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Communication for territorial development: analysis of the National Policy for Regional Development

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Abstract

The concept of development has undergone significant conceptual changes since the debate reached global dimensions. The multidimensional perspective of the development of a territory, which is currently in force, demands an interdisciplinary perspective. The role of Communication and its relationship with the concept and development processes are the focus of this paper. The general objective was to analyze the role of communication in the current National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR). It is an exploratory paper, with bibliographic and documentary design. A relational path was traced between communication and development, identifying different phases. It was found that Communication is a tool for transparency and social participation, but it is not a priority axis of intervention, despite the fact that the country has a media structure with unfavorable characteristics for development processes.

Keywords: Communication. Regional development. National Policy for Regional Development.

Comunicação para o desenvolvimento territorial: análise da Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional

Resumo

O conceito de desenvolvimento passou por significativas transformações conceituais desde que o debate alcançou dimensões globais. A perspectiva multidimensional do desenvolvimento de um território, que vigora atualmente, demanda a perspectiva interdisciplinar. O papel da Comunicação e sua relação com o conceito e os processos de desenvolvimento são o enfoque deste artigo. O objetivo geral foi analisar o papel da comunicação na Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional (PNDR) vigente. Trata-se de um artigo de abordagem exploratória, com delineamento bibliográfico e documental. Traçou-se um percurso relacional entre comunicação e desenvolvimento, identificando distintas fases. Verificou-se que a Comunicação se situa como uma ferramenta para a transparência e participação social, mas não se configura como um eixo prioritário de

intervenção, a despeito de o país apresentar uma estrutura de mídia com características desfavoráveis para os processos de desenvolvimento.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação. Desenvolvimento regional. Política Nacional de Desenvolvimento Regional.

Comunicación para el desarrollo territorial: análisis de la Política Nacional de Desarrollo Regional

Resumen

El concepto de desarrollo ha sufrido importantes cambios conceptuales desde que el debate alcanzó dimensiones globales. La perspectiva multidimensional del desarrollo de un territorio, actualmente vigente, exige una perspectiva interdisciplinar. El papel de la Comunicación y su relación con el concepto y los procesos de desarrollo son el tema central de este artículo. El objetivo general fue analizar el papel de la comunicación en la actual Política Nacional de Desarrollo Regional (PNDR). Es un artículo exploratorio, con diseño bibliográfico y documental. Se trazó un camino relacional entre comunicación y desarrollo, identificando diferentes fases. Se encontró que la Comunicación es una herramienta de transparencia y participación social, pero no es un eje prioritario de intervención, a pesar de que el país tiene una estructura mediática con características desfavorables para los procesos de desarrollo.

Palabras clave: Comunicación. Desarrollo regional. Política Nacional de Desarrollo Regional.

1 Introduction

The debate that seeks to establish the relationship between communication and territorial development improves intrinsically to the conceptual understanding of development. It has undergone significant transformations, becoming an issue on the global agenda and disseminated through events such as the World Commission on the Environment and Development, which took place in Stockholm in 1983, and originated the document Our Common Future (WORLD COMMISSION ON THE ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT, 1991).

From the perspective associated with economic growth in the post-world war period, based on the concept of industrialist Fordist accumulation (CIDADE, VARGAS, JATOBÁ, 2008) to the multidimensional perspective of territorial development (DALLABRIDA, 2020; ETGES, 2005), walked up a path that gradually revealed the need for interdisciplinary, disruption of the sectoral look at understanding the dynamics of a territory and therefore its development process.

Communication starts to appear in the development debate, in a timid way compared to other areas of knowledge that acquired greater prominence, even in the late 1960s, in a context marked by the idea of economic growth as a way of overcoming, called underdevelopment. At the time, marked by the rise of the mass media, with emphasis on television, the diffusionist perspective of communication predominated (GUMUCIO-DAGRÓN, 2008) with emphasis on the approach of Wilbur Schramm, who writes the book Communication and Development with UNESCO support (SCHRAMM, 1970).

