NLA HØGSKOLEN

JÚLIA BALDANZA DE MATTOS

ONLINE NEWSPAPERS COVERAGE OF BRAZIL'S 2018 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

KRISTIANSAND

MAY 2019

GJ322: Theoretical MA Thesis

Exam date: 02.05.2019, 11:00.

Total number of words in the text body: 32314

Exam type: Thesis Submission

Paper wording

I declare that this paper has not been submitted earlier as an exam at NLA University College Gimlekollen or at any other institution. I declare that sources are specified when the work of others has been reproduced. I declare that I always specify source when own previous work is reproduced. I declare that I provide all references / sources in the bibliography.

I am aware that these breaches are cheating, cf. Rules and Regulations on Studies and Examinations 530.

☑ The submitted work can be used as an example for other students
☑ The submitted work can be saved and made available in the library or school network

It is only the good papers which will be used as examples in teaching.

Candidate number: 9

ABSTRACT

This paper has as an objective to analyze the power that media has in public opinion formation and its impact in electoral processes. It will be demonstrated throughout the paper how the coverage of the election is done by the three main online newspapers and the tools they use to influence society. The election that will be assessed is the Presidential Elections of 2018 in Brazil, which provide a good insight to how media in the country behaves. The analysis will use six different aspects of the coverage, such as: number of articles, types of sources, headlines, sub headlines, pictures and themes. They were selected from two different time frames, each of which represent one of the election rounds. It is through this analysis that the choice of words and pictures to influence public opinion will be evaluated.

Keywords: Media, O Globo, Extra Online, Folha de S. Paulo, Elections, Bolsonaro, Haddad.

INDEX

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In young democracies, such as Brazil, one of the most important political processes is the Presidential Elections and a key factor regarding this process is the way in which information is conveyed to the public by the media. The way candidates and platforms are portrayed is important in every country with elections, but in democracies that are still seeking to consolidate its institutions, the importance is heightened. Therefore, analyzing and better understanding the media coverage of it and its possible impacts can be essential to better comprehending the way the country works. Even though in Brazil there is a mandatory space in both tv in radio dedicated for elections, this is divided between the parties and according to the amount of elected members they already possess, reinforcing the importance of media coverage for smaller parties to gain visibility. It is also common for parties and candidates to launch their own websites and social media pages to get in contact with the audience.

Even though Brazil has been an independent country for centuries, it is important to remember that the country was under Military dictatorship from 1964-1989. The democracy in the country has been restored for less than 30 years and in this meantime, two elected presidents have suffered Impeachments (Fernando Collor – 1992 and Dilma Roussef – 2016). This has had a deep impact in the political structures and public confidence in them.

The political scenario in Brazil is one of great divide, with a very strong polarization that has torn the country in the last years. Media behavior and the impact that their attitudes have in shaping the situation in Brazil can be considered a factor in this divide. With that in mind, this paper seeks to analyze the coverage done by the Brazilian Media of the 2018 Presidential Elections. It is in the first presidential elections pos-impeachment that this paper will focus.

The evaluation will be done through the online newspapers with higher readership rates. [1]However, due to the limited scope of the paper, it will not be possible to assess different types of media, such as social media, radio or tv, which can also be considered as key actors in the polarization of the country. But it is still my belief that the newspapers analysis will be able to portray the way media works in the country and provide enough material to make this research relevant.

With that in mind, this paper has a research objective to understand the relationship between the media online newspapers (*O Globo, Extra Online* and *Folha de Sao Paulo*) and the electoral processes in Brazil and seeks to answers two research questions:

---

[1] This was based on documents provided by IVC.

Research Question 1: To what extend is there bias in the coverage of the elections?

Research Question 2: To what extent is it possible to find a correlation regarding the media coverage and the result of the elections?

In addition to those research questions, this paper will also seek to find answers for two more specific questions:

- From the newspaper's analyzed, is there one that can be considered more impartial?
- Does the media give a specific candidate more attention? If so, is that attention beneficial or not?

In order to find answers for the research questions, the main theory utilized by this paper will be the agenda-setting theory, which has its ideas spanning all the way back to Walter Lippman's book in 1922, regarding that talks about the role media plays in portraying world events to the general public. However, it was only in McCombs and Shaw's article "Chapel Hill Study" in 1968 that a more formal set of theory began to take shape. In their subsequent paper in 1972, McCombs and Shaw found evidence and started to further investigate the relationship between media and their power to decide what type of news and event will be broadcasted to the general audience.

This paper will focus media agenda setting part of their theory and the next chapter of the thesis will further evaluate all the three levels of evolution through which this theory has passed through the years. Each level has improved the theory and build up on the previous one, allowing for a greater understanding of media's power. The first level refers to the power that media has to control what will be available to the audience and therefore influence what the population will believe are important events and/or people.

The second level goes a bit deeper, describing the ways media has to determine how the information will be available to the audience. In this level, the concept of *framing* and *intermedia agenda setting* are analyzed. The last level is a simple, yet important step, in which is explained that media not only tells the audience what to think about, but how to connect this to other events. This is particularly interesting when analyzing a political campaign as it can demonstrate how media connects each candidate to particular issues or agendas. This level of the theory can show the amount of power that media is capable of wielding when political issues are discussing in the media.

In addition to the main theory – agenda-setting, this paper will also apply basic ideas from the field of political communication and from representation theory basic ideas. Even though both of these will act as a secondary support for the main theory, they can prove to have relevant significance when evaluating media coverage of political processes. They can describe

important aspects that will be used in the evaluation of the coverage and therefore it is important to discuss them before starting the analysis of the data collected. For the field of political communication, the main concepts used will be the efficiency of repetition (Helfert, 2018), the power of fear (Cook, 2005; Helfert, 2018), the importance of disagreement for a democratic society (Huckfeldt, Johnson and Sprague, 2004) as well as the importance of omission (Blumler, 2015; Cook, 2005; Helfert, 2018). As for the representation theory, the main concepts used will be binary opposition (Kapuscinski, 2008), the social construction of reality (Berger and Luckmann, 1966), the power that photographs can have in the readers' mind (Gullestad, 2007) and the idea of norm circles that act as a way to reinforce people's belief's (Elder-Vass, 2012).

This thesis will use discourse analysis as the basis for its qualitative analysis, it will use Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis, mostly based on Machin and Mayr book (2012), though it will not be restricted to it. As for the quantitative analysis, that will be based on content analysis, the main source for it will be Bryman's book (2012). All of these theories will be further discussed in the next chapter.

It is with the tools provided by the theories and concepts mentioned above that this paper hopes to be capable of performing a good assessment of the online newspapers' coverage of the Brazilian Presidential Elections of 2018, its possible impacts and repercussions to the elections results and the democracy in the country.

It is important to state that this paper does not expect to reach a decisive conclusion, but it hopes to find tendencies regarding the ways in which each of the outlets portray the issue and hypothesize on possible reasons for them. It is my hope that by the end of it, a greater understanding of the outlet's behavior and their portrayal of events in the political arena is achieved

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The subject of media portrayal can be considered an important aspect of media studies, due to the fact that it is through this area that public opinion can be influenced. Therefore, the portrayal chosen by the media for a person or event can help determine how the viewer constructs their perception. Using important events and the way media represent them is a good way of performing an analysis that can contribute to the field and add to the already vast literature. This paper focuses in exactly this, using the coverage of the Brazilian Presidential Elections to attempt to demonstrate how different media networks can influence our way of seeing an event.

2.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

An important aspect to take into consideration when evaluating the relationship between media and political processes in the agenda-setting powers that are in play. Even though the theory was created several decades ago, it is still being highly explored and used and it is very applicable in several levels in this field of research. An interesting thing about the theory is that it has evolved throughout the years, to both be able to cover more areas and to keep up with the fast development of technology that media has gone through.

The truth is, that the content that media chooses to portray influence our reality (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), especially when talking about the political scenario of a country (McCombs and Kiousis, 2004). By having the power to decide what issues will be made available for the public and the frequency in which each issue or candidate will be covered during an electoral race (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), the media can influence the way the public thinks about different subjects.

It is important to make a distinction between the two first levels of the agenda-setting theory, which are very connected and even complementary. The first level addresses media power to direct what we think about something (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017; Vargo, Guo and Amazeen, 2018; Moon, 2011), while the second level influences how we think about something (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017; Vargo, Guo and Amazeen, 2018; Moon, 2011). At a first glance this may seems like almost the same thing, but in reality, those are very different concepts and different ways that media has to directing and influencing public opinion.

When deciding what we think about – the first level – media is actively defining what subjects or people will be portrayed and even which ones will be omitted from their coverage. While this may look like something simple, it is in fact a very important aspect to better understand their influence. However, when you reach the second level, media is not only telling what to think about, but how to think about those things specifically. This can be done by using several different mechanisms, with the use of *association* being a big one.

Media has the power to create associations in our minds (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Shaw, 1972) between different things and that can affect the way we see a person or an issue. For instance, by creating an association between disposable plastics and wildlife, the media can convince the public to change their habits if they want to improve the quality of life of animals.

Once we reach the third level of the theory, you start to look into how the salience of issues in the media can be transferred to the public (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014). This means that studies have found that is possible to find a correlation between what media covers and what the public talks about (McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017). In this level, media not only directs the issues the public talks about, but also how they talk about them. This can perhaps be a way to demonstrate the amount of influence that media is capable of exercising in society and is particularly important when discussing political processes, because it is through those that a democratic society is built. If the media is able to steer them towards something they want to, it is possible to say that to some extent, media is capable of defining our society and the issues that will matter in it.

Another development that was brought to light by the expansion of the agenda-setting theory is the intermedia angle of it (McCombs, 2005). This aspect talks about the impact that a specific news group has on determining what another will cover (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; Vargo and Guo, 2017; Boynton and Richardson Jr, 2016). This is actually quite interesting for this thesis as it is one of the things it hopes to discover about the Brazilian media. There is evidence to support the claim that some more prominent and well-known media houses are able to affect what others will cover (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; Vargo and Guo, 2017). In the case of the Brazilian elections, the newspapers analyzed in this thesis are all from the mainstream and traditional media in the country, so it will be interesting to see if this idea holds true when both groups have an already established role in the industry landscape or if it is still possible that they affect each other.

Another two key concepts of agenda-setting theory that need to be explained are the concepts of framing and priming (Boynton and Richardson Jr, 2016). These can be considered

a normal evolution of agenda-setting (Scheufele, 2000) and can be thought as tools that can be utilized by the media to reinforce their agenda-setting capabilities. Therefore, it is important to have a clear idea of them and how they can affect the public opinion. While they seem very similar and can at times be mistakenly thought to be the same thing, there are in fact quite a bit of differences between them and the impact that they can have in a story coverage.

When talking about priming, we must understand that it relates to "the ability of the media to prepare and direct publics to the issues by which they should judge their leaders" (Robinson, 2012, p. 176). This refers to the fact that it is through this concept that the media decides which issues are worthy of the public's attentions and their use of priming and even repetition of those subjects' forces to an extent the audience to consider them important. Meanwhile, framing would be more directed towards the way that the presentation of information is constructed (Robinson, 2012). This means that the media has the power to decide not only the subjects that will be relevant, but also which part of them will have importance as well.

Even though at first glance they may not seem to be problematic, the reality is that it is through them that the media is capable of conveying their point of view and perspective across to the audience (Moon, 2011; Scheufele, 2000). This does not mean, however, that the audience will simple take that as the truth, but it means that the audience will take that into account when forming their opinion (McCombs, 2005; McCombs, 1997; Scheufele, 2000) and this in itself can have a great impact, especially when talking about electoral processes. Therefore, it is easy to see that if the media wants to exercise this type of power, they are capable of holding a significant influence into how social reality is constructed (McCombs, 2005).

However, even though media can use agenda-setting to direct the public's attention, it is not a way to determine that the audience will interpret the news the way you want them to (Moon, 2011; McCombs, 2005). Every person may have a different perspective of the same story and there is even the fact that some people may choose to avoid specific medias in order to avoid cognitive dissonance. So, it is possible to argue that when media employs agenda-setting, they are diverging from their main purpose which is provide the public with information and knowledge (McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Moon, 2011) and therefore it can actually have the opposite effect, by creating a lack of trust in the media and rejection to their stories.

This thesis will focus on trying to better understand the relationship between the media and their influence in the public opinion by seeing if the coverage of the elections seems to have any type of influence on the results. It is impossible due to the size of this thesis and to the type of research that a completely conclusive result be found, however it is my belief that several

tendencies can be found. The use of the agenda-setting theory to help with the assessment of the articles will be key to provide a better context and understanding of the media's influence in political processes in Brazil.

2.2 Political Communication

In order to discuss media and the elections, it is my belief that it is also necessary to present at least the basics of political communication field. While this thesis will not be entirely based on this theory, it is still important to have some grasp of it to better understand political processes and how they work from a communication perspective.

It's important to note that political communication has five key features that must be taken into account whenever analyzing any form of politics related process. These features can be summarized as such: it's extremely multilevel, which means that can be formed by several different parts of society and its systems; it is not static, but in a continuous process of evolution; it reaches all spheres of society; is based on the volatile politics-media axis and lastly that it has intimately normative patters and practices (Blumler, 2015).

All the features mentioned above are essential in understanding political processes. Even though there are several predictions that are made during them, it is always impossible to predict the outcomes due to the amount of factor that are involved in them. The reality of politics is that is in a constant ever-evolving and ever-change dynamics. However, this does not mean that is not possible to find patterns and commonalities in political communication. This is what this paper will seek to do, by using the concepts explained below.

A key concept in political communication is the importance of *repetition*: In order to be effective, political messages must have focus, usually on one subject that will be constantly repeated and reinforced throughout the campaign (Helfert, 2018). This is something that is common in any country, in order to get your point across, it is necessary to repeat it as often as possible. The way that a candidate is evaluated can be impacted by the way that repetitions about him or her are used in the media (Fernandes, 2013).

