Ideology and politics: investigating the Brazilian online-only newspapers through a content analysis

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It may seem that this project was built during this year master program. Actually, it was not.

I remember back in 2008 when having a conversation with a great Journalism teacher I had about research in communication field. It was when I first stopped to think and when I first felt ‘something different’ about the path I was professionally drawing for myself in a time when I wasn’t able to see very well what I liked in Journalism. Demétrio de Azeredo Soster was the one who sowed the seeds and I am very thankful.

The books I’ve read, the articles, the conversations with classmates, with friends, friends from other fields of study. It was the work of putting bricks to build the path - that at that time I didn’t have an architectural project, as we usually don’t have but we keep going. And this is life.

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Here in Barcelona I was lucky to meet such experienced teachers. In a short period of time I discovered myself surrounded by a heavy load of things to learn - which was good! And the process of learning is always a positive correlation - the more you read and learn, even more you discover that you need to read and learn, keeping up with brain elasticity.

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“To infinity and beyond.” (Buzz Lightyear, 1995)
There are seven things that may destroy us. 
Wealth without work. Pleasure without conscience. 
Knowledge without characters. Religion without sacrifice. 
Politics without principle. Science without humanity. 
Business without ethics.

Mahatma Gandhi
Abstract

The main theme of the present project is to study the political ideology position of the online-only newspapers in Brazil. By saying online-only is meant the born and raised on the WWW environment, therefore not having printed version. Online newspapers, as the printed ones, reserve their own characteristics which will be used in this work to determine criteria and select the sample to study — also using tools as Alexa Rankings and IVC (Brazilian entity that measures performance metrics of printed and digital vehicles). Quantitative and qualitative Content Analysis will be applied to analyze the news collected from each newspaper under four sections: Economy, Politics, Science and Society. The problem addressed by the research is basically describing how and what is the intensity of the political-ideological polarization bias presented by Brazilian online newspapers. Such issue takes central part in discussions ranging from the distribution of power in contemporary societies as to the possibilities of democratic journalistic practices, to the extent that the media performs increasing role of primary diffuser of events, visions and interpretations of the social world.

Keywords: ideology, politics, content analysis, online-only media, pluralism, Brazil

Resumen

El tema principal de este proyecto es estudiar la posición político-ideológica de los periódicos online-only de Brasil. Al decir en online-only nos referimos a los nacido y criado en el ambiente WWW, que no tienen versión impresa. Los periódicos en línea, como el ejemplar impreso, reservan sus propias características que se utilizarán en este trabajo como apoyo para determinar los criterios y la selección de la muestra para el estudio — y principalmente también el uso de herramientas como Alexa Rankings y IVC (entidad brasileña que mide los parámetros de rendimiento de los vehículos impresos y digitales). Análisis de contenido cuantitativo y cualitativo serán aplicados para analizar las noticias obtenida de cada periódico en cuatro secciones: Economía, Política, Ciencia y Sociedad. La tarea de la investigación es básicamente describir cómo y cuál es la intensidad de la polarización político-ideológico presentado por los periódicos en línea brasileños. Tal cuestión lleva parte central en las discusiones que van desde la distribución del poder en las sociedades contemporáneas en cuanto a las posibilidades de prácticas periodísticas democráticos, en la medida en que los medios de comunicación realizan creciente papel de difusores primarios de eventos, visiones e interpretaciones del mundo social.

Palabras clave: ideología, política, análisis de contenido, medios en línea, pluralismo, Brasil

Resumo

O tema principal deste projeto é estudar a posição político-ideológica dos periódicos online-only do Brasil. Ao dizer online-only nos referimos a nascido e criado no ambiente WWW, que não têm versão impressa. Os periódicos online, como o exemplar impresso, reservam suas próprias características que serão utilizadas neste trabalho como apoio para determinar os critérios e a seleção da amostra para o estudo — e principalmente também o uso de ferramentas como Alexa Rankings e IVC (entidade brasileira que mede os parâmetros de rendimento de os veículos impressos e digitais). Análise de conteúdo quantitativo e qualitativo serão aplicados para analisar as notícias obtidas de cada periódico em quatro seções: Economia, Política, Ciência e Sociedade. A tarefa da investigação é basicamente descrever como e qual é a intensidade da polarização político-ideológico apresentado por os periódicos online brasileiros. Tal questão leva parte central em discussões que vão desde a distribuição do poder em sociedades contemporâneas em quanto as possibilidades de práticas periodísticas democráticas, na medida em que os meios de comunicação realizam crescente papel de difusores primários de eventos, visões e interpretações do mundo social.

Palavras chave: ideologia, política, análise de conteúdo, meios em linha, pluralismo, Brasil
O tema principal do presente projeto é estudar a posição político-ideológica dos jornais online-only no Brasil. Ao utilizar o termo *online-only* nos referimos ao *nascido e criado* no ambiente WWW, que não têm versão impressa. Os jornais online, assim como os impressos, reservam as suas próprias características que serão levadas em consideração neste trabalho para ajudar a determinar os critérios e seleção da amostra para o estudo — e principalmente com o auxílio de ferramentas como o Alexa Rankings e IVC (entidade brasileira de métricas de desempenho de veículos impressos e digitais). Análise de Conteúdo quantitativa e qualitativa será aplicada para analisar as notícias coletadas de cada jornal em quatro seções distintas: Economia, Política, Ciência e Sociedade. O problema abordado pela pesquisa é basicamente descrever como e qual é a intensidade do viés político-ideológico apresentado pelos jornais online brasileiros. Esta questão toma parte central nas discussões que vão desde a distribuição de poder nas sociedades contemporâneas, como para as possibilidades de práticas jornalísticas democráticas, na medida em que a mídia desempenha papel cada vez maior de difusor primário de eventos, pontos de vista e interpretações do mundo social.

Palavras-chave: ideologia, política, análise de conteúdo, jornalismo online, pluralismo, Brasil
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Introduction

The project that follows aims to be an initial exploration in online-only Brazilian newspapers and their political-ideological position that can be found through the news content they publish. The literature shows us the wide and great work done by Brazilian researcher, as well as foreigners, who study many aspects and media in the country regarding their biased way of ‘telling the (hi)story’ to the readers.

Our intention when defining online-only as our study object is related to the importance of understanding this generation of newspapers ‘born and raised’ on Internet, the gap of similar research done using this specific object of study in Brazil, and specially, by taking the relevant number of readers that this newspaper category reach in this hypermediated era into account.

The keywords that guide us through the theoretical background and state of the art initially done in this project and follows until the future development of a PhD thesis posted in a simple sentence are: ideology, politics and pluralism in online-only media in Brazil.

The crossing and the connection between ideology, grounded in Heywood (2004), Hall (1982; 1996) and the internet as a platform of news distribution — and production, in the direction we aim in this project, the online-only newspaper — is a point of interest because internet is recognized by many authors as the place for the pluralism of opinions, the land of free speech and the ground for a wider view of the issues — along with a territory of conflicts. In journalism this last aspect is specially significant, and so we wonder: is it the Internet bringing diversity to journalism?

Pluralism (Wolton, 1999) is important justifying that to ensure democratic conditions it is essential that the mass media could be arranged in a plural and competitive structure to be able to reflect, if not all, at least the most important chains of ideological diversity, political and cultural life of society. In this work we explain the term pluralism, the two forms found related to media — internal and external — and in advance we clarify that we are going to consider external pluralism for this work, meaning that we look to the pluralism we can find between the online-only newspapers we are going to work and not the different political-ideological points of view found in each newspaper.
Methodologically, we based this project on a study recently done in Spain with some necessary adaptations in some terms respecting the particularities that mark the media system in Brazil (Hallin & Mancini, 2012) when connected to political-ideological positioning. To select the sample of the 18 online-only newspapers we have used two tools: Alexa — as in the work done by the researchers to study the Spanish context — and IVC, which is a Brazilian entity that measures performance metrics of printed and digital vehicles — as the same previous study used OJD, which is specific for Spain.

A quantitative and qualitative Content Analysis is proposed based in the instructions of Berelson (1952), some ideas from Bardin (1986) and specially from Krippendorff (2004). Further than coding terms and counting frequencies of mentions — that we consider a very important part — the verbs and adjectives used in context units around a term coded have a plan to study. For that we are based in Thompson (1984; 2002) and Van Dijk (2005; 2006) for whom all discourse parts from an ideological ground and everywhere is ideological territory. Therefore, it's in the journalistic discourse that the marks of political-ideological positions can be found. The intention with this process of treating the material for analysis is to important to lead us to the objective of discovering how newspapers refer to the political-ideological spectrum and how they position themselves when facing key themes — defined a priori under news section also pre-defined in this project.

The present project is structured in four chapters. In the first chapter the main idea is to introduce general and important reflections about three main axes: Ideology, Politics and Pluralism; Online newspapers and Media culture in Brazil. Is the chapter where we raise questions such as “what is the real political-ideological influence caused by the media?”, “is the Internet that is going to bring diversity to journalism? And we will have in a few clicks different points of view and be free to see the horizon before surrounded by the eye’s of big communication companies?” and additionally “looking through the imbricate Brazilian media system what can be said about the online-only newspapers in this sensory?”.

The second chapter includes the theoretical background and an state of the art along with four sections: journalism, online Journalism and online-only media; ideology and politics; journalism and pluralism; and journalism and content analysis. Inside each section, the foundational works explaining the terms are described as well the main studies found that deal
with the concepts, the object of study or also the methodology.

In the third chapter, under the *Investigation Problem*, the problem definition is addressed to the curiosity — or the doubt — around the online-only newspapers’ reality being as emancipating as this collective feeling about the freedom on internet. Our north are in the research questions: *RQ1: How the news in online-only newspapers from Brazil can be defined regarding the political ideology?* and *RQ2: To what extent the extreme political-ideological positions are represented in the journalism content done by online-only Brazilian newspapers?* Therefore the objectives that guide this work can be found in this third section. Firstly we aim to find in the news sections Economy, Politics, Science and Society on samples of Brazilian online-only newspapers the marks of political ideology position, and analyze how according to the political-ideological spectrum\(^1\) the political ideology positions are represented in Brazilian online-only newspapers content. In a second step to define according to the political-ideological discourse presented where the newspapers analyzed may be positioned regarding the political-ideological spectrum. As a consequence, in a third step to identify in which news sections may be detected the extreme political ideology position.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to explain the object of study and how we proceed with the delimitation. The methodological step-by-step is drawn explaining from the way we intend to collect the news articles to analyze to the process of coding, counting and processing a stage in the way of qualitative content analysis.

Lastly, we throw some light on concepts and terms used in this project as *political ideology* (and ideologies), what we understand for *biased communication* and what we refer when saying *marks* and *political-ideological spectrum*.

Having in mind the limitations and the challenges ahead, we still consider this as a project under construction in where some ideas may need deeper study by the researcher part, some concepts may need further understandings and explanations, as well as the methodology may suffer adjustments.

\(^1\) Defined in 4.4.1 - *Marks*
Chapter 1. Theme presentation

1.1 Reflections on Ideology, Politics and Pluralism

Well said by Maia (2002), and authors linked to the pluralistic perspective, as Dahl (1971), as the affiliates to deliberative view, like Habermas (1991) and Fraser (1992), consider that the diversity of information sources and the plurality of opinions are crucial to the effectiveness of the debate of public issues and political decisions in polyarchies or for critical and rational deliberation in the public sphere.

To ensure such democratic conditions it is essential that the mass media could be arranged in a plural and competitive structure to be able to reflect, if not all, at least the most important chains of ideological diversity, political and cultural life of society. This journalistic field ideal configuration is easier to be found in a media system in which predominates or coexist with the commercial media a partisan press (or committed to social causes non-hegemonic), as in Scandinavian countries and English case in that many newspapers are still linked to political parties.

In a context where commercial media is dominant, like in Brazil, even by the absence or because of the partisan press small expression, the democratic principle of diversity and plurality would inevitably become dependent on the normative ideal of objectivity, which is so important to the theoretical perspective of liberal journalism. As saying, it is dependent on the presence of an internal diversity in each media outlet that allows the confrontation of differing opinions and balanced coverage on all sides and actors in dispute that are covered. If not, the balance will be compromised.

There are many and wide critics about the trilogy ideology-politics-pluralism. For example, addressed to the production process, critics say that alternative press must differentiated from the newspaper industry production mode. Basically because by employing the same practices of selection and construction of news, this media sector would be sentenced to reproduce the same speeches and to adopt a market logic to raise the audience rating, which ensures more advertising budgets, basic surviving formula adopted by newspaper industry.

Mass society theories have in consideration mass communication — not simply because
one is part of the first. The relationship between the concepts is narrow since it is considered that both phenomena are the result of the same factors. In other words, it is the result of middle class’ upward mobility, also being political and cultural, produced by egalitarianism arising from the bourgeois revolution process. And the significant work of British and French researchers, Alexis de Tocqueville in special, who gave the corpus to recognize social equality as the main factor of social massification and shaping of the dominant ideas of a society. It explains why ‘ideological power’ is officially one classification of power. Frequently all over the societies history political power is interlaced to wealth and authority, as well it is with ideological power.

The effort to build a society where people could have access to all forms of thoughts and knowledge, and by the power vested in each human being could be free to choose in what to believe, it always seems meet the wall of powers, of interests — for the curiosity of researchers and theorists of all the time. Oddly, this also being under democratic societies but looking the amount of studies can be found.

As an exercise, assuming that in a pluralistic and democratic society the media has not to be as one-dimensional and monolithic and its actors (newsroom, board of directors and ownership) tend either to counteract each other ideologically or split among themselves in terms of content and information, we may ask: what is the real political-ideological influence caused by the media?

1.2 Reflections about online newspapers

The journalistic information, before basically only printed, on radio and on television, with the Internet stepped on a new level. With the popularization of the World Wide Web — WWW — in the 90s the production and the consumption of news opened the gates of instantaneity and it changed since then the way we relate to news content. For the first time in history one media reached an audience level as never reached by any traditional media before.

Placing the facts in an evolution timeline, Barbosa (2001) marks that the radio took 38 years to have global audience of 50 million people; network TV, 16; and the cable, ten; the
Internet with WWW needed only five years to reach 200 million people. By the last stats, in the world there were 2,9 billion people connected while in Brazil there were 107 million. This number places the country as the 5th in the ranking of top countries by Internet usage.