The path of the communication and development relationship, which evolved into the term Communication for Development (C4D), is characterized by different approaches and phases, and they are presented in the theoretical framework of this paper.

In a more contemporary conceptual debate, communication gradually ceases to be perceived as a tool for the achievement of development to be understood as part of the development strategy. Barranquero-Carretero, Sáez-Baez (2015) seek to overcome the instrumental view of communication used in terms such as Communication for development or Communication for social change.

The notion carries with it an instrumental and mediacentric bias, understanding that communication is always at the service of something –communication for–: development, health, environment, peace, etc. In other words, the communicative is still conceived not as a process, but as a mere tool, means or useful support for an end (BARRANQUERO-CARRETERO, SÁEZ-BAEZ, 2015, p. 50).
[translation by the authors]

Considering that communication can acquire distinctive outlines in its relation to development, this paper analyzes the role of communication in the current National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR), defined based on the following guiding question of the investigation: how the National Policy for Regional Development contemplates communication as a constitutive element of development?

For this, the perspective is adopted that the understanding of the contributions of communication to the territorial development implies the recognition of the conditions of its insertion in time and space, especially regarding the structures that outline social and economic relations. It is necessary to situate territorial development in relation to the macro-structural conditions responsible for generating the variables that make it up, an approach that can contribute to the analysis of the effects of communication in the territory.

The reflection adopted in this paper stems from the observation that research and understanding of the relationships present in the territory guide the perception of how to make communication effective for territorial development.

The choice of crop research, covering federal politics, is based also in overcoming the idea of the local area has unlimited power, denying the characteristics of hierarchies of wealth generation and ownership, as pointed out by Brandão (2001). It is understood that development has several scalar dimensions, linked to the productive and social organization, which situates the local and the regional in relation to complex scales pertinent to the international division of labor and its consequences in the national states. According to Brandão (2001), the local approach, in some cases, is insufficient to overcome the development gaps, since the relations established in the territory result from endogenous and exogenous factors, with the structures that cross the different territorial scales. The central argument is based on the fact that the effectiveness of communication for territorial development is preceded by the understanding of structural issues and the resulting conditions, including the conception of development itself.

Heeks (2006) emphasizes that much of the research produced in the scope of communication for development is descriptive and not analytical. For the author, this idea can bring some interesting points, but the lack of sufficient rigor to confident findings can often be repetitive considering the previous studies.

Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the structural conditions to achieve a more enlightening view of how communication and development are articulated in a territory.

Exposed the context, this paper is structured in the presentation of the approaches and perspectives of Communication for Development (C4D), to then analyze how communication is present in the National Plan and Regional Development, proposing a reading that considers the scalar question of development more evident, which contributes to the understanding of how C4D phenomena occur at regional and local scales.

2 Relational approaches to Communication for Development (C4D) in the Brazilian development process.

The relationship between communication and development has its genesis in the post-world war period, when the thought of modernization is understood as a vector of development, this associated with the idea of economic progress. The solution to develop 'backward' countries would be in the technological diffusion of the western rich countries, which reveals paradigms that are currently outdated, such as a linear evolutionary perspective of progress and development, as well as myopia in relation to cultural specificities. According to Servaes (2008, p.159),

the modernization paradigm, dominant in academic circles from around 1945 to 1965, supported the transfer of technology and socio-political culture from developed societies to 'traditional' societies. Development was defined as economic growth [translation by the authors].

For this conception of development, the media environment marked by mass communication, expanded its coverage and added television networks to the popular radio, was perfect for contributing to the technological diffusion at the time understood as a condition for development. The precursors in discussing communication and development, located in this context of modernization, were Daniel Lerner, Wilbur Schramm and Everett Rogers (REIS, ROSTIN, 2009). Schramm's work, supported by Unesco, reveals a diffusionist approach consistent with the perspective of modernizing development in force after the Second World War (1939-1945).