This is due to the fact that most people have a tendency of not following with great interest and if they are not reminded of something often, they tend to forget it. Therefore, ensuring that certain ideas and slogans are continuously being repeated in the media in every way possible is a key feature of any election, because this increases the chances of them being remembered and accepted (Helfert, 2018). However, it is also necessary to keep in mind that there is a limit to the positive influence that repetition can have and there must be caution when

applying it. If used too often and without a proper space between the repetitions, it can have a negative impact in the campaign (Fernandes, 2013; Lecheler et al.; 2015).

It is important to state that "people are much more likely to believe a familiar statement than an unfamiliar statement" (Helfert, 2018, p. 44), which can have a great effect in a political process. If the voters are well acquainted with the candidate, they are more probable to have a defined opinion about him. Though, not necessarily they will have a positive view on him, that can also depend on the type of repetition to which they are being exposed to, which can affect the way they evaluate a candidate, accept or reject his message (Fernandes, 2013).

One of the main things about elections, is that they are never entirely rational. In a perfect world, they would be, but in reality, every electoral and political process are connected with strong emotional components. This brings us to one of the most effective ways to steer this type of process, through the use of fear, one of the most powerful motivators in politics (Helfert, 2018). Especially in the case of this year's Brazilian elections, much of the voter's decision is not based what they believe it's best for the country but based on their fear of what will happen if a candidate wins.

Politicians can use symbols and associations to try and make connections with the audience, this is a key way of getting voters (Helfert, 2018). It is also a very common strategy to use oversimplification in political campaigns (Helfert, 2018), this can be done in order to make it easier to have a villain and a victim (Cook, 2005), and shows that the media is more interested in selling stories than actually informing its audience.

This can be seen in the highly polarized atmosphere in the country, with two very extreme sides creating an election process in which people vote more against than for a candidate. The two main movements, that are opposed and very strong can be described better in the evaluation of the second round of elections, between Haddad and Bolsonaro. Against Bolsonaro, is the movement #elenao[2] and against Haddad is the movement #PTnao[3]. Neither of which particularly defend a candidate, but rather are vehemently opposed to one. It is possible that in highly polarized situations such as this, that ideologies become more powerful than facts (Helfert, 2018).

It is also important to highlight that in order for a democratic society to function properly, it is imperative that there is space for disagreement. However, it is common that people seek to reduce dissonance and with that they end up creating political connections only

---

[2] https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45700013

[3] https://www.pslnacional.org.br/noticia/programa-muda-brasil---0310-bolsonaro-denuncia-plano-petista-de-regulacao-da-midia

with those they share beliefs .This makes it so that people are never confronted with new ideas and therefore remain set in their ways (Huckfeldt, Johnson and Sprague, 2004), which hinders the ability of a country to effect changes, since people don't engage in debates to try and find a common ground.

In a country with more than 200 million of individuals, hoping that they all share the same ideologies and ideas is utopic and even dictatorial. Therefore, disagreement and space for different ideas in the public sphere must exist and are beneficial to the democracy. This allows, or at least it should, that debate and negotiation occur between different perspectives and can lead to a strengthening of the institutions and democratic values. However, when those citizens hold strong opposing beliefs, there is very little room for disagreement (Huckfeldt, Johnson and Sprague, 2004), which causes democracy to suffer setbacks and leads to the scenario that can be seen nowadays in Brazil.

Another key factor of political communication, especially when the media is involved is the omission of certain information. This can even be applied to the use of vague language, which can be used towards manipulating the public perception (Helfert, 2018). "News is necessarily selective" (Cook, 2005, P.87), which is not necessarily a problem, however it must be said that even more powerful than what the media chooses through their agenda-setting authority to convey to the public, is what it chooses to omit (Blumler, 2015). This can have deep impact on how the audience sees a particular issue or candidate and has the potential of hugely changing hearts and minds.

It is all of these factors that this paper will seek to analyze in the media cover of the Brazilian Presidential Elections and the repercussions and impact that each of these factors had on them.

2.3 Representation Theory

Representation theory can help enlighten the application of the other methods used in this paper. It can act as a complimentary, yet very important part, helping in the evaluation of the events. Because the newspapers analyzed are the main national online newspapers of the country, it will be interesting to see how they approach an event such as the elections.

The use of representation theory in this paper will rely mostly on the works of Gullestad (2007) and Orgad (2012), but it will not be restricted to only them. It is my belief that in order to better understand the media's coverage, the reader needs to also have some background

information regarding this theory. Representation theory can be considered as a key way of recognizing how media can chose to present an event.

It is also important to state that the plurality of options that have happened with the development of technology has not changed the fact that the audiences still choose their news sources selectively (Shanto and Hahn, 2009). This can be demonstrated by the fact that despite a greater amount of options for readers to get their information, there is still a convergence towards certain newspapers. It is possible to say that networks can work as norm circles, creating and reinforcing beliefs (Elder-Vass, 2012) and this is something this paper seeks to analyze.

This article will also apply the binary opposition of how candidates are represented, particularly in the second round of elections, based on Orgad (2012) notion of *possible lives* – dreams/nightmares, in which depending on how the approach towards the representation of an individual is created, they can be perceived as a possible cause of a dream or nightmare scenario for the society. Orgad states that media portrays migrants in very polarized ways, which in this case we will apply to how the two different candidates are portrayed. For Orgad, representation allows for loaded discourses to be used. The sole recognition of the existence of a different symbolic universe can be seen at times as a threat to your one (Berger and Luckmann, 1996) and it's based on this that understanding the representation of each candidate is so relevant.

In this particular event, media uses symbolic dislocation (Orgad, 2012) to try and create in their audience an image of what can happen in the future with the victory of each candidate. It is also key to remember that every type of representation that is portrayed is embedded with relations of power (Orgad, 2012) and that this influences the approach that is done by the coverage. This can mean that the party from which each candidate is from can impact the way media chooses to write stories about them. There is a connection between the way media portrays people and the existent structures of inequality and domination (Orgad, 2012) in the world.

This paper will also analyze the photos that are chosen by each newspaper for their stories, this can be an extremely telling way of understanding what the newspapers are hoping to pass along to their audiences. Because photographs provide us with "entry points to the identification and interpretation of self-evident and deep-seated idioms that are seldom explicitly verbalized" (Gullestad, 2007, P. 4), they can be of great value when assessing the subliminal idea that the media is attempting to convey.

Gullestad also states that photographs have their greatest impact when they confirm the readers expectations, once again acting as an echo chamber. But it is important to remember

that even though photographs can have great impact on interpretation, they are not able to determine them (Gullestad, 2007). This is because meaning can be fluid, it can depend on the context in which is presented, the choices made by the author's and even the reader's own viewpoint. Therefore, it is up to each individual to give its own interpretation of something, however photographs can play a part in influencing their perspectives and this is something this study will look into, to understand how photographs are used to manipulate emotions and direct interpretations.

With the use of the above ideas, this paper will seek to analyze the coverage done by the newspapers to assess their behavior and possible biases.

The limited scope of the paper and plurality of interpretations that different people can have when performing this type of analysis make it so that spotting all of the possible readings can be an impossible task. Even stating that the findings of this paper are conclusive can be problematic, however this paper seeks to highlight some of the main findings that I believe are relevant to the issue, but in no way, I state that these are the only ones that can be found when evaluating the sample.

2.4 The People's Choice

Though this paper relies on the idea that media has an impact in politics, particularly in election processes, it is important to address conflicting studies as well. Due to this, in this section I will address to the idea of the people's choice when it comes to political campaigns, made famous in the classical study conducted by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet in the 1944 Erie county elections in the United States.

In their study, the authors discuss the relationship between voter's decision-making process and the influence exerted by both the media and personal relationships. They argue that the social group to which you belong and participate in have a high degree of influence in your political decisions and that in cases of undecided voters, it can have more influence than mass media. This would be due to two main factors: a greater coverage capability and a psychological advantage.

In addition, the authors also talk about the two-flow step, in which information flows from media to opinion leaders and then through them to the general audience. This would be due to the fact that most ordinary people do not actively seek out information, but rather wait for it to get to them. Therefore, allowing personal relationships to have a more direct and larger coverage of events.

Furthermore, the authors also talk about how when listening to someone close about you are more likely to have an open mind to it, as it usually happens in situations where you are caught off-guard, unlike when you decide to seek out information that you put on an 'armor' to protect your beliefs and usually shield yourself from contrasting views. Consequently, on a personal conversation you are usually less self-selective and also more trusting as you have private knowledge about your source. In addition, the fact that these types of conversations tended to happen face to face allowed for their level of persuasion to be higher.

Interestingly, personal relationships can play another role as well, to moderate the influence of mass media (Schmitt-Beck, 2003). This means that in addition to being able to persuade voters to whom you have a close relationship, you would also be able to determine how much the media is able to influence their decision-making process. This can be through creating a lack of trust in media or, if the influence is in synch with your beliefs, by reinforcing it in your personal circles. Demonstrating that the circles in which you are inserted in a society can play a part in your political decisions.

It is important to note that some of the main deciders for voters are: candidate perception, partisanship and issue position (Cho, 2005). All of these aspects can be influenced by both the media and personal relationships. However, one of the main ways that media has of shifting the audience perceptions is through the subtle use of agenda-settings tools, such as priming and framing. This fact directly contradicts Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet study, by demonstrating that media is capable of having an important impact in voter's decisions.

In reality, media can provide the audience with the psychological basis for assessment (Cho, 2005) of a candidate and therefore have an impact on election processes. It can be argued that this offers a counter-position to the 1944 study in which it was found that personal relationships have a psychological advantage. By showing that the media is able to influence your opinions in subtle ways (Cho, 2005), sometimes even without your conscious knowledge, demonstrates that the media also exerts a high degree of psychological power over its audience.

All of that being said, it is also important to keep in mind that this study was conducted in a period in which the flow of information was much smaller than it is today and personal relationships we're also more frequent. Nowadays, with the advances of technology, media has been able to expand their domain and reach even those who don't actively seek them.

I do not disregard Lazarsfeld's study and I agree that there is a limitation towards the impact that mass media possess in the general public, however I disagree towards the degree of that limitation. It is my opinion and I will try to examine with this study, that nowadays media plays a bigger role in influencing voter's decisions than personal relationships.

2.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

This study will rely on the tools and techniques relating to the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) detailed in Machin and Mayr (2012) combined with Fairclough's (1995) three-dimensional analytical framework to apply CDA and Richardson's (2007) idea of the importance of social context for CDA to analyze newspapers. In the books mentioned, the authors go on to explain and give several examples of applications of how information can be manipulated and ways of looking for any type of manipulation, whether subtle or evident.

The first thing I would like to address is how Fairclough (1995; 2003) defines CDA and the reason why this type of analysis is important. It is important to know that social life is built in and around language, therefore the way we choose to use such language can have a great impact in our lives. Any type of analysis of texts and images can be considered as a part of a social process (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2003; Richardson, 2007) Language here is seen as active, its use is political (Richardson, 2007) which means every time we use language we are doing so with a specific purpose. It may not always be a conscious choice, but every choice we make when using language has a direction.

It is also essential to understand that there is no such thing as a completely neutral text, as there will always be some type of influence infused in it by the author or the reader, which is not always done in an intentional manner. But every single person's life can affect their choice of words and their worldview and therefore it will impact in how they report events or interpret stories. Both of these actions rely on what is called as taken-for-granted background knowledge (Fairclough, 1995).

In addition to this classic approach to CDA, we must also consider that our information, particularly from news stories rely not only on the text, but also on the visuals that accompany it. This is in accordance with the Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) defended by Machin and Mayr (2012) and the use of language and semiotics to understand their relation to power and ideology of Fairclough (1995). These theories rely not only on the evaluation of the written word, but also on the selection of accompanying photographs and visual elements that compose the story.

It is important to say that in my opinion, the complete picture of how an issue is portrayed in the media can only be brought forward by the combination of these elements. An analysis that only looks into one of them ignoring the other shows a certain lack of depth in today's media that this paper seeks to avoid.

In order to perform a good evaluation using CDA and MCDA, it is necessary to comprehend three basic concepts used in these theories: discourse, power and ideology. Each

of these concepts play a key role when trying to better understand the effect a news story can have. The first concept, discourse, is of extreme importance, as it is through this that the other two concepts take place. For CDA, discourse can be defined as the active use of language to construct and reflect social and political issues (Machin and Mayr, 2012; Fairclough, 1995).

Power on the other hand, refers to "the ability of an individual to intentionally control, manipulate or dominate other individuals" (Goodseed; 2015, p.34). It is through language that power relations are negotiated and the status of relationships in our society can be shaped. And lastly, but no less important is ideology. In the context used for CDA, ideology can be defined as a system of beliefs and values that contribute to the establishment and maintenance of relations of power and that help hide contradictions (Fairclough, 2003) within society, therefore helping to keep those in power strong and able to dominate and explore others.

It is based on this type of evaluation and the above concepts that this paper will assess the newspapers articles covering the Brazilian Presidential Elections, also following the pathway used by previous studies (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016; Ezequiel, 2014; Alves and Silva, 2018; Santos and Pivezani, 2016; Patrona, 2013) in the use of this type of analysis to political processes.

When analyzing texts, it is important to pay close attention to how things in it are categorized, separated, given focus or shut out from it completely (Machin and Mayr, 2012) as these are ways that the author of the text can use in order to hide ideologies in it (Fairclough, 1995). Every text can contain hidden meanings and not always this is done in a conscious manner by the writer, but sometimes authors can purposely try to hide it from the audience and these are the cases we're looking into. It is also important to understand that any type of discourse is embedded with sociocultural and historical features (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007). Therefore, it is important to take into consideration any type of underlying meaning that can be found in it.

