

# Brazilian external policy and media: the media diplomacy in the Dilma impeachment crisis (2016)

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## Abstract

In analyzing the performance of the media in recent political and social phenomena, it is possible to say that the press has played a prominent role in international dialogues. At the beginning of the 21st century, the Brazilian government realized the importance of investing in new foreign policy practices, especially from the modification of the diplomatic exercise that included the communication vehicles as an important tool. It is within this perspective that this article intends to analyze the use of media diplomacy in the Dilma government (2011-2016) during the crisis that motivated its impeachment, based on the theoretical reflections of the areas of International Relations and Communication, as well as the information available in the institutional channels of the Brazilian government, in order to assess the extent to which the resource was used by the State.

**Keywords:** Media Diplomacy. Impeachment. Dilma Rousseff. Foreign Policy. International Relations.

## Introdução

By analyzing the performance of the media in recent Brazilian political and social phenomena, it is possible to say that the press has played a prominent role in dialogues between the governments and between them and the general public. The expansion of the communication networks from the 1990s, which had as its high point the rise of the Internet, represented a new moment for those States that were concerned with acting in a more integrated way, considering the formulation and projection of their external image from the interaction with foreign audiences. This period coincided with the openness to media studies

in International Relations (IR) and, as this relationship progressed, became evident the need of discussing the performance of new actors in the international system.

In this phase of profound changes in social and psychological manifestations, mostly derived from access and contact with new communication technologies, the collective and individual actors in domestic and international relations begin to shape their political behavior in the face of the current changes (VALENTE, 2007). New technologies have reshaped social relationships by shortening distances and providing agility in connecting people without the need of physical presence. Such transformations “have made the task of foreign policy even more complex, subject now, as never before, to the influence of a number of other factors and agents, including the press and public opinion” (VALENTE, 2007, p.22 – Our translation). The press and the journalistic performance began to gain more prominence in the political discussions, due to the speed of information dissemination and its role in social transformations.

Gilboa (2009) indicates that in the last decades the power to influence the disseminated information has been reduced among countries, while nonstate actors and individuals have become more active and significant participants in world issues, both in war and in resolution of conflicts, using what Nye (1990) defined as “soft power”. According to the author, “Soft power is the ability to achieve desired outcomes in international affairs through attraction rather than coercion. It works by convincing others to follow, or getting them to agree to, norms and institutions that produce the desired behavior” (NYE; OWENS, 1996, p.21).

Nye (1990), however, points to the media as a tool of soft power of the governments disregarding the capacity of autonomy of the media in questions of international interest and, consequently, in its obtained results. This vision has been rethought in the field of research of International Relations from the performance of the media in diplomatic matters<sup>1</sup>. In these questions, it appears with a relevant role in the intervention of conflicts, sometimes acting as mediator and placing herself as a protagonist in the use of soft power.

This “power” has been recognized by governments that have understood the need of earning *public opinion*<sup>2</sup> in support of their foreign policies. The theme had impulse with the rise of constructivism in the studies of the IR and with the opening of the debate around the relevance of the new actors in the discussions on international events or phenomena (BAENA, 2012). By taking a critical tone to the dominant theories, the constructivist theorists focused the importance of the ideas in the formation of reality and in the discourse of international politics (NYE, 2011).

One of these views argues that the increase in the use of technological tools has given rise to changes in the models of communication, not only inside the countries, but also in the way how they relate to each other, including in the diplomatic exercise. The

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<sup>1</sup> Mainly through the dissemination of news, events, participation in international forums, coverage of diplomatic trips and signing of treaties and cooperation agreements.

<sup>2</sup> For this research, despite the different definitions of the term and considering that in democracies the diversity of sources of information becomes more and more present, “public opinion” is recognized as the majority expression of the understanding that permeate society on certain social, cultural, economic and political issues, involving the various actors that constitute the State.

media gained a prominent position in questions involving the resolution of conflicts by its power of mobilization of the masses and influence in the public opinion. This use of international communication networks in decision-making, planning and state advertising was what Gilboa (1987) called media diplomacy. In Brazil, in the academic environment, the term became more debated from the Lula's presidency (2003-2010), when there was a strengthening of media actions aimed at changing the image of the country abroad. The Dilma government (2011-2016) maintained this practice, in a similar scale and intensity, taking advantage of the structure already set up in the previous government. However, it should be noted that Dilma made a clearer separation between the figure of the ruler and a more reserved personal profile. This option generated a greater conflict with the national press.

