal that these technologies can, yes, provide openness and surveillance actions for corrupt behaviors.

### **The Senate on *Facebook***

From this section, we present the analysis of the communication practices of the Federal Senate on Facebook. We understand as a communicative practice the application of the guidelines that govern the production of information, that is, the journalistic publication of news in this social network; the criteria for selecting themes, links for news; the actions and methods adopted in the news organization, the choice of comments to be answered; moments of interaction with followers and the content of comments. For Hall (2003), in the context of digital communication, Facebook can be an associative device of social practices and public manifestation space. A place where interaction, through messages, images, and videos, brings together participants who mutually share their symbolic contents, in the process of negotiation of meanings that, from Hall's perspective (2003), generate other modes of sociability, other social practices. In the digital environment, communication and participation practices, within the possibilities and limitations offered, are often adapted and negotiated by users.

In the development of the analyses for the interpretation of the publications and comments posted on the page, the method adopted was content analysis.

One of the main spheres of the Legislative Power of Brazil, the Federal Senate has its own communication vehicles, such as radio, newspaper, TV, portal, and social networking sites on the Internet, to provide information about its activities. In 2009, he started publishing news on virtual social networks with the creation of a *Twitter account*. In 2010, a *Facebook profile* was created for the same purpose. Currently, seven professionals in the area of communication, including journalists and advertisers, make posts on social networks. The publications are produced by the Secretariat of Communication of the Federal Senate (Secom).

The content analysis (CA) proposed by Bardin (1977) consists of three stages: pre-analysis; the exploitation I; and data processing, inference, and interpretation. In the first phase, the pre-analysis, reserved for the organization of the material, we used the Netvizz application, which identified 165 publications published by the Federal Senate *Facebook page* between July and December 2017. The reading of all publications was carried out, as well as an interview with

the person responsible for coordinating the social media center. The selection of the corpus of analysis followed the criteria of completeness, representativeness, homogeneity, and pertinence proposed by Content Analysis.

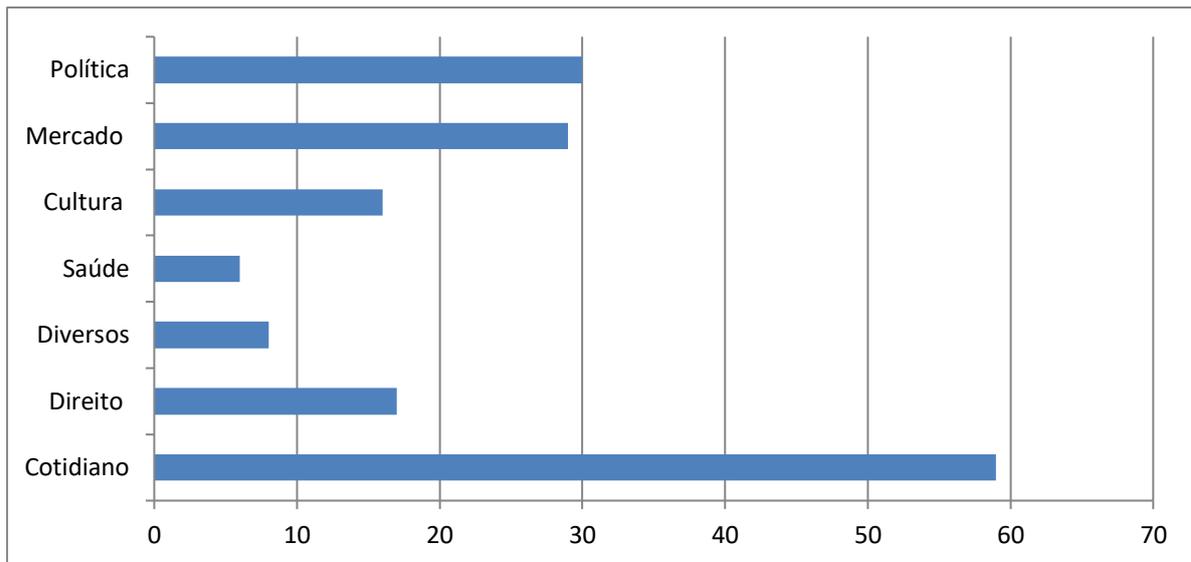
**Table 1** – Posts on *Facebook*

<b>Month (2017)</b>	<b>Amount</b>
July	77
August	13
September	17
October	43
November	12
December	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>165</b>

Source: Own production

In the second phase of the CA, the task was to identify the units of record and context, that is, the codification of the material, and then perform its categorization. In the publications coding, the choice of each record unit was based on the keywords and theme words. After this stage, the categorization was performed through the enumeration process, which is the accounting of publications in the respective categories.

The construction of these categories was based on themes adopted by journalism. At first, after the analysis of each publication, a classification of categories and subcategories was developed. It was found that the subjects dealt with in these publications referred to the areas of law, history, politics, accountability, commemorative dates, legal works, consumer law, labor, justice, education, transportation, health, economy, security, agriculture, human rights, environment, communication, citizenship, amongst other topics. In order to ensure better systematization, the categories were regrouped in Politics (activities of the Senate and parliamentarians and accountability to citizens), Market (topics that dealt with economics and work), Health (science and health), Daily Life (news about agriculture, citizenship, communication, consumer law, human rights, education, environment, security, and transportation), Culture (issues related to commemorative dates, the history of Brazil and book publications), Law (legal institutions and their activities) and Various. It is noteworthy that most of the publications addressed bills and amendments to the Constitution, resolutions, and proposals in different areas. In the third stage, the steps were data processing, analysis, interpretation, and results elaboration. The categorization and enumeration of publications are in Graph 1.