There are several strategies that can be applied in linguistics and visual manners that have as a goal to shape the way certain persons or events are represented (Machin and Mayr, 2012). All of these features can help increase the degree of naturalization that we approach subjects and people (Fairclough, 1995) and can be fundamental in creating our perspective of the world. It can also influence society by shaping specific viewpoints (Richardson, 2007), that can be used to reproduce and maintain social relations of power. This is what this paper hope to uncover through the evaluation of the coverage.

It is through texts that social control and domination can be achieved (Fairclough, 1995) and even more than that, it is through discourse that consent is achieved in society, ideologies

are transmitted as well as how we learn meanings, values and identities (Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough, 2003; Richardson, 2007). Therefore, it is possible to argue that whoever voice is heard more in the society, which can be determined by media and who they choose to give a voice to, is who will rule the society. Each type of media can play a different role in this matter, in the particular case of this study, I will focus on the power given or withheld from actors by newspapers, however it is important to have in mind that other channels such as social media, tv and radio can also have an influence.

This problematic between power and language can be considered a question of democracy (Fairclough, 1995) and in countries where the media holds power, they can help make or break democracies and democratic institutions. This is because when media has the ability to control what information the general public will receive, they can shape public opinion according to their objectives. And if the information provided by the media is not transparent or free from biases, democratic processes can suffer and it can lead to a society in which people's opinions are restricted.

Newspapers can choose to promote or exclude certain voices from the larger audience and with that, the media can promote different hierarchies and configurations of meaning (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007). Whoever is given a voice in the media is capable of reproducing their own beliefs and diminishing others, which can create a false notion of how the world is divided. When the elite dominates the speech, there is no need for censorship to occur, since they are able to achieve consent through what is represented in the media (Richardson, 2007). This can create an extremely difficult situation to break free from.

In Brazil, the mainstream media has been to be a part of the dominant class and used its position in accordance with what suits them better. This is necessary to remain in power, as in order to maintain dominance, it is necessary a continuous social power and reinforcement (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007) of their position. That being said, we need to look at verbal interaction as a mode of social action (Fairclough, 1995) and control, as it is through this that newspaper are able to reproduce and sustain relations of power. In this sense, it is possible that newspapers can be described as institutions that both facilitate and constrain social action (Fairclough, 1995), through the simple act of constant reinforcement of the ideas and voices that they opt to make visible they are capable of ensuring compliance.

Another important aspect is that semiotic choices can provide to authors is through associations (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Sometimes the use of a specific type of words or pictures can be done with the purpose of directly associating people and events. The way that social actors are portrayed and the associations that this representation carries can serve

psychological, social and even political purposes (Richardson, 2007), and therefore it is possible to influence the audience's view on a matter.

For instance, in the particular case this paper is exploring, showing pictures of Haddad accompanied by former president Lula can help strengthen the associations between them, just as showing pictures of Bolsonaro doing certain hand gestures of guns can help associate his stance on how to fight crime in Brazil through the loosening of gun laws.

It is interesting that even though interpretation is open to the reader, the context utilized by the author can be controlled and directed (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007). Even though they don't exercise a direct control onto what the reader will understand from the story, authors are still very much capable of using artifices to ensure their point of view is passed to the reader. There is the existence of a socio cognitive aspect in texts (Fairclough, 1995) and that is something that can have deep impact on the reader, provided the author is aware of how to best use it to its advantage if they so choose. Even though readers have their own perspectives, they make sense of the discourse by using their social knowledge, which always relies on the context provided (Richardson, 2007).

The fact that newspapers normally have a large gallery of portraits of important actors (Machin and Mayr, 2012) can prove useful in how they choose to represent a certain event and associate the actor to it, by a simple selection of the photograph to be used. Photographs in this case actually represents a symbolic system that loads the text with meaning (Machin and Mayr, 2012), depending on what the newspapers are trying to pass along to their audience. The context utilized in any story is of extreme importance as it is capable of shifting considerably perspectives. And the role of media in creating frameworks of definition in which news stories are subsequently interpreted (Fairclough, 1995) should not be taken for granted.

That being said, it is also possible that the author chooses which meaning and associations he hopes to lead the reader to (Machin and Mayr, 2012), but there is never a guarantee that readers will follow what is expected. The author usually knows or imagines the type of audience his text will reach and uses this knowledge to fit his discourse in a way that will be accepted by them (Richardson, 2007). When it comes to visual communication, due to the fact that this type of information is more open to interpretation (Machin and Mayr, 2012), it is harder for the actor to achieve this type of goal. This is one of the reasons why I believe that is important to analyze images, as they are capable of providing more freedom of interpretation than texts in some cases

The choices an author does when writing an article can, to some extent, be coded and analyzed (Machin and Mayr, 2012) and these choices are the authors way of laying a framework

through which they hope readers will follow their thoughts. In reality, every text contains social relations of power and with the use of MCDA and CDA it is possible to shine a light on them (Machin and Mayr, 2012; Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 1995). This is particular important in a country such as Brazil, in which there is a dominant class that have power over the media and where newspapers can be said to have particular agendas.

It is possible to argue that newspapers can help humanize or dehumanize certain groups (Machin and Mayr, 2012) and that is certainly something that can have a great impact in an election campaign. The way a reader interprets a text is filled with emotions and the reality is that the authors can have a considerable impact on how we perceive events, through the use of certain artifices in the texts that can make the audience feel a determined way or another (Machin and Mayr, 2012), by infusing the text with an emotional perspective or foregrounding emotional issues (Richardson, 2007). It is important to remember that elections are usually not completely rational moments and that raw emotions can and are usually evoked and used by politicians and the media to steer public opinion during them.

The best way for an ideology to work, is by hiding its ideological nature (Fairclough, 1995), which can be done through the use of texts and images. If the reader is aware that there are ideologies in the story that she is reading, then she can be more likely to discredit it completely or the parts that disagree with previous held beliefs. Therefore, in order to better reach readers and have a greater impact in them, it is best that ideology remains hidden in plain sight.

This opaque relationship is what CDA aims to bring to light, demonstrating, in the case of this paper, the power that newspaper stories can have in the society. It is possible to naturalize ideologies through texts (Fairclough, 1995), even though media should be impartial, this is something that can be done very subtly and that we must remain vigilant to recognize it. However, we must also consider that not every text will have hidden ideologies and ensure to not hunt for witches when trying to evaluate news stories. This can be a complex task when applying CDA, finding the difference between hidden ideologies and simple texts.

One problem when applying this type of analysis is the difficulty to find hidden ideologies in texts that are compatible with our beliefs (Machin and Mayr, 2012). This can actually be applied to almost everything in life, where it is easier to seek information and ideas that are aligned with our previously held belief, avoiding this way cognitive dissonance. The fact that a lot of our interpretation of a news story comes from our subconscious (Machin and Mayr, 2012) can make it harder to evaluate them when we agree with them. That is why it is extremely necessary to have in mind that all texts contain hidden meanings and therefore, even

if they agree with what you think, you still need to look at them from a perspective of someone that doesn't share your beliefs.

However, the choices made by the authors have the power to align us either against or in favor of something (Machin and Mayr, 2012), which can be very useful in an election. They are able to represent the world in oversimplified ways, making the audience believe that there are only two possible options (Richardson, 2007). If they are capable of directing our concerns, they are capable of forming our views on a specific candidate.

It is relevant to also say that the media can use linguistic ways to reduce the responsibility of actors (Machin and Mayr, 2012), which can make it harder for the audience to form an educated opinion about the candidates. And we must remember that one of the purposes of journalism is to empower the audience to understand the world and its place in it (Richardson, 2007). It is also possible to obscure responsibility (Machin and Mayr, 2012), allowing the media to hide things in plain sight of the audience. Media can obscure responsibility of actors by consciously hiding their names from stories or using less know denominations to refer to them. This is another way of demonstrating that sometimes what is excluded from the text can be more important that what is included.

Moreover, through the use of these techniques is also possible to find the relations of power that a news story can have. By using certain types of pictures and words, it is possible for the author to demonstrate whose voice is more powerful and who should have more credibility. It is also important to talk about the relationship between ideology and power relations (Fairclough, 1995). There is no doubt that through discourse it is possible to reinforce the domination of the strongest in a society (Richardson, 2007) and this is something this paper seeks to evaluate.

The role of the media in perpetuating power relations and ideologies is an important factor that must be taken into account when assessing the influence of the media in Brazil. The use of metaphors and of the assumption that certain things are set in stone and not actually choices (Machin and Mayr, 2012) can be effective tools used by the media. Metaphors can be used as a way of reclassification (Fairclough, 1995) which can further the power of media in directing discourse.

It is with all of this in mind, that this paper will use CDA and MCDA to demonstrate the way that media coverage of the Brazilian 2018 elections was performed. With the knowledge of concepts such as ideology, power and discourse, it is possible to try to see how they are used by the media. In addition to that, these theories also show us that there are several ways of influencing the audience, such as different angles of pictures chosen to illustrate an

event, use of metaphors, omission of some information, use of language to obscure actors in an event, among others described in this section. It is with the use of this knowledge that this paper hopes to perform a sound evaluation of the coverage of the election.

2.5.1 Photographic Analysis

Particularly when it comes to the analysis of the photos used in the articles, there are a few key elements that will be applied and deserve to be discussed further. Since this type of analysis is important to the study, it is necessary to describe its basis in a more thorough manner. This will be based on the Machin and Mayr (2012) book and their ideas of semiotics as well as on the ideas defended by Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) in their article about picture framing.

The selection of a picture and its subsequent frame option can play a big part in constructing images in someone's mind. It is easier for the reader to assimilate pictures than words (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011) and every picture contains elements that can be used to direct the viewers' attention, such as props, setting and lighting (Machin and Mayr, 2012).

Pictures are usually a better description of the reality and therefore whenever they present contrasting ideas from the accompanying text, it is likely that the understanding that the picture provides will prevail (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011).   This means that the use of pictures is significant when attempting to better understand the portrayal of an actor or event. In electoral races, this use can lead to implications regarding the candidates and their stances, therefore it is interesting to be able to identify important aspects that can be manipulated in pictures.

The first thing to pay attention when analyzing a picture is what aspects are given salience. Some of the main things to pay attention are: gaze, color tone, pose, angle of the shot and the focus (Machin and Mayer, 2012; Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011). Each of these features can be used to portray a specific image according to what the story needs or to what the newspaper wants.

The angle of the shot is quite telling as it can determine the proximity towards the audience. Closer shots can demonstrate an intimacy as well as further, more open shots tend to signify a social relationship (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011). The angle can also determine the size of the actors in the photograph, which can indicate their importance in an issue (Machin and Mayr, 2012). Understanding what the different angles of a picture convey is necessary because it is usually the first thing that is noticed in a picture.

In addition, the color and tone of the picture can also portray important aspects. Warmer colors and lighter tones tend to be associated with warmth and optimist, while dark colors and

colder tones can be related to distance, sadness and pessimism (Machin and Mayr, 2012; Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011). This may seem as simple things, but it is of great importance on how the audience will perceive a determined actor or event.

Furthermore, it is also possible to determine what will be the focus of the picture or what will be seen in the foreground and this can determine the amount of importance given ((Machin and Mayr, 2012). This can be done using tones schemes or even by selecting the type of crop a picture will have. This, as well as the crop of the picture can determine the type of gaze and posture that a specific actor has.

This is important as it can lead the viewer to determine whether the actor is strong or weak, what is the type f presence that is being portrayed of him. Usually, a gaze that is directed towards the camera seeks to establish a connection (Machin and Mayr, 2012) and a gaze away from the camera can have different meanings depending on the angle. Usually, the gaze and posture can represent dominance when being showed from above, an as submissive when showed from below (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011).

Lastly, the setting of a picture can carry values, identities and actions (Machin and Mayr, 2012), so it is important to pay attention to them as well. They are what create the whole image for the reader, ensuring that the context of the meaning intended can be understood. There is however, no way of ensuring that the interpretation will follow what it's expected. Since the reader can draw from its own social reality, but the features cited in this section provide an insight into ways that this interpretation can be influenced.

2.6 Content Analysis

In order to evaluate the sample selected, this paper will employ a partly quantitative method, using the content analysis technique. While this may be only a minor part of this paper, this technique is very commonly utilized when analyzing media and political processes (Schlosberg, 2016; Lodzki and Paluch, 2017; Cushion, Kilby, Thomas et all, 2018; Cervi, Massuchin, 2013; Alde, 2003; Cervi, Massuchin, Tavares; 2012).

The fact that this method is very objective and systematic (Bryman, 2012) might help explain why it is so overly used when analyzing political processes, such as elections or discussion about public policies. The reason for a high acceptance in this area is due to the fact that it can be considered more transparent, which in controversial issues is something a researcher should strive for achieving. It is believed that through the use of this method, it is possible to restrict the researcher bias to a low level, by ensuring the use of rules and

transparency, which allows for the research to be easily replicated, due to the fact of the un unobtrusiveness characteristic of this technique (Bryman, 2012).

The most common approach of this type of technique is creating a code and applying to the sample, normally using themes to classify them. This paper will utilize a basic code to analyze the headlines used by newspaper. In addition, it is also interesting to use a simple content analysis of only the amount of articles published. Even though this may look extremely simplistic, it can serve as a very powerful demonstrator of how the media chooses to cover issues. Those will be the basic ways in which this method will be used in this paper.

Even though is still possible to argue that the creation of the rules to be applied in the analysis can contain biases, this method helps to keep this in a low level. (Bryman, 2012). It is essential to keep in mind, that completely removing bias from any type of social research is impossible because every researcher has some bias intrinsically in them. Even the choice of topic can be considered as a part of researcher bias, however, there are ways of ensuring that the bias will be as low as possible and this is one of the advantages of using a content analysis method.

