Youth, violence and health: the construction of information in processes of knowledge mediation and appropriation[1]

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Abstract

This is a report of a study on how youngsters from lower economical classes in large cities, as *information subjects*, transform the established meanings of discursive and narrative forms – the "third knowledge" -, revealing the influence of *physical* and *symbolic violence* suffered from state, media, school, and society, that results on negative representation for their identities. The subjects include youngsters from projects conducted by non-governmental organizations, by the state or social movements. We use the concepts of *mediation* and *social knowledge appropriation* to study how they translate their violence experiences into their *symbolic reserve*. We present an informational experiment, a fanzine, regarding urban violence and its effects on young people, that was carried out in the research process. The interpretative analysis based on qualitative methodology indicates a symbolic and identity conflict in a possible informational action taken on the violent contexts where these youngsters live.

Keywords

information and society; youth and violence; social knowledge; fanzine

Introduction

The major common point of interest that bonded over time the links between the research groups of anthropology of information - the research field that encompasses the survey reported in this paper - and the health area is the production, use and distribution of knowledge in society. At the analytical and interpretative levels, surveys focus on the following objects and issues: information at the local level; information produced and used in and for social intervention; the interest in knowledge and its democratization; the vision of social

players and users of health services and information systems as *collective subjects*.

The theoretical interest is guided by the correlation between *knowledge, information, and society*. Surveys take into account the current social-political-economic-cultural context, in which issues related to knowledge and access to information assume a new and significant relevance in the process of economic development, in the exercise of citizenship, in education and in work. In an effort to avoid assuming a biased view, this paper works with the idea of knowledge associated with action,

believing that initiatives that aim at social intervention and transformation create ways to share information and expand the concepts individuals have about the world, promoting new ways to understand, produce and use knowledge. The new ways of combining theoretical and practical knowledge, the distinct and essential importance of each of them for a more appropriate understanding of how to achieve the goals of changing and improving living conditions is what we call "shared construction of knowledge."

In order to empirically understand the processes of knowledge appropriation and the information production, the operational concept of "third knowledge" is employed. It points to combinations and disputes, ever renewable and temporary, between scientific (or informational) knowledge, mediatic knowledge, and various forms of expression of popular (or practical) knowledge, which means going beyond the view of information as "stock" and working, at the local level, with the idea of "information-flow", "information-practice", "information-intervention" or, maintaining the concept that has been used throughout the research process, "information in motion".

In this trajectory, the construction of the object of research is presented here - the informational representation and expression of youth about violence - requires an interdisciplinary approach that covers issues and concepts in the areas of information, health, and social sciences.

The increase in violence, which exacerbates the already precarious living conditions of the populations of large urban centers, especially the young - exposed due to their greater mobility through the city and vulnerability to violence - is now a major cause of the deterioration of public health in the country. And since this is a health-related issue it is also a huge social problem, as it reveals the lack of commitment of the spheres of the State and economic, political and intellectual elites of the country with the training, education and assistance to children and the youth.

A general assumption of anthropology surveys is that every informational issue is also (or rather) a social issue. Therefore, and order to formulate relevant informational, it is necessary to focus them on the context of the social questions of their time. This assertion was already present in the field of information studies since Shera (1977), who drew, in the 1950's, the first outlines of a *social epistemology* aimed at building informational knowledge and practices that put science in a dialogue with society and with other orders of knowledge, with the purpose of fostering policies and actions for social development.

Concepts and methodologies originating in the intersection between three disciplinary fields are employed in the study, from an interdisciplinary perspective: social, information, and health sciences. From a different transdisciplinary perspective, the study examines the path of dialogue – be it due to dispute, clash, or alliance - between scientific knowledge and common sense knowledge. In the environment that Santos (1995) calls "interpretative communities", a gathering of players from science and society to discuss and produce new knowledge to be used in the development of society, and the democratization of access and ownership of information.

Based on this perspective, the research examined the narratives and informational expression of the youth, represented by groups involved in projects for the construction of community medias of the non-governmental organizations: *Associação Imagem Comunitária* (AIC) and Humbiumbi, from Belo Horizonte, and social intervention initiatives such as *Grupo Maré Jovem* (Youth Tide Group), and *Adolescentro da Rocinha,* from Rio de Janeiro.