The removal of space and time limits — which always accompany printed editions, TV news, in addition to radio journalism — emerged as one of the features brought by the emerging online journalism, as well as hypertext and the link as its constitutive and innovative element for the digital writing.

The information translated in bits enhances specs for producing, writing, editing and publishing news and, under the paradigm of interactivity, journalism renewed itself within cyberspace, creating a new species: the online journalism, which resets the aspects of production, writing, editing and publishing news, circulation, audience, and the relationship with the receivers. In this way, the online newspaper is the support for the online journalism.

The convergence of communication systems, information technology and the growth of integrated networks became responsible for the transition of a society — before facing the industry — into a society now based on the information. In this scenery, this new journalism has an important role in this as we also have a new society, just now with a lot more voices talking at once, which includes not only a bigger number of newspapers but the readers — or recently defined prosumers.

Manuel Castells (1996), in the book The rise of the Network Society, argues in the end of 90s and previewing the future of the Internet as a communication media that it would be a vehicle upon which the new society will be grounded. The author analyzes a society dedicated to the use of information, from a technological revolution, bringing the idea that the new information technologies are integrating the world’s globally interconnected networks. Lately, interconnected also are the discussions on the information society and the journalistic newsmaking which, in this new environment, presuppose the understanding or, at least, consideration of a number of contextual factors — economic, political and social — that are pointed as subjugated and governed by market laws.

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3 English term first used by Alvin Toffler as a neologism putting together the words producer + consumer meaning the participation of the consumer in the process of production, in this case in the news process.
Recently Castells wrote the book *Communication Power*, in which the presents a different point of view from his previous studies and publications about the information society. In this masterpiece Castells designs the role of communication networks in power making in society, with an emphasis on political power making. He claims that communication networks are central to the implementation of powermaking of any network, such as corporate, financial, cultural-industrial, technology or political networks. The author goes further and states that network programmers (media companies, public institutions, publishers, editors, technicians) and switchers — such as Rupert Murdoch, who links media, cultural, political and financial networks — are the holders of power in the network society (p. 429). Important to state: power, for the author is ‘the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor in ways that favor the empowered actor’s will, interest and values’ (Castells, 2009: 33).

At this point we may ask: so is it the Internet that is going to bring diversity to journalism? And will we have, in a few clicks, different points of view and be free to see the horizon before surrounded by the eye’s of big communication companies?

That we actually have far more newspapers access and specially online newspapers is obvious, a lot more content bringing different aspects about the same fact may be, but going deeper the question posted in this project refers to what extension the informations we consume are truly political-ideological pluralist.

1.3 Media culture in Brazil

There are many books and articles researching and explaining about the media system in Brazil. To name some — Antônio Azevedo (2006), Goulart (2006), Lima (2006), Albuquerque (1998, 2005, 2008), Chauí (2006), and Armony (2006) that looked to the issues that evolves politics and

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4 The book is considered a successor of Volume II of Castells’ major trilogy about the Information Age, called The Power of Identity (1997).

5 “El poder es la capacidad relacional que permite a un actor social influir de forma asimétrica en las decisiones de otros actores sociales de modo que se favorezcan la voluntad, los intereses y los valores del actor que tiene el poder.”
its institutions — the communication and its information production, the public opinion behavior, and the culture and its different manifestations, also the economy and its national and international arrangements.

Having in mind that studies of communication and politics in Brazil have recent history, immediately, one can evoke the political and economic situation of the country as one of the key pillars of the recent emergence of these studies. The military dictatorship, through a specific communication policy, acted in the development of a cultural industry logic and a communicational ambience in the country, all in once suppressing the possible interactions between politics and media. Those interactions were also present in the previous period of coups in 64 and 68 and both, dictatorship and military dictatorship, were marked by the rapid expansion of the media, especially television. The television was basically submitted to the authoritarian interests and was seeking its use as a legitimizing tool of dictatorships.

This impediment to freely conduct policy in society and in their new spaces (virtual) of sociability engendered by the media, has determined, therefore, that significant outbreak of this study theme kept a close connection in the re-democratization of the country and, in particular the electoral struggles, which, in this new context, take place in a society in which communication has become constitutive of an atmosphere of sociability.

It is important to clarify that the main vehicles in the Brazilian media system were always — before and after the dictatorial period — in the hand of rich families. Not surprisingly, studies of 2003 declare that seven groups control 80% of all that was seen, heard and read by the Brazilians. Then, the clearest deadlocks for a more democratic and ethical communication system in the country are on the surface of its structure as a business: the market is concentrated in a few networks, controlled by few business groups. With an aggravating factor: many of these groups are familiar, a fact that makes prevail a public business management (communicate) much closer to the private sector prevail.

Taking it to the online journalism, which is the focus of this project, we can assume that as happens with other technologies, to have capital is the norm to pioneer something emergent. In online journalism in Brazil it means to say that the same representative communication groups already placed in the country scenery took the place of enplane the new platform for journalism. In Brazil, Grupo Estado was the first to invest on the potential of the network and in February 1995 began operating information services via web, through a link
with the World News, from Washington. But the newspaper that actually first launched its online edition was the *Jornal do Brazil* (www.jb.com.br) on May 28, 1995.

After the settlement of the internet as a platform available for developers and companies in smaller scale, out of the big Brazilian media groups’ scope, independent journalism initiatives were able to rise. *Independent* here was meant not for taking the state as the only threat but threats can come even as self-censorship practiced by professional journalists who internalize business rules of action formulated in the interests of media groups owners. And the state, in this case, because since the early years during the colonial Brazil, throughout the Empire and since the proclamation of the Republic, Brazilian journalism has always maintained a relationship of interdependence with the state. This interdependence is materialized through grants, bank loans and official financing; tax exemptions, mandatory legal publicity or official advertising and, more recently, even the massive purchase — without bidding — of teaching materials.

Then, from the beginning, in the logic of the journalistic companies owners, digital technology is a possibility of marketing support of the printed product. But this attitude ignores the central element in the revolution entered by digital technology. Unlike previous steps, where each technology meant a specific form of journalistic format, now for the first time one technology has been able to embrace all the others, establishing the feasibility of a single support.

The imbricate Brazilian media system has a lot to explain about the scenery we can see today related to communication and journalism, specially in online journalism. At the same time, it offers possibilities to reflect about the multimedia professional profile, the production routine and specially about the pluralism situation — or not — we may have in the country.

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Keeping in mind these first concerns about the theme and some of its most important concepts, now the projects follows the theme's state of the art.
Chapter 2. State of the Art

2.1 About journalism, online journalism and online-only media

“The Homo Sapiens appeared 1,400 generations ago but only in the last two hundred began to use writing; the press is from yesterday, only the last twenty generations have been using it”. This is the comparison of José Terceiro (1997) to explain how recent is the phenomenon of press and how technology increased the speed of evolution in human communication. The author divides the humanity in phases of Information Era and identifies the Hypermedia Information as the responsible for recent stages of the technological evolution — represented by the meeting of the newspapers and the hypermedia information.

The printing press was a watershed, allowing the playback of information in scale and speed considered impossible at the time. After all, it is the most effective, and lasting way decipherable message, which has not happened before with the sound, fire, or just with the memory. The arrival of the writing process is a result of economic factors, such as a system of control and accounting of exchanged goods (Perles, 2010: 5). Also, a resourceful tool to distribute content, specially ideas, in large scale.

The printed newspapers we know today are descendent of the first daily news that emerged with the urban concentration born during the Industrial Revolution specially in Europe (Sousa, 2003: 126). In the years the evolution of the newspaper itself took place, the concept of news also changed as the role of journalism and journalists. Mannarino (2000) marks the evolution of newspapers passing through stages as a vehicle of disclosure of official versions, in service of political manifestation and with interests in opinion formation, until a more informative intent.

In 1605, when the first weekly newspaper appeared in Belgium, the newspapers have lived with many social, economic and political transformations (Mannarino, 2000:18). And talking about Brazil, only after 1821, with a D. Pedro decree — as Regent Prince — that abolished censorship, independent printings started to get form (Mannarino, 2000:19). Before that, in June 1st 1808, Hipólito José da Costa Pereira Furtado de Mendonça, a native of Colonia del
Sacramento (Uruguay’s current territory), launched the *Correio Braziliense or Armazém Literário* — the first regular publication free of censorship, in Portuguese. It was published continuously until December 1822, always in London, as ever monthly publication (Sodré, 1999: 20).

Since Brazil was a colony of Portugal everything happened later and with development of journalism it wasn’t different. From this time, newspapers began to appear more independent of the central government, with ideological motivations strongly marked. In this context, the interest of the paper represented the interests of its owners. That is: "*a notícia era menos do leitor*" (Bahia, 1971: 66).

As narrated in the National Association of Newspaper (ANJ, in Portuguese) in the document *Imprensa Brasileira — dois séculos de história* the Brazilian press had a late birth as late were higher education, the manufactures, the political independence and the abolition of slavery. Factors such as these have generated a legacy of illiteracy and income concentration felt until nowadays, meant conditioners of Brazilian press evolution when preventing the national readers reached the percentage recorded in countries with similar or larger economy.

Studies as the ones done by Medina (1978), Bahia (1971), Lage (1979) and a special synthesis made by Carrera (2008) go deep in the transformation of news and newspapers in the world in comparison its history constructed in the Brazilian scenery. The authors agreed about the evolution of the text in newspapers in Brazil: after the Royal Family in the point of its high political interest and having as characteristics texts, which often occupied the whole of one page of the newspaper, were sober, long and argumentative strongly in favor of any idea, thought or political ideology. The intent of journalism at that time was not primarily convey important information to the community, but somehow influence over the point of view of their readers about what was happening in the political field. Briefly: "*antes de informar, formar opiniões*" (Medina, 1978: 60). The language used at the time on newspapers was close to literary language — in fact they were written by writers and authors of the time — very different of what would appear later on a period that objectivity will be valued.

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6 Free translation: [the news were less about the reader]

7 Available in http://www.anj.org.br/imprensa-brasileira-dois-seculos-de-historia/all

8 Free translation: [before of informing, forming opinions]
It was, then, social evolution, and especially technological developments that enabled a transformation of readers’ habits and producers of the newspaper, as stated Bahia:

As novas técnicas de difusão, o mecanismo da sociedade industrial, o desenvolvimento das comunicações sociais determinaram o aperfeiçoamento dos processos de informar, impondo a reformulação da linguagem da imprensa e a atualização do estilo do jornal, colocando sua estrutura na faixa de uma organização moderna, racional, apta a responder aos desafios do rádio, da televisão e do cinema⁹ (BAHIA, 1971: 65).

Before the invention of the World Wide Web (www or web), the network was already used for the dissemination of news items, but the services offered were directed to very specific audiences and worked through the distribution of e-mails, newsletters available through the Gopher² or similar features (Palacios, 2002: 2).

According to the Guia do Jornalismo na Internet¹⁰, edited by Andre Manta, from Federal University of Bahia (Brazil), the first digital journalism experiments were found in the United States in the 80s, from teletext systems produced by companies such as Time, Times-Mirror and the Knight-Ridder. At the end of the decade, with the incipient expansion of the Internet, digital newspapers were maintained by online services companies such as America Online and Prodigy. In 1993, only 20 papers were online, all of them Americans. Also, Manta affirms that, from 1995 on, the news sites have evolved considerably and began to explore the most appropriate and creative way the resources of the World Wide Web. The year of 1995 was marked by the definitive Internet entry in Brazil. In Brazil, the first online newspaper that appeared was Jornal do Brazil in 1995, which had its model based on the US newspapers, and soon after came the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo, Folha de São Paulo, O Globo, O Estado de Minas, Zero Hora, Diário de Pernambuco and Diário do Nordeste (Deus, 2006: 34).

The use of Internet for journalistic practices began just over two decades, but has gone through several transformations anything linearly. Pereira (2003: 12) points out that “the history of online journalism can be divided into three stages: transpositive, perceptive and hypermedia”. Each of these steps is marked by the evolution in the use of technologies that Internet holds. At first, the sites were dedicated to the digitization of the printed products. As

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⁹ Free translation by the author: [New techniques for diffusion, the mechanism of industrial society, the development of social communication determined the improvement of the processes of informing, enforcing the reformulation of press language and updating the style of the newspaper, putting its structure in the range of a modern organization, rational, able to meet the challenges of radio, television and cinema]

the workers were being trained to use the Internet, the websites encouraged professionals to produce unique content for web, reaching the third stage, with the increased use of multimedia and hypertextuality.

Being on sites and portals to blogs, journalistic activity has prominent position on the Internet. And there are several factors, among which we could highlight the low investment compared to other vehicles, and the editorial freedom; and gradual increase in the number of accesses and public-private investments in digital inclusion. However, by the emergence of commercial, journalistic activity on the Internet also raises many questions, starting with the classifications, definitions and applications that interfere with the practice of both journalism and its processing, as in reception by Internet users.

Through 10 years of development the scenery got to be the convergence of traditional media with Internet and its specific possibilities. The newspapers, before major source of information, got to the point where they have to compete not only with other newspapers but, with different means of communication, vying for the interest of the people. And then, with the emergence of new technologies, new ways of building the news and pass it to the public also needed to be developed, so that the habit of reading the printed newspaper does not disappear. About it, Lage affirmed still in the end of 70s:

Os veículos eletrônicos são, atualmente, os principais transmissores de noticias para as grandes coletividades humanas. O jornal diário é cada vez mais instado a compilar fatos já emitidos, investigar causas e antecedentes mais ou menos remotos, interpretar e produzir versões da realidade – a fazer reportagem, em suma\textsuperscript{11}. (LAGE, 1979: 35).

As the traditional journalism had its academic background also the online Journalism — or ciberJournalism — has its studies within the academic world. Different classifications have been used to describe this new type of journalistic practice. For example, some of the terms found were online Journalism, webJournalism, electronic Journalism, digital Journalism, hypertext Journalism (Palacios, 2002: 3).