Another advantage of this method is the fact that it is highly flexible (Bryman, 2012), being able to be applied to different scenarios and situations. This can be extremely appealing to the evaluation of political process, given their dynamic and constant evolving nature. Using a method that is capable of adapting to the requirements of the situation, in this case the Brazilian presidential elections and its different phases, provide the researcher with more possibilities to work it.

One of the main disadvantages of this method is the fact that it does not provide a full picture of the situation. The researcher will be able to understand how things are the way they are, but they will most likely not be capable of understanding the why (Bryman, 2012). The reality is that there is no single method that is perfect and capable of reaching all the possible outcomes of a research, there will always be gaps that can be inferred or researched with further analysis.

This however, is the reason why this paper will also use a critical discourse analysis, to try and fill this gap, once it hopes to shed a light in how and why the coverage of the elections happened the way it did. By no means this paper assumes it will be able to paint a full picture of the situation, achieving something like that is close to impossible, but this paper hopes to cover as many bases as possible to understand and explain the media behavior during the electoral process.

2.7 Past Studies

In this part of the thesis I will talk about what past studies both focused in Brazil and in different countries around the world have found when assessing the relationship between media and political processes. Even though the focus of this paper is on elections, it is my belief that it is beneficial to not restrict the basis to only elections, but to look and search for parallels in the whole political arena. This will allow for a better understanding of the theme and improve the quality of the analysis of the data.

2.7.1 Brazilian Experience

Even though the democracy in Brazil is a rather recent development, as well as the democratic election process, it is still possible to find quite a significant amount of research regarding the media behavior in such an important moment. While there have been less than 10 elections since the end of the military dictatorship, the studies regarding them are able to prove useful insight into how the Brazilian media works and influences different aspects of the presidential elections in the country.

It is important to remember that media in Brazil is extremely concentrated, with around 15 family groups owning close to 90% of it, including cross-media (Azevedo, 2006), which means that they can control television, newspaper, radio. This can imply that a certain homogeneity can be found (Miguel, 2004) when analyzing the media landscape in the country, due to the high level of concentration and therefore ability to coordinate the agenda in different levels of media.

In addition, there is also evidence to support that the Brazilian media has a more conservator stance (Azevedo, 2006), which can be heightened by the fact that a very small elite is capable of controlling it. There is also evidence that journalism in the country has to a certain degree become more focused on reflecting opinions, than information (Azevedo, 2006; Assis, 2017). Which can be said to defeat of the main purposes of the media, that is to inform the population (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013). The population knowledge can be created and diverted based on *symbolisms*, which is the use of symbols to generate associations in the audience imagination, used by the media (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013; Santos and Piovezani, 2016; Alves and Silva, 2018).

With that in mind, and with the fact that media and the information given in it can be considered as the basis for public opinion formation (Ezequiel, 2015), it can be plausible to infer that the media in Brazil can exercise a great deal of influence. In this section we will look into the specific relationship of Brazilian media and its audience. It is through what is portrayed

in the media that the public decides which issues are the most important ones (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013) and therefore, this can define the main issues to be addressed in a presidential campaign. While at first it may not seem like such a big impact, it is my opinion that when media can decide what is important and what will be omitted from the public (Alde, 2003), this can in fact create a big distortion in the reality and have a big impact in how politics is conducted in the country.

The media is capable of creating their own version of reality and steering people towards this belief (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013; Ezequiel, 2015; Santos and Piovezani, 2016). It may not be capable of defining of people will make of the information they receive, but through omission, bias and repetition they are capable of defining what the audience will think about a candidate or party and how they will choose to a evaluate them (Ezequiel, 2015). In a presidential election, the ability to control the way the general public uses to determine the important qualities and faults in a candidate can be a very powerful tool.

Brazilian media has often chosen to become an active actor in the political processes (Azevedo, 2006; Rubim and Colling, 2004) in the country, using its position and influence to steer several important events, such as impeachments and elections. According to Azevedo (2006) during the first general elections after the dictatorship period in 1989, Brazilian media was vastly favorable to Fernando Collor. In addition, the author also talks about how media worked to mobilize public opinion towards Collor's impeachment not long after, demonstrating that media usually follows its own agenda. These findings are also corroborated by Rubim and Colling (2004) that show that the media used not only their news part, but also their entertainment (telenovelas) as a way to persuade voters in the 1989 elections.

This was again repeated in the 1994 election, in which the mainstream media determined the main issue upon which voters should focus – Plano Real – and endorsed Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Rubim and Colling, 2004). In some instances, this posture is not done through the active use of stories, but rather by the conscious omission of some news and important events that occur in the country. While there are also some instances in which it was possible to find the coverage of a political event to have been performed with impartiality by some members of the mainstream media (Alde, 2003; Rubim and Colling, 2004). , such as the 2002 elections, in which the candidates received a similar treatment in the media.

This trend of media defining what matters and how we perceive different candidates is an on-going event in Brazilian politics. Once again in 2014 the mainstream media gave a more negative coverage to Dilma Rousseff in comparison with her main opposition Aecio Neves (Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016).

In addition, media also has the ability of providing themselves legitimization and credibility (Ezequiel, 2015; Santos and Piovezani, 2016; Assis, 2017) and ensuring that their chosen discourse is the most dominant one in society. In moments that are time sensitive and decisions must be made such as elections, controlling what is said in society is power. The discourse is where history meats reality and depending on how it's used, where the future can be shaped.

However, this is not a one-way relationship. As much as the candidates need the media to achieve visibility and ensure their agenda reaches the population, media also needs the candidates to generate news stories (Mira, De Oliveira and Leal, 2015; Ezequiel, 2015; Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016; Rubim and Colling, 2004). Therefore, the relationship between those two spheres is actually quite intrinsic. Media does hold a symbolic and structural power (Ezequiel, 2015; Mira, De Oliveira and Leal, 2015) due to the fact that it can disseminate the information for all the classes of the population, if they so choose. They can also withhold part of the information only from certain parts of the population, using their reach to determine who gets what type of news.

The fact that media has become more and more dependent on the commercial aspect of it, has led to the transformation of politics into a spectacle (Ezequiel, 2015; Miguel, 2004), in which it is common that the political project of a party or candidate can be completely replaced by their image in the media (Mira, De Oliveira and Leal, 2015; Miguel, 2004; Alde, 2003; Alves and Silva, 2018). This means that quite often, political races can become a popularity contest, instead of being about actual politics and is necessary that candidates learn to play the game in order to succeed.

One of the factors that makes candidates seek to gain media attention is due to the *mediatization* of our society. This can be defined as a process in which society becomes dependent on media and their information (Hjarvard, 2008). The influence that media exercise in politics is augmented, particularly in countries that rely on mass media as a main source for political information (Stromback, 2011), as is the case of Brazil. Because of this power, media has elevated itself to a position in which is capable of shaping culture and causing social changes (Hjarvard, 2008).

Especially with the advance of technology, where people are able to get their news online and that every click counts, headlines to gain people's attention has become an extremely important aspect of news (Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016). And during a political campaign, every headline can contain a political meaning (Ezequiel, 2015), news stories can become places of manipulation, where journalists are capable of using words and images to materialize their view

of reality (Ezequiel, 2015; Alves and Silva, 2018, Assis, 2017) and pass it to the audience. They can choose which part of the story to report on, what angle of the story to use, developing a narrative that better fits what they believe to be true to the public.

The type of discourse that is dominant in a society can change wildly depending on the historical context and moment (Azevedo, 2006; Santos and Piovezani, 2016; Alves and Silva, 2018; Assis, 2017). Therefore, it is possible and likely that when analyzing the evolution of media behavior, shifts in it will be found. Maybe support for candidates that had previously being shot down and vice versa. This is all part of the ever-evolving relationship between media, politics and the public, which can be referred to as mediatization. It is impossible to look at it considering only a static view and even though this paper is focused on a specific time frame, it does take into account the context and the developments that have been happening in the country in order to make any type of assessment.

Regarding previous elections in the country, it can be said that Grupo Globo and its associating newspapers (*O Globo* and *Extra Online*) have been found to have an irregular coverage (Azevedo, 2006; Alde, 2003; Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016; Rubim and Colling, 2004), shifting their positioning and support according to what they believe will be more favorable for them. This is an extremely pragmatic stance, and it must be remembered that at the same time that they supported the military dictatorship's rise to power and Color's election, they we're also responsible for their downfall. Meanwhile, the other newspaper analyzed in this paper – *Folha de Sao Paulo* – has been found to have a more critical coverage, with higher levels of impartiality, although it is usually more negative than positive for all candidates (Alde, 2003; Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016).

2.7.2 International Experience

Even though the Brazilian media experience cannot be perfectly replicated or mirrored in other parts of the world, it is still possible to fin parallels to it. This is what this section of the paper seeks to find, similar experiences of media behavior that have had influences in political processes and events throughout the world. This part will not be focused on presidential elections specifically, not due to lack of literature, but because it might be interesting to provide a wider view of how media worldwide behaves regarding political issues and what similarities can be found to the case of this thesis.

One thing that has been showed is that the use of certain discursive practices can be done in a specific way and with specific purposes (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016; Donaghue, 2015), demonstrating that media does hold an influence into how audiences feel or think about issues.

Especially when that discourse is coming from institutions with power (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016; Schlosberg, 2016), such as media, they have the ability to shape the social reality that the population believes in. In addition, it is also possible to state that whatever is omitted from the media can have an even bigger influence in society, although these effects are usually only found afterwards.

The manipulation of perception is a subtle art, and it requires a combination of mechanisms, and is best performed when pictures and words are combined to form a story (Donaghue, 2015). For instance, it is interesting that common sense is actually knowledge that we take for granted and this is something that Critical Discourse Analysis hopes to shed a light on (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016; Schlosberg, 2016). Once we comprehend that even the things we believe to be set regarding the social world are actually constructs that were created throughout our lives, it makes it easier to spot them and understand how the media can influence what and how we think about issues.

Another key issue is understanding the ability of media to mobilize people to vote (Schuck, Vliegenthart and De Vreese, 2014). While this is more important in countries where voting is not mandatory, which is not the case of Brazil, I still believe it to be an important aspect in Brazil as well. Even though people are obligated to vote, they can still choose to vote null or to pay a fine for their absence, therefore the capacity that media has to make them understand and want to vote is still important in Brazil. Even though there are not a lot of consensus regarding media's power as a whole in this particular area, there is evidence to support that conflict news are capable of mobilizing people to vote (Schuck, Vliegenthart and De Vreese, 2014). This can be said to be in tune with the idea that political communication, talked about in a later section in this thesis, is made through debate and that conflict is essential for a democracy to flourish.

The way media portrays actors can affect the way the public think of them (Schuck, Vliegenthart and De Vreese, 2014; Greene and Luhiste, 2017; Schlosberg, 2016), demonstrating that media does have an influence in the formation of public opinion and can have an impact in the electoral behavior of the population. Furthermore, the way that media choses to frame the conflicts in an election can have a particular important effect in the polarization of the audience (Schuck, Vliegenthart and De Vreese, 2014; Schlosberg, 2016). This is of extreme importance in the 2018 Brazilian elections, given the state in which the country found itself prior to the elections.

In synch with that and with the rise in the commercialization of the media, politics becomes more of a spectacle than an actual serious moment (Udris, Lucht and Schneider, 2015).

And in order for newspapers to sell stories, they can elect to create powerful binary oppositions, in which they portray certain actors as the protagonists and others as the antagonists (Udris, Lucht and Schneider, 2015). This can deeply influence an electoral process and by doing so, media understand that it's creating the narrative upon which people will base their choices. This can even be done by omission or choosing which voices will be hear in the media (Schlosberg, 2016), these are other ways of steering public opinion and creating bias is a subtle way.

In addition, as is the case in Brazil, it is possible to say that the newspaper ownership can have an essential role in the newspaper positions and in their agenda-setting preferences (Udris, Lucht and Schneider, 2015; Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani and Sambrook, 2018). It is not true that all newspapers are neutral and even more, there are some that do not even attempt to be (Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani and Sambrook, 2018), which can reflect their ownership and how the owners chose to address their role in the society. Additionally, most newspapers will also admit printing biased stories, because they believe that if they provide enough context for it, readers will be able to make their own minds (Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani and Sambrook, 2018).

Another thing that must be said about bias is that it is impossible to get completely rid of it. There will always be some level of bias in any type of news (Donaghue, 2015), however, if that bias is not influential, its existence becomes irrelevant (D'alessio and Allen, 2000). All bias is subjective and depend not only of the intention of the writer, but also on how the reader interprets the story (D'alessio and Allen, 2000). In addition, bias can also be found through the omission of information (Aydin-Duzgit, 2016), which can be a very powerful instrument for media to exercise its influence over the public opinion.

Furthermore, there is also evidence that media coverage is key factor for a party success in a campaign (Greene and Luhiste, 2017; Schlosberg, 2016), which is particularly interesting because it contrasts directly with Lazarsfeld classic study (1944), demonstrating that this is a complex subject However, these studies once more showed through their results that the media does in fact holds some influence over this specific political process.

Due to the fact that newspaper stories are usually more in-depth that television (Greene and Luhiste, 2017), this allows newspapers to have an even bigger role when it comes to elections. There is also a factor that must be taken into account that is that nowadays the online version of newspapers are more sensitive to the social media led agenda (Schlosberg, 2016), which can led demonstrate that the power of social media as an influencer is growing.

As demonstrated in this section, there are several parallels between the Brazilian experience and the international one. This goes to show that in a democratic society, the role of

media as a creator and influencer of public opinion exists, but it does vary in extent. This is something this thesis will attempt to understand better by using the chosen case.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In order to achieve better understand this matter, this paper will compare the coverage of the elections period, focusing on the month of Election – October 2018, gathering the articles that were published by the three Brazilian online newspaper with the highest circulation in the year 2018 until October. This was determined based on information from the Instituto Verificador de Comunicacao ("IVC"), a non-profit organization that is responsible for auditing the media reach in Brazil[4].

