O cuidado ético e moral com o cinema e a televisão no Brasil

Reusmo

Neste artigo, apreende-se um pensamento sobre como os conceitos de ética e moral ao longo de décadas, no Brasil, foram utilizados em nome de uma suposta qualidade no Cinema e na Televisão, durante o regime militar, de 1964 a 1985, e após a redemocratização, até a promulgação da Constituição da República, em 1988, períodos em que sucessivas portarias de classificação prévia/indicativa foram emitidas pelo Ministério da Justiça, após o fim da Censura Federal. As fontes de análise para este artigo são matérias jornalísticas, além dos Relatórios Anuais da Divisão de Censura de Diversões Públicas (DCDP), de 1972 a 1987, entre outros documentos, do período da ditadura militar, sob a guarda do Arquivo Nacional. As reflexões são baseadas na teoria dos afetos de Spinoza e nos escritos de Deleuze.

1 Introduction

Both cinema and television in Brazil have their histories traversed by permanent debates in which the word ethics is recurrently demanded and used, sometimes indistinctly, as a synonym for moral values or a code of conduct. A significant part of this discussion took place in the pages of newspapers during periods of authoritarian governments, which makes it essential, in our view, even today, to make efforts to point out the differences between ethics and morality (SPINOZA, 2014; DELEUZE, 2009), as well as to problematize the way these terms have been articulated over the decades in the country.

These problematizations and reflections are combined with considerations on how an idea of ethics separated from moral norms could effectively help society today to overcome, for example, hate speech and move towards the potential of audiovisuals for an ethical pedagogy based on the power of affections. Before dealing with the (dis)intertwining of concepts, and their possible developments towards an ethics of affections, let's look at how censorship practices and their repercussions in media debates mobilized the terms ethics and morality during the Brazilian military dictatorship, which began in 1964, and with the advent of the 1988 Constitution.

2 In the Censorship archives

Cinematographic and television creations during Brazil's military regime, which lasted from 1964 to 1985, were always the target of federal censorship, a practice that led to vehement debates in the pages of Brazilian newspapers between various political, social and cultural groups about an ideal of ethics and morality. At the root of many of these clashes were decisions - vetoes, censorship, ordinances, decrees, seizures, bans, etc. - which, under the argument of looking after the country, young people, children and the family, ended up defining for decades what could be seen, read, heard and expressed in the country.
Nowadays, going to the collection of the Public Entertainment Censorship Division (DCDP), kept by the National Archives (AN) in Brasilia, is to come across thousands of documents that contain many germinal battles and disputes over alleged moral and ethical issues, during the military dictatorship and after re-democratization, until 1988. The DCDP was created in 1972 by Decree No. 70.665, of June 2, and was abolished in 1988, after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution. It was created under the Federal Police Department of the Ministry of Justice with the institutional mission of controlling Brazilian artistic productions. Under the argument of "defending morals and good customs", while it censored films, music, books, plays and soap operas, it also produced technical reports - opinions - of Prior Censorship that released, vetoed or cut excerpts from artistic programming, in its most varied fields: Cinema (cinematographic programming, films), publications, advertising, radio (programs, programming and radio soap operas), theater (plays and programming), television (programs, programming, broadcasters, sitcoms and soap operas) and music (lyrics, programming). It was also the destination of letters, petitions, telexes and telegrams from civil society - citizens and trade associations - criticizing the media and calling for stricter censorship. At the DCDP, correspondence - such as letters, memos, processes, requests and referrals - was processed with the aim of promoting censorship.

Our research focuses on a variety of these documents from the DCDP’s collection from the period of the military dictatorship and re-democratization. However, in this article, due to the strict limits of approach that this type of academic production requires, we will analyze part of this documentation, the Annual Reports, as they present a compilation of censorship acts. In all, we found 14 reports produced between 1972 and 1987, detailing censorship practices and routines. Data from these reports shows how intense the work of Brazilian censors was.

With the exception of the data from the 1985 report, which we have not located, these documents detail that between 1972 and 1987, 106,047 films and 30,758 telenovela chapters were censored in Brazil. Based on these documents, however, it is not clear whether all of these films and telenovela chapters were subject to some kind of effective
control, because sometimes it is stated that they were examined, and sometimes that some part of the work was censored. When it comes to film bans or prohibitions in the country, the reports are more objective. According to the documents, in Brazil, between 1972 and 1987, 4,350 films were screened and another 262 were banned, including national, foreign, short and feature films.