Also ciberjournalism language acquire another form:

El lenguaje periodístico, que nace inicialmente del literario, busca desde sus primeras páginas una comunicación distinta capaz de transmitir con claridad y eficacia el mensaje

\textsuperscript{11} Free translation: [Electronic vehicles are currently the main transmitters of news for large human collectives. The daily newspaper are becoming increasingly asked to compile facts already issued, investigate causes and more or less remote record, interpret and produce versions of reality - making story, in short]
informaGvo, las noticias y sus consecuencias. Y asume una serie de cambios hasta llegar a las singularidades que mantiene ahora y que, con más motivo desde la perspectiva cibernética, todavía no se han cerrado ni posiblemente se lleguen a cerrar nunca por el propio dinamismo de la cultura y de la sociedad. (Edo, 2005:11)

The grounded postulations about the concepts of the traditional journalism passed by revisions specially in its discourse and are clarified in the article Definición teórica de las características del ciberperiodismo: elementos de la comunicación digital (Díaz Noci, 2008), which places that ciberjournalism is distinguished by the characteristics of “hypertext, interactivity and multimedia technology” (Díaz Noci, 2008: 57) referring to earlier studies of Mark Deuze published in 2001. Díaz Noci adds the concepts actualization frequency and content (Díaz Noci, 2008: 59) when studying online journalism.

Deuze also published in 2004 an article called What’s multimedia journalism? reaffirming the terms and markings his own study of multimedia journalism inside the terms of institutional, organizational, technological and cultural aspects (DEUZE, 2004: 140). The author was worried about the three vertices of multimedia journalism — the company (means of production), work (productive routines) and journalist (professional identity). He reports that convergence attempts were tried, for example, the BBC in London, which introduced the Combo Journalism putting photographic cameras in the hands of reporters during the mid-twentieth century. It is relevant to say that these concepts are widely in accordance into the academic community.

Palacios adds the concept of memory, concerning about another specific characteristic of online Journalism which is according to him “virtually unlimited propitiated by the new support journalistic represented by telematic networks” (Palacios, 2002b: 1). For memory Palacios refers to “the possibility of providing online all information previously produced and stored, by creating digital files, with sophisticated systems of indexing and information retrieval”12. So journalism has its first multiple memory, instant and cumulative forms in web. The author also sets one important idea in his studies which the intention is to have in mind in this project: there isn’t a canonical format, nor ‘foremost’ or ‘most appropriate’ in journalism that was practiced or it is practiced on the web. Instead, we also consider it as different experiments underway, suggesting a multiplicity of possible complementary shapes, which

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12 [...a possibilidade de disponibilizar online toda informação anteriormente produzida e armazenada, através da criação de arquivos digitais, com sistemas sofisticados de indexação e recuperação da informação.]
operate variously to new communications technology characteristics. Besides this, Palacios, back at that time, managed to do a great study of the effective use of the memory (Palacios, 2002b: 8) in newspapers from Brazil and Portugal.

There are different studies and different proposals to classify online media by its format. One strong base to classify the characteristics of the ciberjournalistic media model is contained in Díaz Noci (2008: 58-59) — see below — where its pointed five main points of specific difference: hypertextuality, multimediality (some authors call it convergency), interactivity, update frequency and content.

<table>
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<th>Cuestionario de cibermedialidad: variables para el análisis</th>
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Based on all set until here with the help of all these specific studies it is possible clearly to differentiate the traditional journalism and the journalism made on internet.

In this project we use the term *online-only media* which means that we take another
path and the interest if focused in the newspapers that only exist online, that make the internet
the way of creating itself and disseminating at the same time, also this media we talk do not
have a printed circulation as support or no longer prints and distributes a physical product.

Since the connection between printed newspapers and the online versions of the same
vehicles in consequence marks the research scenery it is more difficult to find studies primarily
dedicated to delve in online-only media. One example of study is “Taking the paper out of the
news — A case study of Taloussanomat, Europe’s first online-only newspaper” by Neil Thurman
and Merja Myllylahti where they did a case study — through in-depth interviews, newsroom observation, and internal documents — presenting and analyzing changes that have
taken place at Finnish financial daily Taloussanomat since it stopped printing on 28 December
2007 to focus exclusively on digital delivery via the Web, e-mail, and mobile.

Before that, in 2002, Deuze & Dimoudi published an article with the results of an
investigation about the profile of online journalists. The study done in the Netherlands used
surveys results to indicate basic, occupational and professional characteristics of online
journalists working for broadcast and print media as well as online-only media nationwide. The
aim was to give scholarly attention to the characteristics and attitudes of the people working as
media professionals on the www. From as far as we could ascertain this is the first study
published using the keyword online-only.

From Spain, the study made in 2006 by Almiron already focused on online-only media
and also questioned the pluralism that could be found in the Spanish online newspapers at that
time. There is also another article published by Almiron (2006b) that focuses in journalism’s
digital convergence and the concept of four power: firstly questioning if the convergence
strengthen or weaken the values of journalism, and secondly if new technologies favor the
creation and consolidation of a new journalism able to multiply information transparency. And
later in 2013 the article Ideology, Politics, and Opinion Journalism: A Content Analysis of Spanish
Online-Only Newspapers by Pineda & Almiron renewed the investigation in digital-native
journalism directing the study in the opinion journalism done by a sample of 18 online-only
Spanish newspapers.

online-only newspaper. Journalism Studies, 10(5), 691-708.

14 In 2.2 of this project we return to these articles, other aspects and their results.
These are basically the basis for this project that is being designed to study the characteristics of the online-only newspapers regarding its political-ideological position in the Brazilian context.

2.2 About Ideology and Politics

The political dimension in journalism — either in printed or online newspapers — is not a recent point of concentration in debates and studies in social sciences. Max Weber in January, 28th 1919, in a conference to university students in Munich talk about the intellectual work as a profession, in special Politics as a Vocation [Politik als Beruf, in German], where the economist and sociologist presented considerations about the relation between politics and journalism. And Weber says:

The incomparably greater temptations to which this profession is exposed, together with the other conditions of working as a journalist at the present time, have conditioned the public to regard the press with a mixture of disdain and abject cowardice. It is not possible to discuss today how this might be remedied. What interests us here is the political destiny that journalists can aspire to, the opportunities they have to gain positions of leadership in politics. [...] In the bourgeois parties the prospects of gaining political power by this route have, if anything, deteriorated on the whole, when compared to the previous generation. Needless to say, every politician of importance has stood in need of press influence and hence also connections with the press. (Weber, [1917] 2004: 55-56).

Researchers interested in the political dimension of journalism assume themselves often as defenders of the public and are concerned to understand how journalism can serve better, according to the principles in democracies, in general, in “liberal societies” (Zelizer, 2004). The belief that journalism plays a political role in society can be found Alexis de Tocqueville ([1981] 2005) who was among the first who emphasized the effects of media on public opinion in France [L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution, 1856], America [De la démocratie en Amérique, 1835] and the evolution of Western democracies in general. In the same way Gabriel Tarde ([1901] 1992), Walter Lippmann ([1922] 1998) and John Dewey ([1927] 1954) thought about the connections between the press, public and politics. Also, closer to the idea of fourth power is
the notion of public opinion and the emphasis on the centrality of public debate on the policy-making process (McNair, 1998), both involving journalism's relationship with the political world.

To illustrate it, Lippmann (1965) begins his book *Public Opinion* with a story about a remote island where some German, French and English people were living in 1914. Their only connection to the outside world was a steamboat coming every sixty days that brought them — among other things — the latest newspapers. Since the last coming of the boat in the summer of 1914, they had discussed the news of the impending court case against Madame Caillaux in France, who had shot the editor of the newspaper *Le Figaro*, which carried out a campaign against her husband, the French Minister of Economy. Waiting for the boat in the middle of September, they waited anxiously to find out about the result of this political scandal and celebrity. With the arrival of the boat, Europeans discovered something very different, that not only changed their world view, but also their internal relationships. Germany was at war with Britain and France since the end of July: “For six weeks they acted as if they were friends when they were actually enemies” (Lippmann, 1998: 3). Lippmann uses this anecdote to illustrate the power of newspapers to change the representations in our minds, that is, our interpretation of the social world, and how it subsequently comes to influence our relationships and actions in relation to others.

Taking the contemporary scenery, the concern about the size of political journalism moves toward the notion of journalism as a fourth power, serving as balance between the three state powers and to defend the public interests, “being the guardian of democracy” (Serrano, 2006: 64). The term *fourth power* is attributed to Edmund Burke who used in Great Britain in a parliament debate in 1787 referring to media empowerment with the notion of “public opinion” (Schultz, 1998: 49). According to Serrano (2006:65), the investigation through political dimension in Journalism is oriented in three ways: the first one related to the relation between the journalism and its sources studied by authors as Sigal (1973), Gans (1980), Hess (1981), Fishman (1980), Pfetsch (1998), Mancini (1993), mainly in US, UK and recently in democracies in Europe, East Europe, Latin America, China and Africa; the second “political dimension of Journalism focuses on the intersection of Journalism with the political world and audiences” (Serrano, 2006:65) in works of Bennett (1988) *News: The Politics of Illusion*, or Entman (1989), *Democracy Without Citizen*; and the third the path of study that aims the description of journalism processes under different political systems.
One of the foundational exercises of thinking, studying and writing about the press characteristics is present in the work of Frederick Siebert in partnership with Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Scharam published in 1956 and entitled *Four theories of the press*. The book carried out for a long time — maybe we can say until nowadays — a huge mass of readers but also a heavy load of critics. The critics addressed to *Four theories of the press* are addressed to its level of simplification and categorization of the press, and also by its boldness in using the term *theories*. Lowenstein (Merrill & Lowenstein, 1971/1979) argued that the original Four Theories lacked the requisite flexibility to analyze modern press systems and expanded it into Five Theories by adding a category based on ownership. Say that, in this project we can not make the mistake in not talking about this work having in mind the objectives of the authors in organizing the ideas, looking at the press scenario and thinking about grouping the different types of press by its characteristics.

In 1956 the book drew in the context of the wake of World War II a combination of two analytical subdimensions — authoritarian and libertarian — based on state systems: 1) Soviet Theory, 2) Authoritarian Theory, 3) Libertarian Theory and 4) Social Responsibility Theory. Basically they defend the idea that the media operate according to the social and political structures of the societies in which they are located, reflecting its social control systems, in this way theorizing the mass media role assumed in the world, focusing especially on Western Europe, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The authors referred to the authoritarian dimension as the original prototype and most pervasive of all the dimensions. By this, it was meant that this dimension continues to influence press practices even when a government may officially subscribe to other systems. Adherence to libertarian ideals involves an innate distrust of the role of government and the state and state surveillance becomes medias’ basic social function. In this model, libertarian theory is held to be the ideal in which the prime function of society advancing the interests of its individual members (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 40).

Christians (et al.) in 2009 published *Normative Theories of the Media* to overhaul the foundational 1956 work *Four Theories of the Press* and in order to understand the roles the media took on in democracies since the end of the Cold War. The authors gave special attention to journalism changing media and formats. The authors post, in particular, that the fall of the

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former Soviet Union and the increasing availability of the Internet were accompanied by “a political-ideological shift away from social responsibility in media governance and toward deregulation and entrepreneurial growth” (p. 15). The authors explore various democratic policies to explain the different forms the media assumes in each. Also is remarkable the authors’ exploration around the philosophical underpinnings of media roles by tracing debates about civil society, ethics, and democracy to the classical era.

One of the contemporary most important studies about media and its connection with power structures and government is Comparing Media Systems, from Hallin and Mancini (2004), when the researchers focused their analysis restricted to 18 countries in Western Europe, the United States and Canada. The book proposes three analytical models to account for the diversity of arrangements of the media in the world. Their categorization is based on two conceptual elements (politics and media), namely four individual dimensions (newspaper industry, political parallelism, professionalization and role of the state in Media System) and, based on the specific configuration of these three dimensions, the result is three models of political media systems (Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist model, North/Central Europe or Democratic Corporatist model and North Atlantic or Liberal model).

The book and the models per se promoted discussions between communication researchers around the world mainly while the range of countries selected covers a substantial part of the contemporary democracies. At the same time the configuration of the study excludes important established non-western democracies, as India, Israel and Japan, but also the emergent democracies from over the last quarter of the last century. The main idea taken from Hallin and Mancini (2004) is that the pattern of the relationship between the media and politics is the result of specific cultural, political and historical developments in each particular country.

Recently in a new book, organized by Halling & Mancini came out filling gap of the countries not studied closely before. Comparing Media System Beyond the Western World (2012) was organized in chapters and each one written by an author from the country in issue. About Brazil, the chapter 5, is signed by Pedro Albuquerque and it is titled On Models and Margins: Comparative Media Models Viewed from a Brazilian Perspective. Albuquerque discusses the first Hallin and Mancini’s book and its limitations, creating homogeneous groups of countries (Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 72) and in this chapter the Brazilian researcher “examines
the categories proposed by the authors, and this proposition in particular, with a focus on the Brazilian media system” (Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 72).

Albuquerque (2008), however, promotes a reinterpretation of the concepts proposed by Hallin and Mancini best suited to the Brazilian reality, especially in concerning of political parallelism, with regard to the degree of proximity between the media and the political power. The author explains that the existing problem is to think parallelism as a variable in itself, when it actually is a combination of two variables: the characteristics of the media system and the political system. The exception made by Albuquerque (2008), regarding that aspect, is that Hallin and Mancini, in their 2004 book, do not take the characteristics of the political system into account, since its analysis corpus is quite homogeneous and different from parliamentary European countries, where political parties play an important role.

Thus, starting from two considerations — the models presented by Hallin and Mancini aren’t suitable to the Brazilian reality and the political parallelism concept used by them does not cover the organization of political institutions, but only the media — Albuquerque (2008) proposes a new starting point to classify the media model of the countries. The model arises from the crossing of two variables: “The first concerns the degree of system structure, considering the degree of influence that party divisions engaged with the government and political life as a whole; the second refers to the degree of intervention of the media in the political affairs” (Albuquerque, 2008: 12).

Also, Albuquerque discusses the uses of model in the previous work of Hallin & Mancini and suggests that the Polarized Pluralist model used to put under media systems of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, Latin America, Middle East, Africa, and most Asian countries is a risk, since “converting it into a catch-all concept that includes everything that does not fit into the other two models” (Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 73).

