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WHEN JOURNALISTS AND MARKETERS NEGOTIATE:

a competency-based analysis of negotiation processes in Brazilian and Belgian media organizations

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ABSTRACT – This study consists of understanding how interactions between journalists and marketers occur in the context of two organizations from Belgium and Brazil. We seek to understand what is being negotiated, as well as whether there are differences in their applied strategic approaches. To do this, we conducted a cross-national perspective on participant observation and open interviews for data collection. We describe the elements found in the field and relate these processes using "competency-based" analysis. The results of this approach show that issues such as revenue models, organizational cultures, hierarchical positions, relevant professional skills, and personal motives play an important role in the negotiation processes between journalists and marketers. Also, we observe that gatekeeping practices are – to some extent and in specific cases – shared between journalists and marketers.
Key words: Journalism. Marketing. Negotiation. Comparative research. Media organizations.

QUANDO JORNALISTAS E PROFISSIONAIS DO MARKETING NEGOCIAM: uma análise baseada em competências nos processos de negociações em organizações midiáticas brasileira e belga

RESUMO – Este estudo consiste em compreender como as interações entre jornalistas e profissionais do marketing ocorrem no contexto de duas organizações midiáticas da Bélgica e do Brasil. Nosso objetivo é entender o que está sendo negociado, assim como

se existem diferenças nas abordagens estratégicas aplicadas. Para tal, nós conduzimos uma perspectiva transnacional com observação participante e entrevistas abertas para coleta de informações. Nós descrevemos os elementos encontrados no campo e os relacionamos a esses processos usando a análise baseada em competências. Os resultados dessa abordagem mostraram questões tais como modelos de negócios, culturas organizacionais, posições hierárquicas, habilidades profissionais relevantes e motivos pessoais, que desempenham um papel importante nos processos de negociação entre jornalistas e profissionais de marketing. Além disso, notamos que as práticas de gatekeeping são – em certa medida e em casos específicos –, compartilhadas entre jornalistas e profissionais de marketing.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo. Marketing. Negociação. Pesquisa comparativa. Organizações midiáticas.

CUANDO MEJORISTAS Y PROFESIONALES DEL MARKETING NEGOCIAM: un análisis "competency-based" en los procesos de negociaciones en organizaciones mediáticas brasileña y belga

RESUMEN – Este estudio consiste en comprender cómo se producen las interacciones entre periodistas y especialistas en marketing en el contexto de dos organizaciones de Bélgica y Brasil. Nuestro objetivo es entender lo que está siendo negociado, y también si existen diferencias en los enfoques estratégicos aplicados. Para ello, conducimos una perspectiva transnacional con observación participante y entrevistas abiertas para la recolección de información. Describimos los elementos encontrados en el campo y los relacionamos con estos procesos usando el análisis "competency-based". Los resultados de este enfoque mostraron cuestiones tales como modelos de ingresos, culturas organizacionales, posiciones jerárquicas, habilidades profesionales relevantes y motivos personales desempeñan un papel importante en los procesos de negociación entre periodistas y profesionales de marketing. Además, notamos que las prácticas de gatekeeper son, en cierta medida y en casos específicos, compartidas entre periodistas y profesionales de marketing.

Palabras clave: Periodismo. Comercialización. Comercio. Búsqueda comparativa. Organizaciones mediáticas.

1 Introduction

When we build a thought about the production of news and the business models of newspaper companies, one of the paths that opens up leads us to reflect on the negotiation processes established between marketers and journalists. From this perspective, Couldry (2017) points out that this relationship is becoming more intense in the face of recent innovations in advertising industries and data-mining strategies, continuously driven by the sector and heavily impacting the social role of journalism, especially in the digital age. We understand here that these dynamics are both the cause and the result of daily trading between these sectors.

In the literature on journalism and journalists' practices, the notion of negotiation is frequently referred to as a mediation process where acting agents – mainly journalists – try to pursue specific goals while dealing with other agents, artifacts or even themselves.

In search of understanding these relationships, this paper aims to discuss how journalists and marketers interact with each other in two different media organizations in Belgium and Brazil. The choice of these two countries started a cross-national perspective resulting from a collaboration between doctoral students in communication and journalism from the University of Brasília and the Université Libre de Bruxelles. The purpose was to promote research exchange between the two institutions and countries. The students were encouraged to do transnational studies through empirical research.

In this context, we investigated the interactions between journalists and marketers through the lens of negotiation. We argue that, outside of the widely assumed argument that journalism and marketing tend to collide in contemporary media organizations, negotiation processes between the two exist and they are evidence of a wide variety of organizational and personal strategies. We chose to follow some negotiation process from each of the organizations and test a "competency-based" analysis of these processes. For this, we chose to conduct the fieldwork using participant observation and open interviews of the instruments of data collection in two media organization: Mediafin, the publishing company for the two economic and financial newspapers in Belgium, and Diários Associados, through *Correio Braziliense*: the print and online newspaper edited in Brasília.

