

VENEZUELAN MIGRATION IN *JORNAL NACIONAL*

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the discourse of *Jornal Nacional* (Globo Channel) about Venezuelans displaced to Brazil as a result of the economic, political and social crisis in Venezuela, in order to explore their narrative senses. We decided to use, as a temporal cut-off, 17 editions of 2018, with an analytical emphasis on those that showed the presence of Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil. With the help of Sociology, we identified the blind nodes in the discursive practices of *Jornal Nacional*. The arrival of the immigrants is narrated as a threat to normality and stability. The perpetuation of this discursive regime may function as a mechanism of exclusion, generating new fears and insecurities.

KEYWORDS

journalism; silencing; immigrants; social exclusion; Venezuela

MIGRAÇÃO VENEZUELANA NO *JORNAL NACIONAL*

RESUMO

Com o propósito de explorar os sentidos narrativos, este artigo analisa o discurso do *Jornal Nacional* (JN), da Rede Globo, sobre os venezuelanos deslocados para o Brasil, em decorrência da crise econômica, política e social em curso na Venezuela. Definimos como recorte temporal 17 edições de 2018, que enquadraram a presença de imigrantes venezuelanos no Brasil. À luz da Sociologia compreensiva identificamos nós cegos nas práticas discursivas do JN. A chegada dos imigrantes é narrada como uma ameaça à normalidade e à estabilidade. A perpetuação deste regime discursivo pode funcionar como um mecanismo de exclusão, gerador de novos medos e inseguranças.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

jornalismo; silenciamentos; imigrantes; exclusão social; Venezuela

TEXTS AND CONTEXTS

Current large-scale migration flows result from poverty, political persecution, war conflicts, economic crises, environmental issues. Mankind has long been migrating in order to escape from hunger, war, natural hazards. We could either go way back to 15th

and 16th centuries expansion and intercontinental colonization or stick to 20th century world wars. From a social perspective, today's Europe is changing thanks to migrations, not only of Syrians and Africans fleeing from wars, but also Europeans who migrate for economic reasons, for instance, in search of better job opportunities and quality of life. With regard to Latin America, colonization and migratory flows, including thousands of refugees, were responsible for its social structure.

Historically speaking, human beings have always sought dignity they could not find in their native countries beyond borders. Immigrants and refugees, however, are seen differently. According to respondents of a survey carried out with 16 040 people in several countries, not all of the refugees actually need to leave their countries. 61% of the respondents believe that there are terrorists amongst the refugees (Buarque, 2016). After this survey was made public, the UN, through ACNUR's spokesperson, "warned against the demonization of refugees".

The UN (Malik, 2014, p. 213) defines refugees as

individuals who have left their native country and who are unable or unwilling to return to it because of fear of persecution, as because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a specific social group.

Bauman (2004, 2016, 2017) addressed the concept of wasted lives by theorizing on human waste in modern society, referring to migrants in Europe. He identified fear of refugees as an existential threat. Being different is seen as a threat to the European way of life or identity. The author mentions the industry of fear produced by the system itself and criticizes salvation by the power of the State.

Bourdieu (1998, p. 11) had already defined the immigrant as:

atopos, devoid of place, displaced, unclassifiable (...). Not a citizen nor a foreigner, not totally on the Self side, nor totally on the Other's side, the "immigrant" exists within that "bastard" place of which Plato also speaks, on the frontier between social being and non-being. Displaced in the sense of incongruous and inopportune, creating embarrassment; makes it hard to think about (...). Out of place in their society of origin as in the host society, forces us to totally reappraise the question of the legitimate foundations of citizenship and the relationship between the state and nation or nationality. An absent presence, obliges us to call into question not only the reactions of rejection which, holding the state to be an expression of the nation, are justified by claiming to found citizenship on the community of language and culture (or even race), but also the assimilationist "generosity" which, confident that the state armed with education, can produce the nation, may dissimulate a chauvinism of the universal.

Back to Latin America, the Organization of American States (OAS, 2017, p. 13) published, in December 2017, a study on the status of human rights in Venezuela, in which it reports the frailty of democracy, an increase in repression, violence and insecurity,

pointing out the “severe political, economic and social crisis in the country for the past two years”, “characterized by the generalized shortage of food, medication, medical care and equipment, among others. In 2015, there was a 180.9% increase in prices and in April 2016 80% of the population faced a shortage of food” (OAS, 2017, pp. 22-23).