A strategy for the successive approximation of the object of study and interaction with the youth was outlined, in an attempt to find ways to gradually incorporate different theoretical and methodological perspectives for the construction of the research. In order to create means to represent and articulate forms of knowledge (scientific, massive, popular); to look into the processes of formation, relativization, and disintegration of the collective identity of the youth and their local groups, based on the social representation, created by the information produced by the mass media and public authorities, an experiment-device about violence was created - the *Zine Violento* (Violent Zine). The fanzine format was chosen because it is a form of writing and information that seems to reflect the types of interaction and communication of today's youth, both in printed and electronic or digital media.

Youth, health and violence: a matter of information?

Social violence is a subject that has been occupying the imaginary and survival of society, and has become an object of study in the field of health, in addition to social sciences. In the case of Brazilian society it is a challenging issue due to structural problems that foster the growth and exacerbation of violent conflicts. Moreover, violence has a huge impact on public health and health services.

The Brazilian panorama of violence has certain peculiarities, although it retains two characteristics which are common to other countries: (a) it is the State that holds the monopoly on violence; (b) men and the young are among the most frequent fatal victims of violence (MINAYO, 1997). According to the author, however, the incidence of crimes in the country is "growing and insidious". It must be highlighted that some researchers look for the causes behind this situation in the increasing drug traffic in cities, while others look for deeper reasons in our social-political and cultural structures, naming the authoritarian roots of Brazilian society and the constant violation of human rights as possible causes of the endemic situation and growth of social violence. Other authors include in these ideas the category of "moral exclusion", whereby the formal assumption of the inclusion of all as individuals entitled to rights hides the

existence of groups left outside society, since such groups are perceived in the popular imagination as unworthy of the benefits they receive, and costly to those who consider themselves real citizens.

Thus, it is important to incorporate other references in the analysis of the trend towards a growing number of homicides and other crimes in Brazil. Among these references is the difficulty of a large portion of the popular classes to recognize human rights as being their own rights. This difficulty, combined with the ingrained culture of accepting illegal practices by state agents against the so-called marginal groups, has resulted in a blunting of the mechanisms of moral self control, and the incorporation of a sense of exclusion. The non-universalization of the law creates a vicious and wicked circle in the country, according to which non-violence is only advocated by those who have their social and economic rights guaranteed (MINAYO, 1997).

In this context, the impoverished youth of the large cities neighborhoods suffer, in addition to the *physical violence,* inflicted by the police apparatus of the State, and by violent situations of everyday life, from another level of violence - the symbolic – created by information and images generated by the media and reproduced in several social spaces and institutions, which stigmatize their identities by associating these young people to crimes, vandalism, and aggression.

Reflecting on the youth of popular classes as *social subjects,* Dayrell states that considering young people through this viewpoint is not simply a theoretical option, but a methodological and ethical stance:

> seeing and dealing with young people as individuals capable of reflecting, assuming their own positions and taking actions is a learning that requires an effort of self-reflection, distancing and self-criticism. Difficulties are even greater when the 'other' is 'young, black and poor', the triad that accompanies many young individuals like a curse (DAYRELL, 2003, p.44).

In this context, to build a relation between the issue of violence, health and youth, from an informational perspective, requires an understanding of the problem of information in the health area, since studies in communication, information, and health, despite the criticism ingrained therein about the diffusionist and linear transmitter-receiver models that prevails in the models applied in this field, are often guided by a logic of "informational supply".

A unilateral and elitist view of science, combined with the very concept of health as a state to be attained by the population in general has been guiding, over time, official programs of education, information and communication in the health area. However, Oliveira highlights, it is not about raising awareness, educating, drawing attention or moving the population, or simply identifying the shortcomings, *"... but of strengthening that which is best in individuals, their history, their time – their ability to create"* (OLIVEIRA, 2003b, p.37). Or, as Samaja (1998) states, expectations in terms of a healthy life, as spontaneously defined by the people, are always related to daily social processes, and are assumptions

of meanings or narratives built to account for existing disruptions, blockages or disarrangements.

Thus, studying the youth-violence-health relationship from an informational standpoint requires one to adopt a local and cultural understanding of the processes of subjectivation and construction of meanings around the world experienced by the youth, without forgetting the links that local level maintains with the macro-structural framework of society.

Information and knowledge: mediations and appropriations

The idea of "third knowledge" is related to the social action of individuals and is linked, on the one hand, to the means of production, appropriation and dissemination of information and, on the other hand, to the uses, which comprise their most indefinite and unstable side and thus open spaces for new mediations, meanings and realities.