We begin the study with a theoretical review of journalism business models and how external variables, such as technological developments, partly lead to internal changes in the quest for sustainability. We note that many of the solutions start from the marketing perspective for editorial policy adjustments. In the context, we shall consider the figure of gatekeeping in its two dimensions: authority and function. Tracing this relationship, we present the concept of negotiation and negotiation specifically in journalism.

We set out to describe elements found in the field and relate these processes using "competency-based" analysis. The results of this approach show that issues such as revenue models, organizational cultures, hierarchical positions, relevant professional skills, personal motives and gatekeeping practices play an important role in the negotiation processes between journalists and marketers.

2 Journalism business models and the Network Gatekeeping

One of the ways to study the relationship between marketing and journalism, or rather, between journalists and marketers, can be through tracing a historical line from the changes brought on by the development of technologies and their use by an increasing share of the world population, which put pressure on companies from various sectors of the economy to seek innovation in their business models in order to maintain profitability – or continuity in the case of nonprofit businesses – amid scenarios of continuous transformation.

News companies are not an exception to this rule as the expansion of access to internet services and gadgets have broken – and continue to break – the patterns of production and circulation of information. Broersma and Peters (2017) claim these changes are "not incremental or simply discursive; they are structural and strike journalism at its core" (Broersma & Peters, 2017, p. 10). Such structural changes are embodied in corporate business models, understood as how a company creates value for all its key stakeholders.

In his research about the changes in the business models for news organizations, Anciaux (2015) identifies the "almost impossible to pass on to the consumers the information production costs" (p. 54, author's translation), constituting a business which endeavors to find ways to subsidize the production and distribution of content, such as the sale of advertising space. Charron and De Bonville (2016) argue that "advertising finance leads journalists to compete in two markets simultaneously: they compete to attract the attention of consumers and between advertisers' budgets" (Charron & De Bonville, 2016, p. 347).

We note that this feature is even more intense in the present. Peters and Broersma (2017) relate two intertwined tendencies that have disrupted the relationship between journalism and its audiences; in other words, its clients. The de-industrialization of information and the ritualization of audiences in contemporary digital media challenge not only what news is, but also what it can be (p. 14). The authors, seeking to map the place of journalism in contemporary society, affirm that while journalism believes its key function is to offer information to readers about what is happening in the world and how the events should be interpreted, contemporary readers themselves (internet users) have a different perspective: when they are interested in something specific, they can search for it on Google. Several online portals organize content based on continuous comments and logic of relevance.

By comparing the challenges of contemporary business to previous models, we can get an idea of the difficulties in the subsistence of the sector. We can find several strategies in technical literature for the challenge of sustaining journalistic production under the label "business models for saving journalism".

The International Center for Journalists, for example, suggests seven strategies that could save the future of journalism (Chinula, 2018), in addition to commercials and paywall, the most common models of news monetization: (1) sponsored content, original and authentic written material promoting or advertising a company; (2) crowdfunding, in which media organizations invite people to donate to projects; (3) signatures, which has historically been shown not to be sufficient as the only model, (4) donor financing, including philanthropic support, government funding, and corporate responsibility; (5) micropayments, which allow readers to pay low prices for a single article; (6) quality journalism, differing from "clickbait" articles aimed exclusively at increasing their audience and, consequently, advertising revenues.

These movements challenge the internal relations between journalists and their organizational culture, authorities, and the roles they play, such as gatekeeping. According to Pamela Shoemaker and Tim Vos (2011, p.11), gatekeeping is the process of selecting and transforming various small pieces of information in messages that reach the public. This process also determines the content of these messages. The way the gatekeeping process shapes the news will result in how reality will be built by the people who receive it. Gatekeepers, in turn, are defined as the agents that determine what becomes a person's social reality. Gatekeeping is then a process of people and organizations.

Gatekeeping is a diverse phenomenon that can be applied to several areas of knowledge. Kurt Lewin created the concept during psychological research on differences in eating habits among American families. He concluded that homemakers were in control of the decision-making process by creating behavioral barriers and incentives. They were called "gatekeepers" (Barzilai-Nahon, 2009).

David Manning White was the first to apply the concept to journalism. His first study was on a journalist whom he called Mr. Gates. Subsequent studies from different researchers have then come to understand that culture, routines, organizational structures, and business models were crucial toward understanding gatekeeping in journalism (Sousa, 2006; Barzilai-Nahon, 2009; Shoemaker & Vos, 2011).

Barzilai-Nahon (2008) proposed the theory of "Network Gatekeeping", noting the need not only to unify the pre-existing theories into a single body, but also to fill in some of the gaps left by previous scholars. Barzilai-Nahon's approach has two instances: (1) network gatekeeping identification, which basically identifies and describes who the gatekeepers are and instances that make up part of the process, and (2) network gatekeeping salience (or the network gatekeepers), which seeks to explain the relations between gatekeepers, and also between gatekeepers, the gates, and the gated (the entity subjected to gatekeeping). Barzilai-Nahon, therefore, defines the Network Gatekeeper as "an entity (people, organizations, or governments) that has the discretion to exercise gatekeeping through a gatekeeping mechanism in a network and choose the extent in which to exercise contingent upon the gated standing" (Barzilai-Nahon, 2008, p. 1497).