According to the approaches taken by both the OAS’ study (2017, p. 17), the crisis in Venezuela

is a complex matter rooted in the interference of Executive Power in other public powers. This failure in separating powers reflects, in a particularly serious way, on the worrying intervention of Judicial Power, especially in the past two years. As consequence, the worsening of the recent crisis in Venezuela is closely connected to a series of decisions by the Supreme Court of Justice (SCJ), which represents interferences in the National Assembly (NA) and which have affected the principle of separation of powers. This situation worsened to the point of producing a change in the constitutional order.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017, n.p.) comments on the ongoing process in that country, the external interferences, he recalls the “attempted coup in 2002 led by the opposition with the active support of the United States”, which, in 2015, declared that Venezuela represented a “threat to US national security”.

The effects of the world economic crisis and the blow in the oil sector in 2009 had consequences including for Venezuela. Right after the succession of the Bolivarian socialist (Botelho, 2008; Lopes, 2013; Schurster & Araújo, 2015) Hugo Chávez (1999-2013) by Nicolás Maduro, through a lively electoral process which made the opposition stronger, there was yet another drop, in 2014, in the price of oil in the international market.

Once again, Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017, n.p.) provides it with a context:

the situation got worse, until December 2015, when the opposition won the majority of seats in the National Assembly. The Supreme Court of Justice suspended four deputies, claiming electoral fraud, and the National Assembly disobeyed. From then on, the institutional confrontation escalated and progressively spread to the streets, also fuelled by the severe economic and provision crisis all around the country. There were more than one hundred people dead; real chaos.

These facts are very likely to have contributed significantly to the beginning of a destabilisation process of economy which led Venezuela towards hyperinflation, the destocking of basic goods, shortage of food. The Venezuelan oil reserves – one of the country’s strategic resources – are of international interest, mostly of neoliberal superpowers as the United States.

Concerned with external interferences in Venezuela, Boaventura Sousa Santos (2017, n. p.) reinforces the idea that

recent history shows that economic sanctions affect mainly innocent citizens rather than governments. We just have to remember the 500 thousand children who, according to the United Nations report from 1995, died in Iraq as a result of the imposed sanctions after the Gulf War. Let us also remember the half a million Portuguese or people of Portuguese descent that live in Venezuela. Recent history has also taught us that no democracy emerges stronger after foreign intervention.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees¹, one million Venezuelans have left their country between 2014 and 2017. The Brazilian Ministry of Justice (2017b, n.p.) reports about the regional overview of asylum in the Americas:

between January and September 2017, circa 48 500 Venezuelans have requested asylum around the world, nearly twice as many as in the preceding year. Until July 2017, it was estimated that there were around 300 000 Venezuelans in Colombia, 40 000 in Trinidad and Tobago, and 30 000 in Brazil, in different migratory or irregular situations.

Regarding Venezuelan immigration to Brazil, the Ministry of Justice (2017a, n.p.) reported that there has been a significant increase in asylum requests between 2010 and 2016. This year alone, there were 3 375 requests – about 33% of all the registers in the country in 2016. In 2015, 829 Venezuelans requested asylum. In its concluding remarks, the document quoted the “5 countries with the most asylum requests in 2016: Venezuela, Cuba, Angola, Haiti and Syria”. That is to say, it does not happen by chance.

Regarding the period analysed in this article, *Jornal Nacional* (JN) chose not to mention the fact that other Latin American countries are welcoming Venezuelans. *G1 Roraima* published an article on 2018/03/02 with data that could have been used by *Jornal Nacional* (Costa & Brandão, 2018). “Venezuelans are also going to Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Argentina and Uruguay”, reports professor José Franco. He explains that the first to come were middle-class Venezuelans, and then people from working classes. According to JN March 10th 2018² edition, between January and February 2018, 24 466 Venezuelans asked to enter Brazil through Roraima’s Federal Police station – almost three times more than in the same period in 2017. Because of the emphasis given to it during the news, this kind of speech shows that the arrival of middle-class Venezuelans to Brazil does not pose as a threat when compared to the arrival of others from poorer sectors of the population. This “regime of looking” perpetuates a non-acceptance and an impossible to live together speech that is processed by an awareness focused on unity rather than otherness (Martins, 2011, 2019).

