



DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF INFAMOUS BODIES. CASE STUDY OF METRO NEWSPAPER

ANÁLISE DO DISCURSO DA REPRESENTAÇÃO DE CORPOS INFAMES. ESTUDO DE CASO DO JORNAL METRÔ

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Abstract: one of the effects of violence in Mexico is the representation of infamous bodies in the press. This article explores *infamous bodies*⁴ production based on different events (accidents, violence or extravagant behaviors), which become social facts after being recorded in language. The aim of the document is to look at the representation of the *infamous body* through the journalistic discourse, conceived as an indication of society's perspective towards "the other". The hypothesis of the paper is that the representation of *infamous bodies* in the press corresponds to an unsupportive sense of solidarity as part of an *immunization* process (ESPOSITO 2011). The article uses the concept of *immunization*

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4 The term 'infamous bodies' introduced by Michael Foucault in *Power, truth, strategy*, 2006, will be used along the text.



applied through a semiotic and rhetorical analysis that takes into account the dimension of language and image, proposing a hermeneutics that puts into question the ethics of journalism in its relationship with power and violence. For this end, the front pages of the *Metro* newspaper, whose journalistic discourse is an eloquent example of the construction of infamous bodies and the immunization process, were analyzed.

Key words: representation, infamous body, immunization, political body, journalism

Resumo: um dos efeitos do problema da violência que o México está experimentando atualmente é a representação de *corpos infames* nos jornais. Este artigo explora esse conceito para se referir ao tratamento dado em alguns jornais a eventos violentos que se tornam eventos sociais depois de serem registrados pela linguagem. O objetivo é observar a representação do *corpo infame* por meio do discurso jornalístico, que funciona como um indicador do olhar atual da sociedade para “o outro”. Trabalhamos com uma hipótese: a representação de corpos infames nos jornais corresponde a um olhar fora do sentido da solidariedade, como um processo de *imunização* (Esposito, 2009a). O artigo usa o conceito de *imunização* para realizar uma análise semiótica e retórica que leva em consideração as dimensões da linguagem e da imagem. Também propõe uma hermenêutica que questiona a ética do trabalho jornalístico em sua relação com o poder e a violência. Para este artigo, foram analisadas as capas do jornal *Metro*, publicadas em várias cidades do México, cujo discurso jornalístico é um eloquente exemplo da construção de *corpos infames* e do processo de *imunização*.

Palavras-chave: representação; corpos infames; imunização; política do corpo, jornalismo.

Introduction

Mexican criminal records from the 90s have been broken, among them, the indicators of kidnapping, robbery, murder and drug trafficking (ARRIAGA, 2002); in the first decade of this century, President Calderon focused his policy on war on drugs causing an extraordinary growth in the levels of violence (CHABAT, 2010), situation that has not diminished.



In this context, violence is presented increasingly in the media (CASAS, 2011); that is the reason why, this paper aims to document how a journalism genre addresses the different expressions of violence, playing an important role in the political⁵ arena due to the semiotization of the other. This can be seen if the concept of ‘immunization’ proposed by Esposito (2011) on a media *corpus* is used in the analysis, given that it is precisely where the sociological and political nature of communication crosses.

Two initial questions narrow down the object of study: how would the State benefit from the representation of infamous bodies? What are the motifs of the body of journalists while representing infamous bodies? To answer these questions a first decision was made, to draw on the concept of power. In this regard, Foucault’s discipline device (1986) was retrieved, given that it plays a key role, particularly in modern times, in the form of bio-politics (2006). Both discipline and biopolitics normalize the behavior of the masses, that is, the behavior of the bodies of members of the social body. This standardization practice translates into language, including legal, administrative and everyday language; the latter is eloquently reflected in mass media. It is therefore assumed, that thanks to language power goes across the bodies without forcing them and produces effects that are of social action (policy development and control devices). The theoretical principle is that “power must be analyzed as something which circulates, or as something which only works in the form of a chain” (FOUCAULT, 1980, p. 98). This conception of power allows, on one hand, to locate the object of study (beyond empiricism); and, on the other, it makes it possible to link it (theoretically) with the proposal Esposito.