The Network Gatekeeper analyzes the gatekeepers on two fronts: authority and function. The first seeks to understand the actors through the authority they have, and the second looks at the roles and professional designations and positions they carry out within the gatekeeping process. In this sense, in organizational structures such as media organizations, it is important to identify which sectors participate in the process and what the power of influence is that everyone exercises in order to shape the information. We understand that this approach is a valuable theoretical tool that can help to understand the relationships and negotiations between journalists and marketers in media organizations.

3 Negotiation approaches

Negotiation can be thought of as strategy, and in that sense, it encompasses a way of relating. It is seen as dialogue in situations of divergence and difference. According to Steele, Murphy and Russil (1989), it is the process by which the parties move their positions of divergences in the search for points of convergence in which an agreement can be reached. Within this context, the areas of business administration use the concept to think of negotiation as the means to achieve what one wants from another person, to reach an agreement. Here, the concept is not used in the sense of a resolution of divergences. By putting the bargain in play, we discover the intentions, conflicts, and cooperation between the individuals involved.

In an instrumental approach to the concept, Follet (1997) argues that negotiation is not an exercise in banning problems, but rather an acceptance of the existence of diversity and conflict, the creative process of the process itself. When considered as a value, Oliveira (2014) points out that "the negotiation begins to be explored, as well as its strategic, integrative and distributive dimension, as well as a process engendered by formats, structures, values, and objectives, defined by the subjects and contexts in which it occurs" (Oliveira, 2014, p. 127). In this sense, negotiation does not only have an instrumental dimension but has an essential category of value that constitutes recognition by the social group that employs it.

On this subject, the notion of negotiation in the literature on journalismand journalist practices frequently refers to a mediation process where the agents – mainly journalists – try to pursue specific goals while dealing with other agents, artifacts or even themselves. For instance, at a micro-level, previous academic works report how journalists negotiate with their hierarchy in order to publish news (Hubé, 2010), with their human or non-human sources (see e.g. Legavre, 2011; Parasie & Dagiral, 2013; Domingo & Le Cam, 2014; Revers, 2014), with non-journalist colleagues such as programmers (Lewis & Usher, 2016), or with technologies and policies (Sacco & Bossio, 2017). At a macro-level, and from a media economics perspective, others describe the negotiation process as advertising sales agencies and media agencies (Ouakrat *et al.*, 2010).

Some journalism scholars interested in the relationships between journalism and technologies refer to the field of science and technology studies (STS) in order to explain some of the negotiation processes in play. Some of the sociologists in STS employ the concept of "interpretive flexibility" to show that technological artifacts are "the product of intergroup negotiations" (Klein & Kleinman, 2002, p. 29). Journalism could also be perceived as the dynamic product of multiple negotiations where agents "seek to establish 'cultural authority'" (Belair-Gagnon & Holton, 2018, p. 3) by negotiating social boundaries.

These (negotiated) boundaries can be described as the "symbolic contests by which different actors compete for definitional control, allowing them to apply or remove certain labels, or otherwise establish authority over a social domain" (Lewis & Usher, 2016, p. 545). The process of boundary work from the journalists' perspective describe than "how journalists confront controversy or challenge through the creation of insider-outsider narratives intent on re-establishing the terrain of valid news practices" (Carlson, 2015, p. 354).

According to Nico Carpentier (2011), media organizations are, and result from, the interconnections between material and discursive elements in order to produce media outputs. This situation leads to "arrange and regulate specific people and objects within the organization, creating a border between them and their outsides, while at the same time establishing material links with their political, economic, technological and cultural environments" (Carpentier, 2011, p. 217). Also, amongst the inside borders of media organizations, one potential boundary crossing remains insufficiently studied so far: the one between the newsroom and the marketing department.

Since the 1980s, marketing practices and market spending have increased in European media organizations as a response to the effects of market maturity: in a highly competitive environment, it is one of the only opportunities to grow and attract clients (consumers and/or advertisers) from the competition (Picard, 2006). At the same time, and from an economic perspective, the characteristics of media products known as "experience goods" – products or services with characteristics that are difficult to evaluate in advance – also tend to favor recommendation effects and marketing approaches (Guibert *et al.*, 2016).

In Brazil, the approach between marketing and the newsroom narrowed later than it did in Europe. According to Marialva Barbosa (2007; 2013), the 1980s were marked by profound changes in the editorial, technological and social fields. Newsrooms became computerized, the space was sanitized, positions were eliminated and gave way to the so-called "backpack journalist". At the same time, the traditional revenue model based on selling advertising spaces has suffered. The relationship between marketing and newsrooms was narrowed by the crisis experienced in print newspapers at the beginning of the 21st century, when some media organizations started to rethink their business models in order to remain active (Souza, 2017; Vieira & Ravazzolo, 2017).