Data gathered by the National Immigration Council, made public in September 2017 by UNHCR, gives details on the social, demographic and work profile of Venezuelan immigrants in Brazil:

¹ Information retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/publications/fundraising/5aobff07/unhcr-global-appeal-2018-2019-americas.html>

² Começa a campanha de vacinação contra o sarampo em Roraima (2018, March 10). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6569499/programa/>

72% of the non-native Venezuelans are aged between 20-39, most of them are male (63%) and single (54%). Almost one out of three (32%) have a college degree or post-graduation, while three out of four (78%) have completed high school. Among the non-native, 82% have already requested asylum. In that case, a third is entitled to asylum, 23% have an employment card, 29% have a social security number and 4% do not have any documents.³

These data were also left out by JN.

Roraima is just the front door, even though many Venezuelans choose to settle there because of the proximity to their native country. According to JN and official sources from the municipality of Boa Vista and Roraima's government, there was chaos due to Venezuelan mass migration and federal authorities seem to do very little to solve the problem.

The state faces logistic problems and cannot provide immigrants with decent housing conditions. In spite of the transfer of federal resources, Roraima has already declared a state of social emergency, requiring a stronger presence of the armed forces in order to control the borders and deal with healthcare. Immigration is not chaotic, as the analysed discourses wants us to believe. The number of Venezuelans in Brazil "is considered to be low in absolute terms, when compared to the Brazilian population, territorial extension and reality in other countries of similar dimension", as mentioned by Camila Asano, Programme coordinator of the NGO Conectas Direitos Humanos, in an interview granted to *Nexo* (Charleaux, 2018). According to Camila Asano "immigrants, legal or illegal, correspond, today, to 1% of Brazil's overall population. In the United States, they correspond to 14%; in Argentina 4%. Brazil welcomes not many people and could welcome many more". She claims that "it is the lack of proper response that transmits a sense of crisis in Brazil".

JN'S DISCOURSE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERPRETIVE SOCIOLOGY

Interpretive sociology allowed us to analyse the discourse on refugees. According to sociology, discourse is seen as a symbolic power exercise (Bourdieu, 1989), accepted both by the "dominant" and the "dominated", as symbolic violence, within the social field and in a context of concrete relationships, of legitimate senders and receivers, according to legitimate and acceptable rituals. The individual distinguishes himself or herself through discourse, using language to be understood. Media discourses are also inscribed in that functioning scheme of symbolic systems (Martins, 2015).

Regarding concepts such as field and *habitus*, Bourdieu sees representations as collective and historical constructions which precede the individual, that is to say, they are pre-existent in social structures, but are reformulated by the individual through the language used to build a particular view of the world, influenced by assumed social status, and which guides their social practices.

³ Information retrieved from <http://www.acnur.org/portugues/noticias/noticia/maioria-de-venezuelanos-em-roraima-e-jovem-possui-boa-escolaridade-e-esta-trabalhando/>

Weber (1922/2004, p. 191) sees domination as

a probability that a “command” of the “dominant” or “dominants” exercises influence on others (“those who are subordinated to domination”), and as a matter of fact, it influences them in such a way that those actions are carried out as if the dominated used the content of the command as the motto of their obedience actions.

Eagleton (1997, p. 83), based on Bourdieu, describes the legitimation of domination: “a dominant power may legitimate itself when those subjected to it come to judge their own conduct according to their rulers’ criteria”. Therefore, social practices (discourses and actions) are based on representations, judgements, biases, values, perceptions, symbolic capitals present in cognitive structures and internalised within the *habitus*.

The Sociology of Communication (Berkowitz, 1997; Breed, 1997; Schudson, 1986, 1988; Sousa Santos, 2000; Traquina, 2001; Tuchman, 1978) and concepts such as field and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1978, 1989, 1998) allow us to understand the news as the result of a symbolic construction process, in which there are social, cognitive, cultural aspects involved, whose producers belong to a journalistic community and are included in an organizational context of a given society. Media discourses contain several examples of demonization, silencing, ideologies, values upheld by media organizations, ruling powers and sources, made evident in the reconstruction of events organized by the news’ structure.

In a research with a bigger reach, we have analysed 2017 and 2018 *Jornal Nacional* editions about Venezuela. The data were gathered between February and March 2018, on Globo Play’s site⁴ – *Jornal Nacional* – via register online, with the identification of the videos posted by JN between 2017 and 2018, whose titles identified the subject Venezuela. There were 50 stories in 2017 and 21 between January 1st and March 20th 2018. Given that space is limited, we chose to present our analysis on the content of 17 articles, out of a total of 21 presented between January 5th and March 20th 2018⁵.