**Graph 1** – Subject categories.

**Source:** Own production

(Politics, Market, Culture, Health, Various, Law, Daily Life)

According to data collected by the Netvizz app, posts did not occur on a daily basis between July and December 2017. The news that received the most comments were, in chronological order: the vote on labor reform, a project on the dismissal of a stable public servant, the analysis of the project regarding the dismissal of a public servant, the day of the IT professional, the validity of the new labor reform, the publication of a new avatar of the page. The most shared, in this same order, were the publications that dealt with the additional point of cable TV, the Brazilian Traffic Code, the Brazilian legislation for patients with malignant neoplasia, the day of the IT professional, the validity of the new labor reform, the main proposals approved by the Federal Senate in 2017.

Through this analyses, regarding the nature of the knowledge that is transmitted, according to Charaudeau (2012), within the categories stipulated for data analysis, those related to Daily Life (59), Market (29) and Politics (30) were the subjects that generated the most publications by the social media core of the Federal Senate. Right (17) and Culture (16) appear next. The least publicized themes were those related to the categories Miscellaneous (8) and Health (6). In the Political category, interviews with senators, broadcast by the program "Salão Nobre" of TV Senado, on various issues such as social security, labor, tax, and political reforms; the National Education Plan and the budget and cuts in areas such as health and education were highlighted. These interviews (18 in total) with parliamentarians and the use of images in publications can be considered forms of facts reconstruction and allowed a description of the legislative universe according to rules of likelihood.

We can note that the news publications on the Federal Senate Facebook page sought to disseminate information that referred to topics of citizens daily life, such as matters of general

interest, legal information, rights and services, that is, information of public utility, which relate to the concept of public communication of Duarte (2012) and with the practice of transparency, according to Zémor (2012), Weber (2017) and Novelli (2018). DePaula, Dincelli, and Harrison (2018) who analyzed Facebook posts from U.S. governments and noted that much of the content on the pages fit into the information delivery category.

The topics dealt with on *Facebook* were not limited to the publicization of political decisions in particular, but focused on other issues, such as health, environment, education, which are also considered political in a broader dimension. According to Maia (2008), there is a difficulty in defining what could be an ideal policy because this diversified content can fulfill an important function in the various roles that citizens assume, not being restricted only to the role of the voter. "Public agencies must effectively disclose, without the need to request for significant and valid information" (ROTHBERG; LIBERATO, 2013, p. 78). On the other hand, the search for visibility and legitimacy can occur through the publicization of less relevant information, says Marques (2016). In this context, information related to the category Culture, which relates to commemorative dates, could illustrate this phenomenon. Publications of congratulations for the day of the doctor, dentist, or information technology professional (which was even the most commented and shared publication in October 2017), just to name a few examples, are not of political bias and cannot be considered as of a broader political nature, but relate to certain professional categories, to the valorization of specific audiences.

The news portal of the Federal Senate ([senado.gov.br/noticias](http://senado.gov.br/noticias)) centralizes the production of content and is the main source of information for social networks. Themes are selected in this portal and distributed to networks. Therefore, "analysts are offering an interpretation of an interpretation; they are re-interpreting a pre interpreted field [...]" (THOMPSON, 2011, p. 359).

The texts of the publications were short, containing basic and main information on a specific subject, complemented with image, video and hypertext resources, such as links, directing followers to direct access to codes of laws, television interviews, news on portals of governmental and non-governmental institutions. In the 165 publications available, all contained images (illustrations, infographics) produced by the social media team, or videos from the Senate TV that complemented the meaning of the posts. The main subject appeared as a title in high box and bold at the top of the banner. Background colors of the text, illustrative drawings and complementary information were positioned below, with excerpts of the text highlighted. Although the vast majority of publications present images (68%), it is noteworthy that the video feature was used to complement all publications in August 2017. We noticed that, in the publications on Facebook, there was a logic association between text and image, a juxtaposition between both, which reinforces the meaning of these publications and allows this meaning to be transmitted to followers. This association is also established, for example, in publications that use links and in the mention of senators' names interviewed by '*TV Senado*'.

During this period, three live streams were verified through the Facebook page. The themes were: votes on labor reform in the Federal Senate, the sabbath of Raquel Dodge for the post of General Counsel for the Federal Government and the participation of a doctor answering questions from followers about breast cancer.

In the publications, images and videos accompanied the texts as a way to increase visibility and, according to the coordinator of the core of social media, Moisés Nazário, to circumvent a Facebook algorithm, EdgeRank, which applies punishments for the excess of posts and for those that do not achieve good results for long audience reach. Over the years and the improvement of communication practices in this environment, the advisors reduced the number of daily publications when they found that the performance of this algorithm interfered with the number of followers who received the news from the Federal Senate in their timelines. In any case, these changes reflected in the strategies and rules for the selection of publications that deserve to be published, and one of the criteria used was precisely the information and themes that aroused more attention and interest of the citizen, especially issues that directly influence their day-to-day life, as is also explained in the Senate's Guide to Social Media<sup>4</sup>.