This approach reflects the national development model based on the premise of idealized reproduction of the experience of the central countries of capitalism in their industrial trajectory, which will be reflected in the structuring of the national media system and its presence in the territory. Brazilian development is intrinsically linked to the historical trajectory of the country throughout the 20th century and the establishment of industrialization as an instigator of economic and social development. This path is associated with the impact of the international crisis unleashed in 1929, combined with the internal tensions resulting from the dissatisfaction of various class fractions expressed during the 1920s, whose turning point was the Revolution of 1930, which resulted in the reorganization of the National State, especially regarding the acceleration of Brazilian industrialization. It is noteworthy that industrialization, conceptually, was understood as a form of

technology transfer from dominant countries and that, when the initial stages of its implementation were overcome, would lead to modernization and, consequently, to the development of peripheral countries.

The following decades are characterized by the implementation of actions and projects to propel national development in a context in which political disputes were associated with the international context, particularly the Cold War. It is observed that industrialization and the policies associated with the search for development were the object of a dispute over their conduct by different political groups, with emphasis on the liberals, defenders of a strong approximation with the United States and nationalists, engaged in the consolidation of a more autonomous path to reach national interests. The social and political complexity of the period is not the object of this paper; however it is necessary to recognize that it underlies the time and outlines the contradictions related to Brazilian asymmetries, amplified with the conservative modernization process that transformed Brazilian society in the last century (ORTIZ, 1988).

Among the transformations associated with the industrialization of the country is the implementation of the infrastructure necessary for economic integration between Brazilian regions. In the first decades of the twentieth century, economic exchange was reduced, which limited the development process, especially regarding the possibilities pertinent to an effective national market, with the effects of stimulating increased production and economic growth (CANO, 2007).

The integration of the territory was equivalent to the reason of State, in the sense outlined in political science as to the actions necessary for the preservation of sovereignty. Hence the creation of state-owned companies, projects for occupying the interior of the country and works for national integration carried out during the governments of Getúlio Vargas, Juscelino Kubitschek, João Goulart and during the Military Dictatorship (1964-1985). It should be noted that there are marked differences between the aforementioned governments, but the search for national integration, although with different purposes, is a feature of Brazilian history in the period mentioned. The lack of basic transport, communication and energy infrastructure limited economic growth and development possibilities, as understood at that time in national history. Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional, Vale do Rio Doce, Petrobras, Eletrobras and other state-owned companies and infrastructure works are related to this search for economic and territorial integration. The structuring of a media system was necessary for the national integration project to make the conservative modernization project of the country viable.

Historically, the design of communication structures in Brazil corresponds to the expansion of the market driven by the multiplier effect of industrialization and urbanization in the country in the last century. Since the expansion of broadcasting, still in the 1930s, the Brazilian State has sought to enhance the reach of the mass media as a resource for political and social mobilization, as exemplified by the use of radio by Getúlio Vargas, with emphasis on the Estado Novo (1937-1945).

In this perspective, the relationship between communication and development stems from the premise of the integration of the territory in the light of market and economic growth, realized that historical juncture as sufficient factor

to trigger national development. And the turning point of this condition was the drafting of the Brazilian Telecommunications Code (CBT) in 1962. Despite being implemented in the government of João Goulart, CBT was maintained during the Military Dictatorship, as its determinations corresponded to the expectations of private sector businessmen media that supported the coup. During the CBT discussion, the business community articulated with the National Congress to guarantee the overthrow of President João Goulart's vetoes and to ensure that, while the installation of the infrastructure necessary for the expansion of telecommunications would be up to the State, the services made possible by this investment would be under the responsibility of the private sector. It is noteworthy that this division between the public and private sectors also had the participation of the military in its design, involved with studies and proposals for the sector, including subsidizing the CBT (SANTOS, CARNIELLO, 2015).