It is known that throughout Esposito’s trilogy, *Communitas* (ESPOSITO, 2010), *Immunitas* (ESPOSITO 2011) and *Community, immunity, biopolitics* (ESPOSITO, 2012), the metaphor of the body is invoked, it is to say, there is an analogy between the image of the physical body constituted by organs, and the social body and its institutions. Under this approach, it can be stated that the constitution of the physical and social body create a *social isomorphism that produces texts*, which work as tissues that produce and reproduce the society (GONZÁLEZ; TAMBORINI, 2011). The metaphor of the body can be exploited to study the communicating vessels that produce the body’s organs in its own dynamics; and through the observation of the social isomorphism of the text, the discursive paths of thought and perception of society can be grasped via its Community institutions.

5 The term ‘political’ in this work is understood in its wide an original sense, as the management of the public space. As Ciurana and Regalado explain, ‘politics’ can be implied as “the art of dialogue in the irrelevant context of poetry, hence of creation. The dialogical art as the strategical management of the concurrency, complementarity and antagonism of the same space/time of public arena” (2016, p.103-104)



Esposito has reviewed two concepts whose heuristic scope is useful for understanding different social phenomena related to violence. These concepts are *communitas* and *immunitas*. Etymologically, *communitas* consists of ‘cum’ and ‘munus’. The first means “with” and the second “duty, obligation, gift” (ESPOSITO, 2010). *Communitas* means, “What is common” under the idea of “duty, obligation, and gift”. This “common” belongs to its members in the form of debt, charge, duty, obligation, and gift. Esposito explains it as follows:

“communitas is the totality of persons united not by ‘property’, but precisely by an obligation or a debt, not by an ‘addition’ (pii) but by a ‘subtraction’ (meno): by a lack, a limit that is configured as an onus, or even as a defective modality for him who is ‘affected’” (ESPOSITO, 2010, p. 6).

Communitas suggests that members of a community are related not because they belong per se to a community that welcomes them by nature, but they ‘are common’ by necessity and because they have to fulfill mutual obligations.

Regarding the concept of *immunitas*, Esposito says, “immunity as is not only the exemption from commitment but something that interrupts the social circuit of reciprocal donation” (ESPOSITO, 2011, p. 16). That is why the author adds:


“If *communis* is he who is required to carry out the functions of an office – or to the donation (*elargizione*) of a grace – on the contrary, he is called immune who has to perform no office (*immunis dicitur qui nullo fungitur officio*), and for that reason he remains ungrateful (*ingratus*)”. (ESPOSITO 2010, p. 6)

Communitas and *immunitas* are two inexorable dimensions of social dynamics. The first produces a sense of life for community members as an obligation of giving and receiving within society, by and for the social and community unity. The second produces a paradoxical movement both inside and outside the communities that make up a society. That is, when communities produce immunization, they remain inwards and protect outwards (from the others). Therefore, “making community” and immunizing are two dimensions of the same phenomenon in the very heart of the socialization of its members.

Methodology: The representation of the body, immunization and journalism

Let us consider the representation of the body in the press as if it was in a social observation laboratory, this supported by the premise that language and





action are inseparable. In this context, the goal of every discourse analysis is to indicate connections between different dimensions of social complexity. For the case of this article, we tried to locate discursive elements of the representation of infamous bodies under a semiotic and rhetorical approach, to uncover and find evidence of language as social production that in an isomorphic way allows the reproduction of society. From the methodological level, the analytical gaze tried to connect the social origin of the representation of infamous bodies, without sacrificing the inexorable hermeneutics which involves in the encounter with social objects.

Hence, this article focuses on the representation of the body in journalism; it aims to find possible responses and clues of the essence and objective of a society within discourse. It is believed that social behavior can be grasped in the texts that a society produces because they constitute a mirror that produces and reproduces society. The body representation in media is not innocuous, in it appear the agents that point at it and the subjects depicted as an object, an ‘issue’ fundamentally political. The *power of representation* is determined by the social position of subjects, reflecting the sense of political, social and economic relations between the enunciating-subject and the represented-subject. (GONZÁLEZ, 2010). As Bakhtine (1997) says, all discourse is conflictual when the other is represented; reason why all discourse acquires a political dimension. Thus, through language, all speaking-subjects try to establish order in the world, which means not only sorting things, but also, and more importantly, ordering the subjects, qualifying and classifying them sociologically.