The search for the legislative news audience, which on the one hand was motivated by Facebook's algorithm, on the other was a factor that the assessors considered at the time, prior content for transmission. In this sense, the communication professionals of the Federal Senate, who select what would be disclosed, are gatekeepers and "can facilitate or restrict the dissemination of information as they decide which messages will allow them to cross the gates and which will prevent them, transforming them into important actors in the dissemination process" (SHOEMAKER; VOS, 2011, p. 36). The EdgeRank algorithm can also be considered a new gatekeeper. In the statements of the coordinator of the social media center of the Federal Senate, Moisés Nazário, the Coêlho (2015), only 0.5% of the followers of an institutional page on Facebook receive in their timelines what is published on this page. According to Gil (2020), given the impact of algorithms, it is relevant that digital communication professionals reflect on the choice of the path outlined by image strategies and relationship with audiences, as well as whether this path enhances the algorithms performance or seeks to ensure transparency and freedom of choice.

Social networks amplified access to the information of the Senado News portal and also the number of views of the publications. The use of links was adopted in 93% of publications between July and December 2017. We observed that the professionals followed the recommendations of the Senate Guide to Social Media regarding the shortening of URLs through the e-mail address bitly.com. According to Nazário (2017, p. 31), "about 30% of all accesses to the official website come from links posted on Facebook, according to *Google Analytics* data".

---

<sup>4</sup> Available in: <<https://www12.senado.leg.br/manualdecomunicacao/fundamentos-e-diretrizes/diretrizes/guia-de-atuacao-nas-redes-sociais>>. Accessed on April 30, 2020.

The procedures for choosing content so far as to reach the maximum number of people who will access and appropriate the symbolic forms produced by the Federal Senate are close to the parameters adopted by the commercial media in the selection of news for consumption, aiming at positive audience results. Nevertheless, 22 publications with links requesting the participation of followers in public consultations on the e-Citizenship portal, for example, are a relevant form of guarantee of participation in decisions that will be taken by parliamentarians in the processing of propositions in Congress. A challenge for Parliament, in Novelli's observation (2018), is to provide alternatives of relationship and interaction with the citizen, so that communication actions are not restricted only to offering access and transparency of information; for Novelli, one of these experiences is e-Citizenship. In this case, disclosure on Facebook is essential to give visibility to projects that are open to participation and popular voting. Almada et al. (2019, p. 178) found in their studies that participation in the virtual space occurs "almost entirely through online consultations", which are mandatory in government agencies' regulations and are considered the main instrument for listening to social demands adopted by the federal sphere.

This expansion of access to legislative information transformed the practices of the Federal Senate communication vehicles. The language adopted at the beginning of Facebook use, for example, was more formal, with the use of jargon and specific terms of the political sphere. Today, with the practice's improvement, language has become easier and more accessible, which is consistent with the practice of public communication (LOVARI; VALENTINI, 2019; CAMPOS, 2016; DUARTE, 2012). The follower of the Facebook page needs to feel motivated the instant they access the information. For this, Charaudeau (2012) infers that it needs to be direct and useful, to have clarity and simplicity. Depending on the complexity of the information, it is necessary to simplify the terms, using a more accessible language to ensure better understanding by followers.

The choice of terms, the way to communicate and the way of using the language resources to express themselves with the followers of the page are constant tasks of the social media core of the Federal Senate. Charaudeau (2012) points out that words frequently used by the same announciators may carry certain values. In the Federal Senate publications, we can see the adoption of the words "URGENT" and "ATTENTION" as a way to attract followers to some relevant subject and legislative votes. We also often observe the use of imperative and affirmative phrases, such as "Let your friends know!"; "Inspect your city!"; "Now it's law!"; "Fall into the test!".

From Gomes, Amorim and Almada (2018) perspective, the more intelligible the information is, more transparency. From the moment the Legislature provides information that interests the citizen, the practice of transparency is satisfied, mainly because there is information available online that could not be found through other sources and means. The internet is relevant to citizens seeking to access government documents.

### **Virtualized interaction between the Federal Senate and Facebook followers**

The interaction between citizens and government institutions is one of the prerequisites for the development of public communication. Our goal in this section is to verify when and at what times the interaction between the Federal Senate and Facebook followers occurred, what were the questions left on the page and what was the position before the comments were published. It is through social interaction that information is acquired, as long as it is available and within an environment conducive to it being effective in practice, according to Duarte (2012). We analyzed whether the search for conversation was the result of questions directed exclusively to the Senate, or generated by a participant in interaction with others, or spontaneously, that is, that does not fit the two previous possibilities. Between July and December 2017, we have observed the page's interaction with followers on 24 occasions. July was the month that this practice occurred most frequently, that is, it was the period responsible for almost 50% of the total interactions.

The moments which the Federal Senate interacted in the comments, responding to the followers demands, was when questions and objective questions arose, when it sought to reinforce information contained in the main publication; complement and correct data; clarify information that could be misinterpreted; bringing information and knowledge on matters of public interest and political bias; and establish communication with the page users. The conversations questioned the fees for passport application, the procedures in the vote on labor reform, the functioning of the representative government system and the Facebook page, access to digital books, the attributions of the Senate and parliamentarians, the end of the privileged forum and the law on crime of murder of police officers.

The comments of some followers showed disbelief and discontent with the Brazilian Legislature, such as the sarcasm shown by a follower with the availability of books of criminal law as a guarantee of more knowledge for the discovery of irregularities (Table 1); the questioning about the role of senators; the news publicization on the page as a way to annoy the population (Table 2); and a follower's refusal to read a news of the proposals approved by the Senate in 2017, including the end of the privileged forum. The work of publicization and transparency of the legislative activities, the effort to interact and answer questions were not enough to erase the negative image that some participants exhibited in their comments, as Freitas (2004) and Castells (2015) also found in their studies. Regarding the interaction with the conversations of followers, Campos's analysis (2016) on Facebook. In October of 2015 it was noted that the Senate barely responded to the comments, especially to criticism directed at the Legislature, which, according to Campos, could minimize this bad image. Novelli (2018) notes that this negative perception is not exclusive to Brazil, as other countries also have low approval indicators from legislative institutions and politicians, such as the U.S.