From these reflections, this article aims to analyze the use of media diplomacy as a tool of foreign policy of the government Dilma during the political and institutional crisis that motivated her impeachment. For this purpose, it's based on the beginning of the second mandate of the manager, in January 2015, until the final judgment of the impeachment action in the Federal Senate, on August 31, 2016, which resulted in the definitive removal of the former president of the Planalto Palace.

For the research, however, it will be exposed data of the whole period of Dilma Rousseff government, as well as previous governments, so that it's possible to make an analysis of the information obtained in the critical phase of this management. In this intention, a theoretical reference of the mentioned areas was used in the bibliography, as well as documentary research based on reports from the secretaries of Communication of the Presidency of the Republic (Secom/PR), Ministry of Foreign Relations (MRE) and Ministry of Planning (MP). It was also used some published research and reports in the period. The objective, with this, is to start from the perspective of the government and verify if the management sought the accomplishment of the practices of the mediatic diplomacy.

It's important to emphasize, however, that the content of the material published in the national and international press was for illustrative purposes only – the main focus of this work isn't to develop reflections on the effectiveness of government strategies in publicizing their actions. Finally, this paper aims to enlarge the discussion about the use of the media as a tool for external politics, recognizing that the topic has been increasingly approached in International Relations studies, but still lacks debates in the field of Communication.

## **The media as an instrument of foreign policy in Brazil**

In the 1990s, while the schools of Communication discussed the new possibilities of media discourse from the advent of new technologies, such as the Internet, the schools of International Relations were witnessing the emergence of the debate that defended the idea of a socially constructed world. Initiated by Onuf (1989) and later strengthened by Wendt's view (1992), the theory pointed out the interaction of agents to deny the predominance

between agency/structure, arguing that actors influence each other in the process of reality construction (co-constitution).

The IR studies began to diversify the actors in their analyzes, and the growth of the global power of the press aroused the academic interest and also of the governments, especially for its role in the formulation of the image abroad. Gilboa (1987, 2002) argues that interrelated changes in politics, international relations, and communication have greatly expanded the role of the media in diplomacy and contributed to the expansion of democracy in various societies, as a consequence of the globalization process.

This change in the pace of diplomatic communication represents a serious dilemma for policymakers, especially in crisis situations. If they respond immediately, without taking a time to review policy options carefully, they may make a mistake. But if they offer no response, they can create the impression, both domestically and abroad, that they are confused, don't know what to do or have no control about the event or subject in question (GILBOA, 2001, p.14 – Our translation).

Some examples may be highlighted in Dilma's government, such as the administrative crisis after Brazilian population's protests against the political class because of corruption (2013), and US government spying complaints against Brazil (made by former CIA Edward Snowden) in the same year. In addition, the country faced the economic slowdown, the environmental disaster in Mariana (in the state of Minas Gerais) and the threat of the zika virus<sup>3</sup>. In any case, the government's action with the media was fundamental to the kind of support that would come from society, whether from national or international public.

One of the characteristics of the media diplomacy is the elaboration of the forms of negotiations that will be approached from the coexistence with the technologies of communication and of the press in world scale (VALENTE, 2007). In order to better understand and analyze the term, Gilboa (2001) proposes to divide the study into three models: Public Diplomacy, Media Diplomacy and Media-Broker Diplomacy.

[...] public diplomacy, where state and nonstate actors use the media and other channels of communication to influence public opinion in foreign societies; media diplomacy, where officials use the media to communicate with actors and to promote conflict resolution; and media-broker diplomacy, where journalists temporarily assume the role of diplomats and serve as mediators in international negotiations (GILBOA, 2001, p.4 – Our translation).

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3 Available at: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/br/documents/i-see-brazil-08-54568>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2017.

In each of the models there are appropriate characteristics to the different actors involved in the process, which are: officials, media and public opinion. It's also important to note that media can be considered a multi-faceted actor (CAMARGO, 2011) and can have local, national, regional, international and global reach (GILBOA, 2009), depending on the different type of activity that the communication plays.

The perception of the media presence in the transformation of society motivated the inclusion of the press as one of the relevant actors in the international processes. The studies began to consider the formation of public opinion, a topic that was much discussed in the academy of Communication (LIPPMANN, 2010; BELTRÃO, 2015; MATTELART, 1990; ELIAS, 2006; NOVELLI, 2006), but still little explored within the IR.