CBT consolidated the telecommunications model in Brazil by establishing the guidelines of the national communication system, specifically when television in its expansion process consolidated the national market and the integration sought since the 1930s, albeit in a different context. It is noticed the subordination of the communication processes to the determinations of the market, whose articulation involved the public power, with the maintenance of this model in the present and reflexes regarding the design of the communication for the development in Brazil.

The debate on media structure is fruitful, like the media models identified by Hallin and Mancini (2004), who analyze the structures and systems of media in countries, as well as in the approach of the political economy of communication, which highlights the existence of a strong correlation between the movements of globalization of the economy and structural change of communication systems as addressed by Bolaño (1996, p.16). The observation is that the communication model the country, created in a period of conservative modernization, resulted in a concentration of media ownership (LIMA, 2004); in the marketing of communication (MIÈGE, 2009); in the lack of equity in access to the media (CGI, 2020; SECOM, 2016; INSTITUTE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOURNALISM, 2019), factors that constitute a barrier to development, as currently understood (SEN, 2000; DALLABRIDA, 2020; BARRANQUERO-CARRETERO, SÁEZ-BAEZ, 2015).

The insufficiency of the modernizing conception was demonstrated by the socio-historical process itself, as poverty and the lack of equity between regions were not overcome by the conservative modernization project, which intensified inequality and created new categories of social exclusion, such as margin of the current industrial model. The peripheries of Brazilian metropolises exemplify how accelerated urbanization associates economic and social exclusion by condemning significant portions of the population to metropolitan poverty. These workers provide services necessary for the social and economic reproduction of extracts with higher income while being kept in precarious conditions of housing, work and security (SOUZA, 2012).

This phenomenon, which is not exclusive to Brazil and reproduces with its specificities in 'underdeveloped' countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, demonstrates the fragility of the Modernizing Theory, and rises new conceptions of development that reveal the relations of unequal forces between the countries, as revealed by Celso Furtado (1983) when addressing the question of center-periphery.

To the extent that it is understood that underdevelopment is the manifestation of complex relations of domination-dependency between peoples, and that it tends to self-perpetuate itself in changing forms, attention tended to focus on the study of power systems and their cultural and historical roots (FURTADO, 1983, p.187).

The territorial reflex of conservative modernization in Brazil is manifested in the permanence of intra-regional inequalities and between Brazilian regions, associated with the multiscale and multidimensionalities present in the territories and, simultaneously, linking them to the international dynamics of work. In this scenario, the communication challenge for territorial development implies understanding the theoretical and empirical challenges for public development policies regarding the effects of multiscale and multidimensionalities connected to territorial development observed by Favaretto (2020). Although the author approaches the concepts of multiscale and multidimensionality for territorial development without specifically discussing the role of communication, his considerations indicate how the theoretical perspective of communication for territorial development can increase its density by incorporating instruments that enable critical reflective understanding of modernization theory.

It can be seen that communication, in the modernizing approach, was used as a persuasive resource to generate behavioral changes in cultures originating from disadvantaged countries and regions, which are considered barriers to the development advocated by western northern countries (BARRANQUERO-CARRETERO, SÁEZ-BAEZA, 2015).

The reaction to the deconstruction of this model is reflected in communication when considering local issues and giving visibility to minority social groups, their uses and appropriations of the media and their own communication solutions, which is reflected in the work of Luiz Beltrão (1971; 1980 , 2004) and continued by authors such as Peruzzo (2009). We also highlight the strong influence of the educator Paulo Freire (2006a; 2006b) to strengthen a dialogical, participatory and critical approach to communication in the 1970s, breaking with the supposed passivity of the receiver. According to Gumucio-Dagron (2015), it is about overcoming the vertical thinking that guided international cooperation, a mentality coined in colonial times.