**Table 1** – Questioning about access to digital books.

<b>“Download here the Basic Penal Collection: <a href="http://bit.ly/coletaneadireitopenal">http://bit.ly/coletaneadireitopenal</a>.” Free digital book of criminal law. The Basic Criminal Collection contains: Penal Code; Criminal Misdemeanors Act; Code of Criminal Procedure; Criminal Enforcement Law; Heinous Crimes Act; Law of Special Civil and Criminal Courts; Related constitutional provisions; Thematic index of the Penal Code.”</b>
User 1: "Are you sure you want to give access to these books to the population? Look, they may end up discovering a lot of scams that are going on in the country."
Federal Senate: "Hello, user 1. We want to give access to these and many others. These are available free of charge: <a href="http://livraria.senado.leg.br/ebooks-1.html">http://livraria.senado.leg.br/ebooks-1.html</a> . Free digital books."

**Release date:** July 13, 2017.

**Source:** Own production.

**Table 2** – Annoyance with page publication.

<b>"Understand how the Senate's electronic voting system works. You want to know how senators are present and how they vote in the Senate? Check out the video"</b>
User 2: "The function of this page is clearly to annoy the population."
Federal Senate: "We hope not, user 2. Our goal is to inform the population about the projects that are presented, discussed and voted on in the Senate, and also explain how the legislative process happens. Information is an essential tool for citizens. Without it, how could citizens speak out and stand against or in favor of what is discussed?"

**Release date:** September 16, 2017

**Source:** Own production.

In the comments and publications, we have noticed that the Federal Senate sought to stimulate the participation of followers. A form of motivation for participation where posts are dedicated to answering questions and spontaneous comments seeking to reinforce ideas, clarify or correct information. It is possible that the followers who saw their demands resolved and their comments answered have felt valued and encouraged to continue following the page, in addition to making other comments. However, in the discussion about participation, the comments of a follower (Chart 3) drew attention because they expressed interest in knowing what would be the scope of Facebook as a communication channel between the Legislature and society and whether participation in this space was welcomed in the decision-making processes, since comments contrary or favorable to certain topics were published. In addition, the follower pointed out that the administrators of the page requested participation through polls and public projects' consultations in voting and discussions in plenary.

Analysis developed by Barros, Bernardes and Rodrigues (2014) on the use of digital media, including Twitter, Orkut and Facebook of the House of Representatives, found that, at that time, society would be participating unilaterally, without response by the Chamber. The institution prioritized offering channels to accommodate social demands, "but this, by itself, does not guarantee citizen participation in decision-making processes. There is therefore a lack of mechanisms to ensure that participation is brought to parliamentary offices, to the attention of political representatives and to ensure that there is a response to society" (BARROS; BERNARDES; RODRIGUES, 2014, p. 11). That is, citizens who participate in public

consultations and polls of the Federal Senate expect their opinions to be considered by politicians. As Faria (2015, p. 289) notes, "the autonomy of parliamentarians and political parties during the exercise of the mandate with the consequent disregard of the opinion of the voter would be causing the loss of the relationship of trust between citizen and parliament", as we can see in the conversations of tables 1 and 2.

**Table 3** – Questioning the reach of the page.

<b>“Classifying corruption as a heinous crime is one of the changes contained in the criminal code reform bill being discussed in the Senate. Learn more in the video and see how to send suggestions to the rapporteur.”</b>
User 3: "I would like to know what the scope of this communication channel with the Senate is. I don't see any feedback from the administrators and I only see the Senate working for its own benefit, approving matters that matter little to the population and diverting the eyes of what really matters."
Federal Senate: "Hello, user 3 We always try to answer objective questions about ongoing projects, votes and publications that we do. We do not answer when the internet user is only issuing an opinion or when the question is more subjective. it is worth remembering that the page is managed by senate employees in the area of communication."
User 3: "Ok, Ok... we understand that there are criteria for feedback. But the question I ask is: are the many opinions taken into consideration? Several posts about amendments, proposals, votes lead numerous likes against and in favor. Does it make any difference for people to manifest themselves in this way?"
Federal Senate: "User 3 We have no way to evaluate. But the tools of participation are fundamental because they allow citizens to speak out."

**Release date:** 16 August 2017

**Source:** Own production.

In the publication "Flores do cerrado", a follower praises the image posted and the city of Brasilia. Unlike the publications analyzed, in which the Federal Senate seeks to reinforce, clarify or correct information in the spaces intended for comments, the administrators of the page sought to establish a communicative relationship with this follower, in a relaxed and spontaneous way (Chart 4).

**Table 4** – Praise to the published image of Brasilia.

<b>“Senate Federal updated his cover photo. Cerrado flowers. Photo: Marcos Oliveira/ Agência Senado”</b>
User 4: "Beautiful photo. Brasilia must be a beautiful city"
Federal Senate: "It's a beautiful city. Come visit one day!"