Studying the production of "third knowledge" from the perspective of social practices and experiences implies systematizing the experiences narrated by the subjects, or discursively registered in authorized documents or speeches. The speech - or discursive formations – according to Foucault (2004), is subject to internal and external mechanisms that control its veracity ("will to truth"), it opposition in relation to narrative forms of knowledge (the opposition between reason and madness), the certificates of authorship, authorized comments about the speeches, and which maintain their continuity and authority.

Narrative, its counterpart, expresses the unhurried time of the world experienced, social memory, interaction, utopias, as Benjamin analyzes (1993). Its opposite term is information, which reunites in the modern time the senses fragmented by scientific reason, technologies, and mediatizations of culture.

Discourse and narrative are important dimensions of language to be considered when employing the concepts of *mediation* and *sharing* and *appropriation*, to advance the understanding of the "third knowledge" and its construction in cultural environments.

Mediation is a theoretical construct intended to reflect on the practices and devices that comprise the arrangements of meanings and communicational and informational forms in current societies, without losing sight of the links that both contents and the supports and collections maintain with the cultural tradition. It is a term that, according to Gellerau (2006), can be understood from two perspectives: the "relationship with a system" (for example, social mediation) or the "construction of meaning" (the interpretative process). Whether in one sense or another, mediation always implies monitoring, control and negotiation by a "third party", while the subject that benefits from a mediation process is encouraged to further his own point of view and find others. From the perspective of the construction of meaning, the concept is based on the fact that

meanings are not inherent to objects, but rather procedurally constructed by interpreting subjects, supported by languages and devices.

In studies on information and communication, the *mediation* model stems from an evolution necessary in comparison with two other models: "the *transfer of information, supported by the transmitter-receiver pair (...) and the interaction, where communication is defined as the result of the interactions among social subjects*" (Bordeaux, 2003, p.5). This evolution results from a broader trend that gives greater importance to the role of publics and users and to cultural democratization, as well as to devices and networks.

Hennion (1993), when studying the concept of *mediations*, intends to carry out a "sociology of mediations" to create another way of understanding that departs from the dualist reasoning "individual-society", which exists in social sciences since Durkheim. The term mediation "*means the place of interrogation, considering as problematic the interaction between these two dualistic ways of interrogating the social world*" (HENNION, 1993, p.223). For the author, the assignment of causes is not a theoretical operation undertaken by the researcher, but the constant practical work of the players that he observes, and one must turn these attributions into the very object of research. Among theoretical-methodological advantages of the use of the idea of *mediations* listed by Hennion, he highlights that the word means an *operation*, and not *operators*:

> it does not imply making a separation of principles between instruments, and allows one to travel without interruption from humans to things, through subjects or objects, instruments, systems, languages, institutions [...] it returns at the same time to a long series of key characters, to complementary and competing roles [...]; and a list [...] of connected material or institutional devices, more or less fixed in things ... (HENNION, 1993, p.224-5)

The concept of *mediation* reexamines questions that have always been present in the field of studies in culture, information, communication and knowledge: by refusing transparency, it demonstrates to which extent the devices of communication / information, the structuring of places, texts, spaces and collections influence interpretations and produce mixed objects loaded with meaning. As Davallon points out,

> what the mediation model brings to surface, is less of the elements (information, social subjects, the relationship, etc.) and more of the interrelation of these elements in a singular device (text, media, culture). Basically, it is this interrelation that appears as the **third** (DAVALLON, 2003, p.54-5, emphasis added).

Thus, the idea of mediation allows new information configuration and appropriation devices to emerge, such as mutating genres or new means of communication, not mass ones, but rather *social* ones, because when collectively constructed they show not only images, but real objects and subjects.

The concept of *mediation*, by favoring a relational analysis of knowledge and information, leads one to consider, when proposing a text to organize and disseminate the speech created by institutional players of the health area and which is to be presented or published in different spaces and media, that there is a negotiation between the properties of the proposed speech and the strategies of appropriation of social subjects.

A complementary path to the concept of mediations is that of *appropriation and sharing* of knowledge. Jeanneret (2004) points out that this idea, since the 1970s, was developed in a diffusionist perspective of scientific knowledge. However, it currently assumes the following characteristics: a) is not about science as such any longer; b) the forms of speech studied are very different, far from the unifying model of vulgarization; c) the pragmatic approach of information and communication becomes predominant in relation to the critical-denouncing approach of the 1970's. The "how to" replaces the "what for".