The practice of banning films involved, among other things, a total or temporary ban on screenings in cinemas and at festivals, and if any cinemas failed to comply, their operating licenses could be revoked. In the article in the Jornal do Brasil (JB) entitled Cinema Proibido, published in 1978, questions are raised about the reasons and how many films with "incredible stories" were, at that time, banned from cinema screens, since the reasons for the bans were the most diverse and subjective, which in themselves "did not allow for logical reasoning" (CINEMA, 1978, p. 37).

Excerpts from another JB article on film bans in the country, entitled "O CENSOR CENSURADO" (The Censored Censor), from 1978, also reiterates the lack of clarity regarding the alleged irregularities committed by films and soap operas. It refers to the banning, in Brazil, of the film Casanova (Federico Fellini, 1976), in October 1977, based on article 41, paragraphs a, d and f of Decree No. 20.493, of January 24, 1946. This legislation, in the aforementioned items, provides for the denial of representation, exhibition or transmission when, respectively, it "contains any offense to public decorum"; "disseminates or induces bad customs"; and because it is "offensive to collectivities or religions" (BRASIL, 1946). However, the ban does not clarify what the "offenses" contained in the film were and why they were considered so. Perhaps the censors' motivation lay in the way Fellini portrayed Casanova's anguish about his existence and his sexuality.

As with the bans, there were also no criteria for the seizure of films, which were taken by the police while they were being shown to the public and, more often than not, ended up being definitively banned. Two cases illustrate this situation well. The first was the seizure of 76 films from the production company DinaFilmes, as reported in the JB newspaper on March 4, 1978. For years, DinaFilmes reiterated that the films should be released, arguing that they were classics of World Cinema or didactic. The second case,
in the JB report entitled "Volonté's Film is Seized", of August 26, 1973, mentions the "lack of prior communication from the Federal Censorship" (FILME, 1973, p.18) when it seized the film Atentado (Yves Boisset, 1972), inspired by the kidnapping of political leader Ben Barka, at the Bruni-Flamengo Cinema Hall in Rio de Janeiro in 1973, on the 22nd of that month and year, during the 10 o'clock screening. According to the movie theater manager's explanation to JB, the film was the target of the same procedures used on ten other previously seized films, including Working Class Goes to Paradise (Elio Petri, 1971), Sacco and Vanzetti (Giuliano Montaldo, 1971) and All Nudity Will Be Punished (Arnaldo Jabor, 1972).

3 In the name of ethics on television

The defense or criticism of the actions of Censorship, whether it be for banning, seizing or interdicting films and soap operas, is, in a way, one of the forces articulated around the intertwining of the notions of ethics and morality. One of the names that comes up when it comes to this issue in Brazil is the magistrate Alfredo Buzaid. Minister of Justice between 1969 and 1974, and one of the creators of Institutional Act No. 05, of December 13, 1968, and Decree-Law No. 1,077 of 1970, which instituted prior "verification", Buzaid wrote the book In Defense of Morals and Good Customs in 1970, published under the Ministry of Justice. In this publication, he argues in defense of Decree-Law No. 1,077/1970 and the 1967 Constitution, then in force, as legal instruments to defend national sovereignty, morals and good customs. In defending his thesis, Buzaid used the terms ethics and morals at various times. In the chapter dealing with criticism of prior verification, he argues that the rule aims to "protect the family, preserving its ethical values and ensuring the healthy and dignified formation of youth" (BUZAID, 1970, p. 41). Elsewhere, to explain what the expression "morals and good morals" means, he quotes, in Italian, that "morals and good morals are two ethical and legal goods that the law protects through a system of criminal sanctions appropriate to the various infractions" (MAGGIORE, 1948, apud BUZAID, 1970, p. 46). Almost at the end of his text, Buzaid also says that the Prior
Verification Decree is eminently ethically inspired and that, by rejecting acts contrary to morals and good customs, the "law has seen fit to attribute to the ethical order the dignity of a source of law" (BUZAID, 1970, p. 54).