In Brazil, the perception of the media as an important actor in the international system was more evident from the Lula government (2003-2010), when the integration between Communication and Foreign Relations was carried out. The government, which has always used traditional diplomatic resources, understood the importance of using the media diplomacy to change the image of Brazil in the international scenario. With this focus, the model was adopted among all federal executive branches (BURITY, 2012; NOGUEIRA, 2016) associated with an international agenda that gave prominence to the country.

When former President Dilma took over the government in 2011, she found a scenario that began to be set up in 2007, when the Social Communication Secretariat of the Presidency of Republic started to coordinate and articulate the communication advisory services of the members of the Government Communication System of the Federal Executive Branch (SICOM). In the same year, it was also authorized the creation of the Empresa Brasil de Comunicação (EBC), which coordinates radio and government television systems.

Until 2003, the media policy of the Federal Government did not have a specific planning that considered the particularities of the different segments of the national media (BURITY, 2012), such as the press of the capitals and of the up-country, the mass media and the Internet. In the catalog titled Historical Series<sup>4</sup>, produced by Secom/PR, it's evident the adoption of a strategy to value integrated communication in order to pass unified messages to society:

The government communication focused on the major circulation newspapers of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Brasília, on the national circulation magazines, on the main television networks and on the radios of greater reach. This strategy ignored the complexity and heterogeneity of the Brazilian press. The actions with the international press were directed to the sporadic attendance of demands, without long mandate planning (SECOM/PR, 2010, p.186 – Our translation).

4 Available at: [www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/.../lula/balancodegoverno/.../balancodegoverno.pdf](http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/.../lula/balancodegoverno/.../balancodegoverno.pdf). Accessed on: 3 jan. 2017.

The new strategy included a more direct contact with some nucleus of the governmental structure, as it happened with the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which incorporated channels of communication with the other state and nonstate actors. In the same way, the strengthening of the public communication system demonstrated the concern of the government to take its point of view on official matters to all corners of Brazil and to various places in the world. For this purpose, according to Secom/PR itself, tools were created, expanded and consolidated to simplify and streamline access to information<sup>5</sup>.

As a result of the changes made by the government, the international press received direct and specialized treatment of official communication, with specific support to foreign correspondents, rounds of talks with ministers and authorities, and dozens of exclusive interviews of the presidential figure with newspapers, magazines and televisions from abroad:

In the international area, a public relations sector with foreign media was created at the end of 2008, at Secom, with the purpose of promoting Brazil abroad, with a planned and professional performance. For that, a bid was made, based on technique and price, to hire a press and public relations company with the objective of promoting the image of Brazil abroad (SECOM/PR, 2010 – Our translation).

The Special Advising for Public Relations Abroad of the Secretariat of Social Communication of the Presidency of the Republic (Aerpex), linked to Secom/PR, was responsible for outlining communication strategies to promote the image of Brazil abroad, in accordance with the guidelines of the Federal Executive Branch. Aerpex also started to work with other strategic publics, such as investors, NGOs, educational institutions and students, as well as working with the foreign press and opinion formers. For this, it counted on the Company of News (CDN), associated with Fleishman-Hillard, contracted for R\$ 15 million annually. This association was responsible for the image management of Lula and Dilma governments abroad.

In relation to public diplomacy, Itamaraty continued to participate in digital media, with pages on Facebook, Twitter accounts - in Portuguese, English and Spanish -, YouTube channel, Flickr account, available audios on SoundCloud, besides the Itamaraty Blog. Similarly, Secom/PR has invested in expanding its contacts in the domestic press (radio, newspapers, television, magazines and Internet), as well as in the foreign media, aiming to guarantee optimization of resources and, as a consequence, improvement in the planning and execution of media plans. The number of registered communication vehicles jumped from 499, in 2003, to 11,514, in 2015<sup>6</sup>. It affected the participation of managers in the media.

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5 Among the tools, there are the general website of Secom ([www.secom.gov.br](http://www.secom.gov.br)), the Planalto Blog (<http://blog.planalto.gov.br>), the specific site of the Press Office ([www.info.planalto.gov.br](http://www.info.planalto.gov.br)) and Portal Brasil ([www.brasil.gov.br](http://www.brasil.gov.br)), with the last two addresses no longer available.