From this data, regional newspapers were excluded, given that this paper has a focus on national reach. After that, the three national online newspapers with the highest number of sessions were selected. The online newspapers then selected for this research were: *Extra Online*, *O Globo* and *Folha de Sao Paulo*. It is interesting to note that both *Extra Online* and *O Globo* are a part of the same organization (Grupo Globo), the largest media company in Brazil. This will be even more interesting when assessing these papers secondary questions, in order to see if the media company follows a unified agenda or if it attempts to spread each to reach a larger audience.

This paper will analyze two different phases in the electoral process and therefore each of these phases will have a different timeframe. For the first phase, the data will be collected during two days before the first round of election and the day of the first round, going from October 5th until October 7th of 2018. For the second phase, the data will be collected during four days prior to the second round of election and the day of the second round itself, going from October 24th until October 28th of 2018.

The dates were selected to restrict the paper to something achievable and at the same time able to provide enough material for a good evaluation to be performed. These dates mark the apex of the election period and therefore are in my mind the more prone to exemplify any type of tendency or bias that the newspapers might use in their portrayal.

The sample for the period was collected similarly, but with a few key differences, in order to accommodate the variances between the different phases of election – first and second round. All of the samples were collecting by using each of the three newspapers websites, but the search words and period used for each of the three phases analyzed were different.

- Phase 1: Prior to the first day of Election (October 5th – October 7th)

---

[4] https://ivcbrasil.org.br/#/institucional

The sample selection for this period was done by using the search words: 'elections', 'candidate', 'presidential' and 'president'[5]. Given the fact that in this period there were thirteen candidates running for president, using their specific names could distort the research. During this phase, the search words were ampler in order find all articles that covered the presidential election. This sample was collected on October 8th, 2018.

- Phase 2: After the First day of election until the second day of election (October 24th – October 28th)

The sample selection for this phase was done by using the search words: 'PT', 'PSL', 'Haddad', 'Bolsonaro', 'elections', 'candidate', 'presidential' and 'president'[6]. Since this round is between two candidates, adding their specific names and their parties' names seemed appropriate to gather the data. This restriction is done in order to have a more targeted sample.

It is important to note that each key word was entered separately and represents a different search. This was done in order to find the highest amount of articles possible. All key words were used in the search box of the websites, however, since the websites are quite different, the filters used in each of them was different:

- Extra Online: after entering the keyword in the search box, the filter 'Noticias' was selected. After that, since the website does not allow for a date filter to be applied, this was done manually.

- O Globo: after entering the keyword in the search box, the filter 'Noticias' was selected. After that, it was selected for the results to be ordered by the most recent and then manually all the articles containing the key word were selected.

- Folha de Sao Paulo: after entering the keyword in the search box, the filter "Tudo na Folha" was selected. After that, the period selected was personalized to match the specific phase dates.

It is important to state that this paper will not cover any video type article but focus only in the written articles and pictures selected for these articles. This is due to the fact that video analysis would demand a greater time and space than what it is available. In addition, only articles that focus on the presidential elections were analyzed, excluding articles that contained daily news summaries or regarding regional elections. All articles that match the above criteria were then read online.

---

[5] In Portuguese: Eleições, candidato, presidencial e presidente.
[6] In Portuguese: Eleições, candidato, presidencial e presidente.

After the sample is selected, a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis will be used, based on discourse analysis and content analysis, both of which were discussed in the previous chapter. The focus will be on six main themes: quantity of articles, types of sources used, headlines analysis, sub headlines analysis, type of images selected and theme of the articles.

The first theme will be assessed in a simple quantitative analysis, seeking only to see if there is a big difference between the size of the cover and possible reasons for it. The second theme will use a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis, using quantitative to see how many different sources are used and qualitative to assess the types of sources and the possible impact of such choice. The remaining themes will have a pure qualitative analysis, applying discourse analysis to find possible differences or similarities between the coverages and to assess if there is any form of bias in any of the newspapers. The analysis will be done in an inductive manner and rely on the sample selected to find possible conclusions for the research questions.

3.1 Themes definitions

For each of the theme analyzed in this article, there are specific methods applied that need to be described in order to provide a higher level of transparency to the study. While some of them were fairly simple to determine, others had a more complex process that need to be addressed.

3.1.1 Quantity of Articles

This theme is straightforward, in which the total amount of articles weas counted and then divided by both round and newspapers. This division aims to provide a better insight into differences in the coverages both within the newspapers and between them.

3.1.2 Sources

The selection of sources had a few steps in the process. First of all, all the sources in the articles were identified and placed in a spreadsheet. After that, they were categorized according to the way they were referred to in the articles.

In the next step, sources that had similarities were agglutinated in order to make it more concise and facilitate the analysis. For instance, banks and financial markets were put together as financial institutions. Therefore, the sources categories presented were formed based on subcategories that were grouped.

3.1.3 Theme

This was the hardest category to define and to evaluate in a way that was capable of providing good basis for analysis. First of all, every article was read to get a sense of how each of them was done. After that, I went back to them and started defining the prominent angle that I could identify in them. Every article was categorized based on the main angle that it covered, and after that, they were grouped based on similarities.

For instance, a determined article talks about fake stories that are being spread, therefore it is talking about Fake News. So, all articles that addressed this issue were put in the same category, even if some of the talked about steps to combating fake news in a broader sense while others talked about a specific fake news.

3.1.4 Headlines and Sub Headlines

The selection of these followed the same process and it was a direct one. For each round of the election, two of them were selection from each newspaper. Given the fact that we now know who the two candidates that went to the head to head round were, I chose to focus on articles that had them as an emphasis, selecting one for each of them. There was however, one newspaper that had no sub headlines in their articles, therefore this theme for it was analyzed based on the omission of such theme.

This was not possible in for all the newspapers and all the rounds, so in the absence of a specific article that contained the candidate, I opted for the ones that had strong statements and that used words to evoke emotions. In addition, if there was more than one article about the candidate, the choice was also based on the intensity used in them.

3.1.5 Pictures

The pictures selection had strong similarities with the selection of headlines and sub headlines. This time however, due to the lack of options, there were some key differences between each newspaper. For *Extra Online*, the articles that contained relevant actors in the elections were chosen. For *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, one picture from each of the main candidates and one of them together were chosen, in the case of *Folha de S. Paulo*, there were less pictures that fit these categories, while for *O Globo* it was possible to get three for each of the rounds.

3.2 Study Limitations

There are of course certain limitations and ethical challenges that this study contains and will be addressed. In my opinion, the main ethical challenge of this paper is to remain impartial. As stated before, there is a difficulty in correctly analyzing ideologies that you agree with, as well as being impartial in judging others. To me, this will be the greatest challenge of this paper, that it is heightened by the importance and extreme polarization of these elections.

In addition, there are some clear limitations to this study: no cross-media analysis, the period analyzed is short and no other political events are used for comparison. I recognize all of these limitations and the reason for them is the same: lack of time. Even though they have different impacts in the outcome of the research, there is a limitation into what it was possible.

I will rely in previous studies as a basis for comparison with other political events, both in Brazil and abroad, but ideally, a comparison with two events and the same methodology applied would be best to show tendency and bias in the media. In addition, the cross-media analysis, which can be speculated to have had a great impact in the elections was left out and is a gap in this research. This, of course, also allows for space for further research to be conducted. However, for this project in particular, it was necessary to restrict it to something that would be realistically possible, therefore, some gaps will exist.

Another limitation in this study is the lack of analysis into fake news and WhatsApp use in Brazil. While this is not the focus of the paper, it is of extreme importance to briefly mention this matter. I choose to not cover this aspect of the election; however, it would be irresponsible to leave it completely out of my research. Given that this is an extremely new subject in Brazil and the first election that the use and power of both social media and fake news can be perceived, there is little literature on the matter with focus on Brazil, therefore, I will use two articles[7] of BBC News Brasil with studies they did in order to provide a little insight in the matter.

I also believe that is important to say that in October 18th of 2018, an investigative report by *Folha de Sao Paulo's* renowned journalist Patricia Campos Mello[8], exposed a network of business men funding a WhatsApp scheme to spread fake news in order to swing the election in favor of Bolsonaro. While there is still no definitive proof on the matter, the news report is significant and led to a formal investigation to be opened by Brazil's Electoral Justice.

---

[7] https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45666742 and https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45910249
[8] https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/empresarios-bancam-campanha-contra-o-pt-pelo-whatsapp.shtml

Returning to the BBC studies, they spent seven days on 272 WhatsApp groups, with different ideologies, such as "Jair Bolsonaro 2018", "Lula Presidente", "Debate Politico", amongst others, collecting data and trying to understand how this social media worked and influenced the election. Their findings are quite interesting, and worth being explored in the context of this paper.

The first thing I want to mention is why they choose to use WhatsApp to explore this issue. According to their report, it is because WhatsApp has a higher reach in Brazil than other social networks, particularly with the C, D and E[9] social classes. This, as they say, is due to the fact that many cellphones providers allow the use of WhatsApp without consumption of data, which does not apply to other social networks, turning WhatsApp into to the preferred social network in Brazil, reaching 66% of all Brazilian population. This data scheme also makes it harder for people to check the facts on the internet, since they do not have enough data to follow the links, facilitating the spread of fake news.

Another interesting finding is the predominance of pro-Bolsonaro groups, which can be explained by the fact that his supporters are majority (Gragnani, 2018) in admitting to using this channel as a means of information. This does not mean that the other side do not use this type of strategy as well, but it does show a difference in the reach for each candidate. It is also important to note, that most of these groups, while proclaiming to be open for debates, are usually just a bubble to reinforce beliefs and spread fake news about the opposing candidate.[10]

This creates a certain atmosphere of extreme polarization and pos-truth in Brazil, in which people believe more in what is said in their WhatsApp group than what the traditional news cover says. This can be partially blamed on the media's inability to gain people's confidence. The use of memes, fake news and even fake audios are widely spread and help create sometimes parallel realities of events.

Given all the points above, which are just the ones I thought were the most relevant ones for the issue, I thought it was worth it to mention this matter especially because they can help understand the breaking point of the reach of traditional media and how election campaigns are evolving and changing with new technologies and forms of communication being available.

However, it is important to state that most of the information available is based on news stories and speculations regarding this phenomenon in Brazil, as of now, there is no support to the claim that this was in fact a significant aspect in the elections. Therefore, to conduct a study

---

[9] Social- classes division in Brazil is done by A-E. A represents the high class, B high middle class, C middle class, D low middle class, E low class. Source: http://www.abep.org/criterio-brasil

[10] https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-45666742

that could determine the validity and impact of fake news or WhatsApp use in the elections would require much more resources and time than what I had available for this research.

CHAPTER 4: Findings

4.1 Number of articles

While the number of articles may seem simple at first, there is a great deal of insight that can be derived from it. Because of this it is my belief that it can actually be quite telling to understand the way each newspaper and media company approach the matter. It can demonstrate the relevancy that each newspaper gives to the issue and even be the beginning of a trend of how they expect their readers to react to them. Even if the number had been similar across both rounds and all newspapers, there would still be possible significant interpretations that could have been drawn from it, but given the discrepancies found, I believe this to be of significance for the study.

In this section I will make separate, but complementing evaluations about the quantity of articles. First, I will look into the differences between the rounds total, without going into each newspaper specific coverage. Secondly, I will assess the variances between newspapers coverage in each of the rounds and in total. Thirdly, I will compare the two newspapers from Globo Organization (*Extra Online* and *O Globo*) to see if there are any differences within the media company. Lastly, I will make an overall analysis of the coverage in number of articles and draw some possible conclusions.

During the first round there were 40 articles covering the elections and the candidates, while on the second round the number increased slightly to 48, even though the number of candidates dropped from thirteen to two. However, the distribution of the articles between newspaper changed quite significantly from one round to the other. Below there is a table demonstrating the amount of articles analyzed in each round and from each newspaper:

Newspaper	Round		Total
	1	2	
Extra Online	7	16	23
Folha de S. Paulo	8	13	21
O Globo	25	19	44
Total	40	48	88

Table 1 – Quantity of articles analyzed

Round Comparison

At first glance there does not seem to be a lot of difference in the size of the coverage between rounds. The second round had only eight more articles talking about the presidential

elections than the first round. But it is important to look into relative numbers and not only in absolutes. There was in reality a 20% increase in the size of the coverage between the rounds. This is a significant increase that can be explained by both to the decisiveness of the round and by a larger sampling period.

In addition, it is also important to remember that during the first round there were many more candidates running for the position than in the second one. Which can indicate that the growth in the number of articles is even more significant. It is to be expected that more focused articles were done in the head to head dispute and due to the second round being the climax of the elections, it is normal that an increase in articles would occur.

This aspect of the analysis demonstrates that the coverage followed an expected growth in accordance with the importance of the rounds.

Newspapers Comparison

During the first round of elections, *O Globo* had more than triple the amount of articles than the other two newspapers analyzed. While *O Globo* had twenty-five articles, *Folha de S. Paulo* had eight and *Extra Online* had only seven. This is a significant divergence between the newspapers, which can mean the importance given by each newspaper to the matter. This shows us that during the first round, *O Globo* was more concerned about the election than its counterparts.

However, in the second round, the coverage was much more balanced. Even though *O Globo* remained on the top with nineteen articles, *Extra Online* was closely behind with sixteen and *Folha de S. Paulo* had thirteen. It is interesting that even though *O Globo* still had more articles, their coverage actually diminished when compared with the first round, while both competitors increased theirs. *Extra Online* more than doubled its coverage, while *Folha de S. Paulo* had a significant increase as well.