The writer and film critic José Lino Grünewald mocks Alfredo Buzaid in the article "Concept of Ethics and Morals", published on May 18, 1979, in the Jornal da Tarde. He asks how Mr. Buzaid's "brilliant" action as Minister of Justice contributed to saving the country when he banned Picasso's erotic prints. "The country would be saved. From what? Unfortunately, it wasn't free from stupidity. All this, on the basis of the moralistic delights of AI-5" (GRÜNEWALD, 1979). When it comes to differentiating the concepts of ethics and morality, Grünewald once again opposes Alfredo Buzaid when he says that censorship always has to do with moral problems, it was never ethical in nature.

For there is a clear difference between what is understood by morality and what is understood by ethics. The latter represents immutable standards of human behavior and relationships. [Morals, on the other hand, are simply linked to customs. Products vary, morals vary; technological discoveries vary, morals vary. (GRÜNEWALD, 1979).

Based on Spinoza, Deleuze explains that Ethics is "a typology of immanent modes of existence, it replaces Morality, which always relates existence to transcendent values". According to the philosophers, Morality is the "system of judgment", while Ethics "dismantles the system of judgment", causing the "opposition of values (Good/Bad)" to be "replaced by the qualitative difference of modes of existence (good/bad)". Turning to practice, Deleuze points out that the word "law" has "a moral rancor", because "it brings us no knowledge, it gives us nothing to know" and, in the "worst case, it prevents the formation of knowledge (the law of the tyrant)". "The law is always the transcendent instance that determines the opposition of Good/Bad values, but knowledge is always the immanent power that determines the qualitative difference of Good/Bad modes of existence" (DELEUZE, 2002, p. 29-31).

The approximation between law, morality and tyranny seems to be at the heart of the discussions that refer to censorship in Brazilian audiovisuals, alluding to an ideal of ethics far removed from Spinozian thought. In the case of television, the clashes over
censorship practiced by the military government intensified even more as television sets became more popular from the 1970s onwards. In fact, it was perhaps less cinema and more television that fueled the debate involving an ideal of ethics, which during the 1970s to 1990s, until the early 2000s, would be sought in the form of a code of conduct for Brazilian broadcasters. In a way, the embryo of this discussion lies in the controversies surrounding the "Seu Sete" case, i.e. a Mother of Saint who, on the Chacrinha shows on TV Globo and the Flávio Cavalcanti shows on TV Tupi, incorporated the entity Exu das Sete Encruzilhadas Rei da Lira. Immediately after his appearance on these two programs, there was no end of advocacy for something to be done to guarantee ethics and morality on Brazilian television. Part of this discussion can be found in the editorial\(^1\) of September 15, 1971, entitled "Examination of Conscience". In this editorial, the question was asked when television, then 20 years old, would achieve a standard of professional ethics corresponding to that of a technician, and whether there would be a professional and moral conscience among those running Brazilian television. This was because Globo and Tupi, according to the editorial, presented "a macumbeira lady, armed with a cigar and a bottle of cachaça, addressing millions of viewers as if they were clients and believers in her shrine of despatches and miracles" (EXAME, 1971). The editorial also accused TV Tupi and TV Globo of having made a "spiral of bad taste", transforming Brazilian television into an Umbanda shrine by presenting the Holy Mother, Dona Cacilda de Assis, incorporated from Seu Sete Rei da Lira.

In the midst of the dispute over the journalistic and entertainment market, which placed these companies in opposing camps, in addition to JB, other newspapers also published articles accusing TV Globo and TV Tupi of having been unethical and immoral in the case of Mãe de Santo, Dona Cacilda de Assis. Some of the reports even criticized the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil, and others announced that the Federal Censorship would suspend the programs for eight days for having "presented a show of low spiritism exploiting popular belief and favoring the propaganda of charlatanism"
(CENSURA, 1971). In this way, these texts, which also report the Catholic Church’s affinity with the dictatorial government in the practice of religious intolerance, express how religious racism was behind many censorship acts, which also led to the drafting of norms that further consolidated such prejudice.

After the countless criticisms they received for showing a person who adhered to the Afro-Brazilian religion on television, TV Globo and TV Tupi announced that they had signed a Protocol in which they undertook to “exclude facts or people that serve to exploit beliefs” (TVS FIRMAM, 1971) and that this document would remain in force until the Code of Ethics for Brazilian Television was created. According to an article in Globo, published on September 15, 1971, Brazilian broadcasters and the Federal Government were already working together on the study that would result in the Code of Ethics, which would set out what was “forbidden” in television programs. This idea of a Code of Ethics for Brazilian Television recurred throughout the 1980s, without materializing.