4 Methods

The objective of this study is to understand, through comparison, how journalists and marketers interact with each other in two different media organizations in Belgium and in Brazil. We investigated these interactions through the lens of the concept of negotiation because we argue that both journalism and marketing tend to meet in contemporary media organizations.

Comparison, rather than acting as a tool for analysis, is a systemic strategy of research construction which allows us to understand the differences and similarities between two objects. Also, it provides practical experiences and knowledge generated by the understanding of different realities. When the comparison has a transnational perspective, it challenges the researcher's simple and ethnocentric visions. The processes and realities familiar to it are tensioned and contrasted when another context is revealed (Vigour, 2011; Esser, 2013). There are many methodological possibilities for the comparative study. The method can be used according to the choice of categories of analysis, which can be understood within a macro dimension involving studies on systems, markets and their sub-elements (Esser, 2013). Smaller scale analyses involving actors, institutions or categories can also be done (Vigour, 2011). What is fundamental when proposing a study of this nature is that a single or similar methodology must be established: it allows for observing and comparing the same objects, even if their contexts require different readings (Vigour, 2011; Esser, 2013).

Esser (2013) further explains that the cross-national comparison applies to functional equivalents; i.e., an issue relevant to both cases that make them comparable. Therefore, it is necessary to establish classifications (assemble the objects into categories with identifiable shared characteristics that reduce the complexities), and typologies (applied theory for the object). It is important not to lose sight of the understanding that the cultures observed are not isolated, and that they communicate with each other. "In a globalized world, transnational flows of communication intersect in new spaces that do not necessarily correspond with national boundaries" (Esser, 2013, p. 118). For instance, the two media organizations we chose to observe belong to different continents and cultures; nevertheless, what they have in common is the fact that they are two media organizations that have similar organizational structures and business models, and also promote a similar model of journalism.

4.1 Negotiation analysis

Scholars interested in negotiation analysis generally seek to reach prescriptive goals (e.g., how to negotiate, how to create the right conditions for effective negotiation, etc.) and/or descriptive goals (Grosjean & Mondada, 2004). These two authors also point out that

negotiations in the workplace spread in a variety of ways: bargaining for the allocation of resources, maintaining workflow by (re)settling the organization of work, (re)defining the rules and the knowledge within the organization, as well as "negotiate [someone's] place, role, professional identity or power" (Grosjean & Mondada, 2004, p. 8).

In order to reach one of these research goals, negotiation scholars tend to focus, list and give meaning to a variety of elements and variables that may affect the negotiation. For instance, from a prescriptive perspective, James K. Sebenius (1992) suggests paying attention to stakeholder interests, positions held by players, problems to be overcome, agreements that are established and the value created. He believes that the value requires compromises so that all sides can win. He also calls for an understanding of the participants' goals in the negotiating environment but taking into account all the subjectivities established there as relationships between negotiators are just as important as other factors like deadlines and budgets.

In order to better understand how and in which types of situations journalists and marketers negotiate with one another, we chose to focus our approach on the "process" of negotiation between them. In this paper, we propose to test a so-called "capacity-based approach" toward negotiation. Jean-Michel Bonvin (2009) argues that two important questions should first and foremost guide an empirical analysis of negotiation processes:

A) Who negotiates or who can negotiate?

The question here requires focusing on the criteria that influence effective access to the negotiation process and how these criteria are combined. Two types of criteria must therefore be better understood: (1) assigned criteria – in our study, the position held in the hierarchy; and (2) acquired criteria – in our study, the person's ability/will to negotiate.

B) What is the object of the negotiation or what is negotiable?

The question here requires focusing on the norms and values that explicitly or implicitly guide the negotiation, including its consequences: the object of the negotiation and the elements that are not negotiable. Because "everything is not negotiable all the time", it is necessary to pay attention to the elements constraining the scope of

the negotiation: (1) norms and values; (2) explicit regulations and (3) organizational tools (settle the agenda, the meetings, etc.). In our case, such an approach invites us to follow how the values and norms of journalists and marketers interact during a specific negotiation process.

Negotiation processes are deeply connected to the social contexts (i.e., organizational context) in which they occur. We thus used a double case study approach to test the competency-based approach toward a specific negotiation process between journalists and marketers in each of the cases. According to Payne (2005, p. 64), the competency-based approach can be defined as "organizational communication competence is the judgment of successful communication where interactants' goals are met using messages that are perceived as appropriate and effective within the organizational context".

We chose to gather material collected through participant observation in two established media organizations: Mediafin, in Belgium and Diários Associados, through *Correio Braziliense*, in Brazil.

Mediafin is the publishing company for the two economic and financial newspapers in Belgium: *L'Echo*, written in French and De Tijd, written in Dutch, as well as their online platforms (lecho.be, tijd.be, and related apps). Mediafin is a joint venture created in 2006 by two major Belgian media groups (Rossel and De Persgroep) which merged the two newspapers' first publishing companies together (*Editeco and Uitgeversbedrijf Tijd*). The company's records for 2017 show that Mediafin has about 230 employees, an annual turnover of 58.37 million EUR, and a profit of 12.02 million EUR.