On January 26th 2018⁶, *Jornal Nacional* aired a story about the worsening of the crisis after Maduro’s government rejected the possibility of an opposing candidate to run for the elections which were brought forward to April. JN informs that the international community (namely the USA, Lima Group, Spain) has condemned the call for elections. The Venezuelan government, for the time being, has nothing to say about it. The crisis in Venezuela is presented in a way so that the public internalises JN’s ideology. By ideology we mean a collective and group-adequate result, which best serves private interests that tend to conceal as universal (Bourdieu, 1989). There are no further explanations for what caused the economic crisis.

⁴ Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com>

⁵ We have excluded from the analysis two (text-only) news pieces and two news pieces accompanied by audio-video footage.

⁶ Justiça da Venezuela barra aliança da oposição (2018, January, 26). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6452910/programa/>

In February⁷, *Jornal Nacional* aired stories focused on the “problems” the state of Roraima has had to face “because of the Venezuelans”, including a resurgence of measles brought in “by unvaccinated Venezuelans”, and on the Brazilian government and Roraima’s actions to control the entry and the integration of these immigrants.

On 2018/02/08⁸, an attack to Venezuelan immigrants was the highlight of JN’s breaking news and follow-up story, which states that the “police are investigating gasoline attacks to two Venezuelan immigrants homes in Boa Vista”; it presents the report from one of the victims and highlights another attack in which a three year-old and dad got hurt. There were two cases in just three days. A federal government delegation went to Roraima to deal with “mass immigration of Venezuelans trying to escape the crisis”. JN informs that forty thousand Venezuelans live in Boa Vista. Amongst the measures adopted by Palácio do Planalto (official workplace of the President of Brazil) there is an increase in border policing, the revalidation of Venezuelan doctors and teachers and a plan to take immigrants to other states (interiorization). In a news piece shown on February 9th 2018⁹, JN declares that, according to the police, the same person – whose name was not disclosed – was responsible for both attacks. A surveillance camera caught the crimes. Several organizations signed a memorandum that repudiated xenophobia in Roraima.

A story run on February 12th 2018¹⁰ addressed a meeting between President Temer and Roraima authorities, during which they decided to create a taskforce to tackle the problem of Venezuelan immigrants in that state. According to the news, Temer asked for the policing of the borders and created a federal bureau to keep up with the actions, and a census in order to ascertain the exact number of Venezuelan nationals. The President said that the army would stay in charge of all the actions, as well as Roraima’s state government. Temer ended up issuing a provisional measure for channelling “all the necessary resources to solve the matter of Venezuelans in Roraima”. Similarly to what happens with other subjects, JN shows numbers: there are 40 000 Venezuelans living in the capital. Only in January, 15.108 asked to enter Roraima through the border. They are trying to escape hunger and unemployment, JN repeats.

Among the headlines on February 15th 2018’s¹¹ edition there is this one: “Brazil adopts measures to assist Venezuelans who arrived in Roraima”. The story talks about

⁷ Calil and Barboza (2018) link the intensified debate on social networks about Venezuelan immigrants and the strengthening of this agenda on the media to two factors: “the parade of samba schools’ Special Group in Rio (...) and President Michel Temer’s trip, during Carnival holiday, to Roraima. (...) the debate, now, revolves around the arrival and welcoming of the immigrants to the country’s borders”. Retrieved from <http://dapp.fgv.br/analise-de-redes-sobre-refugiados-venezuelanos-aponta-para-o-desafio-migratorio-em-roraima/>

⁸ Casas de imigrantes venezuelanos em Boa Vista são incendiadas (2018, February 8). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6487662/programa/>

⁹ Casas de venezuelanos em Boa Vista foram atacadas pela mesma pessoa, diz polícia (2018, February 9). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6491024/programa/>

¹⁰ Temer anuncia força-tarefa para tratar de imigrantes venezuelanos (2018, February 12). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6497344/programa/>

¹¹ Governo federal decreta emergência social em Roraima (2018, February, 15). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6506359/programa/>

the social emergency decree in that state, the deployment of 30 men of the national security force to help control the border. It also focuses on the immigrants' vaccination campaign. "In dire need of malaria medicine, Venezuelan woman cries grateful for having been taken care of. In Venezuela, there have been a few outbreaks of diseases such as measles" – a confirmed case of measles in a 1 year-old infant who lived in Boa Vista. The TV reporter says there had not been a single case of measles in Brazil since 2015. The Venezuelan woman tells that back home vaccines were not free and that now she feels safe. President Temer signed a provisional measure for emergency procedures to welcome immigrants, a decree for the creation of a federal commission to monitor the situation and another one that recognised Roraima's vulnerability "due to Venezuelans intense migration". The news story ends by adding that there are 40 000 Venezuelans living in Boa Vista.