In 1990, the Brazilian Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (ABERT) began to draw up a draft Code of Ethics, but not without controversy. According to an article in Folha de São Paulo on November 21 of that year, the broadcasters Rede Globo, Manchete, SBT and Bandeirantes, all members of ABERT, agreed that television in Brazil needed to "establish rules of good taste and respect for minorities who complain" (TVS DECIDEM, 1990). In 1993, the code came into force, but never got off the drawing board. "Internal disagreements and interests never allowed it to be applied, since any decision against a member would favor a competitor" (REBOUÇAS, 2006, p. 47). For Rebouças (2006), the "height of corporatism" is recorded in article 27 of the code, which established the following penalties for transgressors: a "confidential warning", the possibility of "expulsion from the ranks" of the association and, in the case of proven guilt, the obligation to broadcast educational campaigns.

In an editorial published on March 13, 1993, JB states that ABERT’s Code of Ethics is a caricature of the Hays code that was in force for more than 30 years in Hollywood to avoid government censorship. In a way, the JB editorial is right. The idea of ABERT’s Code of Ethics has never been unconnected to the Ministry of Justice's Ordinances, both during
the military dictatorship and especially after the country's re-democratization, when an alternative to Federal Censorship was sought. During this period, civil and religious movements also began to demand control over what was being shown on Brazilian television, and found important support in the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA), of July 13, 1990, with emphasis on section I of chapter II, which deals with Information, Culture, Leisure, Sport, Entertainment and Spectacles.

In October 1990, the controversies involving supporters and opponents of limits on television in Brazil gained another chapter: Ordinance No. 773, of October 19, 1990, signed by Justice Minister Jarbas Passarinho, which laid down how broadcasters should submit their programs to be aired, with the exception of those broadcast live, for prior classification. In an interview\(^2\) published in the JB on October 23, 1990, the then Secretary of Human Rights and Citizenship of the Justice Department, Carlos Eduardo de Araújo Lima, pointed out that Jarbas Passarinho's ordinance aimed to comply with the ECA's provisions on prior classification. According to Carlos Eduardo, the government's aim with this decree was to have "finally found a way to impose stricter rules on the programming of television stations, which, since the end of censorship established by the Constitution, have aired programs considered spicy by segments of society that have flooded the ministry with letters demanding action from the government" (LIMA apud DODORA, 1990b). In another report\(^3\)In an article in the JB, published on October 24, 1990, signed by Dodora Guedes, secretary Carlos Eduardo explained that the criteria for time and age restrictions would take into account "scenes of excessive violence or sexual acts and the distortion of ethical values" (LIMA apud DODORA, 1990a). In order to carry out the indicative classification, he detailed that only ten employees were involved in the work, since the former censors had been assigned to other bodies.

Also with a view to finding limits for Brazilian television, between 1998 and 1999, the then National Secretary for Human Rights, José Gregori, began to play an important role in defending a project to control television. He suggested and enthusiastically

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\(^2\) Source: TV-Pesquisa database - Document number: 13931
\(^3\) Source: TV-Pesquisa database - Document number: 13739
defended the creation of a "Code of Ethics" or a "Quality Manual" which, he claimed, should be designed by the broadcasters themselves and sent to the government. Another suggestion was that broadcasters should create the role of "quality controller or ombudsman". At that time, the drafting of the Electronic Mass Communication Law was also considered, which should have included a chapter banning the showing of sex and violence on television in the hours before 9:30.

Since then, the idea of a project to classify television programs has never ceased, making ethical concerns about what children and teenagers saw on soap operas one of the most important targets. In 2000, when José Gregori took over the Ministry of Justice, television was faced with yet another ordinance. This time, No. 796, of September 8, 2000, which established a new age rating for programs, that of 16 years old. Previously, shows were either released or not recommended for children under 12, 14 or 18. The ordinance also stipulated punishments for broadcasters based on the ECA. It "aimed to reduce erotic and violent scenes" (PORTARIA, 2000). Romão (2006) explains that with the introduction of Ordinance No. 796/2000, the Ministry of Justice began to direct all cases of non-compliance with the classification to prosecutors and public prosecutors, so that the sanctions provided for in the ECA could be applied. Thus, according to Romão (2006, p. 25), "even without any coercive power, the Ministry of Justice began to guarantee the effectiveness of the classification, backed by the Public Prosecutor's Office".