Such approaches highlight the local cultures, give visibility to marginalized groups when creating spaces of expression, which did not exist before, which is fundamental, however they present limits. These limits are in the scalar perspective of development, pointed out by Brandão (2001, p.01), who is attentive to what he called the exaggerated endogeneity of the localities, who believe “piously in the capacity of the wills and initiatives of the actors of an entrepreneurial community and solidary, that has self-control of its destiny, and seeks to promote its virtuous local governance”. For the author, class relations, hegemonic issues, public action cannot be eliminated from the development debate.

Transposing to C4D, the local and participatory processes are obviously essential, however these are inserted in a macro-structural context that cannot be ignored. In Brazil, the communication structure is concentrated in media conglomerates, setting limits on the possibilities of contributions to territorial

development. In fact, the configuration of the national media structure is replicated at local and regional scales. Thus, only local confrontations are insufficient to break the barriers that the current media structure presents for territorial development.

The relevance of the local and participatory development perspective appears in the view of several authors, such as Sachs (1993), when stating that development must be based on the people's ability to think about them, to equip themselves with a project, in the search for a synchronic solidarity with current generations and diachronic solidarity with future generations. Institutions also recognize and adopt the participatory approach to communication, as reflected in the Guide to Communication and Social Mobilization in Coexistence and Citizen Security prepared by the United Nations Development Program - UNDP (2016).

The focus of dialogicity is formatted, a condition identified for social change (BARRANQUERO, 2015), as an opposition to mass communication and as a vector of public debate.

Such approach was fundamental to break with the modernizing perspective and, under no circumstances, the need for participation and social involvement is denied. However, it is warned that, in many cases, localist initiatives may fail to overcome the element characteristic pressure or survival strategy and appropriation of macrovariables that affect localities, and do not necessarily have the strength to be recognized and disseminated as development models that can be appropriated as a new paradigm and overcoming the hegemonic model.

A new development paradigm necessarily involves the action of the State as an articulating agent, since macrostructures are dependent on the formalization and implementation of a country project. The need for a public policy relevant to this purpose has as a challenge the management of institutions regarding the fulfillment of premises related to territorial development, since the State and its resources are the object of dispute by different political groups, historically associated with the international division of labor and, consequently, maintenance of the structures relevant to territorial asymmetries.

In a more recent historical period, the development of information and communication technologies has resulted in a digital communication network model structured, associated to a transformation of the development concept, it brings out a new approach to C4D. The technological development of the means of communication and the structuring of a worldwide computer network, while enhancing human action, made society more complex (SANTOS; CARNIELLO, 2011).

Castells (1999) highlighted the complexity and new dynamics of a society structured in a network, which initially generated expectations for a more democratic environment, an utopian digital democracy (LÉVY, 2002), but which triggered other predatory movements, such as fake news and the phenomenon of post-truth - choice and acceptance of narratives that bring emotional security in an environment of disinformation due to informational excess (D'ANCONA, 2018). It is clear that only the technological increase in the means of communication does not necessarily result in improvements in the processes towards the development of a society. The establishment of illiberal governments in Eastern Europe and governments based on extreme right-wing populism in the USA and Brazil in the last decade are based on the distortion of information and the transition to states where the principles of liberal and social democracy - democracy are supplanted.

This dystopian scenario evidences as communication plays a key role in the political process to outline the process s politicians and potential changes in institutions related to development processes.

From the term Communication for Development (C4D), the term Information and Communication Technologies for development (ICT4D) is derived, as approached by Heeks (2006) and Kleine (2013). “Thinking about the role of information and communication technologies in development challenges us to think about development beyond economic development and about information and communication technologies for development not only in a sectoral way, but also more systemically and transversal” [translation by the authors] (KLEINE, 2013, p. 08).