Roberto Burnier reports the story (2018/02/16)¹² directly from Boa Vista. It starts at square Simon Bolívar – "a meeting point for Venezuelans" – with a detailed awareness raising report of the level of misery and poverty they live in today. He explains that hyperinflation in the neighbouring country is over 2000% a year. Burnier shows the queues Venezuelans wait in to obtain a refugee *status*. "As if all these problems were not enough, measles – a disease eradicated from Brazil since 2016 – resurged". Ingrid, an immigrant who has been living on the streets for a month, says: "I don't want them to bring me food. I want a job to make money".

Breaking news on February 17th 2018's¹³ edition: "our reporters went to the border with Venezuela and proved that nothing has changed with the social emergency decree in Roraima because of the wave of immigrants that try to escape from crisis in the neighbouring country". Burnier interviews Carmen, who has migrated three years ago. She is here because she needs a job. "There is no food in Venezuela. There is nothing", she says. The emergency program for immigrants envisages

social protection measures within infrastructures, health care and education, but in small Pacaraima Venezuelans are sleeping on the streets. A few of them try to find a job in the municipality, but most of them go to Boa Vista. At the border, a few Venezuelans exchange real for bolivar at a parallel rate – which is an illegal, clandestine activity. There is no monitoring. Moneychangers act freely.¹⁴

Burnier has talked to a Federal Police officer that

cannot be identified. He said that, even though Temer has declared a state of social emergency, nothing has changed at the border. 30 National Public

¹² Roraima começa a vacinar imigrantes venezuelanos contra o sarampo (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6509642/programa/>

¹³ Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/>

¹⁴ Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/>

Security Force soldiers are already at Pacaraima, but they have not taken any actions so far. The Federal Government stated that declaring a state of emergency does not close the borders, but provides resources, that the Federal Police and the Army have doubled their presence in that state and that on Monday there will be even more men in Roraima.¹⁵

JN shows us Venezuelan migration to Brazil through repetitions and discursive reinforcements: “a dramatic rise”, “a wave of immigrants” from Venezuela that escape hunger, unemployment, high prices for every day goods, the “serious political, economic and social crisis”. In short, from JN point of view, they are running from Hugo Chávez’s Bolivarian socialist model, which is being perpetuated by Nicolás Maduro.

According to *Jornal Nacional*, the political crisis is previous to the economic and social crisis. The tone William Bonner adopted in the opening story on February 19th 2018¹⁶, and the use of the superlative adjective, is clear:

the terrible economic, social and political crisis in Venezuela has produced a migratory wave in northern Brazil. 800 Venezuelans arrive to the state of Roraima every day. In Boa Vista, they still depend on volunteer work to have something to eat.

Burnier shows children “struggling with hunger”, the “despair” of having to search for food and Venezuelans’ gratitude towards volunteers who distribute food items and leftovers. The journalist emphasizes the idea that while Maduro is in office, Iris will not go back to Venezuela. José recalls being hungry in the neighbouring country.

Burnier reaffirms that “many Venezuelans walk 220 km to reach Brazil through the municipality of Pacaraima. The humanitarian aid contemplated by the decree signed the previous week is scheduled only for Thursday this week”¹⁷. Army General Gustavo Dutra said that the logistic and humanitarian taskforce will welcome, register and help with the integration of immigrants.

In “Filhos da Imigração” [Children of Immigration], a story which aired on February 20th 2018¹⁸, Bonner qualifies and characterises immigration using the adjective “massive” to report the problems Roraima has to deal with, relying once more on the metaphor of the power of nature: the “Venezuelan migratory wave to Brazil caused a massive increase of patients in Roraima’s Public Healthcare facilities, mostly in search for a specific medical procedure”. Burnier will soon break the suspense: in Roraima alone, there were 150 Venezuelan women who gave birth in January – “the children of Venezuelan

¹⁵ Venezuelanos chegam todos os dias para buscar refúgio no Brasil (2018, February 16). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6511798/programa/>

¹⁶ Por dia, 800 venezuelanos entram no Brasil pela cidade de Pacaraima (RR) (2018, February 19). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6515990/programa/>

¹⁷ Por dia, 800 venezuelanos entram no Brasil pela cidade de Pacaraima (RR) (2018, February 19). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6515990/programa/>

¹⁸ Filhos da imigração: em Roraima, 150 venezuelanas deram à luz em janeiro (2018, February 20). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6519034/programa/>

immigration”. “We expect the number to rise. It is more and more common for pregnant Venezuelans to cross the borders with Brazil”. The story presents us with data of Venezuelan births in Roraima: in 2016, there were 288; in 2017, 572. In 2018, there was an average of five births per day. Many of the pregnant women live on the streets in Roraima and come to the maternity ward malnourished. The number of premature babies is huge, Burnier points out. The maternity ward director confirms the journalist’s concern.