The article aims to analyze journalism’s discursive production which legitimizes the (pejorative) profile of infamous bodies. In this ontogenesis of representation of the infamous bodies, the most important issue to consider is the social production of meaning generated by the society as a whole, or in an analogy as a body, rather than the legitimizing role of the media. Assuming that only the media and/or journalists are involved in the production of the representation of the infamous bodies is to contradict the metaphor of the social body.

The infamous body is defined here as the one which has suffered not only physical but social degradation, either by an accident in the workplace, or in the urban and domestic areas, as well as those that deal with biological or moral “abnormalities”. The body is the first unit that defines the subject in its limits with the physical and social world; it appears as a life instance facing the other, showing both differentiation and similarity; it is the subject of community but also of exclusion and in both cases, the object is used for immunization. The body is a sufficient and necessary constitution of otherness and intersubjectivity between subjects. It is worth remembering that the *munus of communitas* implies a “need to leave private interest [...] to open the barriers that limit our personal or group experience. [This means] to be contaminated while entering in contact with what is different from us” (ESPOSITO, 2000).





The body is where suffering and joy from sensorial and moral life are experienced. Referring to the “infamous body” implies a negative dimension of this physical and moral life that contrasts with the “normality” that society has established in various historical moments. The term involves what the other bodies (“normal”) do not want and disqualify in an act of denial and rejection. The infamous bodies are:

“those of birth, fortune, saintliness, heroism or genius; that they should belong to those billions of existences which are destined to pass away without a trace: that there should be in their misfortunes, in their passions, in those loves and in those hatreds, something grey and ordinary beside what is usually estimated as worthy of being recounted; that nevertheless they should have been traversed with a certain ardour, that they should have been animated by a violence, an energy, an excess in the wickedness, the meanness, the baseness, the obstinacy or the bad luck which would give a sort of frightening or pitiable grandeur to them in the eyes of their peers, and in proportion to their very mediocrity” (FOUCAULT, 2006, p. 79).

Immunization by the representation of the infamous body?

The infamous body in the eyes of some journalism is obviously not a clinical object (as it is for medical science), but a bio-social and political body, experiencing life in society. Subject of infamy (by accident or moral misfortune), the infamous body is a representation-reproduction of a disparaging look. Such representation serves as an operation whose discursive effects immunize, firstly, to the enunciating-subject and secondly to other instances of the social body. The consequence of this journalistic practice of representing the infamous bodies is keeping an un-supportive *sense of solidarity* with “the other” with whom they should have to make community. Indeed, the lack of solidarity with the pain and suffering of others is due to a position of ‘un-supportive alienation’ by the enunciating-subject. There is an immunization process of the infamous body, which becomes an object of contempt and rejection because it is unworthy of a positive evaluation.

The problem of representing the infamous body is not the fact that it is represented, but the way in which it is done (hence the use of the expressions “some representation” and “some journalism”). The nodal problem is that the representation of the infamous body under an un-supportive gaze of the sense of solidarity leads only to reproduce and legitimize certain dynamics and social relations. It would seem that the un-supportive gaze of the sense of solidarity from journalism towards the infamous bodies is one of the many devices of power (via language), where discourse has the role of reproducing a form of social dynamics within the power in turn. One approach to this type of journalistic practices which become



immunization devices, nor programmatic neither vertical for power and discourse, allows us to see how identity and social “commitment” of the journalists body is protected by not getting “contaminated” by what others do or suffer.

Results and discussion

A *corpus* of the newspaper *Metro* (State of Mexico edition) front pages was compiled from November 2011 to January 2012. The two analyses shown are examples of an extensive *corpus*, which comprises twenty front pages that follow the same pattern of the examples. The choice of period has to do with the incisive eloquence of the discourse used rather to the amount of infamous bodies represented.

As it is a discursive analysis, it was outstanding to study the documents produced in Mexican society given that they became testimonies of what language represents (language of Mexican society) about the infamous bodies. This production compiles both language and action, in which the analyst can track the possible causes and consequences in the different dimensions of social complexity. The examples allow us to correlate different causal factors resulting in the contempt of infamous bodies and which constitute an evidence of language as a sociological practice, especially in the form of violence and conflict among members of society.

The first step was the analysis of the front pages taking into account the discursive semiotic and rhetoric unity between photography and word. As a first selection parameter is the representation of the infamous body, which is staged by the photographic act (the reporter) of the front page. Secondly, it is shown how that pure photographic representation is amplified through the word that triggers the sense of the infamous body. In a third stage, the written story was used in order to extract the semantic universe (through words or phrases and/or images) that constitute the discursive representation of the infamous body.