Albuquerque explains:

Some authors (Azevedo, 2006; Hallin and Papathanassopoulos, 2002) have pointed out that the Brazilian media system has many traits in common with the Polarized Pluralist model. However, the data collected indicate not only some similarities between them — mainly in the structure of media markets — but also some noteworthy differences: Brazilian broadcasting media have been almost entirely privately owned since their inception; political parallelism does not apply easily to the Brazilian media, both because political parties do not play a central role in presidential countries such as Brazil and because the leading media organizations have adopted a catch-all attitude regarding their public; and Brazilian journalists have defined their professional identity with
reference to the American model, although they have reinterpreted it a very particular way. (Albuquerque in Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 73)

Posted that, Albuquerque argues that regarding the four dimensions of analysis proposed by Hallin & Mancini (2004) — the structure of media markets, political parallelism, professionalism, and the role of the state — “shows a more complex picture” (Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 93). In this point, Brazil regards some characteristics of Mediterranean media systems when referring to structure of Brazilian media market. Also, for the other three variables, Brazil shows “more differences than similarities between the Brazilian media system and the Polarized Pluralist model” (Hallin & Mancini, 2012: 94).

There are several works from Brazilian researchers done about the bias of journalism in the country, on the side taken by the vehicle and the kind of discourse proffered in general. Moreira (2013) searched and structured a theoretical and methodological framework that gives support to research that seeks to establish the relationship between political and economic strategies of two major Brazilian media empires — Diários Associados e Organizações Globo. Armony (2006) describes the way the partiality in Brazilian press was constructed compared with France, and the author posted that the Brazilian military dictatorship, which needed to alienate the population, and the necessity of identification with the journalist from the United States, before the presence of press officers, forged a Journalism that tries to abstain themselves of political opinions. Armony also post that the major newspaper in Brazil are dependent of the advertisement — around 70% —, more than what it is in France, which makes the influence of advertisers on publishable news considerably smaller. He also concludes that Brazil’s extreme dependence on advertisers is accepted without much questioning (Armony, 2006:73). There are aspects of political power and the press in the work of Conti (1999), which describes the historical fact that Roberto Marinho, then owner of Globo Organizations, ruled out supporting Mário Covas (PSDB Party) in the presidential elections of 1989, opting for Fernando Collor, who was elected (Conti, 1999: 115). Likewise, Samuel Wainer supported Getúlio Vargas in his return to the presidency, being a support for for his election. Dias (1993) rescues the action of newspapers OESP and Folha de S. Paulo in Military coup of 1964. Also Mundim (2012) investigated the bias of the press political coverage in Brazil Presidential Elections in 2002 and 2006.
Having that in mind, we jump over to the end of 1990s and begging of 2000s, when we got into a point where we have printed newspapers and their digital version. Also native online newspapers as forms of press emerged, living along or side by side with the political interests — the aspect reserves similarities and differences with the past times in history as a natural evolution flow related to the Brazil’s reality, and the world. In special the work done in Spain by Pineda & Almiron (2013) is a recent study taken as an example to demonstrate the aim of research with this field: online-only newspapers. The study developed in Spain “explores whether Spanish online-only newspapers contribute to balanced pluralistic views when representing ideological trends and values, or whether they depict a dominant system of ideological beliefs” using a content analysis of opinion columns (Pineda & Almiron, 2013: 558-559). In this case researches conducted a quantitative method plus qualitative content analysis and the conclusion was that “digital-native newspaper sector seems to be politically polarized, but tries to avoid a clear-cut representation of ideological positions—a representation which tends not to be explicit in terms of classical ideologies such as socialism, conservatism, or laissez-faire” (Pineda & Almiron, 2013: 571).

The debate about the ideological aspects of the press is part of a reasonable controversy in intellectual-academic circles, political and among the media. The main issues are related to the independence of the media who call themselves non-partisan and not ideological, independent and committed to the truth. However, there are facts to explain how the mainstream media is aligned with the neoliberal thesis and plays a decisive role in the opposition to the different governments of their opinions.

The concept of ideology, like most concepts of human sciences, has different understandings and uses. Etymologically, the word ideology means the study of ideas and according to Merriam Webster dictionary, it is a noun that means a “set of ideas and beliefs of a group or political party, a visionary theorizing, a systematic body of concepts especially about human life or culture, a systematic body of concepts especially about human life or culture and also the integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a sociopolitical program”. The term is attributed to the french philosopher Antoine-Louis-Claude Destutt in a full work published in 1817-1818 above the name Ideology Strictly Defined.

Academically ideology is defined by two large fields: the first is the study of ideology linked to the realm of beliefs, values and world views that permeate the discourse and direct
them to the taking of certain conditions that are consistent with them. Meanwhile, another way of understanding the ideology is linked to the field of critical studies which aim to reveal the possible effects of domination and inequality that ideologies sustain and reproduce while also tying practices to certain speeches (Thompson, 1984: 25). Also Thompson (2002) works with the term ideology in contemporary societies highlighting the main problems associated with the analysis of ideology in modern societies which are very important to political and social debates and also to the theory. The author discusses the mediatization of the modern culture as saying the way how symbolic forms in the modern society are more and more mediated by mechanisms and communication institutions — and sustains that an satisfactory analysis of ideology should be based in the motion of the nature and in the development of mass communication (Thompson 2002: 113).

Van Dijk (2005) is one of the contemporary researchers who work deeply in ideology and discourse, and from him we use in this work the three points that he uses to define ideology. First, ideologies, as such, ‘do not understand the ideological practices or social structures based on them’ (Van Dijk, 2005: 10). The author also post here that a “theory of ideology needs a cognitive component that can account properly”, and ads the notions of ‘belief’ and ‘belief system’ (Van Dijk, 2005: 10). Second is that belief systems are socially shared by members of a community of social actors. And the third brings a really important idea to close the definition: ‘ideologies are not any kind of socially shared beliefs, such as sociocultural knowledge or social attitudes, but are more fundamental or axiomatic’ (Van Dijk, 2005: 10). About the social role of the ideology Van Dijk (2005) explains that ideologies have different functions and its main one is to organize and substantiate the social representations shared by the members of the group. Thus, according to the author some ideologies may function ‘to legitimate domination, or to articulate resistance in relationships of power’, and it also works as the basis of ‘guidelines professional conduct, for example for journalists and scientists’ (Van Dijk, 2005: 12).

Van Dijk (2006: 124), when talking about ideology and discourse, emphasizes that this relation between both concepts is complex and often indirect which will depend on the interpretation of the discourse — and the facts — by group and also by the level of dissimulation of the ideology carried by the speaker, so saying that the ideology is not always clearly seen in the discourse.
In other words, our concept of ideology is non-deterministic: members do not necessarily and always express or enact the beliefs of the groups they identify with. Also ideological discourse is always personally and contextually variable. This is strategically true in international negotiations and bargaining situations in which the suspension of explicit ideological statements may be relevant. This does not mean that ideologies are increasingly less important in a globalized world, but only that in some contexts they are not being manifest so that conflicts can be resolved more easily. (Van Dijk, 2006: 124)

The question of the press’ behavior as a political party is in the context of the struggle for hegemony in society. When political parties go into crisis and cannot meet the demands of political and ideological struggles may be substituted for intervention and guidance of the media identified in the same field. The struggle for hegemony in society, as Gramsci elaborated, is given by the force of coercion and force of ideas. Communication vehicles comply decisive role in the development and widespread use of dominant ideas.

Also language — speaking and writing — are associated with power. And journalist deal with this as profession as the examples of political power maneuvers in Brazil related above. Thompson (1984) analyses a large group of studies about ideology already done and after several author’s reviews post that there are “three levels [individual, institutional and social] in the relation between action and structure realizes an aspect of the phenomenon of power” (Thompson, 1984: 129). The author also argues that:

For if ideology operates by the mobilization of meaning for the maintenance of relations of domination, then the analysis of ideology must seek to interpret the meaning of linguistic expressions in relation to the social and historical conditions in which they are produced and received. (Thompson, 1984: 66)

So the press does its ideological option and there is no argument for independence that stands, even with all the efforts of the Brazilian media outlets to gain credibility through waivers and report "true" facts. For Luiz Gonzaga Motta, professor of Communication at the University of Brasilia (UNB), part of the news selection and its approach is through an ideological decision to report:

"Every decision to communicate something is at the same time, a decision not communicate other. The content of the messages is not the only part that means. When we say something, we said and what we could have said are inseparable part of what we say. This axiom, common to all forms of communication, is particularly relevant to mass communication not only a wide variety of subjects that sticks out like the interests committed to inclusion and not exclusion content. The selectivity and control inherent in all communication practices, gain thus particularly important in communication
Ianni (2000) as a sociologist sought systematize the role of media in today's society and developed the thesis of electronic prince\textsuperscript{17}, a new social agent capable of capitalizing on the political leadership of society, both in reference to the Prince of Machiavelli, as a condottiere, as the modern prince, an articulated organization, a party composed of people able to understand and transform a society, as Gramsci sought to synthesize. The current prince is represented by the media, and plays a key role in the maintenance or social transformation.

To help clarify the term ideology and the classification — that varies from each author or country — Heywook (2004) explains that, when talking about ideology, its important to have in mind we are doing reference to a set of ideas that conceptualize in general characteristics of one political thought (Heywood, 2004: 3-4) and also the political ideology is connected to political systems and their views. The main political ideologies in the modern era according to Heywood are Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, Communism, Fascism, Socialism and Anarchism.

We built our world view in political terms through the media, and that is our main, even if not exclusive, source of information. As written by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, “everything we know about our society, or even about the world we live in, we know it through the mass media” (2000). That is, as to its content and concerning the manner in thinking and knowing, is also in the media which is our main source of inspiration, so to say. The political action, today as always, there is very essentially by word speech. The speech, especially political speech, necessarily involves the media, particularly television.

Here it is important to mention George Lakoff, training linguist who has written about

\textsuperscript{16} Free translation: [“Toda decisão de comunicar alguma coisa é, ao mesmo tempo, uma decisão de não comunicar outras. O conteúdo das mensagens não é a única parte que significa. Quando dizemos algo, o que dissemos e o que poderíamos ter dito são parte inseparáveis do que dizemos. Esse axioma, comum a toda forma de comunicação, é particularmente relevante para a comunicação de massa não só pela ampla gama de assuntos que fica de fora como pelos interesses envolvidos na inclusão e não exclusão de conteúdos. A seletividade e o controle, inerentes a todas as práticas de comunicação, ganham, assim, relevância especial nos processos de comunicação da indústria cultural e trazem consigo a questão da ideologia como questão central nas análises dos processos de decisão editorial”]

\textsuperscript{17} Referring to the work of Italian diplomat and political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli, Il Principe (The Prince), from 1513.
the central issues in the political reality of his country — the US — as perhaps will also be central in the reality of any other country, and reporting to the opposition classic between left and right, or rather, between these two different world views. In *Political Mind - A Cognitive scientist’s guide to your brain and its politics* (2009) Lakoff talks about two aspects that take place in our life in society: emotional and rational thinking facing to create our political self. He is interested in how the mind works, how we function socially and politically, and for him reason is physical, mostly unconscious, metaphorical, emotion-laden, and tied to empathy, with biological explanations behind our moral and political thought processes. The author has a large trajectory in researching about political discourse and its metaphors which also resulted in the book *Metaphors we live by* written with Mark Johnson in 1980.

Altogether with the the studies in many aspects of mass communication, language and ideology, from the seventies a form of text and discourse analysis that identifies the role of language in the structuring of power relations in society (Fairclough, 1989) has been developed his book *Language and Power*. He features ideologies as meanings of reality that have their materialization in the discursive practices. They constitute the subject and contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of the relations of domination.

However, we cannot leave without a note stating that, in the previous decade, some movements would consolidate studies on the importance of social change as an analytical perspective. In Britain, a group of linguists developed a “critical linguistics” to articulate the theories and methods of textual analysis of Halliday’s “systemic linguistics” with ideologies theories. In France, Pêcheux and Jean Dubois developed an approach to discourse analysis, based especially the work of linguist Zellig Harris and the reworking of Marxist theory of ideology, made by Althusser, which became known as French Discourse Analysis (ADF).

Collecting all theses theories, studies and ideas are worth to think about journalism and his descendent, the online journalism.

2.3 About Journalism and Pluralism

The idea of pluralism also comes when talking about politics and democracy, since democracy is the political state in which, theoretically, multiple and divergent ideologies could be held, or in
the limit, it would embrace the differences in one government model. As defends Bianchi (1992: 139) “in politics pluralism is a synonym of freedom of expression, right to disagree from the dominant opinion, respect to divergence”.

Traditionally, debates about the regulation of mass media revolve around the idea that it is important to provide the media structure greater degree of pluralism and diversity. In Brazil this is a concept that gains strength, in fact, it results of systematic own constitutional establishing the complementarity of private systems, public and state, prohibits the monopoly or oligopoly and directs television programming to promote national and regional culture and fostering of independent productions aimed at their diffusion.

The 1988 Brazilian Constitution proclaims, then in his art. 1st\textsuperscript{18}, one of fundamental principles of the Federative Republic of Brazil: the political pluralism. Given its founding condition by the constitutional order, pluralism must be understood in a broader aspect, reaching not only the political party spectrum, but all the concepts and ideas that are relevant to the collective political behavior. On the other hand, as a rule/principle, it spreads its effects throughout the Constitution, conditioning the interpretation of other devices and calling for implementation, according to circumstances, to the greatest extent possible. So the regulation of mass media, in view of its power and its influence in the formation of public discourse, should be guided by the promotion of pluralism in the broadest sense and, where possible in order to achieve it in its fullness. The greater or lesser effectiveness of the principle will depend on the factual and legal circumstances to be considered in; it should, however, always be considered in the equation rational weighting.

Pluralism of ideas and the diversity seem to find no opposition; such words are often quoted in many different aspects of democratic theory, in connection with values such as free choice, balanced decision-making procedures and fundamental rights. In the field of communication, pluralism and diversity are associated with freedom of expression and the right to communication, as well as discussions about the concentration of media ownership and the need to diversify its content.

As stated Dominique Wolton, who works already with the idea of the internet role “[the Internet] has taken (or they make us believe) an almighty role in society, as to constitute a

\textsuperscript{18} Brazilian Constitution can accessed can be accessed in its full content through this official link: \url{http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicaocompilado.htm}
symbol of freedom and ability to master time and space” (Wolton, 1999: 87). Also the ease, speed and universality that characterize and give a feeling of absolute freedom, clearly visible in terms that are already part of our daily vocabulary: “navigate” and “surf”. This initial enthusiasm is the result, in the author's opinion, of a time when individual freedom supersedes the notion of collective, it is urgent to explore new forms of evasion, looking for new adventures, now offered by new technologies, which fills the stagnation that represents for many the monotony of everyday life.