**Release date:** September 14, 2017

**Source:** Own production.

From the interactions analyzed, we have found out that the Federal Senate sought to offer transparency to information of public interest and provide greater knowledge on certain topics. "Only when acts, intentions or plans can be known can we generate a dialogical process of exchange of reasons in order to solve problematic situations" (MAIA, 2008, p. 168). This can be seen in conversations that questioned, for example, the new rules of labor reform (Table 5)

**Table 5** – Questions on new rules of labor reform.

<p><b>“ATTENTION! Labor reform begins on Saturday, November 11. Watch the video and learn about the main changes. Learn more details of what is changed: <a href="http://bit.ly/InfoReformaTrabalhista">http://bit.ly/InfoReformaTrabalhista</a>. Help spread this information by sharing the album with the changes that have occurred in the law: <a href="http://bit.ly/2i0i0tT">http://bit.ly/2i0i0tT</a>.”</b></p>
<p>User 5: "Uai Federal Senate and when the employee does not want to pay the syndicate that is provided for in the reform how does this situation accordingly?"</p>
<p>Federal Senate: User 5 "The worker can try to negotiate alone, but that's what the union is for: gathering many workers, negotiating on their behalf."</p>
<p>User 5: "Complicated Federal Senate saw, I see no improvements unfortunately"</p>
<p>User 6: "If I make a deal I don't get unemployment insurance. And if you are sent away without just cause, does that apply too? Won't I be able to cash out the full FGTS?"</p>
<p>Federal Senate: User 6 "In the case of dismissal without just cause has not changed anything. The worker continues to be entitled to withdraw the FGTS, a fine of 40% on the balance of the FGTS, notice and unemployment insurance (in this case, provided that the grace rules are complied with)."</p>
<p>User 4: "Federal Senate up because all companies will negotiate 2 hours of lunch yes. I imagine the 30 minutes are optional even!"</p>
<p>Federal Senate: "What the new rules allow is that, by agreement or collective agreement (i.e., with negotiation involving union or representatives of company employees), it is possible to establish the lunch break, as long as it is not less than 30 minutes. But it could be more."</p>

**Release date:** November 10, 2017

**Source:** Own production.

We found that there was a concern with the tone expressed in the writing of the comments and the care in the use of words and in the treatment with the followers of the page. One of these situations was the clarification made by the social media team after humorous posting with congratulations from the information technology (IT) professional, anticipating possible comments that could be generated by the misinterpretation of the publication about the attributions of this category.

The adoption of a ton to respond (without generating controversy with participants) , and the use of the first person plural in some situations of interaction ("we hope", "our", "we want to give access", "we do not respond", "we have no way to evaluate") are in accordance with the norms stipulated by the Guide for Action of the Senate in Social Media. The answers follow a pattern of linguistic style and structure, of interactive behavior and, therefore, we can affirm that the search for interaction has proved to be pre-configured, technical. According to the guidelines on page 7 of the Senate Social Media Guide, professionals dealing with social networking sites must have a "frequent response bank" in order to facilitate *feedback* and minimize the occurrence of errors. This practice takes us back to Stromer-Galley's concept of controlled interactivity (in ROSSINI, 2015), as the social networking environment is used to publish Legislative acts and to seek interaction with citizens at certain times. This gives the impression that Parliament is open to conversation and political debate. On the other hand, citizens see this relationship channel as an opportunity to inspect and control Legislative actions, to claim their demands and expose their opinion to the Federal Senate and congressmen, believing they will be heard. "At the same time as the state's ability to communicate grows, so does its visibility, which makes it vulnerable. The

access to available information is uninterrupted, although the lines of communication are not intensified" (WEBER, 2017, p. 47). From this perspective, we can observe that the constancy in the disclosure of legislative content increases the visibility of the Senate and also its responsibilities to society, which begins to monitor and question its actions, but interaction does not accompany this dynamic.

In this active and continuous process of producing publications, comments, among other engagement activities in Facebook's virtual space and in view of the availability of interaction demonstrated by the Federal Senate in this environment, especially in the moments of clarifying the demands of followers in relation to information of public interest, we can say that understanding what is published requires a process of self-understanding and self-formation, "in which people are engaged, in different ways and different depths, in understanding themselves, and perhaps in transforming themselves, in the course of the continuous appropriation of the messages received" (THOMPSON, 2011, p. 409).

Between July and December 2017, 183,511 comments were counted on the Federal Senate's Facebook page. Of this total, only 24 were authored by the communication team. This represents 0.0001% of all comments. If we consider the quantitative bias, the interactions performed on Facebook were minute, similar to what Campos (2016) also found in the analysis of the comments recorded on this page in October 2015. Nevertheless, considering the qualitative bias, we noticed that the interactions sought to solve questions and clarify the participants on topics of public interest.

### **The participation of followers in the publication "URGENT: Senate votes on Labor Reform"**

Our goal here is to analyze how the participation of followers of the Senate Facebook page occurred in the publication "URGENT: Senate votes on labor reform", which was identified as the one that received the most comments in the period between July and December 2017. This publication resulted from a live broadcast of three hours, 35 minutes and 32 seconds on July 11, 2017, and received 18,490 comments. Data was collected by the Netvizz app on October 9, 2018. It was intended to identify the content of the conversations, as well as the characteristic features in the written language of the followers and the expression of feelings originated with the dissemination of the news about the process of voting for the reform.

Brazil 2017 was a post-impeachment country, politically polarized and with several corruption scandals involving names of the political class, such as President Michel Temer, the president of the House of Representatives, Eduardo Cunha, and the president of the Federal Senate, Eunício Oliveira. Cause's research<sup>5</sup>, in partnership with the Ideia Big Data Institute,

---

<sup>5</sup> Available in: <<http://www.cause.net.br/corruptcao-e-palavra-ano-de-2017/>>. Accessed on May 16, 2020.

showed that the word that summarized the year 2017, chosen by 37% of Brazilians, was "corruption". The words "shame" (26%), "crisis" (18%), "tense" (10%) and "change" (9%) were also mentioned by the interviewees. "Shame", even, was one of the most common terms in the comments of followers in the publication "URGENT: Senate votes on Labor Reform". A ranking that assesses the global Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), published on February 21, 2018 by Transparency International, according to Reuters<sup>6</sup>, showed that in 2017, Brazil fell 17 positions (compared to 2016) and came to occupy the position 96 in a ranking of 180 countries.