This can show that all newspapers thought the round was important and needed to have a large coverage. *O Globo* however went on the opposite direction with less articles covering the second round. It is important to understand that even with less articles it does not mean that the coverage was less in-depth and in reality, if we take into account the number of candidates in each round, the coverage in the second round per candidate actually had a big increase across all newspapers.

When we add up the coverage of both rounds, *O Globo* still had double the coverage of the other two, with a total of forty-four articles, followed by *Extra Online* with twenty-three

and *Folha de S. Paulo* with twenty-one. This can represent the importance given by *O Globo* to the elections and to ensuring that their coverage of it is relevant for the audience.

Media Company Comparison

As mentioned previously, this study is looking into newspapers from two different media companies in Brazil. Both *Extra Online* and *O Globo* belong to the same organization, while *Folha de S. Paulo* is from another. This provides some opportunity to do a cross-company analysis as well as an inter-company analysis. I will first compare the newspapers from Globo Organization and afterwards compared them to Grupo Folha.

Even though both *Extra Online* and *O Globo* belong to the same organization, there is a significant difference in the amount of articles they had during the elections, especially in the first round. *O Globo* had more than triple the number of articles and which might be connected to the newspapers target audience. While *O Globo* is a more well-known and established newspaper, with a focus on higher classes, *Extra Online* is steered towards lower classes. It is common in politics to preference elites over the rest of the population and this situation helps highlight this issue within the organization.

This becomes particularly interesting when we contrast it with the coverage by *Folha de S. Paulo*, which in number was much closer to *Extra Online* than to *O Globo*, even though *Folha de S. Paulo* is also a traditional newspaper with focus on elites. This fact can demonstrate once more the level of importance that each group gives to the elections, showing that Globo Organization put a higher value in it than its competitor.

Overall findings of number of articles

Even though this can be a simple form of comparison, it does provide the reader with an insight as to how the networks approach the issue and can help lay the foundation for the other aspects evaluated in this article. The number of articles allow us to begin our analysis of the coverage of the networks and to begin to understand their possible intentions. This is an essential step to a proper assessment of the coverage of the Brazilian 2018 Presidential Elections.

In this section I demonstrated the differences found between the coverage performed by each newspaper and in each round of the elections. Although the discrepancies were not extremely high, they were still significant to give hints towards what can be expected from each newspaper. *O Globo* values the elections more than the other newspaper, which can be explained by their target audience as well as by their hope to influence public opinion as much

as possible. The analysis of the other themes will provide more evidence that will either corroborate or contradict this fact and to better highlight the way each coverage was made.

4.2 Sources Selection

One of the most interesting aspects to look at when comparing different medias is their use of sources. This has the potential of telling how the organization chooses to represent the subject, which can be particularly interesting when analyzing elections coverage like in this paper. The sources chosen by each newspaper allows us a glimpse into what they consider important and who they believe should be heard in this type of issue. As Table 3 below demonstrates, we can infer quite a few meanings to the selection of sources.

If we looked only at absolute numbers, the first round of elections has a lot of disparities regarding source selection, while the second round of elections is much more balance between all three newspapers. However, it is important to keep in mind that the number of articles varies quite a bit between newspapers, therefore, the average of source per article is in reality very different, as shows on Table 2.

For this section, I will do two different analysis into the data collected. First of all, I will assess the average quantity of sources used to try and determine patterns in them. After that, I will evaluate the types of sources selected by each newspaper. I will talk about them and what some of my impressions of their choice can imply as far as the representation of the elections.

Newspaper	Round		Average
	1	2	
Extra Online	11.00	3.00	5.43
Folha de S. Paulo	5.13	4.23	4.57
O Globo	3.84	2.63	3.32
Average	5.35	3.19	

Table 2: Average of sources used

Average of sources

As we can see in the Table above, the average of sources used by each newspaper varies significantly, particularly in the first round of elections. All newspapers had a drop in their average in the second round, however, only Extra experienced a significant drop. Even though the second round had the highest number of articles, their sources dropped.

Folha de S. Paulo and *O Globo* had similar averages in both rounds – with a difference of 0.9 and 1.19 respectively, which can indicate that their coverage was more balanced between the rounds. The drop in their average of sources between rounds is very small and leads us to

no significant discoveries regarding their coverage. Furthermore, the discrepancy in *Extra Online* use of sources can be signify a greater interest in attracting voter's attention in the first round, that declined in the second round.

In addition, when we look into the differences among the averages of the newspaper, we see once more that *Extra Online* has the lead with 5.43, with *Folha de S. Paulo* in second with 4.57 and *O Globo* last with 3.32. But, the difference between them is at most 2.11 sources per article, which is not a big one. Yet, it can imply that a higher plurality of voices was heard in *Extra Online's* coverage.

It is also interesting to note that only five different types of sources averaged more than 1 source/per article in all the categories and newspapers. They were: Candidates and Vice President Candidates; Databanks and Polling Companies; Government Representatives, Documents and Institutions; and lastly Voters as shown in the Table 3 below.

	Newspaper	Extra Online Average		Folha de S. Paulo Average		O Globo Average	
	Election Round	1	2	1	2	1	2
Source Type	Candidates and Vice President Candidates	2.6	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.4	0.1
	Activist Organizations and Unions	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
	Anonymous	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0
	Campaing Personnel	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.1
	Candidates Government Proposal	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1
	Databanks/ Polling Companies	1.4	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.4
	Fact Checking Agency	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
	Famous People	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
	Financial Institution and Private Companies	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5
	Foreing Country Representative	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Former and Current Presidents	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
	Government Representatives/Documents/Institutions	3.6	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.4
	International Organizations	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Journalists and Other Medias	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.0
	Lawyers	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Police	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
	Political Analyst	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
	Political Party and Politicians	0.1	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.1
	Social Media Company Representative	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
	Social Media Feed	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2
	University Research/ Professor	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
	Voters	0.3	0.4	1.4	1.1	0.3	0.2

Table 3: Average of types of sources

Folha de S. Paulo was the only one in which Voters were significantly used as sources, that can indicate that the newspaper tried to give a voice to the audience and show their perspectives. Meanwhile, *Extra Online* relied heavily on Government based sources, whether it was from the candidates or representatives/official documents. This can indicate that the newspaper values official positions over the audiences. They also used a lot of databanks and polling companies, which can demonstrate an attempt to keep their stories more impartial, by using raw data as basis. *O Globo* on the other hand, used no type of source in significant way, leaving their coverage a little harder to decipher through this data.

The average of sources per article allows us only a small glimpse into the newspapers source use, but it does provide a good basis to better understand their coverage. To this, I will add the type of sources used by each of them, which will give us a further insight into the coverages and towards the type of representation each newspaper attempts to highlight.

Types of Sources Used:

Newspaper		Extra Online	Extra Online	Folha de S. Paulo	Folha de S. Paulo	O Globo	O Globo
	Election Round	1	2	1	2	1	2
Source Type	Candidates and Vice President Candidates	18	5	6	3	10	2
	Activist Organizations and Unions	0	2	0	4	1	0
	Anonymous	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Campaing Personnel	2	0	1	6	3	1
	Candidates Government Proposal	0	0	0	0	13	2
	Databanks/ Polling Companies	10	8	5	10	20	7
	Fact Checking Agency	0	2	1	0	2	2
	Famous People	0	0	0	4	0	1
	Financial Institution and Private Companies	6	0	0	0	0	10
	Foreing Country Representative	0	0	3	0	0	0
	Former and Current Presidents	1	1	0	1	1	0
	Government Representatives/Documents/Institutions	25	6	4	1	7	7
	International Organizations	2	1	0	0	0	2
	Journalists and Other Medias	4	0	1	2	15	0
	Lawyers	0	3	0	0	0	2
	Police	0	0	0	0	1	2
	Political Analyst	5	3	1	1	2	3
	Political Party and Politicians	1	6	5	6	6	2
	Social Media Company Representative	0	0	3	0	1	0
	Social Media Feed	0	3	0	0	6	3
	University Research/ Professor	1	1	0	1	1	0
	Voters	2	7	11	14	7	4
	Sources Total	77	48	41	55	96	50

Table 4: Types of sources used in articles

Sources used by only newspaper or media house:

Candidates Government Proposal / Police:

Only *O Globo* used the plans each candidate submits as their campaign proposal as a source for articles. In an election campaign, using those plans can be considered essential to provide the reader with information of what each candidate defends. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the purposeful omission of information can be a powerful tool in influencing public opinion.

Furthermore*, O Globo* was also the only newspaper to use official Police as sources for articles. Therefore, they were the only newspaper to provide a voice for this institution, which in a country with high levels of violence such as Brazil[11] is at the least strange. Security is a big

---

[11] http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=33410&Itemid=432

issue in an election and *O Globo* was the only one to cover it from the perspective of law enforcement.

Anonymous / Foreign Country Representative:

These two types of sources were only used by *Folha de S. Paulo*. By using anonymous sources, we can infer that *Folha de S. Paulo* articles have a more investigative tone to them. This can be an attempt to show that the newspaper is committed to getting the truth and exposing it for its readers, which would provide the newspaper with more credit. The anonymity was provided for the sources since they were providing the article sensitive information about their own employer, therefore keeping them anonymous was a way of protecting them from backlash in their workplace. It can also be a way of showing that there are dangers surrounding the elections and therefore sources need to remain anonymous for their own protection.

As far as Foreign Country Representative, the fact that only *Folha de S. Paulo* had them as sources can demonstrate their desire to demonstrate what other countries' governments are expecting from the elections. It can be interpreted as an effort to show that Brazil is not alone in the world and that the decisions voters chose to make can have an impact in the relationship with different countries and not just inside of Brazil.

Lawyers / Social Media Feed / International Organizations / Financial Institutions and Private Companies:

These four types of sources were used by both *O Globo* and *Extra Online*, which belong to the same organization. Due to this fact, it is interesting to evaluate them as it can reveal a little of how the organization uses both newspapers to portray a specific image.

The use of lawyers as sources shows a stance that seeks to follow the law and its institutions. If we combine this use with *O Globo's* use of the police, it is possible to conjecture a reinforcement of the importance of the law and its maintenance for the country, showing once more the importance of addressing security in the elections.

The choice the resort to the Social Media Feed's is also quite interesting, as it demonstrates the newspaper's acknowledgement of the importance of this type of media and its reach. It also indicates that the newspaper is trying to stay in touch with current trends and with what they believe its audience will respond to. The better they are able to know their audience and how to reach them, the better they are capable of influencing them.

Interestingly, Globo Organization was the only one to rely on International Organizations, such as UN and OEA as sources for their articles. This can indicate that they

recognize the importance of the international institutions and their role in politics. It is likely that their use as sources aims to provide more legitimacy to the coverage, reinforcing the power and respectability of institutions both inside and outside of Brazil.

Lastly, only these two newspapers chose to use sources from Financial Institutions and Private companies in their coverage. This can show that they believe that the economical aspect holds a great deal of importance in elections, specifically through the perspective of banks and the financial market. Through this, it is possible to say that they are attempting to encourage their readers of the importance of listening to what these types of institutions and companies have to say when making their choice of candidate.

Other relevant sources used:

There were quite a few more types of sources used by newspapers in their coverage and I would like to address four more that in my opinion can hold some significance. They are: Activist Organizations and Unions; Fact Checking Agencies; University Research or Professor; and Voters. It is important to state that this does not mean that I discredit the value of the other sources, but that in my opinion most of them we're to be very expected to have a place in the coverage, unlike the four I have selected to talk a little more in-depth about.

Activist Organizations and Unions:

This type of source is particularly interesting to look into, due to the fact that they can represent workers as well as important causes for the society. The case of Brazil is specially fascinating because it is a country in they both tend to be vocal in their protests and demands regarding the government. Therefore, having them as sources during elections allows for different opinions to be heard.

However, even though it is undeniable that they were used as sources, it is also clear that the proportion was almost insignificantly. It is almost as if the newspapers needed proof that they gave space for them, without actually giving them relevancy. *Folha de S. Paulo*, which had the highest average of all newspapers had only a 0.3 per cent of space dedicated to these voices.

During elections is important to give a plurality of views space and this was a theme in which this was overlooked. Brazil is a country where there are several complicated and important discussions being fronted by activists and union leaders, in particular in this election, in which one of the candidates have polemic views towards some issues, such as homophobia; racism and indigenous populations.

It is also relevant to state that while the newspapers did give space to LGBT and Indigenous activist, they failed to do the same for feminists and black activists. This also demonstrates that within the polemic issues surrounding the elections, they decided which ones would have relevancy and which ones they preferred to silenced. The omission of feminists' voices in the coverage is even more striking considering that there was a large movement with protests in several Brazilian cities lead by women against Bolsonaro.

Fact Checking Agencies:

It is not surprising that this type of source was used in the coverage, given that the Brazilian election was permeated with a lot of discussion regarding fake news. Every newspaper had at least one article talking about fake news or disproving them, which shows that this was an important issue during the campaign.

While this is still a difficult issue to approach given that is relatively new and newspapers have yet to develop a strong way to deal with, it is unsurprising that it was rarely used. But the fact that all of them did use this type of source to some extent demonstrates that they recognize the problem and are attempting to deal with it, by giving voice to agencies whose purpose is to fact check statements and news spread through social media.

It is possible to argue that due to the extent to which fake news were used during the elections the space given to fact checking agencies in mainstream media should have been bigger. However, the simple fact that they are there demonstrates a willingness to address the issue.

University Research or Professor:

This is also a source that was extremely overlooked by the coverage of the elections by all newspapers. Even though all of them used it at least once, the fact that they defer to this type of source rarely can indicate a diminishment of the trust media has and therefore attempts to convey to its audience towards the educational system.