Another “common” situation presented by JN as a threat and impending chaos in public healthcare facilities in the state of Roraima are Venezuelan women who live in Santa Elena – a municipality in the neighbouring country – and cross the border to give birth in Roraima because “the situation there is highly precarious”. A lot of those women never go back to Venezuela. Having had Brazilian children their citizenship is guaranteed, contextualizes a source in Roraima’s OAB, explaining why those mothers will not need to apply for asylum.

On February 21st 2018¹⁹, a news piece read in 15 seconds informs that the Brazilian government will start to transfer Venezuelan immigrants from Roraima – the so-called integration. São Paulo and Amazonas shall be the first states to welcome foreigners “fleeing from the terrible crisis in the neighbouring country”. On February 23rd²⁰, JN aired a story that supported OAS’ view that Venezuela should postpone the presidential election and actually include all political parties.

Venezuelan immigration is included on February 26th²¹ edition’s breaking news. A story shows and informs that 100 army soldiers control the arrival of Venezuelans to Pacaraima: “only this year, 18 000 Venezuelans came to Brazil fleeing hunger and political crisis in their native country. During the weekend, almost 600 of them were registered in order to leave Roraima headed for Amazonas and São Paulo”.

The excluding discursive silencing delineates an ideology (Bourdieu, 1998), imposes fear (Bauman, 2016), distinguishes the ‘us’ from the ‘other’ (Foucault, 1997), the ones that dominate from the ones that are dominated (Weber, 1922-2004). This “regime of looking” perpetuates a discourse of non-acceptance and impossibility of living together which is processed through awareness-raising focused on unity rather than otherness (Martins, 2011, 2019).

A few other cases of Venezuelans with measles make the news again on February 28th 2018²²: there are already six confirmed cases in Roraima, especially in children. JN presents other numbers, pointing out the fact that the vaccination campaign will happen sooner and will prioritize Venezuelan immigrants as to prevent an outbreak “like the one in their native country”.

¹⁹ Governo brasileiro vai transferir de RR para outros estados imigrantes venezuelanos (2018, February 21). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6522041/programa/>

²⁰ The OEA pede que Venezuela adie as eleições presidenciais (2018, February 23). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6528438/programa/>

²¹ Exército e Força Nacional controlam entrada de venezuelanos na região Norte (2018, February 26). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6534599/programa/>

²² Já são seis os casos confirmados de sarampo em crianças venezuelanas em Roraima (2018, February 28). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6540991/programa/>

The newscast in March presents three news pieces and a story. On March 1st 2018²³, it addresses the postponement of the presidential election to the second half of May, without the presence of two of the most important rival leaders, prevented from participating by Maduro. The opponents organized a boycott of the elections. The following day, March 2nd²⁴, there is another news piece about the death of a four year-old child caused, as registered in the death certificate, by pneumonia, sepsis and severe malnutrition. This was one of the 12 cases under suspicion. Authorities had already confirmed six cases of measles in Venezuelan children, declared the piece.

A JN breaking story on March 10th²⁵ highlights the theme: “Roraima begins measles vaccination campaign. The state confirms eight cases. All Venezuelan”. The campaign was brought forward due to the outbreak among Venezuelans currently in the state and who did not have access to vaccines in their country of origin. Other 38 suspected cases are being investigated. Brazil is preparing sanitation barriers to contain the outbreak. Brazil had no cases reported since 2015. At the end, the story lets us know that between January and February 2018, 24 466 Venezuelans had asked to enter Brazil through Roraima’s Federal Police station – a number three times bigger than the same period in 2017.

Finally, on March 20th²⁶ a story reports, in scarce 26 seconds, the actions of a group of Mucajaí, Roraima, residents; they invaded a building occupied by Venezuelans, having thrown 50 immigrants out and burnt their belongings in protest against the murder of a resident, allegedly killed by a Venezuelan national during an attempted robbery. Protesters against immigration closed the highway which connects Brazil to Venezuela and demanded the closure of the borders.