Even though the creation of Mediafin is quite recent, the two newspapers (or media brands) have quite an extensive history, some consider them to be two of the "national elite newspapers" in the country (Van Den Burg, 2017, p. 109). *L'Echo*, for instance, was created in 1881 under the name *L'Echo de la Bourse de Bruxelles*, and De Tijd was published for the first time in 1968 under the name *De Financieel Economische Tijd* (De Bens & Raeymaekers, 2001; Mundschau, 2005). Nowadays, the two media brands cover a wide range of topics (economics, finance, politics, culture, sports, etc.) but from an economic perspective.

Correio Braziliense was created on April 21, 1960, matching the anniversary of Brasília, the capital of Brazil. The company is part of the media conglomerate Diários Associados, founded by Assis Chateaubriand in 1924. Financial crises have fragmented Diários

Associados over the decades. However, *Correio Braziliense*, together with the newspaper *Estado de Minas*, remains one of the most expressive products of the media conglomerate, headed by Álvaro Teixeira da Costa. In 2018, the *Correio* complex in Brasília houses a television station, an internet portal, two radio stations, and a printed newspaper (with access online). According to the Instituto Verificador de Comunicação (IVC) in 2017, *Correio* was ranked 18th in circulation (of the 77 monitored) in the country. The circulation effectively represents the number of units that reached readers either through subscriptions, individual sales or direct distribution, representing a 1.48% share of the consumer news market.

The observation data record was needed in order to obtain further in-depth information on the context and dynamics of the negotiation processes between journalists and marketers at Mediafin and *Correio Braziliense*. We were aiming to produce a somewhat "dense description" (Geertz, 1989) based on observation sessions (Travancas, 2010) and semi-structured interviews. In July 2018, one of the Brazilian researchers spent one week in the *Correio Braziliense* marketing department. During the few days of observation she interviewed six marketers and six journalists in the newsroom. In the case of Mediafin, the material was mainly gathered between October 2017 and April 2018. Besides multiple observation sessions, the Belgian researcher interviewed six employees from the marketing team and seven journalists working for the *L'Echo* website. In both of these cases, the focus of the observation sessions and the interviews was the potential relationships and interactions between marketers and (online) journalists. We paid specific attention to the routines and activities within each department. We also sought to trace the human circulations between the two departments, as well as other types of interpersonal communication. In this paper, our sources will be identified by the following codes:

Table 1 – Identification code of professionals.

BrJ(x)	Brazilian Journalist at *Correio Braziliense*
BrM(x)	Brazilian Marketer at *Correio Braziliense*
BeJ(x)	Belgian Journalist at *Mediafin*
BeM(x)	Belgian Marketer at *Mediafin*

Source: the authors.

5 Findings

The first part of this section on findings traces a brief history of the two media organizations' marketing departments. It was suggested during the observation that recent changes at *Correio Braziliense* and Mediafin helped to better understand the current nature of the interactions between marketers and journalists. The second part of this section presents the results of the "capacity-based approach" analysis of the two negotiation processes between journalists and marketers at *Correio Braziliense* and Mediafin.

5.1 Changes in the revenue model and organizational change

In its current form, the marketing division at *Correio Braziliense* (also called the "marketing superintendency") is a relatively new department within the organization. It was created around 2016, and most of the interviewees agreed that it was created in response to a financial crisis faced by the media. When asked about that period, BrJ2 and BrM1 recalled that the organization's first response to this crisis was to downsize by cutting many positions. The newsroom, for instance, faced a series of collective layoffs: BrJ2 mentioned that the team of journalists was reduced between 2012 and 2016 to the "minimum required". The same process occurred in other departments within the organization.

According to BrJ2, the newspaper needed "to reinvent itself in order to survive", at the same time BrM1 said "our biggest job nowadays is integrating with the newsroom. We have the understatement of the cost of the news and the need for sponsorship". The management then invested in some high-ranking employees, who were sent to the United States to study new business models geared toward journalism. The formula, strongly integrated with the marketing department, was adapted within *Correio Braziliense*. The former "communication department" of *Correio Braziliense* – in charge of external communication campaigns, advertising space sales and subscription management – was broken down in 2016 and reorganized into two new departments. It became a commercial department dedicated to advertising space sales and selling editorial content and sponsored events organized by the media organization.

The marketing department had nine employees who were mainly in charge of managing these events and strategies for acquiring and maintaining subscribers. Yet both of these departments are run by a single board of directors and collaborate with the whole Diários Associados media group in Brasilia.