Despite the apparent consensus on the applicability to communication, the notions of pluralism and diversity appear that there is no clear conceptual semantic according to it. Simply put, words are widely used, but for each interlocutor assume different meaning. Such a scenario makes it difficult to transition from the debate a common sense level for a structured discussion of ways to accomplish conceptually well defined principles.

According to Miguel (2004) the obstacles to the full realization of democracy in societies contemporary are many and, in general, well known. And for the author the major bottleneck when one considers the deepening of contemporary democracies, is the spread of information.

"In order somewhat schematic, you can say that, so that citizens are able to make a conscious political choice, it needs to be provided with appropriate information on: (a) which are involved in the dispute, who supports them, which interests they promote and what harm; and (b) the social world, that is, what are the challenges to be faced, the possible alternatives and its consequences.” (Miguel, 2004: 130)

So, in the end, which characterizes the appropriate information to a democratic society is, above all, its plural character. The different perspectives and world visions should be available for all citizens.

The title of democracy that Western contemporary societies love to flaunt always carries an implicit representative adjective. The inevitability of political representation imposes a number of challenges to the realization of democracy, understood in its etymological sense, historical and normative of “government of the people”. All refer, in one form or another, the same problem. Since it is representative, which means that people actually do not have the decision power per se in each case to deliberate, and instead elect representatives periodically.

19 [Elles sont le symbole de la liberté, de la capacité à maîtriser le temps et l'espace.]
The flow of information about the political scenery — not only about the candidates in election time — is fundamental, and that is a role that must be developed by a ‘healthy’ media.

Journalism meets this need; that being said in a synthetic way, the journalistic work of collecting scattered information (through a network of reporters) “bundle” them through certain technical processes (newspaper, radio, television) and finally distributes the final product to a diverse audience. Giddens (1990) uses a category called *expert system*, which is useful to understand the relationship between this product and its audience. Basically, it is a specialized technical competence system, which people in general serve but aren’t able to understand its operation or evaluate their effectiveness *a priori*.

Fraser’s (1992) studies also helped to understand the pluralism more connected by the side of the audience. Analyzing communicative inequality in the case of gender relations, he created the categories of “strong publics” and “weak publics” to analytically differentiate the subject assets and liabilities in the formation of public opinion process. Briefly, the strong public consists of groups that have political resources, symbolic or strong enough to produce economic agendas and decision-making and influence public opinion. Weak public, although participate in the formation of public opinion, obviously does not have enough resources to set it up according to their political and social interests, nor has decision-making power in the political and economic spheres. The concept of Fraser is operationally interesting because it identifies the actors with access to the media and evaluate the ability of them propose agendas to the media and, through it, to the public.

Carles Llorens & Andreea Costache (2013) says that the concept of pluralism is one of the most studied inside the communication policies and he manages to explain the difference between *pluralism* and *diversity* that for him — based on McQuail (1992) and Cavallin (2000) — the first is taken as a political concept and means “an opposition to the State control” and

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diversity as concept based on contemporary society values as “as individualism, change, freedom of thought and movement” (Llorens & Costache, 2013: 64).

In literature the term pluralism can be found and, by the context applied, it is possible to understand what is meant by its use. Also, it is possible to find the definition in a wide variation, specially when talking in communication field. Klimkiewicz (2005: 1-3) believes that pluralism in the media can only be developed with a wide range of media within the public space. Ideally, this diversity should preserve as much access as the choice of different views, voices and representations, in which is recognized by citizens. The external pluralism can be associated with little concentrated media property and the internal political pluralism and cultural diversity identified in terms of content. In other words, external pluralism — that is observed among a plurality of media, each of which can have its own line of orientation — and internal pluralism, i.e the one that should exist within each media outlet. Ward (2002: 32) suggested that external pluralism is related to the private and commercial sector while the internal pluralism is associated with the public sector.

Amorim (2013) points that, regarding the external pluralism, the State is the one responsible to combat the formation of monopolies and oligopolies in the context of mass communication, and thus develop a public media. As it seems necessary for the State, according the same author, to intervene seeking to “ensure that the mass media effectively engage in the treatment of public interest, providing to their audience adequate coverage of the various existing views” (Amorim, 2013: 85).

Talking about media in Brazil, Kucinski (2002, in Kunsch, M. M. K., & Fischmann) posted in the beginning of 2000s some numbers whereby we can see important aspects about the country’s supply in vehicles.

“No Brasil circulam cinco jornais de referência nacional que exerceram papel crucial na definição da agenda nacional e são todos conservadores e geridos como propriedade familiar: O Globo, Jornal do Brasil, Estado de S. Paulo, Folha de S. Paulo e Gazeta Mercantil. Há mais três jornais de grande circulação ou importância, mas sem o mesmo impacto nacional, e igualmente conservadores: Zero Hora, de Porto Alegre, Correio Brasiliense, de Brasília, e O Dia, do Rio de Janeiro. Esses oito jornais somam 40% da
For the author it reflects the power of a few newspapers in consideration to the number of states in the country — 26 plus one federal district — and the territorial dimensions of Brazil. Almost as a rule two newspapers two major newspapers compete in the market of each capital which is related to oligarchical political disputes. Another interesting fact is the verification that, in a inferior scale, in medium size cities where more than a hundred newspapers circulate, almost always two daily newspapers are rivals (Kucinski, in Kunsch & Fischmann, 2002: 42). Important to mark that those newspapers have a low circulation comparing with Great Britain — in total, in 2002, Brazilian daily newspapers add in total only eight million copies which represent one copy for 20 Brazilians and in Great Britain it is one copy each four people — but at the same time they have intermediate ways of circulation of the news they contain because they are used as support and source of information in a uncountable number of radio stations in all country. It shows the role of the newspapers in setting the agenda beyond its physic circulation.

The same author also works with paradoxes of dictatorship in communication in which he affirms that “there has never been such a lack of pluralism in the Brazilian media as in the present times of neoliberalism hegemony” (Kucinski, 2002: 46) and this represents the first paradox. The second is that Brazil has less pluralism in democracy than we had during the dictatorship; the third: the advent of democracy, instead of opening more interfaces conflict between Journalism and the state and increase the space and depth of the criticism, has become even more superficial; and the fourth: the uniformly conservative media in a clearly polarized society. The author goes on until nine paradoxes, but until here there is already a great view of his ‘reading’ about Brazilian media.

Kucinski criticizes to the point to post that:

23 Free translation: [In Brazil, there are five national leading newspapers in circulation who exercised crucial role in setting the national agenda and are all conservative and managed as family property: O Globo, Jornal do Brazil, Estado de S. Paulo, Folha de S. Paulo and Gazeta Mercantil. There are three more newspapers of general circulation or importance, but without the same national impact, and also conservative: Zero Hora, Porto Alegre, Correio Brasiliense, Brasilia, and The Day, Rio de Janeiro. These eight newspapers account for 40% of the movement of all Brazilian daily, about 8 million copies

“Os estudiosos do nosso jornalismo chegaram a cunhar uma expressão para designar a uniformidade de todos os jornais na era neoliberal: a mesmice jornalística. Os jornais de referência nacional se tornaram tão parecidos que é comum confundir um com o outro nas bancas de revistas. Trazem as mesmas manchetes, as mesmas fotos dispostas da mesma forma, e os mesmos nomes de colunistas.”

(Kucinski, 2002: 46)

The clearest of the impasses for a more democratic and ethical communication system in the country — and maybe not only in Brazil — is on the surface of its structure as a business: the market is concentrated in a few networks, controlled by few business groups. With an aggravating factor: many of these groups are familiar, a fact that makes prevail a public business management (communicate) much closer to the private sector. In Brazil, the media is involved in a political field which has a profound difference with the scenario, real or idealized, of electoral democracies in the developed world countries. At the same time the Brazilian media live a private semi—monopoly situation that is different from other countries, as Miguel (2004) points.

Legal loopholes accentuate the concentration of media in a few hands and make more acute the situation in the system: the possibility of cross-ownership. That is, groups that control television stations may well be the owners of newspapers and magazines and Internet portals. As marks Christofoletti “this permission — banned in many countries and limited in others — makes the news produced in a vehicle is only played in another of the same chain” (2004: 4). It enables although opinions, values, symbols and versions of events of interest to the holders business groups are distributed perennial and uniformly in different ways, giving more power to the dissemination of such ideas, increasing its reach and penetration. This last note in convergence with Kucinski ideas posted above.

Rede Globo held by that game more than half of the audience — surpassing the 70% the so-called “prime time” — and more than three quarters of the advertising dollars of Brazilian television; It is also present, with strength in all major radio markets, in print (newspaper and magazine), cable TV, cinema and internet. In most Western European countries, the audience

25 Free translation: [Scholars of our journalism came to coin a phrase to describe the uniformity of every newspaper in the neoliberal era: the journalistic sameness. The national reference newspapers have become so similar that is common to confuse one with the other in newsstands. Bring the same headlines, arranged photos the same way, and the same names of columnists.]
leader station is around 30%, reaching as little as 16% of Germany (Norris, 2000: 95-6, from UNESCO data).

The particular environment that makes Brazil a country with very specific relationship characteristics between media and politics arouse interests in communication researchers, sociologists and from other areas of humanities.

Communication studies, as contemporary format arise in Brazil in the 70s, but studies in media and politics were almost nonexistent. Among these a few exceptions can be cited Gabriel Cohn's contribution to the analysis of the connections between communication theory and ideology (Cohn, 1973); research from a quantitative model, about politics in the newspaper Jornal do Brasil and Último Minuto between 1960 and 1971 undertaken by Lucila Scavone, Maria Belloni and Clea Garbayo (Scavone, 1975); and discourse analysis performed by Haquira Osakabe, focused on theoretical concerns and empirical analysis of speeches of Getúlio Vargas (Osakabe, 1978). Since during a dictatorship everything related to researches or spreading knowledge — academic or popular — is very restricted, in Brazil only early in the 80s the expansion of democratic spaces gave breath to the emergence of investigations border broad thematic communication and politics.

The impact of the 1989 election on the academic production can be seen in Comunicação & Política Journal (Communication & Politics) which dedicated in two editions, in 1989 and 1990, four articles on the subject. In its 9th number there is the text Communication, public space and presidential elections in which the media, especially soap operas, have emerged as important components of building the political scene (Rubim, 1989). In the sequence the journal publishes four articles, which have later developments of this field of study: O presidente na televisão. A construção do sujeito e do discurso político no guião eleitoral (Fausto Neto, 1990); Televisão e política: hipótese sobre a eleição presidencial de 1989 (Lima, 1990); Comunicação e política: enigma contemporâneo (Rubim, 1990) and Pedagogias de despoliticização e desqualificação da política brasileira (Weber, 1990).

Many are the studies published — articles and books — regarding the journalism procedure and pluralism in a broad sense in Brazil, even when ‘pluralism’ is not exactly defined in the work but regarding the questions about the missing of others views from the vehicle or
vehicles can be considered as a way to discussing indirectly internal or external pluralism\textsuperscript{26}. In this project it is considered as reference the definition of external pluralism, since the work will deal with a universe of study composed by 18 online-only Brazilian newspapers and from them the content will be analyzed.

A representative amount of works that analyze one vehicle only — case studies — during its trajectory, as Afonso Albuquerque (1994) analyzes the presidential campaign on the TV newscast \textit{Jornal Nacional}, from Rede Globo\textsuperscript{27}, during the period of March and May 1994 showed the unbalance of dedicated time between the two candidates — Fernando Henrique Cardoso (PSDB) and Luis Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) — and the distinct frames set for each candidate mainly building a good appearance for the first and the opposite for the second candidate. The winner was obviously FHC. This was a significant study that inclusive was cited by Kaid & Strömbäck (2008) in \textit{The handbook of election news coverage around the world}. The same author developed a sequence of studies in the same line and it makes understandable that Albuquerque’s effort in researching the in and outs of media and politics in Brazil gave him the authority to contribute to Hallin & Mancini (2012) book.

Studies regarding the action of journalism and its position during a determined occasion can be found in Miguel (1999) when the researcher compared the Rede Globo’s role during the presidential elections in the country from 1989 until 1998, also there is from the same author an article only about 1998 election periods entitled \textit{Media and Elections: the 1998 Campaign and the Globo Television Network} and the conclusion was that, based on the news budget and the focus given to stories, the news program objectively favored then-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s candidacy for reelection.

Already cited in this project, Azevedo’s work (2006) who, working within Brazilian politics, reasons that media system is not static and presents changes and transformations that should be noted by the potential impact on the relationship with the political system and democratic dynamics, especially in the context of a media system with low external diversity and without a significant political and/or partisan journalism at the national level that provides the reader competitive political perspectives. And in synthesis, when the author crosses the

\textsuperscript{26} Pluralism is defined in Chapter 4, in the Methodology.

\textsuperscript{27} Data from Variety’s Global 50 (August 28-September 3, 2000, p88) — based on Rede Globo’s revenues in the years of 1999-2000 — positioned Globo Organizations in the planet 16th largest media conglomerate.
information about political scenery in Brazil and the organization of the media, he concludes that:

"[...] as mudanças em curso, em boa parte já registradas pela literatura mais recente sobre o comportamento da mídia nos processos eleitorais, ainda que não tenham alterado as características centrais do nosso sistema de mídia representam avanços, e poderão contribuir para nos deixar mais próximos da idéia de um pluralismo regulado (Thompson 1999, p. 209) em que as funções mais básicas da imprensa em uma democracia, como vigiar e fiscalizar o poder, promover o debate pluralista e mobilizar cidadãos sejam, de fato, efetivas entre nós. 28 (Azevedo, 2006: 110)"

Lastly, in the limitation of doing an complete literature review in this project, the complete description of studies that follows the happenings regarding Brazilian media and politics scenery until the end of 90s that can be found detailed in Rubim & Azevedo (1998), in Media and politics in Brazil: texts and research agenda and in Matos (2008), in Jornalismo e política democrática no Brasil, with a review from after the 2000s.