6 Available at <<http://www.secom.gov.br/atuacao/midia/2.jpg/view>>. Accessed on: 10 jan. 2017.

**Table 1** – Data on interviews of former presidents Lula and Dilma

<b>Details of the interviews</b>	<b>Lula’s Government (2003-2010)</b>	<b>Dilma’s Government (2011-May 2016)</b>
Exclusive interviews (general)	348	98
Exclusive interviews (foreign press)	132	19
Press conference (general)	608	215
Press conference (foreign press)	13	10
Countries involved	65	31
Total interviews (exclusive and collective)	956	313

Source: own elaboration with data from Secom /PR<sup>7</sup>.

The data demonstrate that, even with similar communication strategies, the two managers used the resource differently. Dilma’s average of direct relationship with the press fell short of Lula’s, including the foreign press. It appears that the former president had little concern about the international relationship through the media. In years like 2014, there is not even a record of an exclusive interview or a press conference specific to the foreign press. Dilma focused her efforts on the domestic media, as it was an election year.

Cervo and Lessa (2014) consider that the first four years of Dilma’s government were characterized by the decline of the international relations of Brazil comparing to previous years. The authors refer to the strategy adopted on several fronts on the international scene, and cite, for example, misunderstandings in diplomatic matters: “Without new concepts and without dialogue with society, Dilma’s first mandate has hindered the efficiency of internal foundations and failed in two other points by paving the way for international decline” (CERVO; LESSA, 2014, p.134 – Our translation).

Other SECOM/PR data indicate that government efforts have been directed to another sector of communication – publicity. In the first four years of management, Dilma spent R\$ 9 billion on advertising, 23% more than Lula, who consumed R\$ 7.3 billion in his second mandate (2007-2010)<sup>8</sup>. The resources were destined to the diverse communication vehicles existing with reach inside and outside Brazil. Television received more attention from governments, with 65% of total investments.

Although the former president has invested in new tools, such as the official profile on Twitter (@dilmabr) and a Facebook account (@DilmaRousseff), seeking an approximation with the internal and external publics, Dilma didn’t have the same disposition of Lula to be the protagonist and spokesperson of Brazilian interests in the press. Most of her statements

<sup>7</sup> Available at: <<http://www2.planalto.gov.br/area-de-imprensa/relatorios-da-secretaria-de-imprensa>>. Accessed on: 1 jun. 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Available at: <https://fernandorodrigues.blogosfera.uol.com.br/2015/06/29/em-4-anos-dilma-gastou-r-9-bilhoes-em-publicidade-23-a-mais-que-squid/>. Accessed on: 7 jun. 2017.

to the press, for example, took place in Brasilia, central government headquarters, but also during trips to Brazil to launch government programs or to inaugurate works. Official data also point out that Dilma made national and international trips in which she didn't even hold meetings with the press, a strategy rethought when the manager faced a threat to her government, with the opening of the impeachment process at the end of 2015.

## Media diplomacy in the crisis of impeachment

The political-institutional crisis that hit Planalto Palace from Dilma's second mandate, begun in 2015, worsened at the end of the year and demonstrated the government's fragile relationship with the national press, despite some support from the foreign scene. From the domestic point of view, even with the financial investments that indicate greater allocation of resources to the areas of publicity and propaganda, Dilma government had no reception in the media for the construction of a speech with public opinion during this process of impeachment.

A study produced by *Imagem Corporativa*, a communication agency – in order to evaluate the image of Brazil in other countries – found that the critical situation in politics, economy and social and environmental issues deepened in 2015. “The Brazilian situation has become increasingly difficult and the perception of the press and experts from other countries has followed this trend closely”, begins the document *I See Brazil*<sup>9</sup>, which highlights the end of the country's portrait as a “new potency”, “featured emerging economy” and “hemispheric leader”.

This study showed that the image of the country followed the deteriorating trend registered in 2014, when Brazil faced a difficult electoral process and already felt the effects of the global economic crisis. There were published 1,908 articles published during this period and included in the study, of which 40.15% were on political issues. Of this total, almost three quarters (or 72.3%) of the texts presented a negative perception around Brazil, while only 27.7% of the subjects were favorable.

When comparing with the same study carried out in 2011, it's possible to perceive that the international scenario was more sympathetic to the performance of the government. In that year, 73.5% of the total reports were positive. In 2015, while Brazil imploded in reports of corruption against members of the Executive and Legislative branches, the negative reports published in the international press corresponded to 71% of the total.