The *Correio Braziliense* launched its first 'Correio Debate' in 2016. These events are created in order to cover specific topics that can potentially attract sponsors and advertisers. They often occur in the form of forums and debates that are covered in the media by journalists from the newsroom. These events and the topics that to be covered can come from three fronts: from external demands (usually companies that contact *Correio Braziliense* in order to hold an event), from management (the board of directors), or from the newsroom. When asked about the 'Correio Debate', BrM2 argued that "the newsroom is the executor of the project. All the work we do here [at the marketing department] would be in vain if they did not work on it. They tell us what they can do and how to do it". This new entry in the organization's revenue model appears to affect the interactions between the departments. BrJ2 reports that, at the beginning, resistance against this formula was strong: "The newsroom took a little more time to be convinced. However, when other colleagues began to realize that the layoffs stopped, and that we were hiring, they changed their minds", BrJ2 said.

We cannot identify a formal organizational pattern in *Correio Braziliense* concerning the interactions between marketers and journalists. The interactions can occur during pre-scheduled meetings or spontaneous phone calls. Many small negotiations and interactions between marketing and the newsroom occur over the phone or during informal discussions in corridors. There are no fixed places in the organization for such meetings; they can occur in managers' offices, in the editorial staff meeting room, etc.

At Mediafin, the history between a marketing unit and the (online) newsroom of *L'Echo* appears to be quite recent. When *L'Echo* launched its first website in 1996, BeJ1 remembers that the newspaper did not have a full-time in-house marketer. When it came time to discuss the website and its development, the "director of the newspaper called for an external marketing consultant to take part in meetings and discussions" (BeJ1).

As of 2000, the dynamic started to slightly change. BeM1 was hired in 2002 at *L'Echo* as part of a small marketing team of no more

than two people. She had a lot of "representational duties to perform" (BeM1) such as taking part in seminars and other types of events for presenting the media brand. However, the creation of Mediafin in 2006 and the gathering in Brussels of social forces previously dispatched in two separate organizations (*L'Echo* and De Tijd) has contributed to increasing the number of activities in the marketing department. At that time, the main goals of the marketing team were to create communication campaigns in order to boost copy sales and to manage the relationships with the point of sales.

But around 2010, a significant shift occurred in Mediafin's revenue model. Due to the dramatic decrease in the newspaper's copy sales, a gradual increase in online audience took precedence over print copies, and the poor efficiency of online advertising in terms of revenues (in comparison with offline advertising revenues), the management board decided to include a paywall on its websites. From that point on, the media organization's websites (lecho.be and tijd.be) started to charge readers to access online news, and a variety of subscription offers were subsequently introduced ("online only", "online + weekend edition only", etc.). This shift affected online journalistic practices (Malcorps, 2017) as well as marketing practices and other aspects of the organization. For instance, online journalists started determining which news to publish depending on its potential value to (future) subscribers.

The marketing team has expanded since then and is now made up of seven full-time workers and two managers. Marketers and journalists at Mediafin work without the need to hold unexpected meetings. They have separate workspaces and their daily rituals and artifacts (shifts, lunch breaks, clothes, etc.) are different. Outside of a meeting every three months where management presents the company's business results to all the employees, marketers and journalists are not required to hold meetings. For instance, BeM4 barely knows the names of 2 or 3 journalists. If he does know them, it is because they "come to me to ask for audience data... alternatively, these kinds of things" (BeM4). Only a few journalists interact directly with marketers. Our material shows that only members of the editorial board and some heads of departments (mainly from the online desks) go through the marketing department.

These results suggest that there is a connection between the changes in the two organizations' revenue models and the interdepartmental relationships between marketing and the

newsroom. The revenue model refers "to the specific ways a business model enables revenue generation for the [firm]. It is how the [firm] appropriates some of the value that is created by the business model for all its stakeholders" (Amit & Zott, 2012, p 41). The launch of the 'Correio Debates' at *Correio Braziliense* and the introduction of online paywalls on Mediafin's news sites (lecho.be and tijd.be) can be seen as new ways for the two organizations to generate value. These variations may also be perceived as two forms of business model innovations (Johnson *et al.*, 2008) which usually impact several aspects of an organization's life (i.e., target consumers, value proposition, processes, norms, values, interdepartmental interactions, etc.). The next section analyzes how interactions occur between marketers and journalists in these two organizations with recent variations in their revenue models.

5.2 Negotiation process analysis at *Correio Braziliense* and Mediafin

In order to test the competency-based approach for negotiation between marketers and journalists in different media organizations, we have chosen to focus our attention on two moments of negotiation. Due to the number of agents involved during these moments, the following analysis only identifies the journalists and marketers who were involved the most in negotiation processes, according to our observation sessions and interviews.

In July 2018, we followed negotiations at *Correio Braziliense* concerning a project developed by the "marketing superintendency" in partnership with the editorial staff and the commercial department. The project was a 'Correio Debate' on diabetes, sponsored by actors from the pharmaceutical industry, nongovernmental organizations and medical associations. Our material shows that BrJ2 and BrM2 played a central role during the negotiation process: they met with someone from the commercial department who was calling one of the potential sponsors. At Mediafin in Belgium, we observed the interactions surrounding the launch of an editorial project. In February 2018, *L'Echo* published a series of articles about "How do 11 Belgian CEO's perceive the future of Wallonia" (the French-speaking region of Belgium). About ten days before the publication of the first article, meetings were taking place to talk about the promotion campaigns for this editorial project.