2.4 Studies in Journalism and Content Analysis

Impartiality, neutrality, objectivity: the guide value of Journalism is still the alleged ability to expose the world ‘such as it is’ your readers, listeners or viewers. However, the ideals of impartiality and objectivity remain central to the self-image of journalists and most of the time transposed to mass communication vehicles, even when it is clear that such pattern is weak and can be methodologically deconstructed.

So this last section of this chapter is dedicated to gather the relevant studies in the matter of Journalism when in the intersection with Content Analysis (CA) as a method of study. Now we focus on the studies in which we can see and understand the transformation of data collected with the use of certain procedures to systematize, categorize and make possible an analysis by the researcher of the journalism discourse. In the present project we are interested

\[\text{Free translation: } \text{ongoing changes, largely recorded by the latest literature on the media behavior in elections, even if they have not changed the central features of our media system, they represent progress, and could help to make us closer to the idea of a regulated pluralism (Thompson, 1999, p. 209) where the most basic functions of the press in a democracy, as oversee and supervise the power, promote pluralistic debate and mobilize civically citizens are indeed effective among us.} \]
specifically in Content Analysis which is going to be the base to develop the future study architected here.

It is important to have in mind that the communication study is interdisciplinary, sharing research methods with many academic fields, also sharing topics and specially literature. But one method, content analysis, is specifically appropriate and necessary for the central work of communication scholars, in particular those who study mass communication by doing the analysis of messages, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The CA research methodology is part of a theoretical and practical search, with a special meaning in the social investigations. It constitutes much more than a simple data analysis technique, representing a methodological approach with its own characteristics and possibilities.

Authors as Krippendorff (2004), and Riffe and Freitag (1997) who study and work with the method agree that the Content Analysis emerged in the early twentieth century in the United States to examine journalistic material, occurring a boost between 1940 and 1950, when scientists began to be interested in the political symbols, and this fact contributed to their development; between 1950 and 1960, the application to AC extended to other areas. The history of AC shows the pioneering of the University of Columbia, during World War I, in doing quantitative studies of press and propaganda material, characterized by the fascination with counting, the measuring and the mathematical rigor. These studies expanded during the 1940s, focusing mainly on the search for unravel Nazi propaganda in communications of World War II and, as a distinctive landmark, statistical analysis of values, goals, standards and symbols.

But as Krippendorff (2004) reminds us when explaining about the history of content analysis that before the warlike context the Church was the one who had interests in a systematic analysis of texts, for “inquisitorial pursuits”.

Religions have always been captivated by the written word, so it is not surprising that the first known dissertations about newspapers were defended in 1690, 1695, and 1699 by individuals pursuing academic degrees in theology. After the advent of the printing press, the Church became worried about the spread of printed matter of a nonreligious nature, and so it dealt with newspaper content in moralizing terms (Groth, 1948, p. 26). Surprisingly, in spite of the rhetorical tradition of ancient Greece, which was normative and oral in orientation, the 17th century contributed very little to the methodology of content analysis. (Krippendorf, 2004: 3-4)
In the 20th century, since the mass production of printed news increased a lot, the interests about the public opinion around this mass of newspapers made in consequence the organization of Journalism schools to set the standards. And by that time quantitative content analysis had it “simplistic notion of scientific objectivity”, as the same author describes.

Krippendorff points that Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language included the term in its 1961 edition, defining it as “analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect.” (Krippendorff, 2004: xvii). Berelson’s (1952) has a traditional content analysis definition: “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). Both authors are in the foundational organization of the methods.

Neuman (1997) lists content analysis as a key non-reactive research methodology and describes it as: “a technique for gathering and analyzing the content of text. The content refers to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The text is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication” (italics by the author) (Neuman 1997: 272–273).

Berelson (1952) has suggested five main purposes of content analysis as follows:

- To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;
- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To predict the effects of content on audiences.

Most authors refers to the CA as a research technique that works with the word, allowing a practical and objective way produce inferences from the content of a replicable of text’s communication to its social context. This analysis, leading to systematic qualitative or quantitative descriptions, helps reinterpret messages and reach an understanding of their meanings at a level that goes beyond a common reading. The CA text is a means subject's expression, where the analyst seeks categorize text units (words or phrases) that are repeated, implying an expression representing them.
Concerning about the communication material that the content analysis occupies as an object of study, Krippendorff says:

Today, symbolic phenomena are institutionalized in art, literature, education, and the mass media, including the Internet. Theoretical and analytical concerns are found in such academic disciplines as anthropology, linguistics, social psychology, sociology of knowledge, and the comparatively younger field of communication studies. Many practical pursuits have grown from these fields: psychotherapy, advertising, politics, the arts, and so on. Virtually all disciplines within the whole spectrum of the humanities and the social sciences, including those that seek to improve the political and social conditions of life, are concerned with the functions and effects of symbols, meanings, and messages. (Krippendorff, 2004: xvii)

Also in Krippendorff (2004) is were we find three distinguishing characteristics of CA. The author says that: 1st) the content analysis is an empirically grounded method; 2nd) the contemporary content analysis transcends traditional notions of symbols, contents, and intents; and 3rd) contemporary content analysis has been forced to develop a methodology of its own, “one that enables researchers to plan, execute, communicate, reproduce, and critically evaluate their analyses whatever the particular results” (2004: xx).

For some authors the model applied by content analysis approaches to a positivist prototype. According to Rocha and Deusdará (2005: 309) it is possible to have this perception especially when observing the neutral ideal to which it is intended. When relating the heterogeneity of the analyzed object and the methodological rigor applied by the content analysis, it turns out the hardness of the method. This “hardness”, however, is important because it helps the investigator to be as objective as possible (collaborating to grant greater legitimacy to the analysis), even though the full objectivity, according to the author, is impossible. “Approaching the neutrality means in these terms to support it as science. The analyst is therefore provided with a detective precision instruments to achieve profound significance of the texts” (ibid).

To Ringoot (2006) the content analysis “falls within the conceptual framework of functionalist sociology of the media, addresses the content (italic by the author) as an object of study, complementary to that control, support, audience and effects, within the paradigm of Laswell” (Ringoot, 2006: 134). For the author, the purpose of content analysis is to highlight

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29 Original article title Pourquoi et comment et analyser le discours dans le cadre des études sur le journalisme?
the issues and the most important issues in the broadcast media messages. She also points that this is done from the measurement items, that is, the count of the occurrence of certain words or word family. Evidenced for the presence or absence, Ringoot sets that the themes are organized in order of magnitude. Other elements can be searched as people or places are mentioned, the source of information (agencies, reporters, special guests, etc.) or to include other operators (relationship between occurrences and type of publication or occurrences and type of article), which brings more qualitative elements.

Anticipating now another methodology that will be well explained in the course, one by one and their differences, Ringoot (2006) argues that despite the differences that opposed the “content analysis” and “discourse analysis” the studied object in both cases, when it comes to the written press analysis — meant what is said on the papers — and the procedures of the research, are articulated around the constitution and the treatment of the same corpus. These two traditions in some way specialized and crystallized the journalistic content or “journalistic discourse” taken as product, leaving aside the other discursive aspects of journalism, or, to put it in another way, the journalistic discourses have become synonymous of newspapers discourse.

In the way of a qualitative approach in order to analyze the content in news, Krippendorff talks about the discourse analysis which for him “discourse is defined as text above the level of sentences. Discourse analysts tend to focus on how particular phenomena are represented” (Krippendorff, 2004: 16) He also weaves a question about the validity in making a distinction between qualitative and quantitative content analysis because for him, as he explains “all reading of texts is qualitative even when certain characteristics of a text are later converted into numbers” (Krippendorff, 2004: 16).

The traditional methodology of content analysis remained one of constant approaches of journalistic research, but no longer has a monopoly on the analysis of texts, with the increasing use of discourse analysis as a methodology, in particular, from the 80s. An example of work in this field is Van Dijk (1996). The main feature of the approach developed by Van Dijk is to analyze news, first, as a type of text or media discourse, as well as the different levels of description and units or categories used to explicitly characterize these levels or dimensions. To Ringoot (2006) “within the discourse analysis, discourse is an object of study, but it is also a concept, and it is precisely therein lies the breaking point with the content analysis” (p. 134).
Van Dijk explains that discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary discipline that is concerned with the analysis of the different contexts of discourse, that is, the cognitive processes of production and reception and the socio-cultural dimensions of language use and communication. Primary researches of Van Dijk (1991) were centered in studying manifestations of racism in the press, basically how how ethnic conflicts are described, in which way minorities appear, and how stereotypes permeate the press discourse.

As Krippendorff appeal other researchers in discourse analysis:

[...] examined how television news programs and other TV shows in the United States manifest a particular ideological vision of the U.S. economy (Wonsek, 1992), the components of "age markers" in the humorous context of the TV series The Golden Girls (Harwood & Giles, 1992), and the portrayal of the peace movement in news editorials during the Gulf War (Hackett & Zhao, 1994). (Krippendorff, 2004: 16)

Since there is a set of tools and propositions to analyze the content and all the possibilities of exploration, frequently quantitative and qualitative content analysis are combined and applied to study. Media researchers and academics such as Newbold et al. (2002), Gauntlett (2002) and Curran (2002) refer to quantitative and qualitative content analysis and most view the fields as complementary and part of a continuum of analyzing texts to try to determine their likely meanings to and impact on audiences. Because, as points Mcnamara, “qualitative content analysis examines the relationship between the text and its likely audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are polysemic” (Mcnamara, 2011: 5).

Clarified the first conceptualization of content analysis — that will be amplified in the next chapter when explaining the methodology proposed specifically for this project — it is necessary now to go through important studies that in fact use the methodology in an approximate, or in one case exactly, the same structure that is being planned in this project.

Medina (1982) is a researcher from Brazil pioneer in using and writing about content analysis toward the meaning production by the discourse in many scopes. The author also cites José Marques de Melo, from University of São Paulo, as the pioneer in applying the content analysis in Brazil. Marques de Melo (1983) has one specific book called Pesquisa em Comunicação no Brasil – Tendências e Perspectivas in where he organizes a state of the art in communication research in Brazil by areas, media and topics, not by methodologies applied.

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30 Free translation: [Research in Communication in Brazil - Trends and Perspectives]
We can cite Barros (2001), who did a massive content analysis having *Revista Veja* and *Isto É* — two major magazines still in circulation in Brazil — as object of study. The researcher analyzed the informative content of journalistic matters on environment during the period of time between 1970 and 1990 in both magazines. Mapping and analyzing the level of thematic categories, the conclusion was that the themes that stood out were: pollution, Amazon, ecological studies and environmental devastation. Barros affirms that the tendency of both magazines was to prioritize the covering of themes linked to the urban context, setting the ones called “global ecological themes”, such as climatic changes, greenhouse effect, “ecotourism” and species extinction, aside.

Studies done in Brazil usually have as object the television and its content, the newscast products and the soap operas — area where Brazil has a massive and world known production. Távola (1996) published the book *A telenovela brasileira: história, análise e conteúdo* where the author, besides of organizing the antecedents and the beginning of the soap opera production in the country, brings the main ideas about the content and the consumption.

Devido ao seu papel de orientação e sua popularidade, as novelas brasileiras se tornaram parte central do processo pelo qual cidadãos comuns fazem sentido do mundo da política. Como resultado, apesar de serem frequentemente vistas com descaso, as novelas se tornaram essenciais para entender as perspectivas e os dilemas do processo político brasileiro.32 (Porto, 2007: 278)

Also Lago & Benetti (2007), in the book *Metodologia de pesquisa em jornalismo*33, gave to Brazilian’ communication studies their contribution. Benetti works since early in 2000s with discourse analysis and with content analysis in the intersection with communication and semiotics. By the end of the same decade, Benetti was focusing on the theoretical character and in the discussion about the characteristics of Journalism as a discursive genre.

Nowadays, one prolific researcher from Brazil that has been working with content analysis in the ambit of internet, special in social media, is Raquel Recuero. She has done studies using content analysis in Twitter about the demonstrations that took place in Brazil in

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31 Free translation: [The Brazilian soap opera: history, analysis and content]

32 Free translation: [Due to their role of guidance and its popularity, Brazilian soap operas have become central part of the process by which ordinary citizens make sense of the world of politics. As a result, although they are often viewed with contempt, the novels have become essential to understand the perspectives and dilemmas of the Brazilian political process.]

33 Free translation: [Research Methodology in Journalism]
June 2013. Basically following three steps — data coding, categorization and inference —, Recuero uses Bardin as reference, and also Lindgren & Lundstrom as online content analysis ideas. Recuero et al (2014) points that the encoding implies the construction of categories from enumeration and aggregation, creating elements that represent the observed content. The categorization involves the construction of criteria and classification of data set from them, and the inference is the interpretation of data and categories from the analysis contexts (Recuero, 2014: 202).

One specific research done by Pineda & Almiron (2013) in the context of Spain — in the Ideology, Politics, and Opinion Journalism: a Content Analysis of Spanish Online-only Newspapers article — sets the standard for the present project taking by its object of study: the online-only newspapers in Spain; also by the methodology: quantitative and qualitative content analysis, and by its development the article stands for an model of study to be done, but now in Brazil.

By selecting a sample of online-only Spanish newspapers, using Alexa and OJD crossed tools to select the newspapers the article is a result of a long study of 18 native online newspapers from Spain, resulting with a concrete sample of 434 opinion articles from all the newspapers selected. The authors have in mind the models by Hallin & Mancini (2004), which classify Spain as a country where the media system is Pluralist Polarized. Also the Pineda & Almiron quote the researchers in media pluralism and media ideology in Europe, that in general, take into account this model characterized by high level of external pluralism “in which media are seen as champions of diverse political ideologies, and commitment to these ideologies tends to outweigh commitment to a common professional culture” (Pineda & Almiron, 2014: 558 apud Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 298). In terms of ideology studies in Journalism the reference is Van Dijk, who studies ideology related to discourse analysis, as already described in this chapter.