The author believes that this pragmatic approach was built and established by means of studies that acquire their pretence of mutual exteriority from the ideas of *media* and *knowledge,* evidencing "*the conditions of enunciation of different words on knowledge, far from representing a circuit where knowledge preceded its dissemination*" (JEANNERET, 2004, p.20). Therefore, one thinks more of a "*sharing among different types of knowledge*" than a "sharing of knowledge", which studies of the sciences of communication and information have been investigating.

Empirical universe and methodology

The young research subjects are integrated into social intervention actions and projects in the *Associação Imagem Comunitária* (AIC) and in *Humbiumbi*, in Belo Horizonte. In Rio de Janeiro, in *Adolescentro Paulo Freire,* and in *Grupo Maré Jovem*.

The AIC is a non-governmental organization (NGO) that develops strategies for the inclusion of different social and cultural universes in the process of creation and use of public access media. Its founders and coordinators are young graduates or students in public universities. Among the projects it undertakes, we can highlight the *Rede Jovem Cidadania* (Young Citizenship Network), a network of communitarian communication involving hundreds of adolescents and youth from all regions of Belo Horizonte. Through the development of communitarian communication devices and tools it fosters active engagement of youth, mobilization and consolidation of identity, aiming at building a positive image of young individuals (http://www.aic.org.br).

Humbiumbi is also an NGO, and develops projects that combine culture, youth and citizenship, with projects in communication, arts, health, family assistance and community participation. It also offers training workshops for teachers and students in public schools, digital inclusion programs, discussions about the media and production of educational material for schools, community groups and other entities. Additionally, the institution attempts to involve several segments of the community and turn its Cultural Center into a space for the interaction and genuine expression of the peripheral

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population of the region where it operates (http://www.humbiumbi.org.br).

Adolescentro Paulo Freire, operating under the Municipal Secretariat of Health and Civil Defense of Rio de Janeiro, assists the young population of the communities of Rocinha, Vidigal and Vila Canoas. It is a space dedicated to health care and promotion, where young people and adolescents are directly involved in planning and implementing activities, thus helping to improve the service and improve living conditions in its communities (http://www.saude.rio.rj.gov.br/adolescente).

Rede Maré Jovem, created by young residents of the communities of the Maré complex, aims at building a culture of encounters between residents, especially young people, facing the challenges and barriers imposed by guidelines that restrict the circulation of the youth (such as organized crime and its repression), and about the definitions used in communications by the media, the State, and social segments that consider these young individuals to be a problem. Members of the Rede Maré Jovem constitute a group that aims at helping to improve the – current and future - quality of life of the local youth (ARAÚJO et al., 2009)

A general assumption supports the activities of these groups and entities: the appropriation of knowledge implicit in processes of information production has the potential to create opportunities for the construction of new individual and collective identities, as well as a redefinition of the relationship of young people with the public media spaces and with the collective processes of empowerment and achievement of citizenship. This assumption puts these organizations in line with the theoretical and methodological orientation of this research, in that they support the development of media focused dedicated to speech and narrative diversity, with projects and methods embedded with *the appropriation and shared construction of knowledge*.

Regarding methodological tools, the use of participative and interactive methods was prioritized, such as workshops and interviews with focal groups, whose subjects comprised the issues of health and violence, through the point of view of the experiences and representations of young people through the space of the city, the family, the media, the school, the police, the groups of interaction and participation in activities related to social projects in which they are inserted. Other complementary tools were employed, such as the thematic analysis of web page contents and a sampling of newsletters, newspapers, webzine and videos produced in the activities of these organizations with young people. Besides these procedures, direct observations were made in workshops that replicated the construction of communitarian media organized by the youth in public schools, which enabled the creation of a comprehensive and integrated empirical database, which was both the basis for the theoretical-methodological studies of the research and for providing textual material for the fanzine.

The construction of empirical-operational categories, focusing on the interpretative analysis of the informational universe of young individuals about their violent life contexts, took into account the following points, which guided the thematic scripts of the instruments: a) the meaning of and experienced and / or witnessed episodes of violence, b) violence in everyday life; c) channels and sources of information on violence, d) responsibilities involved in the problem, e) agents of violence and expectations about the future.