The author brings the ICT4D debate closer to the capabilities approach of Amartya Sen (2000), by showing that information and communication technologies (ICT) can be part of the process of expanding individuals' freedoms, anchored in the concept of Sen (2000) of development as freedom. Sen (2000) categorizes freedoms into nouns, which refer to elementary capacities as being able to avoid food deprivation, economic resources for a dignified way, as well as political participation, access to information and freedom of expression; and instrumental freedom, which refers to the freedom that people have to live as they wish. The greatest merit of Kleine (2013) in approaching Sen's theory (2000) is in proposing a framework for analyzing the communication conditions of a given social group, in order to verify whether these led to the expansion of freedoms and, therefore, to development.

This development approach clearly departs from the economic vision and highlights social well-being and equal opportunities as the objective of development, an approach that, by privileging the social, relegates the political, economic, cultural dimensions to a second level, as observe Barranquero-Carretero, Sáez-Baez (2015).

The search for well-being has appeared in the development debate, especially in the Latin American scenario, as pointed out by Barranquero-Carretero, Sáez-Baez (2015, p.43) when stating that “the worldview of good living promotes a biocentric and decolonial turn about the notions of communication for development and social change”.

The well-being approach demands a significant break with the Westernized concept of development.

The debate on the crisis of a systemic and civilizing nature suggests reflection on the meaning of Well Living, which is related to quality of life and refers to issues such as spirituality, nature, ways of life and consumption, politics, ethics. In this perspective, there is a need to mature the dialogue on the theme Well Living as an alternative development proposal, when thinking about the relationship between society and nature (ALCANTARA, SAMPAIO, 2017, p. 233).

Apparently utopian, initiatives such as the case of Ecuador are identified, which incorporated the concept as part of its development plan, in which it declares a commitment to change, “which allows the application of a new economic paradigm, the end of which is not it focuses on the material, on the mechanistic and

endless accumulation of goods, but instead promotes an inclusive, sustainable and democratic economic strategy” (SENPLADES, 2009, p.10).

In the field of communication geography, however, there is an evident approximation between communication and territory. Moreira (2009) shows communication can be a prism of analysis for understanding territorialities. By revealing the forms of use and access of communication systems, it allows mapping the directions of information flows and highlights events that occur in certain spaces of communication. Jansson (2005) states that it is a field of study that seeks to understand how communication produces space and how space produces communication.

Melo (2006) also discussed the territorial issue of the media, even proposing a regional taxonomy from the media perspective, with two major categories “where media networks are formed or peculiar communication flows are configured” (MELO 2006, p. 17). Such an approach is also explored by Adams (2011), who systematizes the relationship between media and space as:

- media in space: it concerns the regional media infrastructure and its flows;
- spaces in the media: emphasize the social space of the media;
- places in the media: they refer to mediatized representations and generated images, going through the relationships of affection generated by the media;
- the media in place: defines the suitability of the media for the specificities of each social space.

Such approaches are fundamental to illuminate the intrinsic relationship between communication and territory. Etges (2005, p.53) identifies the territory as the new development paradigm. For the author, “development, in the territorial perspective, is attentive to the territory as a whole, it understands its dynamics and its diversity”, which allows us to infer that communication is part of the multidimensional development process.

The multidimensionality and multiscale character present in the Brazilian regions are intrinsically associated with the asymmetries between the regions and intraregional, resulting from the historical trajectory in the country. Such a scenario implies unequal access to information and the communication structure in the national territory, often severely limiting any possibility of constituting actions related to communication for territorial development. Atlas News search (INSTITUTE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOURNALISM, 2019) shows the effect of the spatial distribution of the media in the territory, by demonstrating that the unequal distribution creates what has been called deserts the news. The study reveals that 62% of municipalities have no news coverage and 18% of the population does not have access to location reporting.

The scalar perspective pointed out by Brandão (2001) is resumed to show how externalities affect the local area, when questioning aspects about how the local and regional media are configured. Deolindo (2019) makes several questions about regional media that demonstrate the correlation between communication policies in regions and localities, such as: does the media business model in the countryside follow the profile of the mainstream media? Why are local and regional media companies located where they are? What is the relevance of inland media to local and regional communities? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary

to consider the many territorial scales and their interrelationships to affect a development model, whatever it may be.