The next methodological step was interpretation. This implied finding ontologies in the representation of the infamous bodies (discursively), as well as differences correlated with causal factors of sociological, political and educational nature. Particularly, the discursive representation of the examples shown here are reduced to an ontology of ‘accidental death’. The following analytical base table (1) allows correlating this ontology with the three causal factors mentioned (sociological, political and educational):

Table 1: Analytical Reason “Accidental Death”

Causal Factor	Ontology: Accidental Death
Sociological	Interpretation
Political	Interpretation
Educational	Interpretation

Source: Own elaboration

Once the semiotization of the infamous body by visual and linguistic signs is located, the above table facilitates the proposal of a hermeneutics of the role of immunization in the sociological field through the journalistic practice.

Analysis of the representation of the infamous body

Example 1. “Mad Arrow”



Photograph 1.

Source: Front page the Metro newspaper. December 30, 2011 (year 5, number 1575. p. 1.)

This front page features a photograph of the injured body of a woman. In bad conditions, the woman is helped by six paramedics, who try to take her out from the inside of a crashed bus. The title of the front page is “Mad Arrow” referring to the name of the company that owns the bus “Red Arrow” (In Spanish, the title was ‘Flecha loca’, and the name of the company is ‘Flecha Roja’; the

words ‘loca’ and ‘roja’ rhyme). The linguistic and semiotic dimensions combine to produce a sense of humor facing a serious and painful fact for those involved. This procedure is recurrent in the *Metro*, which keeps some distance from the fact narrated. In an attempt to euphemize the hilarious effect of the title of the report, a neutral caption is used: “Bus departs from Mexico City towards Toluca and crashes against a road sign in Lerma, there are 14 wounded people.” (“Sale autobús del DF rumbo a Toluca y se estrella contra un señalamiento vial en Lerma; hay 14 heridos”). The title, subtitle and photograph work together to create a sense of solidarity through a metonymic rhetorical procedure that causes both a hilarious and tragic effect in discourse. In the Table 2, a metonymic equivalence between the verbal and the visual elements is observed:

Table 2: Metonymic equivalence of the front page

Title	Subtitle	Photograph
“Mad arrow”	“Bus departs from Mexico City towards Toluca and crashes against a road sign in Lerma, there are 14 wounded people.”	-Infamous body (injured woman) - Bus

Source: Own elaboration

Then, for this section of the analysis, the written story that appears along the pages of the newspaper is taken into account. The format of the report in the *Metro* newspaper consists in presenting the narrative, short interviews with witnesses, hypothetical graphs that explain the geography or history of the facts, and data (mostly numerical) about the consequences of the fact. The significant discursive elements that make up the whole report are the following:

- a) A chart entitled “Crushed” where the injured people assisted in the place and the people transported to a hospital are enlisted, all of them are infamous bodies “crushed”.
- b) There is a graph indicating the location of the crash site and this is called “Deflect arrow” (in the newspaper, the word ‘deflect’ has the same connotation that “Mad Arrow” and “Red Arrow”), where healthy bodies (before the accident) became infamous bodies.
- c) The *Metro* newspaper presents a photograph that can be considered as the second action sequence depicted in the photograph on the front page: the injured woman is seen out of the bus, aided by four paramed-



ics. Something that calls readers attention is the look in the face of the two rescuers which shows a gesture of total unconcern (perhaps because they are already accustomed to the banality of road accidents), and a slight smile (the question that undoubtedly pops is, why?). Visually it would seem that the choice of this photograph is according to the mood of the linguistic dimension of the report in the front page.