In addition to the problems caused by corruption involving the spheres of executive and legislative power, Brazil was politically divided. Among the reforms proposed by the Temer government, one of them caused much controversy and demonstrations by the central unions when it was approved by the Federal Senate: the Labor Reform (Law 13,467, 2017), which came into force on November 11, 2017, and withdrew rights of the working class and guaranteed in the CLT (Consolidation of Labor Laws) of 1943.

In the midst of the economic and political crisis experienced at the time, clashes between voters of different ideological spectrums increased. This situation was verified in the comments of the followers of the Federal Senate during the vote on labor reform, which occurred in a climate of partisan polarization, lack of confidence in political institutions and their representatives, with the functioning of so-called "bubbles" and the proliferation of hate speech (especially about politics), characterized by free offense and lack of tolerance and willingness to listen to divergent opinions. Brugger (2007, p. 118) defines hate speech as "words that tend to insult, intimidate, or harass people by virtue of their race, color, ethnicity, nationality, sex, or region, or that have the ability to instigate violence, hatred, or discrimination against such persons." According to Freitas e Castro (2013, p. 344), hate speech "presents as a central element the expression of thought that disqualifies, humiliates and inferiorizes individuals and social groups".

We identified the existence of repetitive comments, giving the impression of *bots*<sup>7</sup>. One example was five comments of 149 lines each with the phrase "#BOLSONAROPRESIDENTE2018" written twice on each line. The use of exclamatory punctuation, interrogative and ellipsis signs, as well as words and phrases in a high box, repetition of letters and shorthand of words were very common features, such as "Respect the peopleeeeeee!"; "Liarssssssssssssssssss!"; "Cowardssssss!"; "Betrayersssssssss!"; "thieves"; "scoundrels"; "See you at the polls"; "Let's end union tax"; "Out PT"; "Out Fear"; "SAY NO LABOR REFORM".

Misspellings, inattention to punctuation, coherence and cohesion also characterized the conversations. The way of writing and the language used resembled oral discourse, without the

---

<sup>6</sup> Available in: <<https://br.reuters.com/article/domesticNews/idBRKCN1G527N-OBRDN>>. Accessed on May 16, 2020.

<sup>7</sup> *Bots* are computer programs that perform automated and repetitive activities. An example is the *bot* (robot) that controls the Facebook news *feed*, updating the content in the user's *timelines* about the news, photos and videos published by each person's network of contacts.

concern with linguistic rules. "The use of expressions in everyday communication is ordered, but this order derives from, and reproduces a practical grammar, a practical syntax, which is both acquired and used in the current exchange of everyday linguistic expressions" (THOMPSON, 2011, p. 371). Hashtags (#) were positioned by referring to the names of politicians and words such as "end", "out", "revolt", "disprove", "no" and street mobilization ("#VemPraRuaBrasil"). The comments evidenced the opinion of the followers when receiving and interpreting the publications, as well as was a form of interaction between the participants. A series of name-calling and the use of pejorative terms conveyed feelings of anger and discontent with the approval of the reform. The words that appeared most in the conversations were "corrupt", "thieves", "scammers", "traitors" and "liars". Other expressions, such as "shame" (referring to politicians representing the people; brazilian nationality; the withdrawal of workers' rights; the new labor reform; corruption); and "slavery" and terms of the same family, such as "slaver", "slaver", "slave" (reference to some points of reform and favoring entrepreneurs and parliamentarians) were also common.

Overall, the topics that dominated the discussions were: approval and disapproval of parliamentarians and parties; lack of representation and parliamentary renewal; disappointment and hopelessness with Brazilian politics; opposing and pro-reform views; polarization between left and right; politicians' high salaries; unemployment; pregnancy and lack of health assistance; call for street demonstrations; mobilization and sharing of information on social networks; network access and transmission quality; comparison of Brazil with other countries; and pro-military intervention speeches.

It can be said that a plurality of voices was present in the comment of each follower who expressed his opinion in the publication "URGENT: Senate votes on Labor Reform". There was interaction among the followers, expressed in their speeches in the follow-up of the labor reform vote and an exchange of views that connect, showing concern about the impact of the new law on their professional practices. Even if not everyone interacts with each other directly or indirectly, they share their presence in the same Facebook virtual space and receive the same posts. Therefore, as Thompson (2011, p. 408) points out, "knowing that they are not alone in receiving messages, that they are part of a virtual community of containers that can extend through time and space, can constitute an essential part of the pleasure and importance that receiving messages brings to them".

The digital environment may be conducive to political discussions, but the externalization between followers against and in favor of the PT (Workers' Party) and other topics in the comments analyzed here raise reflections on the extent to which it is possible to expand or acquire knowledge in these places. From the analyses, it was found that there was not necessarily a productive debate in the comments and, depending on the publication, exalted discourses and in a tone of cursing took over the space destined for this purpose.

Because these comments are not communicated by the social media team to senators, unless they look for them on Facebook, according to the coordination of the social media core, these opinions may not be taken into account in votes that take place in the Federal Senate.