That said, it is considered essential to understand the development paradigm adopted by the country, since such guidelines will affect directly or indirectly in the other scales of the territory. In the following section, the path of analysis carried out in this investigation is presented, focused on understanding whether and how the National Policy for Regional Development contemplates communication as a constitutive element of development.

3 Method

The research is characterized as exploratory, with a qualitative approach and with documentary design. Documentary analysis, much more than locating, identifying, organizing texts, sound and image, works as an effective device to contextualize facts, situations, moments (MOREIRA, 2005, p. 276).

As an object of analysis, Decree No. 9,810, May 30- 2019, which established the National Policy for Regional Development (BRAZIL, 2019) was delimited. It should be noted that the PNDR is a guiding document that reveals the concept of development adopted as a paradigm of the federal government.

The procedure to achieve the research objective, which consists of analyzing the role of communication in the National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR) in force, sanctioned on May 30, 2019, followed the this path:

- a. global reading of the document to define the analysis parameters;
- b. definition of the following parameters:
 - identification of the guiding principles of the concept of development;
 - identification of the sectoral axes of intervention of PNDR;
 - composition of the PNDR Executive Committee;
 - analysis of the PNDR principles;
 - analysis of the objectives of the PNDR;
 - analysis of PNDR strategies.
- c. identification of the role of communication in the defined analysis parameters.

The research did not intend to verify the implementation or effectiveness of the PNDR, since the focus was limited to the conceptual conception of development adopted in the document, as well as the identification of the understanding of communication as a constitutive element of a development policy.

4 Communication approach in the National Regional Development Policy

When analyzing the National Policy for Regional Development, it was identified that the concept of development adopted in the document, despite indicating the focus on the quality of life of the population, demonstrates a focus centered on the economy, by stating that the reduction of economic and social inequalities would result in economic growth, this associated with the quality of life of the population. The “purpose is to reduce economic and social inequalities, intra and interregional, through the creation of development opportunities that result in

economic growth, income generation and improvement of the population's quality of life” (BRASIL, 2019, unpagged).

Economic growth does not necessarily result in the quality of life of the population. According to Vieira and Santos (2012, p.364),

the assessment of regional economic development indicators regarding the satisfaction of basic material and immaterial needs cannot be based only on the income of individuals, but on other sources, as material conditions are important, but not exclusive. The well-being of individuals does not depend exclusively on the possession of material goods, but on accessibility to the means that allow the full development of personal potential and also of the community.

There is a trace of the perspective of the modernizer, with an emphasis on economic growth, hybridized with the search to increase the quality of life of the population through the elimination of economic and social barriers, which can be approached from the Sen's perspective (2000).

To encourage discussion, the example of Ecuador is presented, whose development policy focuses on the concept of good living (SENPLADES, 2009), previously discussed, just to show that the concepts that guide the development of a country may have distinct conceptual axes.

In the PNDR, a territorial approach is also observed, defining as one of the guiding principles the 'multi-scale performance in the national territory', as well as 'recognition and appreciation of the environmental, social, cultural and economic diversity of the region', which reveals a multidimensional approach to the territory.

The PNDR defines as sectors of intervention:

- I - productive development;
- II - science, technology and innovation;
- III - education and professional qualification;
- IV - economic and urban infrastructure;
- V - social development and access to essential public services; and
- VI - strengthening of the governmental capacities of federative entities.

Communication is noted as missing from the focus of intervention of PNDR. Now, if, as explained above, the Brazilian telecommunications structure was developed under the concept of conservative modernization and presents barriers to development, as it concentrates the ownership of media companies; adopt the commercial model articulated with the neoliberal model; to have uneven distribution and coverage in the territory, then the restructuring of the media system would be necessary to converge with the well-being of the population.