The political ideologies were categorized in the standard pattern of left-right ideological spectrum: anarchism, communism, socialism, social democracy, Christian democracy, liberalism (in the European, fiscally conservative sense), libertarianism/anarcho-capitalism, conservatism, fascism, and nazism (Pineda & Almiron, 2014: 561).
After the data collected and analyzed, the conclusions were that “Spanish media is highly polarized and audiences have strong ties to their chosen media outlets according to their ideological loyalties”. In this sense, the data generally agree with Hallin & Mancini’s polarized pluralist model. The findings were “also consistent with the idea that Spanish media are partisan”, “that the internet produces even further polarization, with more biased and unbalanced media coverage than that found offline”. And finally, the study found scenery where the vehicle embrace the discussion but it “depicts a right-leaning journalism defined by what it rejects, not by what it believes”.

Finally, taking the compilation of works above into account, the main question posed to conduct the study ahead is related to whether it is the political ideology of major online-only newspapers in Brazil by the point of news content extracted divided in categories to fill under Economy, Politics, Science and Society published on each one of them, and also how they can be understood according to the political-ideological bias through a Content Analysis — quantitative and qualitative — study.
Chapter 3. Investigation Problem

3.1 Problem definition

The easy access we have to any news content through the Internet make us feel that we have the horizon wide open and we have in hands all points of view that a news fact may be seen. Perhaps the reality may not be exactly seen as emancipating as it seems if an appropriate communication study is missing.

Historically in Brazil, specially during post-dictatorial crisis, the media played an ideological agency role of the bourgeoisie, in exception when denouncements ended with the impeachment of then-president Fernando Collor de Mello. In this episode, media performed as interpreter of an angry middle class, but in general what the studies show is the Brazilian media acting in support to the same economic policies of the dominant classes which has reacted the same way to different incidents in politics scenery as related by Conti (1999) in Notícias do Planalto: a imprensa e Fernando Collor and by Kucinski in A síndrome da antena parabólica (1998), Abertura, a história de uma crise (1982) and in Jornalistas e Revolucionários nos tempos da imprensa alternativa (1991).

The Brazilian printed media is constantly criticized by absence of pluralism — see Kucinski (2002) article Do discurso da ditadura à ditadura do discurso34, that is, by being an transmuted project of objectivity and neutrality, and in reality showing its biased political ideology in between the lines, specially in the placement of the speech. The same comment is addressed to the online media, which, mainly, is owned by the same major companies of the printed press, TV and radio.

However, this scenery did not prevented the independent online newspapers to conquer space and become active in the country, some well-known with accessed from all over the national territory. These online-only newspapers grew up in the soil of Internet and have in essence the ancient journalism, but also the freshness of the instantaneity, non-stop and multimedia information.

34 [From dictatorship's discourse to the discourse dictatorship]
Having all this mind, we think that much can be studied about the bias and the political-ideological position of the online-only newspapers in the context of Brazil, which has a gap of information until now without published content.

3.2 Research Questions

For the present project, we propose the following research questions:

**RQ1:** How the news in online-only newspapers from Brazil can be define regarding the political ideology?

**RQ2:** To what extent the extreme political-ideological positions are represented in the journalism content done by online-only Brazilian newspapers?

Associated with these two research questions, a third question we consider important although we have not yet explored and we think will be effective in the course of this research by obtaining some preliminary results:

**RQ3:** In which news sections were the most political-ideological biased discourses?

3.3 Objectives

- Find in the Economy, Politics, Science and Society\(^{35}\) news sections, in the sample of Brazilian online-only newspapers, the marks of political ideology position.

\(^{35}\) Under a preliminary suggested list of topics for each sections.
• Analyze how, according to the political-ideological spectrum\textsuperscript{36}, the political ideology positions are represented in Brazilian online-only newspapers content.

• Define, according to the political-ideological discourse presented, where the newspapers analyzed may be positioned regarding the political-ideological spectrum.

• Identify in which news sections the extreme political ideology positions may be detected.

\textsuperscript{36} Defined in 4.4.1 - Marks
Chapter 4. Methodology

4.1 Object of Study

This research proposal has as object of study the online-only Brazilian newspapers and its content divided, to collect the material to analyze, in four news sections: Economy, Politics, Science and Society.

4.2 Delimitation of the object

Once defined the object of study, to delimit it may be an operation that includes several steps, including the circumscription (Olabuénaga, 1998). This is necessary and equivalent to put the boundaries and limits in order to determine the sample of study and determine the time and space to search for information.

The delimitation process will be detailed in next section, 4.3, and for this project we have the following corpus of 18 Brazilian online-only newspapers:
We have considered the Global Rank in Alexa’s Traffic results as default to organize the table’s first and last newspapers. It means that *El País (Brazilian edition)* — that in Brazil only has the online version, the newspaper does not circulate in printed version as in Spain — is the most accessed and *Campos 24 Horas*, from this sample, the less accessed.

If we consider by default the Alexa Rank only in the limits of Brazil, the order has a slightly change, but usually both ranks have relations of similarity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Online since</th>
<th>URL</th>
<th>Position in Alexa’s Traffic Global Rank</th>
<th>Brazil Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El País Brasil</td>
<td>Nov 13</td>
<td><a href="http://brasil.elpais.com">http://brasil.elpais.com</a></td>
<td>475</td>
<td>not available</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jornal do Brasil</td>
<td>May 1995</td>
<td><a href="http://www.jb.com.br">www.jb.com.br</a></td>
<td>695</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campo Grande News</td>
<td>Not defined</td>
<td><a href="http://www.campograndenews.com.br">www.campograndenews.com.br</a></td>
<td>5,247</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brasil247</td>
<td>March 2011</td>
<td><a href="http://www.brasil247.com">www.brasil247.com</a></td>
<td>6,786</td>
<td>205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brasil Post</td>
<td>January 2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.brasilpost.com.br">www.brasilpost.com.br</a></td>
<td>7,322</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folha Política</td>
<td>May 2013</td>
<td><a href="http://www.folhapolitica.org">www.folhapolitica.org</a></td>
<td>9,769</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pragmatismo Político</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pragmatismopolitico.com.br">www.pragmatismopolitico.com.br</a></td>
<td>11,297</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MaisPB</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><a href="http://www.maispb.com.br">www.maispb.com.br</a></td>
<td>12,368</td>
<td>367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PB Agora</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pbagora.com.br">www.pbagora.com.br</a></td>
<td>14,885</td>
<td>448</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folha do Sertão</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td><a href="http://www.folhadosertao.com.br">www.folhadosertao.com.br</a></td>
<td>15,812</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversa Afliada</td>
<td>2006</td>
<td><a href="http://www.conversaafliada.com.br">www.conversaafliada.com.br</a></td>
<td>17,379</td>
<td>635</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahia Notícias</td>
<td>Not defined</td>
<td><a href="http://www.bahianoticias.com.br">www.bahianoticias.com.br</a></td>
<td>24,138</td>
<td>932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi O Mundo</td>
<td>2003</td>
<td><a href="http://www.viomundo.com.br">www.viomundo.com.br</a></td>
<td>32,319</td>
<td>1,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opera Mundi</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td><a href="http://www.operamundi.com.br">www.operamundi.com.br</a></td>
<td>34,728</td>
<td>2,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bocão News</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td><a href="http://www.bocaonews.com.br">www.bocaonews.com.br</a></td>
<td>36,769</td>
<td>1,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varela Notícias</td>
<td>Not defined</td>
<td><a href="http://www.varelanoticias.com.br">www.varelanoticias.com.br</a></td>
<td>99,448</td>
<td>4,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campos 24 Horas</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><a href="http://www.campos24horas.com.br">www.campos24horas.com.br</a></td>
<td>372,328</td>
<td>9,757</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All data were collected in Alexa in April 12th 2015

4.3 Universe and Sample

As other studies involving the online-only newspapers in other countries, it is impossible to accurately retrieve information about all these newspapers in Brazil, so based on sample delimitation in academic works already done with the same object of study, we explain now how we built the sample for the present project.

We chose to use Alexa Internet, Inc. Ranking — a product of Amazon.com since 1999 — which provides open access and reliable commercial web traffic data and frequently used information for researcher in communication involving websites. Also the information from Alexa is combined with IVC\textsuperscript{37} (Instituto Verificador de Circulação), a Brazilian entity that

\textsuperscript{37} http://ivcbrasil.org.br
measures performance metrics of printed and digital vehicles, under signature.

Firstly it was used a periodic Top 500 Sites Brazil which is a list, as the name explains by itself, with the 500 most accesses sites in Brazil. It is important to explain that it mean sites accessed from computers located inside the Brazilian territory. It does not mean that the list offers the information about Brazilian websites that Brazilian people most access, as example Google and Facebook, which are not Brazilian websites, are on the top 1# and 2# position in the Top 500 Sites Brazil.

The data used to formulate the table were collected in April 12th 2015 from the Top 500 Sites Brazil and exactly as it was on Alexa was exported to a spreadsheet in Numbers. One by one, we had the work to verify whether the website was or not an online-only newspaper. Then gathering the information about the ones which could be part of the sample following the criteria:

1) does not have a printed version;
2) does not serve as a portal of content — conglomerate that gathers information from other media, usually with newspapers and television stations;
3) it is organized as a company;
4) could show periodically/constant news actualization; and
5) it has journalists under responsibility of producing the news.

As many other studies in Brazil used information from IVC, as Palacios et al (2002), we have used the public list of media audited by the institute. Also the list from IVC was consulted in April 12th 2015.

The difference between Alexa and IVC is that Alexa gathers traffic data in general and IVC just analyze vehicles under subscription of a service pack, which means that most of all newspapers — printed or online-only — do not appear in the list that has only 132 vehicles and

38 It can be accessed in http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/BR
39 Spreadsheet application developed by Apple Inc. and part of iWork productive pack.
41 It can be accessed in http://ivcbrasil.org.br/auditorias/aPublicacoesAuditadasJornal.asp
usually each company has more than one vehicle of communication, what sum to the final result. Information from Associação Nacional de Jornais (National Newspaper Association) shows that in 2013 in Brazil 4,787\textsuperscript{42} newspapers were in circulation.

Besides the subscription question, that causes restriction in the range of information, the service of online metrics offered by IVC is recent and it is not public, it is available only for the clients who hired the service. The IVC in this context was used more like an information verification or complementation tool of the previously collected from Alexa.

However, Alexa as a programmed tool built to measure online metrics is judged by the fault of giving a gap to be manipulated or oriented by expects (see critics made public last year in WND\textsuperscript{43} and also in Get Life Tips\textsuperscript{44}), action that can change — obviously raising — the numbers. Moreover, since it works measuring access, programmers using right tools of SEO\textsuperscript{45} can build websites to better perfomance in Alexa, because the tool only starts measuring websites after the website overtake \textasciitilde 100,000 in a combination of average of daily visitors and page views on the site over three months.

Despite the strong critics about the assurance we can have about the data offered by the Amazon tool, the information is widely used by researchers in all fields of study, the explanation can be in the missing of other took that may work alike and with a better grade or a more effective way of measuring.

A caveat need to be explained about the inclusion of El País and its data from Alexa. El País is originally from Spain and started the activity in Brazil in November 2013 only as an online-only newspaper. But the version in Brazil is under the original Spanish URL domain (www.elpais.com) as a subdomain (brasil.elpais.com), which means that in the Domain Name System (DNS) hierarchy, a subdomain is a domain that is part of a larger domain. In its turn, Alexa does not read subdomains, which explains the missing information about El País position in the Brazilian context and why we did an alternative ordination table in the section 4.2.

One online-only newspaper included that wasn’t present neither in Alexa Top 500 Sites

\textsuperscript{42} Source http://www.anj.org.br/numero-de-jornais-brasileiros-2/

\textsuperscript{43} See http://www.wnd.com/2014/10/alexa-answers-critics-were-impartial-in-ranking-websites/

\textsuperscript{44} See https://www.getlifetips.com/everything-about-alexa-traffic-ranking/

\textsuperscript{45} Search Engine Optimization.
Brazil, neither in IVC list from April 12th 2015 is Sul21 — www.sul21.com.br. Verifying some other well-known online-only newspapers we noticed that Sul21 has relevant positioning in Alexa contrasting with others newspapers which appear after it on the table. We made the option of including it in the sample.

After having defined the online-only sample, the second filter intended to be applied is the gathering of the news from all these newspapers under the four news sections or news themes: Economy, Politics, Science and Society.

4.4 Methods and research techniques

Studying Journalism — and specially researching in the field — has fundamental importance to understand how the media gives its daily contribution to the construction of social reality. Thinking about it, is an obligation of the academic community at least trying to understand the place — or the place that should take — the media in democratic societies. Therefore, it is important to fundament the project with research methodology and a set a clear ground where the work will be done.

As already introduced in section 2.5 about researches in Journalism and Content Analysis, the foundational methodology and technique planned to be used for this research is the CA. And the CA as a technique has organized procedures when handling the texts collected to be analyzed.

As stated by Krippendorff (2004: 18) “content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use”. It means, for the theorist — having in mind that the technique should be reliable — that researchers working under different conditions or from different points “should get the same results when applying the same technique to the same data”. So for him, “replicability is the most important form of reliability”.

According to Bardin (1986), content analysis is a set of methodological tools that apply to diverse speeches. The aim of this type of analysis consists in handling messages, so you can see beyond what apparently is said in the text. Content analysis is divided into two types:
qualitative and quantitative. What characterizes the qualitative analysis is what can be deduced or the meaning that can be attributed to the words, the themes, the characters etc. In the quantitative analysis, which weighs more research is how often certain events appear in the speech.

The grounding of the content analysis as methodology by Krippendorff says:

“To be clear, methodology is not a value in itself. The purpose of methodology is to enable researchers to plan and examine critically the logic, composition, and protocols of research methods; to evaluate the performance of individual techniques; and to estimate the likelihood of particular research designs to contribute to knowledge. Every researcher must become proficient in defining the terms of an analysis and justifying the analytical steps taken to a skeptical friend or questioning colleague. Methodology provides a language for talking about the process of research, not about subject matter.” (Krippendorff, 2004: xxi)

As expressed in the theoretical background, we reinforce that we take in consideration Van Dijk’s explanation in Critical Discourse studies that the relations between discourse and social power take into account that this power exerts a form of social control.

In this project we aim do replicate a content analysis structure already applied in the case of Pineda & Almiron (2013), which the study and the results were published under the title *Ideology, Politics, and Opinion Journalism: a Content Analysis of Spanish Online-only Newspapers*, when studying the newspapers’ political-ideological bias in Spain.