### **Final considerations**

In this article, we present the public communication practices developed by the Federal Senate on Facebook. The analyses showed that, in the production of legislative news, social network professionals were concerned with the intelligibility of information and with the technicality of terms and their treatment, using resources to facilitate the interpretation given by followers. The publication of parliamentary work sought to ensure transparency of information, despite the existence of an algorithm that limits its visibility and the selection of topics that generate more engagement on the page. Therefore, those who inform themselves only through Facebook are not aware of everything that happens in the Senate.

In the interactions, even those of sarcastic tone and debauchery, we find that the Federal Senate, represented by its communication professionals, tried to intervene, even if the interactions had not been the result of questions, in order to revert the negative image that the followers let emerge in the conversations, either for the mistrust about the approval of laws, or the activities of the Legislative and its representatives, or even for contempt of the communication work carried out on the page. We emphasize that interaction accomplishes an important task, which is to minimize citizens' ignorance and the proliferation of uncertain information about certain laws and their validity. Interaction also brings representatives and representatives closer together, alters the levels of trust and stimulates or inhibits participation.

Possibly, for some followers, there was a perception that senators were connected in this social network and that the comments left in publications would be seen by them. But we found that, through an interview with the social media nucleus, there is no way to forward these comments to parliamentarians.

Making public communication on social networks is, in a way, a challenge, at the moment of production and in the sense offered to government and political publications, and in the attention that should be given to the stage of interpretation by the recipient. Another challenge is to be able to follow the engagement, the conversations and the questions and interact with the participants. The network is a space for an extension of visibility, but transparency, access and interactivity can be affected by algorithms present in the digital environment and therefore can interfere with the full experience of virtual public communication.

We understand that the publication of news in the Federal Senate page aims to give transparency to information of public interest and, therefore, access to news for those who participate in these spaces. However, in the case studied, the interaction proved to be minimal and controlled, with negotiation of the relationship between the Legislative and the followers of the

page. In this situation, the search for interaction occurred at certain moments, in certain discussion agendas, and this gives the impression of openness to dialogue and political debate by the Senate. The followers, on the other hand, sought to resist this control of agendas and force their opening, questioning and inspecting legislative actions and demanding answers.

We believe that, finally, the practices of public communication in the Federal Senate can be guided by the premise of achieving a full experience of transparency and interaction on the page, which future research should highlight.

## References

ALMADA, Maria Paula et al. Democracia digital no Brasil: obrigação legal, pressão política e viabilidade tecnológica. **Matrizes**, v. 13, n. 3, p. 161-181, set./dez. 2019.

BARDIN; Laurence. **Análise de conteúdo**. Tradução Luís Antero Reto e Augusto Pinheiro. Edições 70, 1977.

BARROS, Antonio Teixeira de; BERNARDES, Cristiane Brum; RODRIGUES, Malena Rehbein. Visibilidade e representação política: o caso da Câmara dos Deputados no Brasil. **Contextualizaciones Latinoamericanas**, v. 6, n. 10, p. 1-13, jan./jun. 2014.

BARROS, Antonio Teixeira de; BERNARDES, Cristiane Brum. Comunicação pública e liberdade de informação: condições básicas para mídias legislativas. In: **IV Encontro da Compólitica**, Rio de Janeiro: UERJ, 13 a 15 abr. 2011, p. 1-17.

BARROS, Antonio Teixeira de; BERNARDES, Cristiane Brum. A pluralização das fontes de informação política no Brasil: as mídias legislativas. **Rumores**, v. 2, n. 4, p. 1-11, abr. 2009.

BERTOT, John C.; JAEGER, Paul T.; GRIMES, Justin M. Using ICTs to create a culture of transparency: E-government and social media as openness and anti-corruption tools for societies. **Government Information Quarterly**, n. 27, p. 264–271, 2010.

BRUGGER, Winfried. Proibição ou proteção do discurso do ódio? Algumas observações sobre o direito alemão e o americano. Tradução de Maria Angela Jardim de Santa Cruz Oliveira. **Revista de Direito**, n. 15, p. 117-136, jan./fev./mar. 2007.

CAMPOS, Roberta Guerra Holder Belfort. **Redes sociais e participação política**: um estudo da página do Senado Federal no Facebook. 2016. 101 f. Brasília. Monografia (Especialização em Comunicação Política no Legislativo). Centro de Formação, Treinamento e Aperfeiçoamento da Câmara dos Deputados / Cefor.

CASTELLS, Manuel. **O poder da comunicação**. Tradução Vera Lúcia Mello Joscelyne. Revisão de tradução Isabela Machado de Oliveira Fraga. 1. Ed. São Paulo / Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 2015.

CHARAUDEAU, Patrick. **Discurso das mídias**. Tradução Angela S. M. Corrêa. 2ª ed., 1ª reimp., São Paulo: Contexto, 2012.

COÊLHO, Marília Matias de Oliveira. **O perfil Senado Notícias no Facebook e a politização da sociedade**. 2015. 110f. Brasília. Trabalho de conclusão de curso (Especialização em Comunicação Legislativa). Instituto Legislativo Brasileiro.

DEPAULA, Nic; DINCELLI, Ersin; HARRISON, Teresa M. Toward a typology of government social media communication: Democratic goals, symbolic acts and self-presentation. **Government Information Quarterly**, 35: p. 98-108, 2018.

DUARTE, Jorge. Instrumentos de comunicação pública. In: DUARTE, Jorge (org.). **Comunicação pública**: estado, mercado, sociedade e interesse público. 3. ed., São Paulo: Atlas,

2012, p. 59-71.

FARIA, Cristiano Ferri Soares de. **O parlamento aberto na era da Internet**: pode o povo colaborar com o Legislativo na elaboração das leis? Brasília: Câmara dos Deputados, Edições Câmara, 2015.