Based on the extracted elements, we continue with the interpretation, considering the analytical table (shown above) that correlates causal factors of the infamous body ontologies. The last row of Table 3 correlates causal factors of the ontology of the infamous body with the immunization process. This process is the final event of each analyzed case:

Table 3. Interpretation of Analysis

Causal Factor	Ontology: Accidental Death
Sociological	-The infamous body is a list of crushed people; they become a bloody and hilarious object.
Political	-A lack of enforcement by the authorities to prevent the constant road accidents is evident. These accidents are the subject of journalistic representation linked to the absence of solidarity, both from government and the newspaper.
Educational	-The frequency of road accidents by “Mad Arrows” (company “Red Arrow”) shows the absence of driver education by bus operators.
Immunization process	- The editorial line of <i>Metro</i> and the responsible publishers do not manifest at any time the possibility of outrage that such accidents deserve. There is evidence of an unsupportive attitude from what happened to the other, in this case, the others (the list of affected people), which is demonstrated in the absence of a remark indicating negligence, and the fact of representing the body of accident victims (the humorous aspect of all the news, graphic and narrative, and the evidence of the two rescuers smiling). Instead, laugh is chosen. The individual body affected by the possibility of death does not matter, as far as it does not affect the <i>status quo</i> . The discourse of representation of this type of infamous bodies convincingly shows what the journalists’ union brings while referring to serious road accidents, paging up the responsibility of political officials. The journalistic body and the political body are, in this context, solidary discursively and in action (do journalism



and government fulfill their duty of taking care of citizens' interests?). These infamous bodies would have not wished to appear in the list published by this newspaper; instead their drama, due to the way in which it was represented, must be assumed as a quasi-humorous fact and thus the task of journalistic and governmental bodies is immunized (taking responsibility away).

Source: Own elaboration

Example 2. “Pushing up daisies” / “In the pot”



Photograph 2.

Source: Front page of the Metro newspaper. January 13, 2012 (year 5, number 1589. p. 1.).

Source: Front page of the Metro newspaper. January 13, 2012 (year 5, number 1589. p. 1.).

Entitled “In the pot” (In order to make the reader experiment the humorous sense of the title in Spanish, the authors have used a common idiom in English language. The analysis is carried out on the basis of the original title). A rollover leaves a dead man and two wounded people.” The photograph takes us two steps from the infamous body: a corpse of a man, seen from behind with a torn shirt that allows seeing marks of having been dragged. The infamous body is next to a tire, quite likely, from the car involved in the accident. The photograph gives evidence of what happened in a road and the body is one of the infamous bodies that the rollover produced. Let us add to the above description, the summary of this front page: “A truck carrying plants in Toluca-Tejupilco road falls into a ravine”. As usual, the Metro newspaper uses words with figurative meanings, in this case, the expression “in the pot” is used to refer that he was ‘carrying plants’ and now



'he is dead' (In Spanish the title was 'in the pot', which means 'a flower vase, a pot', but at the same time is an expression that means that someone hit his or her head, usually leading to a serious damage). The "witty" rhetoric is used as a metaphor between the human body and the plants (plant bodies) carried in the wrecked vehicle: Man and plant is the same thing. Hence the assertion that an infamous body hit himself "in the pot" and the *Metro*, overwhelmed by this view, extended the conception that he ended up like "a broken pot".

Table 4. Metonymic equivalence of the front page

Title	Subtitle	Photograph
"Pushed up daisies'	"A truck carrying plants in Toluca-Tejupilco road falls into a ravine".	-Infamous body (the corpse lying on the floor)

Source: Own elaboration

The elements provided by the report are:

- a) A photograph, long shot, which stages the corpse and confirms that it is next to the overturned truck: the truck is in poor physical condition.
- b) The photograph caption says "The authorities detailed that the deceased was identified as Oscar Nepomuceno, 23, who was carrying pots and plants". We can add to this the heading of the report: "Wrecked truck, dead guy." The semantic linguistic universe of these elements of the report reveal the language game (in the metonymic way) that the *Metro* has on the front page. Now "the pot" is the "guy" (young man), but also "Oscar Nepomucemo". At this time, the *Metro* seems to take it more or less seriously.
- c) The report insists on the result of the rollover in the voice of one transit guard and reports of the Red Cross (common descriptive elements in a report of this kind). But surprisingly, in the last paragraph the reporter writes: "The traffic in the area was not affected," as if this information was important and not the accident itself.