When it comes to the stories presented by JN, disinformation results from the lack of trustworthy data concerning the current Venezuelan migration process to Brazil, justified by the lack of effective control of entries and exits of Venezuelan citizens at Roraima’s border, especially since the economic crisis, when Venezuelans started crossing the border to buy cheaper food and basic goods.

AN ANALYSIS ON THE DISCOURSE OF *JORNAL NACIONAL*

On January 26th, February 19th and 26th *Jornal Nacional* indicates Maduro’s government as responsible for the dimension of the crisis, excluding global factors and foreign interventions. Besides, the lack of official sources (from the Venezuelan government) and different views on the political situation is impressive. We learn about the crisis through Maduro’s opponents and the most influential countries in the OAS.

²³ Venezuela adia eleições presidenciais (2018, March 1). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6544191/programa/>

²⁴ Criança venezuelana com suspeita de sarampo morre em Boa Vista (2018, March 2). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6547533/programa/>

²⁵ Começa a campanha de vacinação contra o sarampo em Roraima (2018, March 10). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6569499/programa/>

²⁶ Grupo expulsa venezuelanos em Roraima (2018, March 20). *Jornal Nacional*. Retrieved from <https://globoplay.globo.com/v/6595539/programa/>

Having analysed all those news pieces/stories, we infer that JN creates social representations of others and of self by using symbolic strategies, which are going to have social effects by interfering with the ‘world-making’, the “cultural subconscious”, by internalizing and reproducing values, by perpetuating dominance relationships (Bourdieu, 1989).

On March 20th, 2018, JN quotes that the crisis got worse due to the drop in international oil prices. There is no previous contextual and time reference to this. Never does JN mention data from the UN’s report (Jahan, 2017), the most recent one by that date, about, for example, progress in the country regarding the Human Development Index in the past few years. Their HDI was close to Brazil’s, slightly higher. There is no mention whatsoever of the participation of multinational companies in Venezuela’s oil market, of the attempts of interference by the US in Venezuelan politics, economic sanctions, or even of the tumultuous struggle of Chavéz and Maduro against American imperialism, and of the US against socialism (Lopes, 2013; Sousa Santos, 2017).

There is plenty of JN’s critical positioning to human rights violation based on sources such as representatives from the UN, Mercosul, Spain, the US, Brazil, Argentina, Chile. The discourses from Maduro’s government allies such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ecuador, are silenced; discourses that stand against Nicolás Maduro politics are highlighted.

News with a humanist point of view describe degrading situations in accommodation centres, and the tardiness in drawing up a program that allows refugees to live a decent life. JN never clarifies how the process of interiorization (sending immigrants to other states) really works. Most of the sources are refugees. Their testimonies are used to emphasize JN’s point of view on Venezuela and its political model. Sources are hardly used as a counterpoint. Using Venezuelans as sources reinforces the idea that they are social actors who have been excluded and disempowered by Maduro’s socialist structures and who see Brazil’s political-economic model as an opportunity. JN presents the arrival of migrants and refugees as a challenge to order in northern Brazil.

The Brazilians from Roraima are portrayed as generous, exemplary, organizers of the chaos caused by Nicolás Maduro’s socialism. However, apart from the solidarity of Boa Vista residents, JN also reports a series of attacks from Brazilians who are opposed to immigration. The newscast narrates how perversely refugees and migrants are treated and “managed” by governments according to market logics, being registered, controlled, relocated and redistributed.

Identity is a positioning, a suture of position and context, and not an essence or substance. Identities are not bound to place and time specific traditions; according to Hall (2003) they are fluid, hybrid. It is the “the (other’s) presence that threatens us”, makes us think, said Levinas (1961/2002). The other’s difference allows us to be ourselves. Descombes (1998) said that to be different is to be distinct. Difference builds up identity, by “making objects and beings distinguishable and, therefore, recognised for their uniqueness”, said Luiz lasbeck (2009, pp. 97-98) by quoting Heraclitus “difference

(conflict, controversy) is mother of all things. That is to say, divergence resulting from differences creates multiple possibilities". This sort of vision of things keeps fear at bay.

In this study, the "others" are the Venezuelan immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, socialist Venezuela. The "us" represents capitalist Brazil, which ought to run from leftist threats. The "others" are those whose subjectivity is likely to be problematized, those who, according to Bourdieu (1989, 1998), exist from the moment they are named.