FREITAS, Luiz Carlos Santana de. **A midiaticização do Parlamento**: a TV Senado e as transformações na atividade político-parlamentar no Senado brasileiro. 2004. 75f. Brasília. Dissertação. (Mestrado em Comunicação Social). Universidade de Brasília (UnB).

FREITAS, Riva Sobrado de; CASTRO, Matheus Felipe de. Liberdade de expressão e discurso de ódio: um exame sobre as possíveis limitações à liberdade de expressão. **Sequência**, n. 66, p. 327-355, jul. 2013.

GIL, Patrícia Guimarães. Autocracia digital: crítica à comunicação algorítmica das redes e das organizações. In: FARIAS, Luiz Alberto de; LEMOS, Else; REBECHI, Cláudia Nociolini (Org.). **Opinião pública, comunicação e organizações**: convergências e perspectivas contemporâneas. 1. ed., São Paulo: Abrapcorp, 2020, p.178-193.

GOMES, Wilson; AMORIM, Paula Karini; ALMADA, Maria Paula. Novos desafios para a ideia de transparência pública. **E-Compós**, v. 21, n. 2, p. 1-18, mai./ago. 2018.

**GUIA DE ATUAÇÃO DO SENADO NAS MÍDIAS SOCIAIS**. p. 1-15. Disponível em: <<https://www12.senado.leg.br/manualdecomunicacao/fundamentos-e-diretrizes/diretrizes/guia-de-atuacao-nas-redes-sociais>>. Acesso em 30 de abril de 2020.

HALL, Stuart. **Da diáspora**: identidades e mediações culturais. Organização Liv Sovik. Tradução de Adelaine La Guardia Resende et al. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2003.

LOVARI, Alessandro; VALENTINI, Chiara. Public Sector Communication and Social Media: Opportunities and Limits of Current Policies, Activities and Practices. In: LUOMA-AHO, Vilma; CANEL, María José (org.). **The Handbook of Public Sector Communication**. MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2019, p. 315-328.

MAIA, Rousiley. Visibilidade midiática e deliberação pública. In: GOMES, Wilson; MAIA, Rousiley. **Comunicação e democracia**: problemas & perspectivas. São Paulo: Paulus, 2008, p. 165-194.

MARGETTS, Helen. The Internet and Transparency. **The Political Quarterly**, v. 82, n. 4, p. 518-521, October / December 2011.

MARQUES, Francisco Paulo Jamil. **Ciberpolítica**: conceitos e experiências. Salvador: EDUFBA, 2016.

MEIJER, Albert. Understanding modern transparency. **International Review of Administrative Sciences**. v. 75, n. 2, p. 255-269, 2009.

MEIJER, Albert. Government Transparency in Historical Perspective: From the Ancient Regime to Open Data in The Netherlands. **International Journal of Public Administration**, v. 38, n. 3, p. 189-199, 2015.

NAZÁRIO, Moisés de Oliveira. **Democracia digital no Senado**: mídias sociais e portal E-cidadania como canais entre o Parlamento e o cidadão. 2017. 80f. Brasília. Trabalho de conclusão de curso (Especialização em Ciência Política). Instituto Legislativo Brasileiro.

NOVELLI, Ana Lucia Romero. A comunicação no poder legislativo e as novas interfaces com o cidadão. In: MAINIERI, Tiago; MARQUES, Ângela (org.). **Comunicação e poder organizacional**: enfrentamentos discursivos, políticos e estratégicos. Goiânia: Gráfica UFG, 2018, p. 174-190.

ROSSINI, Patricia Gonçalves C. Campanhas eleitorais digitais: descobertas, desafios e transformações em mais de duas décadas de pesquisa e prática (Entrevista com Jennifer Stromer-Galley). **Revista Compólitica**, v. 5, n. 2, p.27-36, 2015.

ROTHBERG, Danilo; LIBERATO, Fabiola de Paula. Comunicação pública, transparência e políticas públicas: avaliação de informações em portais brasileiros de governos. **Revista Internacional de Relaciones Públicas**, v. III, n. 6, p. 69-96, 2013.

SHOEMAKER, Pamela J.; VOS, Tim P. Entendendo o conceito. In: SHOEMAKER, Pamela J.; VOS, Tim P. **Teoria do gatekeeping**: construção e seleção da notícia. Tradução de Vivian Nickel. Revisão de Marcia Enetti. Porto Alegre: Penso, 2011, p. 23-36.

THOMPSON, John B. A metodologia da interpretação. In: THOMPSON, John B. **Ideologia e cultura moderna**: teoria social crítica na era dos meios de comunicação de massa. Tradução do Grupo de Estudos sobre Ideologia, comunicação e representações sociais da pós-graduação do Instituto de Psicologia da PUCRS. 9. ed., Petrópolis/RJ: Vozes, 2011, p. 355- 421.

WEBER, Maria Helena. Nas redes de comunicação pública, as disputas possíveis de poder e visibilidade. In: WEBER, Maria Helena; COELHO, Marja Pfeifer; LOCATELLI, Carlos (Org.). **Comunicação pública e política**: pesquisa e práticas. Florianópolis: Insular, 2017, p. 23-56.

ZÉMOR, Pierre. **La Communication Publique**. Tradução resumida de Elizabeth Brandão. Paris: PUF, Col. Que sais-je?, 1995.

ZÉMOR, Pierre. As formas da comunicação pública. In: DUARTE, Jorge (org.). **Comunicação pública**: estado, mercado, sociedade e interesse público. 3. ed.. São Paulo: Atlas, 2012, p. 214-245.