BeM1 reported that: "For the first time, we worked hand in hand with the newsroom for the promotion of this editorial project". According to BeM1, BeM3 played an important role in this process: "If I have to give one name... I think that BeM3 took the initiative of gathering everyone to talk about this major editorial project". BeJ3 was the only journalist from the online desk to take part in the meeting.

A) Who negotiates or who can negotiate?

At *Correio Braziliense*, BrJ2 took the lead in negotiations. The management position that BrJ2 holds in the newsroom may explain this. BrJ2 defines himself as a "problem solver" within the organization, but also as a "bridge" between the departments. Our material indeed shows that BrJ2 comes into the marketing department to discuss with the marketing team. BrM2 described BrJ2 as "our anchor [in the newsroom]". BrM2 also holds a management position at the marketing department. During the meeting with BrJ2, BrM2 remained mainly silent. Commenting on this fact, BrM2 said that her job was to closely follow the developments of the project, but that she was to remain silent. Alluding to the visibility of her job, BrM2 said: "The general readership has no idea that there is a marketing department mediating the newspaper's actions". Because of the nature of the work and the position she occupies, BrM2 defines herself as a "team worker", and always uses the pronoun "we" when talking about the company.

At Mediafin, BeM3 took the lead in negotiations. BeM3 defines herself as a "turntable" or a "walk around" in the organization. She commented: "I have to walk a lot within the company. I have to gather input from the newsroom, from the communication agency..." The material confirms these facts. BeM3 appears to have an atypical position within the marketing team: she is part of the "external communication" sub-group, and she is not a manager. However, at the same time, she is the only marketing employee that participates in interdepartmental meetings like the "product meeting", where the editorial board meets with other heads of departments (Marketing, IT, etc.) and with the CEO. This could be partly explained by the fact that BeM3 is bilingual, which is an important element in multilingual organizations. When talking about his relationship with the marketing department, BeJ3 describes himself as a "motor" or as an "interventionist": "I interfere in the relationship with the marketing. So that means we have a dialogue, we listen to each other. I do like this situation" (BeJ3). BeJ3 holds a management position

in the online newsroom. The observation data record shows that BeJ3 frequently takes the initiative to organize meetings with colleagues, as well as trying to increase the size and competences of his team.

B) What is the object of the negotiation?

The organization and the planning at *Correio Braziliense* of the 'Correio Debate' was at the core of the negotiation process. At Mediafin, BeM3, and BeJ3 (among others) were negotiating the terms and conditions of the communication strategy behind the editorial project. However, the actors' motivations for taking part in these processes provide more in-depth material concerning what is at stake in the negotiation, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 – Actors' motivations in the negotiation processes.

	BrJ2 (leader)	BrM2	BeM3 (leader)	BeJ3
Self-description	"Problem solver", "bridge".	"Team worker", "We".	"Turntable", "Walkaround".	"Motor", "Interventionist".
Management position	Management position in the newsroom.	Management position.	No management position.	Management position in the newsroom.
Attitude	Advocate, convinced by the recent changes.	Tries to encourage cooperation (beyond editorial resistances).	Bilingual, give access to interdepartmental knowledge.	Willing to cooperate, but with his own agenda.
Personal motivations	(1) Keep his job and everybody else's. (2) Gain in credibility.	(1) Professional growth. (2) Being admitted by the newsroom.	(1) Reduce the tensions within the newsroom. (2) Work more quickly.	(1) Increase the visibility of online editorial content. (2) Get access to marketing (financial) resources.

Source: the authors.

BrJ2 reported that the motivation behind creating and strengthening connections between the newsroom and the marketing is in order for journalists to keep their jobs, that way everyone stays in the company. BrJ2 confessed that as "the bridge", he has more responsibilities in the company. "Yesterday, I stopped [his editorial job] to write invitations. Because it is valuable when the newsroom calls [to

talk about the event], it is different and lends more credibility", BrJ2 revealed. BrM2's motivations in the negotiation are for professional growth, and she also expressed a desire for recognition within the newsroom. "There is a positive thought [in the newsroom] that a project can be marketed without losing editorial relevance. This was not previously accepted", said BrM2. She concluded by saying that the relationship had become natural and that it was necessary to think with both heads (editorial and marketing). Thus, we conclude that those who negotiate in the relations between journalists and marketers are generally the people who have superior hierarchical positions in their respective company sectors. The object of negotiation, in the background, is to support *Correio Braziliense* and, consequently, their careers and those of other colleagues. Cooperation between professionals in both sectors is fundamental toward making their work more visible both inside and outside the company.