According to a report in O Estado de São Paulo⁴, published in the February 1, 2001 edition, the Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) filed a Direct Action for Unconstitutionality with the Federal Supreme Court (STF) on January 31, 2001, in order to suspend the effects of Ordinance No. 796/2000 of the Ministry of Justice, on the indicative classification of public entertainment and radio and television programs. In the action, the OAB claimed that several provisions of the ministerial decree, by establishing "true prior censorship" of radio and television schedules, "restrict the freedom of artistic expression guaranteed by the Constitution" (OAB apud MARQUES, 2001). The OAB relied on article 220 of the 1988

⁴ Fonte: Banco de Dados TV-Pesquisa - Documento número: 67122.
Federal Constitution, which specifies that "it is the responsibility of federal law to regulate public entertainment and shows, and it is the responsibility of the Public Power to inform about their nature, the age groups to which they are not recommended, places and times when their presentation proves to be inappropriate". The STF decided to dismiss the ADI proposed by the OAB against the Ministry of Justice’s ordinance and the ordinance was revoked. However, after Ordinance No. 796/2000 there were several attempts by the Ministry of Justice to create new ordinances until Ordinance No. 368 of February 11, 2014, which regulated the process of indicative classification in Brazil until January 2022. For example, according to Gonçalves (2014), in 2004, the Ministry of Justice issued Ordinance No. 1,597, which dealt with the Indicative Classification in cinema, video, DVD and the like. Later, in 2006, this ordinance was replaced by Ordinance No. 1,100, which brought new rules on the Indicative Classification for cinema, video, DVD, electronic games, role-playing games (RPG) and other related forms of entertainment (GONÇALVES, 2014, p. 82). In 2007, Ordinance No. 264 extended the category of unsuitable for children under 10 to television and, in relation to self-classification, determined that, with a "rigorously instructed request, the legal representative of an audiovisual work may request exemption from prior analysis" (GOMES, 2014, p. 111). After an "intense public debate", Ordinance No. 264/2007 led to the publication in the same year of Ordinance No. 1220, considered innovative for having brought in "[...] the creation of the 10-year age range for television; the requirement for information on the Indicative Classification before and during the screening of audiovisual works, through images and texts in Portuguese and in Brazilian Sign Language and the imposition of respect for local time zones for the broadcasting of programs" (GONÇALVES, 2014, p. 84).

Ordinance No. 368, which came into force on March 13, 2014, was considered by the Ministry of Justice for years to be the one that managed to "consolidate regulations on the subject". However, on January 3, 2022, it was replaced by Ministry of Justice Ordinance No. 502. Published for the first time in 2006, the New Classification Manual, in its 2021 version, already incorporated the changes proposed by this new ordinance which, according to the guide, "was built with the broad participation of society - control bodies,
civil society and other administrative bodies” (BRASIL, 2021, p. 6), through a public consultation that took place between June 1 and July 15, 2021. The Guide also details which audiovisual works are analyzed taking into account three distinct thematic axes: "sex and nudity", "drugs" and "violence", in addition to measuring the descriptive and contextual phases of the content identified. On April 27, 2023, the Ministry of Justice issued a new ordinance, number 361, regarding the indicative classification. Several articles were reworded. Among them, the one that states that "if the display of content incompatible with the self-classification in works is found, at any time, the Indicative Classification Policy Coordination may request clarification from the broadcaster, which must be provided within five days of the request" (BRASIL. 2023).

4 Towards an audiovisual Spinozian ethics

From this trajectory in which cinema and television have never ceased to be at the center of the discussion about care, whether ethical or moral, both during the dictatorship and in the post-democratization period, we now turn to reflections on an audiovisual ethic based more on joyful affections than on normative morality. To this end, we base this understanding on Spinoza's (2014) theory of the affections in his book Ethics. In this work, the philosopher teaches how discussions of a moralistic nature can be based on affections of sadness (hatred, anger, fear, revenge, shame, regret, etc.) because he claims that there is good and evil, something that does nothing to help humanity achieve greater perfection. "Good and evil", as opposed to "good and evil", are based on dogmas, duties and sins, which are the order of religion. But we must remember that customs and religion are not the same for everyone, since what is sacred for some may be profane for others, and what is respectful for some may be disrespectful for others (SPINOZA, 2014, p. 146).