Instead of analyzing the content from the opinion columns as in Pineda & Almiron, its planned in this project to extract the texts to analyze from four newspapers section which are:

- Economy
- Politics
- Science
- Society

This choice was made in order to analyze texts covering different themes and issues in daily news and having in mind that every discourse has its ideological position — even when it may be unnoticeable — its strategical unfold to more than one section from the newspapers we have the purpose to study. We believe that tips and hints of political-ideological bias are present in every news content, whether in small or large expression. It extrapolates the coverage of
political events, for example the issues related to environment that may the pure objectivity but, in the contemporary and globalized society, are part of an imbricate interests dispute stage. It goes beyond the common sense who continues to believe in the possibility to register and disclose facts without expressing an opinion.

The collection of the corpus is supposed to be planned as not to coincide with periods marked by media events already scheduled, so that any event bias would disturb the analysis. Theorists stress that when the collection of data coincides with the occurrence of major events, but unpredictable nature, it is possible to keep gathering the corpus, since unpredictability is precisely one of the most striking features of information (Traquina, 1993; Dayan and Katz, 1994).

As in the study of Pineda & Almiron the political ideologies will be categorized in: Anarchism, Communism, Socialism, Social democracy, Christian democracy, Liberalism, Libertarianism/Anarcho-capitalism, Conservatism, Fascism, and Nazism. It is also possible to consider two contemporary terms specifically in the Brazilian context: Getulismo (from Getúlio Vargas, dictatorial period from 1930 to 1945 defined as political ideology by Castro Gomes (1989) and Lulismo (from ex-president Luís Inácio Lula da Silva 2003 to 2011, defined as political ideology by Singer (2012).

This set will be also used to codify political-ideological lineages and therefore the work will be quantitative in a first level when identifying and computing terms that represent political ideologies, as well as political leaning from the far-left to the far-right.

We include in the coding an evaluative related to classify the the journalists’ general value judgment regarding the coded terms. “This is what Lerner et al referred to as judgment, the way each symbol that occurred was judged favorable, unfavorable, neutral” (Pineda & Almiron, 2013: 562 apud Lerner: 1951-1952: 721).

Also, the project has a qualitative level when taking account the context of words and expressions in order to evaluate the intentional use and the meaning. The interpretation may be done in three different situations, as done in Pineda & Almiron (2013):

1. by propositional structures as when the ‘term coded’ is favorable, neutral, or unfavorable in its description;
2. the use of adjectives;
3. the interpretation of the whole opinion column as a context unit. Justified by Krippendorff explanation about it: “Context units are units of textual matter that set limits on the information to be considered in the description of recording units” (2004: 101).

The subject of the information also needs to be identified, in a way that will be possible to set clear what is being capturing media attention. Pineda & Almiron had the set of seven categories: Idea, theme, or general concept; Current event; Past event; Place; Person or public institution; Other; and Unclassifiable.

To set clear, the methodological process is organized in steps:

1. During a period of one year — not taking the risk to collect all the material in a short period of time and avoiding the bias and consequently wrong results — the news texts will be collected (printed) from the 18 online-only newspapers, referencing properly each file and organizing it in folders according to newspaper, date, section and subject.

2. For each news section Economy, Politics, Science and Society we propose — initially in this project but keeping in mind it may suffer some changes in future — a set of subjects we are interested in each section, under we plan to collect the news.
   - **Economy**: external relations — USA, Asia and Latin America, internal economy protection policies, bank policies, welfare policies.
   - **Politics**: parties colligations, corruption, Brazil's Landless Workers Movement (common known as MST in Portuguese), indigenous movement.
   - **Science**: research using animals, environment and climate change, epidemic diseases, aging treatments.
   - **Society**: immigration, abortion, sex and gender issues, religion diversity.

3. A main topic frequency including all the news article — by newspapers and the total — will be done and charted.

4. Information subject frequencies will be measured and charted in the range of: Idea, theme, or general concept; Current event; Place; Person or public institution; Other or Unclassifiable.

5. Political ideologies can be categorized through the representation of political leaning into the left-right ideological spectrum. To this respect, frequency of mentions of positions on
the political spectrum will be measured in the range of: extreme-left, left, center-left, center, center-right, right, extreme-right under the judgement as positive, negative or neutral when referring to the ideological spectrum.

6. Political ideologies can be also categorized through the listing of the explicit presence of specific political ideologies. To this respect, frequency of mentions of political-ideological spectrum according to Anarchism, Communism, Socialism, Social democracy, Christian democracy, Liberalism, Libertarianism/Anarcho-capitalism, Conservatism, Fascism, and Nazism. Getulismo (undefined) and Lulismo (center-left) will also be considered. Also each term will evaluated as it appears in the context under the judgement as positive, negative or neutral when referring to the ideological spectrum.

7. An inventory of verbs and adjectives used in the context units (if does not appear a will be also markable), where the terms coded in the political-ideological spectrum are located in the news article.

8. Regarding each subject suggested previously for the four news sections, we proposed a table\textsuperscript{46} of general position that can be find in the article pro, against, neutral and unclassifiable. By this process we intend to see through key issues how the newspaper position itself from a certain polemic topic and normally requires a positioning.

In the future PhD work the set of political spectrum will be related to certain positions for each subject we propose to include, i.e to be completely against abortion may be related to be positioned as right in the political spectrum, or declare to be in favor of demarcation of indigenous lands may show a left positioning in the political spectrum.

9. For each subject suggested in each section it will be done an inventory of the sources — which ones and and how many — appearing in the news article.

10. Based in all this information gathered and classified, putting the quantitative and qualitative results together for each newspaper and in the conjunct of all newspapers, they could be positioned regarding the political-ideological spectrum defined \textit{a priori} in this project.

\textbf{4.4.1 Concepts definition}

\textsuperscript{46} See Table 1 in Annex section
Political ideology

Starting by a dictionary definition, political ideology is: “a set of doctrines or beliefs that are shared by the members of a social group or that form the basis of a political, economic, or other system”⁴⁷. The term ideology was used markedly by the philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy. The concept of ideology was very worked by German philosopher Karl Marx, which connected the ideology on theoretical systems (political, moral and social) created by the dominant class. According to Marx, the ideology of the ruling class aimed to maintain the richest in control of society.

Faced with the theoretical contributions studied the term ideology has within it different interpretations of thinkers and authors who conceive by the reality in which they operate. In many of its various senses perceive the definition of the term related to the negative sense, associated with the dispossession of believes. This perception is caused because the term marks numerous speeches, many of them related to election campaigns of candidates for any political office. The disbelief starts from the understanding that ideology has the character masking, and preserves the status quo, i.e. the permanence of a state that there is no interference of the class of expropriated the means of production, i.e. workers. This happens so that the dominant class continues in power toward society.

But the concept of ideology also has a positive sense and not just in masquerading the real sense as present in Marxist thought. According to Bobbio, “ideologia designa o genus, ou a species diversamente definida, dos sistemas de crenças políticas: um conjunto de idéias e de valores respeitantes à ordem pública e tendo como função orientar os comportamentos políticos coletivos⁴⁸ (Bobbio, 2000: 585). It can be understood that in every culture and in every society, complex or less complex, there is the presence of ideology in their bases. It has a fundamental role: to guide, guide decision-social, economic, cultural decisions.

Also as worldview, ideology can play a supporting role of dominant power structure portraying it as fair, correct and natural or challenge these same structures, highlighting its


⁴⁸ Free translation: [ideology designates the genus, or the species variously defined, of political belief systems: a set of ideas and values relating to public order and whose function is to guide the collective political behavior.]
injustices and point to the need for changes in power structures. The ideology as worldview provide us with “a set of assumptions and presuppositions about how society does and should work, ideology structures both what we think and how we act” (Heywood, 2004, p. 15). In this case there may be as many as there are ideologies principles seen by individuals as needed to organize social and political order of a society.

As explained in section 2.2, we are doing reference to a set of ideas that conceptualize in general characteristics of one political thought (Heywood, 2004: 3-4) and also the political ideology is connected to political systems and their views, which are already defined in 4.4 Methods and research techniques.

Extreme

Again supported by a dictionary definition, extremism is “a tendency or disposition to go to extremes or an instance of going to extremes, especially in political matters”49.

For example, Soviet Communism represented extremism. For the Soviet Union, extremism could be seen in Mussolini’s Fascism, Hitler’s Nazism, an ancient regime of the Russian Orthodox Church and czarist absolutism, and Western democracy was perceived as a disguise for capitalist exploitation and the injustices of imperialism. In contemporary societies, religious fundamentalists can easily appear as extremists to liberals, defenders of multiculturalism can appear as extremists to nationalists, and sexual minorities can appear as extremists to conservatives.

Extremism is a political act far from the political center perceived within a society, or else the public moral standards are violated. In democratic societies, individuals or groups who advocate replacing democracy with an authoritarian regime are generally regarded as extremist, in authoritarian societies, those who defend democratic or liberal ideals are labeled as extremists by the dominant class or government. Extremism often contrasts with moderation and extremists with the moderates.

Extremism can be conceptualized as a normatively dependent concept which, according

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to Rainer Forst (2004: 314), obtains a certain content and specifiable limits only by other normative resources that are not dependent in that same sense. In this perspective, extremism does not gain any specific substantial meaning before we have identified to which sphere (political, economic, religious, art, etc.) and to what cause or issue (ideas or behaviors, liberties, rights, justice, violence, war) the concept is applied.

In the case of this project where we refer to political ideologies and its extremes, far-left and far-right wings, in purely descriptive, non-condemning sense.

Extremism and radicalism are not used as synonyms; the first is associated to extreme right positions and the second, in its turn, to extreme left winged positions. This definitions is based on March (2011).

**Biased communication**

We could say that all the news by their nature are biased in the sense that they refer to events that have been selected, interpreted and presented, and in its production countless circumstances arise (such as lack of time, the reduced space, technical problems, and even personal) that influence the decisions of selection or omission of information, statements and images, and the treatment of the issues, but do not involve ideological bias but the result sometimes suggests. To this it is called structural or unintentional bias and makes it difficult to demarcation of deliberate bias.

However, systematic over time repetition of certain silences and repetitions, events and characteristics, always in the same direction and through the same sources, to conclude that the ideological trend is installed in the discourse of the media and reveals mechanisms government or party control that prevent the professionalism of the public service report.

Innis (1964) also has another view of *biased media* in where the central focus is the social history of communication media. The author, as a political economist, believed that the relative stability of cultures depends on the balance and proportion of their media. He claims that each medium embodies a bias in terms of the organization and control of information. Any empire or society is generally concerned with duration over time and extension in space. Time-biased media do not encourage territorial expansion; however, since they have a long life, they
do encourage the extension of empire over time, as associated to the customary, the sacred, and the moral. Time-biased media facilitate the development of social hierarchies, as archetypally exemplified by ancient Egypt. For Innis, speech is a time-biased medium. And on the other side space-biased media are associated with secular and territorial societies; they facilitate the expansion of empire over space. Paper is such a medium; it is readily transported, but has a relatively short lifespan.

**Marks and political-ideological spectrum**

When talking about *marks of political ideology* we refer to the citation (in texts, or in CA symbols) with the specific spectrum of political ideologies already mentioned above; by the judgment written in text unit referring to one or more political ideologies, and by the use of adjectives to characterize the set of political ideologies and/or political leanings. Also meaning a distinguishing trait or quality found in the sample of analysis referring to the terms coded.

The political-ideological spectrum planned to be used in this project is based in Heywood (2004) who initially proposes a Nationalism, Liberalism, Conservatism, Communism, Fascism, Socialism and Anarchism range. We intend to use a amplified spectrum as in Pineda & Almiron (2013): anarchism, communism, socialism, social democracy, Christian democracy, liberalism, libertarianism/anarcho-capitalism, conservatism, fascism, and nazism (Pineda & Almiron, 2014: 561).

Heywood adds that in contemporary politics, however, the left–right divide has become increasingly complex and no longer reflects a simple choice between revolution and reaction. And explains:

“Many attempts have been made to categorize political ideas and ideologies, and to relate them to one another. The most familiar and firmly established method of doing this is the left–right political spectrum. This is a linear spectrum that locates political beliefs at some point between two extremes, the far left and the far right. Terms such as ‘left wing’ or ‘right wing’ are widely used to sum up a person’s political beliefs or position, and groups of people are referred to collectively as ‘the left’, ‘the right’ and indeed ‘the centre’. There is also broad agreement about where different ideas and ideologies are located along this spectrum.” (Heywood, 2004: 14)
In the matter to clarify the Brazilian scenery, but not a level used for this project, an elucidation of Rodrigues (2002) explains that, in Brazil, three ideological blocs formed by three pairs of parties form the parties spectrum left-center-right. In the right block, the PPB and PFL; in the center, the PMDB and the PSDB and on the left, the PDT and the PT. This ideological classification is predominant among Brazilian and foreign political scientists and corresponds to that conveyed by the media. The left-right spectrum is understood in continuum, denoting ideological content.

As pointed by Carreirão (2006) in a multiparty system as Brazil mainly the political-ideological definition pass by the party affiliations and the theme of party ideologies is treated in different ways in the literature. According to the author some of the major diagnosis problems are the occurrence of bizarre electoral coalitions or government coalitions that simultaneously involve parties, formally located on the right and left of the ideological spectrum; and also the high political migration rate between parties.

Sections

The sections referred where is planned to collect the texts to be analyzed under Content Analysis will be: Economy, Politics, Science and Society and by them it is meant that the collection of news articles will range under these four major category of topics.

Some online-only newspapers, by a prior review, present the sections with exactly the same names and others may present a slightly difference but by its content referring to the same, for example ‘Politics’ may be found in some cases under the section ‘International’ in the case of El País.
Far from being an exclusive and final judgment, our approach aims to be theoretically in accordance and scientific precisely, also we seek to clarify the methods and in special consider the comments to make it better. We are aware of the limitations as the challenge to see through the content regarding specific polemic topics in Brazilian context the marks of a declared political-ideological positioning.

We believe, with this initiative and after all, to contribute to the evaluation — or at least to start an necessary exploration — of online-only newspapers behavior, which we consider an important element when looking through and defining the Brazilian contemporary journalistic scene.
Bibliography


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### Annexes

**Table 1:**

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