The portrayal of the Venezuelan "refugee crisis" happens through the legitimized symbolic world-making power which tends to establish an immediate sense of the world (Bourdieu, 1989). These social representations of others and of self, mediated by symbolic strategies, are going to have social effects by interfering with the 'world-making', the "cultural subconscious", by internalizing and reproducing values, by perpetuating dominance relationships. In a subjective point of view, being aware of this migratory phenomenon is "a consequence of previous symbolic struggles and expresses, in a somewhat different way, the state of relations of symbolic power" (Bourdieu, 1989, pp. 139-140).

The vast majority of data in the selected sample are about the arrival of immigrants, the inaction of the Brazilian government in view of the facts, the increase in cases of measles. JN does not present any alternatives to address the "problem". The actions undertaken by the federal government show that the matter is in Roraima's hands. The actions under federal jurisdiction concerning the interiorization of these immigrants were neither supported nor questioned by JN. Its approval is in line with the selection of immigrants ready (willing?) to integrate the population in other states.

The arrival of immigrants is described as a threat to normalcy, to the stability that requires using the power and strength of the federal government in Roraima. JN spreads a sense of insecurity and chaos, by presenting numbers as absolute entities, without the proper context. The predominance of national interests builds up a dangerous discourse of on-going crisis that may lead to xenophobia. Many citizens reject refugees for fear of losing their social status, jobs, quality in healthcare. It is the fear of the other, fear of difference, as if it could endanger us in any way. It is no longer just the colour, idiom, race that bother us. The fear is about losing what immigrants are looking for: dignity to make their own choices, safety of an apparent stability.

The recurring use of the expression "wave of Venezuelan immigrants" by *Jornal Nacional* is a sort of silencing strategy that replaces the political and national interest agenda with editorial choices. This statement is evidenced by the scarcity of data published by public research institutions regarding the use of public services by Venezuelans in Roraima and Brazil's stand on the overall picture of welcoming vulnerable individuals (Simões, Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Moreira & Camargo, 2017).

Bourdieu's notions of field and *habitus*, and Foucault's reflections on discourse, allow us to perceive the news as the result of a symbolic construction, in which there are different motivations that emphasize silencing and pretexts that lead us to a focus on the event and not the problematic.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the light of interpretive sociology and philosophy, we have analysed the “blind spots” of the “refugees’ crisis” in JN’s discursive practices. Establishing that there was a silencing allowed us to understand exclusion mechanisms and “the domestication of the dominated” (Weber, 1922/2004), hidden at first glance.

JN’s narratives do not contribute for differences to cohabit. As pillars of monetized society, the media, economy and politics are focused on the unity that assimilates difference, dominates the subordinates. This “unity regime” works through analogy and match, reminds us Martins (2011, p. 46): what seems strange to us is not legitimate, nor can it be legitimised. Difference gets annulled due to the impossibility to co-exist; this leads us to the “fragmentation of experience”.

Perpetuating the discursive regime about the other works as a mechanism of exclusion, domestication – exercise of power, the will of truth, generator of fears and insecurities; at the same time creates and maintains “docile bodies” (Foucault, 1970, 1988, 1997): insecure man, dependent, experiences a fake autonomy and participation through consumption. Perhaps a parody of resistance, but good enough for the dominant to keep their dominion, according to Foucault. Indeed, as Foucault pointed out, good rulers love the indignation of the ones being ruled, provided that it continues to be idyllic. For power to prosper, and according to Martins’ own words (2011), we keep the resistance, and this makes individuals even more dependent on their jobs and salaries to survive and pay for other dependencies, technological, sensory and erotic.

Once JN is legitimised and recognised as a trustworthy interlocutor by society, it will have the authority to elaborate perceptions of the world that may also become their readers’ perceptions. It is the way the field, *habitus* and symbolic power, addressed by Bourdieu, work. JN conveys the idea that Brazil may be in a different civilizational *status* when compared to Venezuela. As a developing country, it erases its own colonial history in order to take a pedestal after comparing its capitalist production to Maduro’s socialism. It is this twisted vision that reinforces the impossibility of being different. Both countries are colonial. Brazil is also facing political-economic instability, but it is, nevertheless, the best option for Venezuelan immigrants. When it comes to its narratives, JN erases the Brazilian crisis. Its focus is on data that can generate fear in Brazilian people, like having to give in some space to Venezuelans in terms of jobs and healthcare.

“Giving voice” to immigrants and refugees does not mean you respect and recognise their status of otherness. The media are a legitimate field for ideological disputes. JN stands for its views on the world in their narratives about Venezuelans, through a nationalist, colonialist discourse, in which echoes neoliberalism and capitalism as the only way to guarantee social development.

Translation: Helena Antunes

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