Even though political analysts were with some recurrence in the coverage, the lack of sources from Universities, can demonstrate that media does not want to give a voice to them. There are several possible reasons for this, such as the idea that circulates in Brazil that university and teachers are Marxists or extreme-left focused. The conscious omission of them as trusted sources reinforces the idea that they should not be thought of as trusted sources of information and knowledge and helps weaken the already debilitated educational system in the country.

Voters:

This is a source that was expected to figure in the coverage of elections, as it is key to listen to the perspectives of voters in such an event. It is important to notice that all newspapers used this source in several occasions, but the only one that had a significant use of it was *Folha de S. Paulo*. It is possible that all newspapers wanted to give a voice to voter's, but one that would not be strong enough to have a significant impact on others people decisions.

That being said, it can be constructed as a way to direct the narrative towards what the newspaper wants, proving just enough space as to show they care, but not enough to stray from their agenda.

4.3 Theme

Another interesting aspect to look into is the theme that newspapers choose when doing their coverage of elections. This is a way of understanding what issues they consider the most important to assess candidates to vote for. It can be their way of subtly directing the way you look at elections and the things that carry weight in them and therefore it is relevant to discuss it.

In the Table 5, displayed below, we can see the distribution of the themes by newspaper and get an idea of what each of them think should be relevant for the readers. While some of them were to be expected figure in the coverage, there are a few I would like to highlight as either their use or their quantity remarks important ways the newspapers can influence public opinion.

Newspaper	Extra Online	Folha de S. Paulo	O Globo	Total
Campaing	3	14	13	**30**
Candidate influence	0	0	1	**1**
Candidate posture	0	1	0	**1**
Candidates profiles	0	0	6	**6**
Congress composition	1	0	0	**1**
Country after election	8	1	1	**10**
Coverage	0	1	0	**1**
Debate	1	0	0	**1**
Elections	2	0	4	**6**
Exterior Commerce	0	1	0	**1**
Fake News	3	1	7	**11**
Opinion piece	0	1	8	**9**
Results Expectations	4	0	0	**4**
Second Round Expectation	1	1	2	**4**
Voting	0	0	2	**2**
Total	**23**	**21**	**44**	**88**

Table 5: Articles by Theme

Coverage:

This is an unexpected theme to find in the coverage and only one newspaper, *Folha de S. Paulo* had an article addressing this in their article. Even though there is only one article talking about this, it is still, in my opinion, quite relevant to address this theme. It can be seen as a self-critic and a way to provide the readers with transparency, gaining more trust towards themselves.

In this solo article, *Folha de S. Paulo* talks about how their own coverage of elections was being conducted, providing the reader with somewhat look inside their organization thought progress, a small peak peek behind their curtains. This could have been used as a way to try and create a stronger sense of connection between the readers and the newspaper, allowing the newspaper to become a more trustworthy source.

A sense of familiarity was generated between newspaper and audience by this action. This can have been done as a way to demonstrate their commitment to professionalism and specially in a world permeated by fake news, to show their audience that the work done by newspaper has integrity. Providing the newspaper with an increase in their ability to influence their audience, if they so choose, due to the fact that they believe in their credibility.

Country after the election / Results Expectations:

This is an extremely interesting theme that was addressed during the coverage. It becomes even more relevant when we see that *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* had only one article each, while *Extra Online* had twelve articles addressing this. It is common to see articles about what to expect after the elections and what the possible results will be, but this disparity in the coverage can be very telling about the newspapers and how they choose to address their audiences during elections.

The elevated amount of articles found in *Extra Online* can indicate that they believe that the elections are already decided and they are trying to get their readers accustomed with the candidate they think will win or it can be their way of using possible futures as a scare tactic to persuade voters to decide between candidates. Either way, it demonstrates that the newspapers attempt to use fear and the voter's emotions as a way to connect and influence them.

Fake news:

This theme is one that is becoming increasingly popular, not only during elections, but in every day live. It can be said that a growth in mistrust in traditional media or even that the spread of social media are important factors in the spread of fake news. This was an issue that was quite relevant during the Brazilian elections, as there was a significant number of this type of news flowing through the country and the authorities even prepared a plan, that eventually was not properly implemented, to fight them.

It was no surprise to find at least one article in each newspaper coverage about this issue, however it is important to highlight that *O Globo* had a higher focus on this. They had seven articles regarding this theme and if you combine that with the three from *Extra Online*, it is possible to see that Globo Organization thought that this was an extremely relevant matter during elections.

With that being said, this can be a way of showing their readers that they are aware of the problem and are working hard trying to address it. It allows them to increase their credibility amongst their readers, by demonstrating their willingness to face the issue. Meanwhile, the lack of discussion about it in *Folha de S. Paulo* coverage can indicate that they did not regard this issue to be significant enough.

Opinion piece:

This type of theme is quite common in elections, in which newspaper allow their journalists and columnists some space to give their own opinions. The relevancy of addressing this is the fact that *Extra Online* did not have any articles about this, *Folha de S. Paulo* had only one article and *O Globo* had eight articles on the topic. The fact that the approach was so distinct between the newspapers gives it importance.

The lack and low amount of this type of article in *Extra Online* and *Folha de S. Paulo* can show an absence in the newspapers to give their journalists freedom to express themselves, to an extent. It can also indicate that they do not believe that this is a way to develop and reinforce the connection with their readers. However, it is important to remember that by allowing the audience to read articles that are clearly opinionative can help make the reader easier to relate, as not every person is interested in just information.

The heavy use of this type of articles by *O Globo* shows that they understand the importance of emotion in elections and are doing their best to use it to their advantage. Even though this is theoretically a space in which the writer has more freedom to go outside of the newspaper guidelines, it is a calculated risk to bring the audience closer and easier to be persuaded.

Candidates profiles:

This is a theme that should be common in elections coverage, as it is one of the most important things a voter needs to know: who the candidates are and what their stand for. However, it was quite surprising to see that only one of the newspapers analyzed had article pertaining to this issue in their coverage. While this type of information about the candidates can be found in different ways and articles in the other newspapers, only *O Globo* provides the readers with specific articles discussing this matter.

4.4 Headlines

Now we move on to the first theme analysed that has a qualitative assessment. By looking into the headlines, I will focus on the direction that they attempt to lead the reader. The headline is one of the first contacts that the audience has with a story and therefore it creates the in the readers mind an expectation about what the article is about. It needs to be powerful enough to draw the reader in and to make a connection with them. Due to this, it is important to evaluate how they were used during the elections.

Since the amount of articles and consequently headline is quite elevated, I decided to select only twelve to dissect and demonstrate some of the ways that media has of influencing their audience. This number was chosen as it will allow for two headlines by each newspaper in each of the election rounds to be analysed, giving the study a somewhat homogeneous base.

I attempted to select one headline addressing each candidate in each newspaper and round, in order to see how they were approached by the coverage. This was not always possible, as sometimes there were not headlines that were that specific, but I tried to keep them as balanced between the candidates as possible.

The choice of headlines is, of course, subjective to a degree, and if another person was doing the study they might have selected different. But I attempted to be as impartial as possible, while still selecting headlines that would provide good data to be evaluated. In addition, the translation from Portuguese to English was also done by me and even though the original headlines can be found in the foot notes, it is still possible that another person translating might have chosen different words.

With all that being said, below are the headlines and my analysis of each of them.

Extra Online – Round 1:

- *Absent, poll leader Bolsonaro is preferential target in last debate before first round[12]*

This first headline focuses on the last presidential candidate before the first round. Even though the debate had the presence of all other major candidates and their had time to present their proposals and discuss amongst themselves, the main fact highlighted is the absence of the front-runner candidate Jair Bolsonaro. The headline leads us to the thought that despite not being present in the debate, he was still the main focus of the event. All other candidates were determined to attack him and his absence was felt.

What is surprising in this headline is that at the same time that attacks Bolsonaro by stating his absence, it also somewhat victimizes him, by showing that the other candidates to a degree banded together to attack him. In addition, the headline also omits all the other candidates' names, stating only the name of the one that was absent, refusing to allow the other candidates voices and space in the front row.

This could be due to the fact that Bolsonaro is the leader in the polls, but the conscious choice to single him out provides him with more visibility, while at the same denying the same

---

[12] "Ausente, líder nas pesquisas Bolsonaro é alvo preferencial em último debate antes do 1º turno"

to the other candidates. While this headline is not inherently impartial, it is possible to find small ways in which a somewhat preferential treatment was given to a candidate, though not completely positive.

- *Brazilians will be unified after the elections, says Temer[13]*

This headline reverts to the words of the then Brazilian President Temer. It relies on his expectation for the country and its population in the aftermath of the elections. The use of him as a source is controversial, as it is well-known in Brazil that Temer's presidency was a troubled time and that his approval was extremely low, figuring in the single digits[14]. Despite that, he was still the country's President and because of that the newspaper believed that it was important to listen to what he had to say about the future.

The use of his words as a headline, and through a polemical statement, can reinforce the divide that the country was experiencing during the elections. Even though there was no denying that it existed, by openly having the commander in chief acknowledging in a newspaper can have the opposite effect and push people even further into their own corners.

By stating that the country will unify after the elections, demonstrates that he believes that there is a big polarization in the population, which is quite accurate. His expectations and hopes for the future that Brazil will be able to overcame this and be united, but the headline addresses the matter in an extremely superficial way.

It works as a way to attempt and give the audience hope that things will improve in the future, but contractionary relies on the words of someone that possess almost no confidence from the public. Almost as if it was intentional, by using someone like this, despite his position in the country, it can in reality seek to give the audience hopelessness towards what to expect from the country after the elections.

Extra Online – Round 2:

- *Rodrigo Maia says that his agenda is more convergent with Bolsonaro's[15]*

This headline looks innocent enough to people that may not know a lot about Brazilian politics. It is simply the president of the Chamber of Deputies stating in a slightly way his support for a candidate. It is rather common for politicians to address the candidates in a

---

[13] "Brasileiros vão se unir depois das eleições, diz Temer"
[14] https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2018/12/27/reprovacao-de-temer-recua-para-62-no-fim-do-governo-diz-datafolha.ghtml
[15] "Rodrigo Maia diz que sua agenda é mais convergente com a de Bolsonaro"

Presidential election and show their support towards one of them. In Brazil, this is usually done through the parties, but any politician is free to an extent to support a candidate from another party, although this type of situation is highly unusual.

However, if you know a little about Brazilian politics, you would be aware of two things regarding Rodrigo Maia: his position provides his with a great deal of power within the government, making so that his choice of candidate can have a significant repercussion in the government; and that he is a very polemical politician, with several grave accusations of being involved in corruption , like his own father, although he has been convicted of his accusations.

Therefore, even though at first look this headline shows a simple support declaration, it is in reality an attempt to associate Bolsonaro with a politician that is at the least 'shady'. Even though the association is gentle, the connection with a politician like Rodrigo Maia can lead readers to have a negative perspective of Bolsonaro.

- *Ciro Gomes rejects criticism about neutrality and says that he will never campaign with PT again[16]*

Even though during the second round of the elections there are only two candidates, this headline names neither of them, but instead it names one of the losing candidates of the first round. This candidate however, was the one that finished in third place, so his declaration of support carries what could be a decisive weight going into the head to head.

However, the headline demonstrates that Ciro Gomes does not intent to openly support neither candidate, since he is being criticized for such a stance, but it he does makes it clear that he will not participate in any PT campaign act or moment. It shows that the candidate is sure of his stance and his belief that his choice is the best for the country, demonstrating that he does not worry about the criticism and will hold his position of remaining a little on the sidelines.

This is not openly beneficial or prejudicial to any of the remaining two candidates, but when put into context, it can have a negative impact for PT. Due to the fact that Ciro is knowingly against Bolsonaro, having stated several times throughout his campaign as well as after the results of the first round. So why would he openly refuse to support the opposing candidate? This is the reason why this headline has a negative tone towards PT, by creating this doubt in the readers mind and showing that not even politicians that were supposed to be on the same side as them are willing to openly support them.

---

[16] "Ciro Gomes rejeita críticas sobre neutralidade e fala que nunca mais fará campanha com o PT"

Folha de S. Paulo – Round 1:

- *"Everybody quiet until the election, ok?" commanded Bolsonaro to allies in the final stretch[17]*

This is a quite heavy headline, as there are several small things that we can take from it. Even though the headline comes from a statement from one of the candidates, is the fact that is chosen to be addressed that makes it interesting. First of all, the selection of the statement to cover the candidate is quite telling, with him telling his allies to remain quiet.

The decision to use this shows that the newspaper wanted to demonstrate the power that he has over his allies and the way that he uses it. Furthermore, the choice of words when addressing the statement creates in the reader the inflection in which the candidate said such words. The newspaper did not use "said" or "asked", but rather it decided to use the word "commanded", highlighting once more the power relationship existent between Bolsonaro and his allies.

It is even possible to go one step further and assess that the choice of word made by the newspaper aims to give an authoritarian voice to the candidate, creating a sense that he may be a threat to the democracy. While this may look like a long shot, it is still possible to argue that given the wide array of way that the headline could have been phrased, the chosen one can lead readers to this impression.

- *In Ciro's backyard, voters trade Lula for Bolsonaro[18]*

This headline in the first round of election is covered with the use of associations. The first one is the use of "Ciro's backyard", stipulating that the area which is being referred to in the article in inside of this candidate's supporter zone. This immediately leads the reader to assume that the region already has an "owner", which is not completely true.

Moreover, it talks about how voters are trading former president and not a candidate in this election Lula for Bolsonaro. The fact that they still use Lula as a reference shows the amount of power that he still holds in the country as well as creates and reinforces the idea that PT's candidate Haddad is not the main person in its own campaign, weakening him.