The theoretical and methodological assumption that guided the interpretative analysis was based on the following equation, shown in Figure 1: information, in order to act as instrument of action on reality, requires two elements - a *cognitive expression,* resulting from process of appropriation of knowledge, and a *production of meaning*, related to the universe of experiences and symbols of the interpretation of meanings. In other words, it lacks cognitive understanding, symbolic interpretation and a cultural setting.
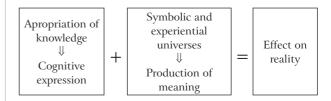

Figure 1 – Informational equation.

This informational equation provided the basis for the development, shared between the young individuals and the research team, a series of three fanzines on violence – the "Zine Violento."

Fanzines and the *Zine Violento*

The formats and intentions of the fanzines bring them closer to the products of popular press and other types of publication, such as *cordel* brochures (popular booklets sold in street markets) or almanacs, for instance (MAGALHÃES, 2002). The format they have today appeared in the United States in the 1930's of the 20th century. They are countless in number, have no regular renewal and frequency, cover various issues and take the most experimental shapes, but have at least one feature in common: they are vehicles for "extra-official" opinions, where "extra-official" means that which is not compromised with companies, organizations, governments or institutions (LIMA, 2007). As a vehicle of communication, they spread throughout the world, expressing ideas and information on a given subject, in a free and independent way, thanks to its low cost, as it is usually run in photocopiers (Xerox) and circulated through the mail, or over the Internet (e-zines). Due to these characteristics, young individuals are the main authors and participants in the production, reading and appropriation of this type of resource.

The *Zine Violento* – and the name chosen denotes an intention to use the language of the youth, since 'violent' is used by them as a synonymous of beautiful, interesting - was developed as an informational

experiment in printed format, an open communication model, an alternative to the communication of disposable pamphlets and of official manuals prescribing campaigns for health and public safety. The contents try to show the views and contradictions existing in the minds of young individuals, through their own voices. The main concern is not about a unified consistency of speech, but rather with the multiple protagonism of the young subjects of research. Accordingly, an analysis of the vast textual material produced by methodological resources was carried out, whereby we attempted to identify the voices of youth groups and what they told about violence, directly or indirectly. Thus, not only the speech but also the silence between words, the gestures, smiles, look, were part of what *was heard* through their voices.

The first issue of the fanzine deals with raising awareness about the importance of reading as a tool for understanding and interfering in the world, and therefore as a possibility for the construction of identities and for the transformation of reality; the second issue draws even more attention to the types of singularization, intensified by the process of aesthetic creation with which they often coexist, an expressive power of their experiences in life: rap, graffiti, the narratives of videos, the theater, radio, etc.; the third reinstates the question about possible interference towards changing public policies, making them, by strengthening the constructed social networks, a space to be occupied with the purpose of transforming it into a construction in and of itself, a territoriality.
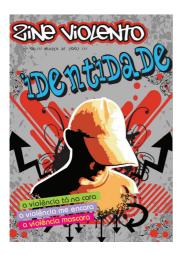

Figure 2 - "Violent Zine" covers.

Each one of the "Violent Zine" issues attempted to make a script based on the speech used by the young individuals of the research, in a symbolic and hypertextual intersection with media materials, music, illustrations, data and academic reflections on the situation of violence against and among the youth, to define directions and interpretations of their perceptions of the world and the incidence of violence.

Results: youth, violence and symbolic reserve

The youth experiences and expresses a dual meaning concerning violence in their daily lives, associated with their conditions as social subjects excluded from the rights to citizenship and social identity. The first interpretation relates to the *physical violence* experienced in public places, practiced by the police and by state repression apparatus, by criminals and other young individuals, or in private spaces such as the home and family, or institutional ones, such as the school. Another perception concerns the *symbolic violence* that labels their identities as being aggressive and criminal. The latter is a form of violence that is embedded in the messages and images conveyed by the media and reproduced in the imagination of society and its institutions, indicating a first interpretation, by the youth, about the informational effect of violence on their lives.

They usually report many everyday situations of violence experienced in public and private spaces, involving themselves or some friend or relative. In the public spaces they think it is a "graphic violence" associated with prejudice, due to their being "poor, black and living in slums". At school, due to the authoritarianism and prejudice of some teachers and to the aggressions inflicted upon them by their colleagues. And in the family, they experience violence from drunk and / or aggressive parents or stepparents, and due to the interaction with several relatives in the same space.