The word communication is not mentioned in the PNDR, which reveals that it is not understood as an axis of development. Changing the media structure would be to deconstruct one of the ways of conquering and maintaining power, in a context in which media communication has become a central element of electoral processes, focusing on narratives without necessarily having a link with the facts, as shown by D'Ancona (2018) when addressing the concept of post-truth.

In a deduction effort, at most Communication could be included in item IV - economic and urban infrastructure, which represents a utilitarian view.

By not considering communication as a priority axis, the then Ministry of Science, Technology, Innovation and Communications (MCTIC) was not considered in the document as the Executive Committee of the Chamber of Policies for National Integration and Regional Development.

As for the PNDR principles, communication is intrinsically related to principle I - transparency and social participation. The perspective is instrumental, as for transparency, in the sense of publicizing information of public interest. Even though access to information is a right and a condition for development, as pointed out by Sen (2000), there is still a functionalist character of communication as dissemination, and not as a constitutive axis of a territory. The social participation approach is related to the dialogical phase of C4D.

Regarding the objectives of the PNDR, there is no mention of any aspect directly related to communication. However, when defining the objective “II - consolidate a polycentric network of cities, in support of the deconcentration and internalization of regional and country development, in order to consider the specificities of each region” (BRASIL, 2019) it is understood that Communication would play a fundamental role in achieving this objective, as it is an element of territoriality. “Circulation and communication networks contribute to model the spatio-temporal framework that surrounds the territory. These networks are inseparable from the modes of production in which they ensure mobility” (RAFFESTIN, 1993, p. 204).

Finally, the analysis of strategies of the PNDR indicates the failure to present Communication as a present element for the viability and implementation of the PNDR. In summary, it is noted that communication does not appear as a constituent element of the PNDR in a direct or strategic way. It is important to emphasize that the presence of communication as a component of the development of the territory is something far beyond the role of dissemination that is attributed to communication, when included in the plans, as pointed out by PANOS LONDON (2007, p.4), when verifying that

most politicians, businessmen and all those who work in any kind of collective enterprise recognizes intuitively that effective communication is critical to their success. However, it is often forgotten the development, analysis, project development and policy formulation [translation by the authors].

As evidenced by Barranquero-Carretero, Sáez-Baez (2015), this perspective must overcome the idea of communication as a tool to achieve development. The demand is that communication is understood as one of the constituent parts of the territory and, therefore, contemplated in multidimensional view of the territory.

5 Final considerations

The objective was to analyze the role of communication in the current National Policy for Regional Development (PNDR). The premise underlying research is the strategic condition of communication to foster territorial development through the perspective of criticizing its use and merely informative incorporation in public policies.

It is noted that the concentration of ownership of media companies results from the sector's historical trajectory in Brazil and from its strategic action to ensure the effectiveness of the conservative modernization process of the country. Thus, the role of communication in structuring political and economic relations is strategic, including the maintenance of social asymmetries by reinforcing the naturalization of the class structure, the socioeconomic abyss present in the country and regional differences.

Such a position in the conservative modernization process permeates the historicity of communication in Brazil and, simultaneously, indicates the possibility of making it an asset with contributions to territorial development in the country, as long as it is incorporated into public policies from a strategic and not merely informative perspective.

The first step in making communication effective in one of the vectors for territorial development is associated with the necessary recognition in the PNDR. However, the analysis of the PNDR and its fundamental components indicates the disregard of communication as a strategy for territorial integration and enhancement of actions appropriate to the multi-scale and multidimensionality present in the territories. The continuity in the current PNDR of a fractal and utilitarian conception of communication is denoted, which contributes to the permanence of the communication structure present in the country as a support for conservative modernization, which remains as the defining axis of the integration of Brazil to globalization and the current conditions of the international division of labor.

Thus, the inference of Communication as a tool for transparency and social participation in reading the PNDR is fragile, as it is far from the historical condition of the sector in the country. This scenario explains why Communication is not a priority axis for public development policies, converging to the maintenance of a media structure with unfavorable characteristics for development processes.

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