In terms of what was negotiable at Mediafin, a few agents (newsroom and marketing) point out that something was different for this project in terms of the relationship between the newsroom and the marketing. BeM3 and BeJ3 describe the process as a première. According to BeM3, three main elements can explain these situations: (1) "it was a last minute project"; (2) "I changed the meeting procedure, because we had no time" (only one meeting with everyone instead of multiple meetings in small groups in each department); (3) "Journalists were really enthusiastic about this project. The project came from them". Both BeM3 and BeJ3 describe the result of this process as a "win-win situation". In deliberately taking part in the negotiation, BeJ3 expresses how it allowed him to increase the visibility of online editorial content via a coordinated communication campaign. It was also a way for him to gain access to the financial resources from the marketing: he obtained an extra budget to make videos and use a video-drone. BeM3 states that the nature of the editorial project, the alternative decision-making process, and a better integration of all the participants have decreased most of the current tensions between people.

6 Discussion and conclusion

The aim in this paper was to understand how journalists and marketers interact with each other in two different media organizations in Belgium and Brazil. We investigated these interactions through the

lens of the concept of negotiation because we argue that Mediafin is the publishing company of the two economic. We chose to follow one negotiation process in each of the organizations and to test a "competency-based" analysis of these processes. The results of this approach show that issues such as revenue models, organizational cultures, hierarchical positions, relevant professional skills, and personal motives play an important role in the negotiation processes between journalists and marketers.

If we look at how the interactions occurred between marketers and journalists at Mediafin and *Correio Braziliense*, we observe some differences: they were more formal at Mediafin (scheduled meetings, etc.) and more spontaneous and informal at *Correio Braziliense*. This may be explained by two different organizational cultures. But our observation material shows that there are many similarities between how both of the professional groups see one another. Both marketers and journalists at *Correio Braziliense* and Mediafin express that their co-presence may generate tensions to some degree. Reducing these tensions is a commonly expressed concern among professionals from the two organizations. Another similarity is the idea that cooperation is aimed at strengthening the company. Even if *Correio Braziliense* is experiencing a financial crisis – as described by the interviewed actors and also in extensive literature on Brazilian media – and Mediafin is more stabilized in the Belgian media market, brand consolidation and revenues are important concerns for both organizations.

Yet, we observe a great diversity of personal motives in the negotiation processes. All of them are related to individual strategies, but they all seem to reflect the agents' attempts at gaining and/or maintaining a certain level of control over negotiations at work. All these elements echo the work of Elena Raviola (2012) on the relationship between journalism and business management in newspapers: "(1) [this relationship] is multiple, not only opposition; (2) it is dynamic, it changes over time and different relationships coexist at the same time; (3) it is materially and cognitively situated [...]" (Raviola, 2012, p. 937). The results provided by this research tend to corroborate such a description.

We look once again at the concepts of Shoemaker and Vos (2011) on gatekeeping being a molding process from which the news reaches the public, and also from Barzilai-Nahon (2008) about how the strength of gatekeepers depends on the power and positions each one exercises. In this sense, it might be impossible to state whether the established relationships are different from what they

used to be, however, it is safe to state that marketers also prove to be gateways within the two organizations, through which news are also shaped. During the interviews at *Correio Braziliense*, some journalists advocated for editorial independence even though they recognize that it's necessary to respect mechanisms that support the business of the organization. At the same time, marketing is established in the gatekeeping process by inserting projects with pre-formed formulas in which editorial content could be fit. Marketers and journalists at Mediafin tried to agree on the terms and conditions of the communication strategy behind the editorial project. The journalistic angles, the sources, or the topics were not discussed with marketers during this negotiation process, and all the journalistic material was almost ready to be published.

Despite the Brazilian and Belgian press having two distinct cultural contexts, we observe approaches within a macro market perspective. Jane B. Singer (2017), in a self-employed democracy, traces a panorama of how entrepreneurial journalism goes through a trend, since the classic business style (and journalism itself) can no longer keep pace with the changes in industry and digital technology. The market has become a hyper-competitive environment in which companies compete in several spheres simultaneously.

This intensification of competition overloaded the system with a multiplicity of media, while the market for advertisers, sources, and the consumer did not grow at the same rate (Charron & De Bonville, 2016). Without the same spaces, media companies were forced to make changes in order to improve the distribution of resources, and to devise alternative strategies for the consumer market and for the advertising market. The ethnographic material of this study shows that the marketing departments in the two media organizations have become increasingly important over the last 15 years. They have specialized and professionalized around specific missions, mainly promoting media brands to the outside world and managing (future) subscriptions.

In parallel, journalists nowadays — maybe more intensively than any other period of time — are also somewhat concerned by these missions. In the context of online journalism, Tandoc and Vos (2016) found that "online journalists identified with a marketing role" because of their work in reaching, conceptualizing and interacting with the audience (Tandoc & Vos, 2016, p.962). Our research completes these findings by providing insights on how marketers also play a role in the organization, planning and diffusion of specific journalistic content.

The organizational context where they evolve provides specific frameworks for these interactions (formal and informal meetings), but the two media organizations appear to give managers and project executors a privileged position within the negotiation process. Future research on the interactions between journalism and marketing in media organizations should focus on the different roles journalists and marketers share within their respective media organizations, and to what extent they can perform the very same roles.

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REVISED BY: Lee Sharp