Data published in 2016<sup>10</sup> from the same study indicate even worse results. With the impeachment process underway, the former president and government advisors sought

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9 The document *I See Brazil* analyzes the reports about Brazil, published over the years, by international press vehicles, taking into account the evaluation of a team of experts from other countries. The results are weighted and generate a score from zero to ten, in which results below five points are considered negative. Available at: <http://www.mynewsdesk.com/br/documents/i-see-brazil-08-54568>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2017.

10 Available at: <https://conteudo.imguol.com.br/blogs/52/files/2016/05/i-see-brazil-2016.pdf>. Accessed on: 10 jun. 2017.

communication channels to give the government's version of the crisis. Thus, 2015 was the year that Dilma gave more interviews and more spoke to the foreign media:

There was space for evaluations of Brazilian authorities about the situation - such as the interviews of President Dilma Rousseff with *La Nación*, in which the head of state said she hoped that 2016 would be a better year; and the Minister of Government, Ricardo Berzoini, following the same line in *El País*. However, Carwash Operation investigations continued in the external news. With the return of Legislative activities and tensions that indicated that the president could be removed, the impeachment issue was once again taking hold of the headlines (AGÊNCIA IMAGEM CORPORATIVA, 2016, p.3- Our translation).

In his analysis of this issue, Gilboa (2001, 2002) assesses that diplomatic communication can enable policymakers to respond effectively in times of crisis by using media coverage to have a crucial impact on the bottom line. The acceptance of the denunciation against Dilma in the National Congress gained instant repercussion in the world press<sup>11</sup>. At the time, the former president rushed to gather the press for a statement in which she didn't answer questions from the journalists, but assured that her version had space in the news of that day. This has become a strategy adopted with each new unfolding.

According to the Portal do Planalto, the last official press conference given by the former manager to international vehicles occurred on April 23, 2016, during her presence at the opening of the UN General Assembly<sup>12</sup> in New York/USA. At the time, Dilma took the position that she was facing a coup attempt against her mandate, seeking to sensitize the international press about the situation of her government. However, she used a different tone when she gave the opening speech to leaders from approximately 175 countries, speaking only about a grave moment in the country.

The content of the president's speeches during the media meetings will not be examined in this article, since the proposal of speech analysis goes beyond the initial focus. However, it should be emphasized that from this interaction it is possible to evaluate the government's intentions with the interviews and how the press (written or spoken) narrated the information. In the interview given to foreign vehicles, on the cited occasion, Dilma mentioned that she could resort to international blocs like Mercosur and UNASUR in search of support against her impeachment:

11 Available at: <http://agenciabrasil.abc.com.br/politica/noticia/2015-12/imprensa-internacional-repercuta-abertura-do-processo-de-impeachment-de/>. Accessed on: 6 dec. 2016.

12 Available at: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/discursos/discorso-da-presidenta/discorso-da-presidenta-da-republica-dilma-rousseff-durante-cerimonia-de-insinatura-of-paris-new-york-usa>. Accessed on: 5 jan. 2017.

I believe that this question, in the specific case, I want to say that I have not asked anyone so far to give me solidarity. I got enough. Brazil is part of several multilateral bodies. For all of them I will report that it is coup. Now it's up to them to take whatever position they want. There is no way to curtail my voice (GABINETE DA PRESIDÊNCIA DA REPÚBLICA, 2016 – Our translation)<sup>13</sup>.

However, the former president continued to use the media as her main instrument of soliciting support and avoided taking the thematic of coup to institutional instances. During the five months she remained in office after the opening of the process – between December 2015 and May 2016 – Dilma gave three interviews to the international press just to talk about the action against her mandate. Aiming to count on external support and to mobilize Brazilians living in other countries, she invited vehicles of communication such as *Die Zeit* (Germany), *The New York Times* (United States), *El País* (Spain), *The Guardian* (England), *Le Monde* (France) and *Page 12* (Argentina) for the meetings.

In her last official statement<sup>14</sup> on May 12, 2016, the former president spoke openly of a coup, but would lose, from that moment on, the institutional channels to legitimize her speech as a manager. Away from office, Dilma had to rely on alternative channels of communication, such as on twitter and other social media accounts. Beside this, she had no more resources (as official trips), then she sought shelter on social networks, by creating new channels of interaction with society (such as <http://dilma.com.br/>) and intensifying the use of the @DilmaRousseff profile on Facebook. So, the former president kept in touch with the public (or a part of them) when she hadn't space by other means anymore.