The construction of this infamous body has two faces: one characterized by indifference to a corpse to the degree to characterize it as a "pot"; the other shortening that indifference but without reaching the informative journalistic seriousness: if the body is no longer a "pot" it is now a dead "guy" whose infamous body "did not affect traffic in the area." Table 5 shows the correlation between the causal factors of the ontology of the infamous body with the immunization process:



Table 5: Interpretation of the Analysis

Causal Factor	Ontology: Accidental Death
Sociological	-The perception of the modest social classes is an easy pejorative target. What would have happened if the infamous body had been from a renowned personality?, would it have been called “pot”? For the simple fact of having found pots and plants in the truck, journalists found a reason to represent reality again in a humorous way, by associating a “pot” with the infamous body. Death is a source of humor.
Political	-The report raises three political entities that have intervened in the accident: the Secretariat of Public Safety, the Red Cross and the Center for Justice in Temascaltepec. Each State authority reports elements of their jurisdiction to the reporter who integrated them into his journalistic text to produce a representation that we must conceive as unsupportive to the sense of solidarity in front of the misfortunes of the other.
Educational	-The figures of road accidents in Mexico are impressive and reveal the degree of respect to traffic signs, or the poor condition of the roads. The omission or statements of the reporter (as if he had seen the action of the accident): “This is a white with red truck, plates KW47283, which misled on a slope ending in a steep curve.” Of these elements, the reporter (Garcia, 2012: 10), cannot prove the “misled” of the truck driver, and yet he affirms it.
Immunization process	-Under a factual, spectacular and even morbid narrative, the representation of this infamous body shows the degree of indifference to the misfortune of the other. Such a statement about the indifference is not solely an induction by this analysis, but by deduction in the constant representation of injured bodies (as in the case of the bus line accident described above). In the case of reported accidents in the <i>Metro</i> newspaper and many others of its kind, there is a clear gap between the press body and the political body from the infamous bodies. Immunization in these cases follows the trivialization of road accidents and governmental indifference in this respect. The injured body, the corpse, becomes only a show (for photography) and object of pejorative qualification to become only one more death figure. Everything indicates that while the press body and the political body are not shocked in the presence of such accidents, the infamous bodies of death are the cost of this indifference.

Source: Own elaboration



Conclusions

This article showed that the representation of infamous bodies via journalism, in the case of *Metro* newspaper, as declarative instance of power is not harmless. This form of “humorous” and offensive representation of the infamous bodies is immunization. This immunization process could also be interpreted as the “hidden God,” Lucien Goldmann (1955), in which the work of an institution conveys interests and values of a group: its regulating principle. Bodies ordering other bodies. This under the power of representation which is possible through the semiotization and rhetoricalization of language. In this sense, every journalistic representation “has its social origin [...] within a community and, therefore, is both a consequence and an indicator of the status of the interaction between human beings living in the same community” (ARRIAGA, 2002).

This photographic and verbal representation of infamous bodies reveals the horizon of identification between journalists and readers. *Metro* newspaper consumption is an indicative of the way in which the codes that constitute the representation of the infamous body are constructed, as part of the constitutive process of the metaphor of the social body in Mexico. From this angle, these representations are nothing but the production and reproduction of journalists Union body (also a metaphor for the social body) to immunize themselves and immunize the power of the State.

The representation of infamous bodies here revised, allows us to take the analysis to the field of biopolitics. If the State should worry about the life of the bodies (the members of the community), is paradoxical, as noted here, the same state endeavors the death of certain members, who become infamous bodies. This means that currently the exercise of State biopolitics in Mexico (as the war on drugs, inefficiency in road safety education, and medical services), is the production device of infamous bodies to preserve the power of the State body.

Even when for reasons of space only two examples are presented, the analyzed *corpus* leads to argue that the representation of infamous bodies in the *Metro* newspaper immunize, first, to journalists and later to those groups of different hierarchies of the political body but also to the body of the mass of readers (which may well be identified as the general population). Given this representation, we must not forget that this process of immunization, like any other social process, is part of the semiotic and rhetorical system that is established as an element of the communication flow to keep the system balance in favor of power. By establishing codes, the power (but also society as a whole) have the ability to maintain the *status quo*: a journalism that is not critical, but unsupportive to solidarity towards the other, legitimizes and makes us forget what under a policy of making commu-



nity would assign importance: respect, empathy, ethical education of all members of the social body. The kind of journalism that *Metro* practices is but conformity with the *status quo* to precisely immunize not only the union of journalists but also the political body regarding their duty with the community. Under this perspective, it is seen, without a doubt, a process of immunization against the hypothesis that power is repressive. On the contrary: Members of journalists' union act not only for self-preservation, but also for the conservation of political power members. Indeed, the representation of infamous bodies is an *immunitas* process, contrary to what the social body requires to build social *communitas*, which would be characteristic of a democratic State.

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