They think that television programs are a major source of information that encourages violent behavior in children and young people; this behavior is internalized and reproduced by them in the family and in their interactions with colleagues and at school. Since these young individuals are involved in social projects for the shared production of community media, they consider that the newspapers, the radio and the Internet disseminate information that both encourages and provides guidance for their views about the context and the extent of violence in society.

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When expressing their views on who are the agents of violence, they first mention the police and their prejudicial and aggressive actions towards the youth in the communities where they live, or in public and recreational spaces. The second are family members, particularly stepparents, parents, or brothers. Then come teachers and schoolmates. "Violence generates violence" they say, to show that violent acts occur in a chain after an initial attack, that is, they are almost always a (re)action.

As for the responsibility and the measures needed concerning the panorama of social violence, they believe that the government should take measures and develop public policies, since the State is only present in their lives in the form of repressive police action. They also believe, however, that they have a share of responsibility themselves for violence among and against young people.

The theoretical-methodological assumption of the research expresses an informational equation whereby the appropriation of knowledge results in cognitive expression and the ability to interpret the meanings of experiential and symbolic universes results in a production of meanings for the action on reality. The data seem to show that this equation is partially complete, since there is an appropriation of knowledge by young people, in the technical and symbolic mediations of communicational and informational devices that they produce in the social projects in which they participate. On the other hand, the production of meanings for action on reality would depend on elements that are complementary to an informational effect for the transformation of the reality of the youth, related to their social-economic and educational conditions. What power or effect would the information produced in processes of mediation and appropriation have on changing the living conditions of the youth?

The procedures for appropriation and sharing of knowledge, and the mediations that produce meanings, although may not result in immediate actions towards social change for the youth, seem to keep them occupied with actions of affirmation of identity and awareness of rights involved in the formation of a *symbolic reserve* capable of, at different moments, guiding their senses and social intervention actions.

Conclusions

In the health area, the term "diffuse suffering" is employed to refer to a state of individuals falling ill due to conditions of poverty and to the violent context in which they live. They are physical symptoms, but originate in feelings of fear, hopelessness and abandonment, bringing about somatic consequences, such as pains, depression, states of anxiety (OLIVEIRA, 2003a).

Diffuse suffering is therefore linked to social situations, such as those experienced by the youth - the subjects of research - and reported in their speech. They do not, however, manifest physical symptoms, but rather a sort of "symbolic and identity-related impasse" since

they do not view human and social rights as being their own, which seems to create feelings of exclusion and lack of moral self-control.

How does information act in this context? What is its usefulness and possible applications?

Information, combined with the other concepts mentioned here as symbolic processes, can become a territory of (re)signification for the youth, in that by serving them both as a possibility of *appropriation, mediation and production* and as a means to *share* knowledge, fosters the formation of singularities that, integrated into the context, may be employed in social action, albeit not immediately. For the occurrence of knowledge requires the knowledge previously appropriated by the receiver: the individual looking for the information would already have some kind of information about it.

Thus a *symbolic reserve* is created in the youth that, by creating more and more possibilities for the interpretation of their lives and experiences, triggers processes of re-appropriation of information and, consequently, of knowledge, in order to understand them not as something static, but rather, as something being built.

After all, the procedures for the construction of experiments in community media, undertaken by the youth, with the participation and coordination of other young instructors and entertainers, take place because the latter discontinued the way knowledge is produced and disseminated in the university. These processes of shared construction and appropriation of knowledge make one think that both information and the meanings they are loaded with are historically produced, and their authorships are dated and contextualized.

The young outlook may become a very different one: instead of focusing on objects themselves, particularly the symbolic ones, they may focus on their own practices as subjects who take ownership of the circulating objects in order to construct meanings. Such outlook is not just interested in describing, but rather in inter-relating, in building together, in sharing.

As researchers, we are committed to the construction of a shared informational tool, with multiple authors, voices and speeches, and not a manual loaded with prescriptive and disposable information, with a transmissional information concept. On the contrary, *Zine Violento* wants to be an informational device characterized by open communication, with multiple protagonists and appeal for solidarity, rather than the usual negative, stereotyped image about the youth and violence. We are convinced that this communicational and informational media will be more effective than finding who is to blame, and the single voice of prescriptions traditionally adopted by official propaganda and by the aggressive and violent actions of the state apparatus of repression.

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