In the courses he gave on Spinoza between 1978 and 1981, Deleuze (2009) reiterates the importance of not confusing ethics with morality. According to Deleuze, in morality, there is always a system of double judgment (we judge and are judged), in the...
name of a higher instance in which the One is more than Being, while in Spinoza's ethics, this does not occur because it deals with the potencies of actions.

A moralist will never define man by what he can do, a moralist defines man by what he is, by what he is in person. So, a moralist will define man as a rational animal. That's the essence. Spinoza will never define man as a rational animal, he defines him by what he can, body and soul (DELEUZE, 2009, p. 203-204).

With regard to this perspective on the power of the body dealt with by Spinoza, lafelice (2015) points out that the theory of natural law maintains a close relationship with ethics and, therefore, urges us to give a new meaning to the word law, unlike the classic definition of perfection or virtue. lafelice notes that Deleuze himself warns that moral law has appropriated the laws of nature to such an extent that the word "law appears to be vitiated and contaminated by morality, since laws and commandments have become similar from this perspective" (IAFELICE, 2015, p. 84).

If we consider Spinoza's ideas on ethics to analyse the censorship practices of the dictatorship and the debate that arose after the country's re-democratization on new forms of control for television, we can perhaps see that a large part of the discussions took place, above all, on the terrain of moralists and morality. Under the pretext of doing good and combating evil, what we are experiencing, with a few exceptions, seems to be much more like reinforcing feelings of sadness, loaded with prejudice, racism, intolerance, homophobia, etc. After all, how else could we explain the controversy surrounding the case of Seu Sete Rei da Lira, if not as religious intolerance!

Would we have any other name than LGBTphobia for the countless ordinances and regulations that have banned LGBTQIA+ people from being shown, spoken about, presented or represented on television? A clear example of this is regulation no. 03/85-DCDP, dealt with in circular letter no. 1.265/85, dated July 9, 1985, which determined that homosexuals could only appear on television after 9pm. It cited as grounds the provisions of paragraph "c" of article 41 of the Regulations approved by Decree No. 20.493/1946, and

5Available at: National Archives, DCDP, Brasília, DF, BR AN notation, BSB NS.AGR.COF.MSC.279, 1985.
the "repeated complaints about the presence of transvestites in television programs" (ARQUIVO NACIONAL, DCDP, 1985):

I- The presentation of transvestites, men or apparently homosexual women, respectively in an ostentatiously effeminate or masculinized attitude, whether in soap operas or talk shows, will be allowed to be broadcast on television after 9pm. I.I - The scenic treatment given, either by the animator or the narrator, to a transvestite or apparent homosexual may not be offensive to the human dignity of the person presented, nor may it be an apology for transsexualism or homosexualism. (ARQUIVO NACIONAL, DCDP, 1985).  

On the other hand, just as we need to recognize that the control and censorship of cinema and television was done in the name of morality, it is also necessary to point out that in both, throughout their histories, it is possible to see the power they have as social technologies and spaces for knowledge and the promotion of thought, culture, freedom and diversity. For an ethical pedagogy, knowing how to take advantage of these potentialities, in the Spinozian light, can be a way of exalting life and providing us with joyful affections, those that increase our powers to act towards freedom. As Deleuze (2014) reminds us, Spinoza writes a philosophy of life and, as such, warns us that it is hatred that perverts it, including self-hatred and guilt. There will never be ethics based on sad affections, since ethics, for Spinoza, "is always an ethics of joy: only joy is valid, only joy remains and brings us closer to action and the beatitude of action" (DELEUZE, 2002, p. 34). An ethical pedagogy for audiovisuals, therefore, also comes about to the extent that we know how to use it to promote equality and overcome prejudice and intolerance. In Brazil, Black Cinema has been extremely promising. And more and more Brazilian telenovelas are also moving in this direction by featuring plots with black protagonists and promoting diversity.

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