Gilboa (2009, p.99 – Our translation) points out that, unlike conventional media, the Internet hardly suffers from the limitation of space, something common to conventional written and spoken media. In his words, the Internet “is a very fast way of communication, that allows the sophisticated use of multimedia functions and interactivity, reaches large audiences around the world, isn't subject to rigid regulation and control, and is relatively low in cost of maintenance”. The world's diplomatic field itself has been paying attention to this media, exercising what Seib (2012) points to as a *real time diplomacy*, in which diplomats would have to learn to respond quickly to international political demands.

Dilma also started giving individual interviews<sup>15</sup> to the international vehicles, keeping the speech of coup. However, foreign governments had been cautious about the situation in Brazil. The presidents of Latin American countries demonstrated, whenever questioned, support for the maintenance of Dilma Rousseff's mandate. European leaders favored the

13 Available at: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/entrevistas/entrevistas/entrevista-coletiva-concedida-pela-presidenta-da-republica-dilma-rousseff-a-jornalistas-estrangeiros-nova-Mexico>. Accessed on: 9 jan. 2017.

14 Available at: <http://www2.planalto.gov.br/acompanhe-o-planalto/discursos/discursos-da-presidenta/declaracao-a-prensa-da-presidente-da-republica-dilma-rousseff-brasilia-df>. Accessed on: 9 jan. 2017.

15 Available at: <https://theintercept.com/2016/05/19/assista-primeira-entrevista-com-a-presidente-dilma-rousseff-depois-de-sua-suspensao/>. Accessed on: 21 jan. 2017.

democracy and the closing of the cycle of government, while the US government avoided an emphatic position. Institutional support came from such bodies as the OAS<sup>16</sup>, and from the governments of Uruguay, Bolivia, Venezuela<sup>17</sup>, and Ecuador<sup>18</sup>. Dilma also received support from groups like those of US lawmakers<sup>19</sup>, who condemned her impeachment – but this was the single most impactful reaction coming from the USA.

Impeachment was the subject of editorials<sup>20</sup> in newspapers such as The Guardian and The New York Times. The former president’s advisory was also careful to counter the negative press reports in an attempt to prevent further public wear and tear in relation to Dilma Rousseff’s image. However, her poor ability to deal with the press made it difficult to legitimize his speech before public opinion, even though she had gained some sympathy from foreign media.

## Final considerations

By provoking the debate about the use of the media in foreign policy actions, the intention of this research was to broaden the discussion about the new roles assumed by the press in the current society, as well as its relation with the international facts that define the social reality. The example of former President Dilma’s impeachment is a concrete case of how the media can decisively act on issues of national relevance and beyond domestic boundaries.

Based on the data presented, it can be verified that Dilma used the media channels with the intention of obtaining international support for trying to remain in the position of president. By appealing to international press vehicles, she acted as both a spokesperson for her government and a diplomat of her own cause, recognizing in the international media the soft power described by Nye (1990), but also the protagonism that makes the press be called the “fourth power”. Her government exercised the media diplomacy strategies defined by Gilboa (2001), but suffered from the country’s negative exposure in foreign media, which already affected the credibility and the chances of making Brazil an important actor in the international scenario.

Overall, the data in this survey show how Dilma invested in broadening the channels of communication during her administration, although she has taken up less space in the press than her predecessor – who strongly used the resources of presidential diplomacy. The strategy of only intensifying this relationship in the tensest moments of management

16 Available at: [http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/05/11/politica/1462918205\\_067734.html](http://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2016/05/11/politica/1462918205_067734.html). Accessed on: 20 jan. 2017.

17 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2016/03/uruguai-bolivia-venezuela-e-equador-manifestam-apoio-dilma-e-lula.html>. Accessed on: 20 jan. 2017.

18 Available at: <http://www.valor.com.br/internacional/4667261/correa-diz-que-processo-contra-dilma-e-uma-piada>. Accessed on: 22 jan. 2017.

19 Available at: <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2016/07/1794498-deputies-americanos-assinam-carta-contra-o-impeachment-de-dilma.shtml>. Accessed on: 21 jan. 2017.

20 Available at: <http://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/guardian-e-new-york-times-criticam-impeachment/>. Accessed on: 6 dec. 2016.

suggests the purpose of preserving the image of the former president, even though the media has dealt with the facts in an autonomous and interpretive manner.

The international press was used as an instrument for propagating the ideals of government, although it did not fail to elaborate its analysis on the facts surrounding the administration. The media remained present as an actor in international relations, while it proved to be the balance in maintaining stability between governments and public opinion.

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