Folha de S. Paulo – Round 2:

- *With fear of Bolsonaro, LGBTs engage themselves to turn votes in the networks [19]*

---

[17] " 'Todo mundo quieto até a eleição, tá ok?', ordenou Bolsonaro a aliados na reta final da disputa"
[18] "No quintal de Ciro, eleitores trocam Lula por Bolsonaro"
[19] "Com medo de Bolsonaro, LGBTs se engajam para virar votos nas redes"

This headline is one of the most negative ones in the coverage and it uses strong emotions to involve the readers. There was a widely publicized view regarding Bolsonaro's homophobia based on his past actions, one that it was quickly minimized and denied by him and his supporters. This article however, addressing this head-on, stating that there is a fear in the LGBT community of a possible Bolsonaro victory. The use of the world fear aims to evoke strong emotions in the public and try to connect them with this community, creating a relationship between them, either of support or of denial.

The fact that the headline only hints that the only reason why LGBT's are engaging themselves in the elections is due to fear is quite telling. Despite the fact that they are providing them with a voice, it is one that they are also undercutting by stating that their stance is done only out of fear. This disregards any type of political knowledge they might have or any other qualification that would make their voices importance and relinquishes them to acting only because of fear. In my opinion, this is prejudicial as it still attempts to show that their voice is only being heard because of this emotion and not because they in fact deserve to have their voices heard simply for being part of population.

- *Front of Fernando Haddad arrives shaky in the second round[20]*

This is another example of a negative headline towards a specific candidate. While this time they actually use the candidate's names, rather than an association with former president Lula, they do so in a way to portray him as weak and not capable of leading. The fact that they state that his front is shaky indicates that he is not able to have enough strength to unify his allies and lead them in the dispute.

It is especially significant when compared to the position of power and control that the newspaper provides to Lula. As if they are trying to demonstrate that Haddad will not be capable of having the same strong leadership Lula had. Even though it may seem like a small thing, this detriment of a candidate's ability to lead is crucial in a presidential election in which voters are deciding who will lead their country for the next four years and expect to have someone strong and capable of unifying the country. If a candidate is not even able to unify its own allies, they create the idea that he will not be able of dealing with his opposition either.

O Globo – Round 1:

---

[20] "Frente de Fernando Haddad chega trôpega ao 2º turno"

- *Analysis: Bolsonaro starts strong for second round but will have to expose himself[21]*

This headline presents a clear statement that it is not a normal news articles, as it says "analysis", ensuring the reader is aware that this an opinionative article. It may seem simple, but this transparency is of extreme importance in electoral moments to make sure the audience does not mistake an opinion with facts and direct information.

It is not a positive headline towards Bolsonaro, despite that fact that is says that he is a strong candidate for the second round. The fact that it determines that he will need to expose himself allows to think that he has been hiding himself so far. This is not a quality that is usually sought after in presidential candidates.

Furthermore, the way that the text is structure leads us to believe that he has something to hide and that the fact that he will need more exposure is a challenge for his campaign. Once more, not something that is usually expected from candidates, as part of the campaign is based on getting to know the candidates and their search for visibility and exposure. It indicates that this can be a downfall for Bolsonaro, generating in the readers the illusion of lack of transparency and shadiness.

- *Fernando Haddad, the boost and weight of being Lula's 'man'[22]*

This is one headline in which the intent of it is quite clear and even though there is much weight in it, it does no appear to have any intentional hidden meanings. There is an open association between the current candidate and the former president and the headline demonstrates that and talks about the benefits and problems that this association can bring to Haddad.

By calling him Lula's man, the newspaper clearly shows that he is seen as the successor and that it wants to clarify the repercussions of such position. It is my opinion that this is an example of an honest headline, that even though it leads the reader to associations, it does so without being suspicious about it. It is also neither positive or negative towards the candidate in an obvious manner, it simply states a known fact and the possibilities that can arise from it.

O Globo – Round 2:

- *President of Bolsonaro's party says that human rights must be first for "victims and people of good"[23]*

---

[21] "Análise: Bolsonaro larga forte para segundo turno, mas terá que se expor"
[22] "Fernando Haddad, o impulso e o peso de ser o 'cara' de Lula"
[23] "Presidente de partido de Bolsonaro diz que direitos humanos devem ser primeiro para 'as vítimas e pessoas de bem'"

Even though the candidate itself is not in the text, the fact that the president of his party is the one cited lead us to believe that this is something that the president agrees to. The debate about human rights is one that is controversial in Brazil, with a lot of misinformation in play and the existence of the idea that the rights should be applied only to the part of the population that fits the criteria. In an election in which this subject had an important place, this headline attempts to create an association to where the candidate stands on the issue.

This can be a way to divide the voters, as the supporters will likely agree with this statement, while the opposition will strongly disagree with it. The use of the statement as a headline serves the purpose of ensuring this subject is not forgotten and it remains a polarizer in the population. The association made by the party that there is a certain part of the population that do not deserve human rights may seem extreme and that is precisely what the newspaper hopes to pass to its readers.

- *Democracy moderates' candidates' speeches[24]*

This headline carries quite a bit of significance as it talks about the way candidates are influenced by the democratic environment in which they are inserted. It is a rather simple and straightforward one, that does not specifically name any of the candidates. It does however provide the reader with the idea that both candidates have extreme speeches that approximate them with authoritarian governments. It leads us to believe that the only reason that they are changing this is due to the current democracy in the country.

This is particularly interesting as it demonstrates that both of them still show some respect towards the countries institution and political system, but it also leaves a door open to the idea that they need to be constrained. And if there is a clear necessity of them being constrained, it also means that both of them capable of posing a threat to the country's democracy.

The fact that it attacks both candidates can lead readers to maybe believe that there are inherent dangers with both of them. This can force the public to make tough decisions, and leave enough space for the newspaper to refer back to this article stating that they showed the danger in the event that things go bad in a future government.

---

[24] "Democracia modera discursos de candidatos"

4.5 Sub Headlines

After looking into the headlines, this section will go into the second part of the written article: the sub headlines. Although their function is quite different than that of the headline, this part still possesses an important job when it comes to engaging the reader. The headline grabs the reader's attention and bring them in and the sub headline is responsible for ensuring that they stay and read the entire article. Therefore, it is key to understand how newspapers believe they need to act to maintain the reader's focus and interest.

Once again, the amount of data is quite high as in the previous section, so the same criteria applied for headlines selection will be used here.

With all that being said, below are the sub headlines and my analysis of each of them.

Extra Online:

None of the articles from this newspaper contained a sub headline. This makes it so that there is no way to evaluate them, but it is still possible to talk about what their lack of existence can demonstrate. As stated above, sub headlines can be considered an important part of articles and therefore their omission should be noted.

This can indicate that the newspaper does not have a high degree of interest in slowly bringing the reader in to their stories. It can also signal a belief that their headlines are enough to engage the reader enough to make them want to read the full article. The high level of simplicity of the articles, that contain just the headlines and the text, excluding common features such as a picture or a sub headline can indicate that the newspaper believes that is all their readers need.

Folha de S. Paulo – Round 1:

- In an election influenced by the vote against, maybe it's better to think of the risk embedded in this decision[25]

This is a text that is not particularly for or against any of the candidates. This is something that is trying to force the readers to reevaluate the way they decide on their vote. They are stating that most of the people voting are doing so in the hopes of ensuring that the candidate they dislike will not reach office, instead of voting for someone. This can lead us to

---

[25] "Numa eleição influenciada pelo voto contra, talvez seja melhor pensar no risco embutido nessa decisão"

believe that the most important thing to win this election is making sure that people don't dislike you as much as they do your opposition.

This can influence voters to try and search for commonalities between them and the candidates, instead of focusing on the differences. Furthermore, when they say that there is a risk when making the decision based on who you dislike more, they are attempting to bring some rationality into the readers minds and make them not be so emotional when deciding the next president.

However, the newspaper is only inducing the voter to think rationally, they are not openly trying to lead them towards any particular candidate. Because most of the candidates had a high rate of rejection, this can be considered to not be aimed towards any of them in particular.

- Manicure says she is scared of Bolsonaro, gardener votes useful and lawyer reevaluates decision[26]

The statement that someone is afraid of one of the candidates attempts to evoke emotion from the audience. By using this type of emotion through the lens of a voter can aim to create a common relationship between the candidate and this negative emotion. This is quite prejudicial towards one specific candidate, particularly since he is the only mentioned in the text and the only one connected to people fearing him.

In addition, the use of the voter's professions in the sub headline can be a way of making them easier to relate. The manicure and the gardener are usually from poorer parts of the population, while a lawyer is usually from a higher social class. In addition, it is also common for people to attribute more weight to a lawyer's decisions, as they can be perceived as more educated. The fact that the text does not disclose his vote, but only states that he is in the process of reevaluating can be the newspaper's way of inducing voters to understand that this is a complicated decision and that there is a big necessity of thinking it through.

Folha de S. Paulo – Round 2:
- Data indicates relationship between Bolsonaro and Haddad's campaigns with under investigation agency[27]

---

[26] "Manicure se diz assustada com Bolsonaro, jardineiro vota útil e advogado reavalia decisão"
[27] "Dados indicam relação entre campanhas de Bolsonaro e Haddad com agência sob investigação"

In this text we see that the newspaper attempts to equalize the relationship of both candidates with a specific agency. Due to the fact that this particular agency is under investigation, the connection that the newspaper makes between it and the candidates is quite negative. It can indicate a willingness from them to involve themselves in illegal activities, which is something that reasonable voter would look down upon.

There is however an important word in the text that makes the connection somewhat weaker, as if trying to redeem the candidates and create some distance between them and the wrongdoing. By using the word "campaigns" it can lead the reader to the idea that the candidates are not directly responsible for the relationship with the agency and allows them to, if necessary, put the blame on someone else for engaging in such relationship.

This is interesting as it gives the candidates a negative perspective, but at the same time it gives them an out of the situation. Ensuring that there is ambiguity in the interpretation of the reader and ensuring to connect both candidates in the same article to the situation can be a form that the newspaper employs to try and stay impartial, while providing information that can be prejudicial.

- In the first round, the reformed captain received only 108 of 8.506 valid votes registered in indigenous areas in the state[28]

In this exert it is possible to see that there is a clear association with the candidate with his past in the Armed Forces. This reinforcement of the connection in this particular case can be used in an aggressive manner. During the election, the issue of the use of indigenous land was a recurring one, and the position of the candidate was openly against the population and in favor of businesses. By connecting him with the military in this case can indicate that he will use force to reach his goal, if necessary.

It is also interesting that the newspaper sought to highlight the performance of this particular candidate in these specific areas. Instead of focusing on the candidate that manage to get the most votes in them, the newspaper focus in demonstrating that this candidate had a poor performance there. This can be used to influence the audience into thinking about the candidate's weakness, showing that there are ways of defeating him. In my opinion, this is a particular negative perspective regarding a candidate, that can be seen through the choice of words used in the sub headline.

---

[28] "No 1º turno, o capitão reformado recebeu só 108 dos 8.506 votos válidos registrados em áreas indígenas no estado"

- PT candidate bet all of his chips in bond with former president[29]

Here we can see that the newspaper once more reinforces the association between the candidates and the former candidate and not only that, but that it also creates a notion of dependence by saying that the candidate believed this connection was essential for his campaign. There is no denying the importance of Lula in the electoral process, but by using this type of association in such a heavy way, the newspaper leads the reader to think that Haddad is a weak candidate that relies on one connection to reach the presidency.

While it is true that this bond with the former president is important and that the candidate himself used it during his campaign in several occasions, this text somewhat reduces Haddad to only this bond, ignoring the independency of the candidate and his other alliances and connections.

This is a small manipulation, but one that can carry a strong influence in making the leader believe that if they vote for Haddad, they are openly supporting Lula, which is not entirely true. By unifying the two as a somewhat single organism, the newspaper aims to use the negative perspective surrounding Lula and the fact that he is currently in prison as a way to taint the image of the current presidential candidate of PT.

- Leader in the polls of vote intentions, serviceman recovers from attack during campaign and bets in conservator speech and liberal economy[30]

In this sub headline there is quite a few things that I believe are of note. The first one is the referral to a candidate as serviceman, as if he is a part of the armed forces. In reality, the candidate in question has been in politics for almost thirty years and although he is a reformed serviceman, the use of this term to address him serves the purpose of reinforcing his connection with the armed forces.

This is not something inherently negative or positive, but it is notorious that this association is commonly used, despite the fact that this is no longer his status. Since the text addresses the attack he suffered during the campaign, it is my opinion that the use of the

---

[29] "Candidato do PT apostou todas as suas fichas nos vínculos com o ex-presidente"
[30] "Líder das pesquisas de intenção de voto, militar se recupera de ataque durante campanha e aposta em discurso conservador e economia liberal"

association is done is a way to show the candidates strength and courage, as those are common qualities people relate to military personnel.

Furthermore, the text shows that he is the leader in vote intentions and that he is doing so by betting on a conservative speech. This can be used to attempt to show the population that there is growth in the conservative side of the country, but that this does not apply when speaking of the economical side of things. This is important to ensure that the audience is aware of the differences in positions of the candidate.

O Globo – Round 2:

- Bolsonaro and Haddad are victims of aggressions in social networks[31]

In this one we can see a humanization of both of the candidates in an equal manner. The text does not attempt to favorize neither of the candidates, but rather addresses the fact that both of them are being targeted by aggressions. This shows us that the newspaper is trying to remain impartial to some degree.

It also shows us another problem that is becoming more common in our society and we often take for granted, the fact that social networks can be a hostile and dangerous place. This sub headline reminds of this problem, by simply stating that the candidates are victims of aggressions and not minimizing the issue as only empty speeches in the social networks.

- Petist makes new wave to Ciro Gomes and says that with him "it is easier for turnaround to happen"[32]

This reinforces the importance of the support from Ciro Gomes in the outcome of the election. Even though he is no longer of the candidates, the candidate from PT shows that he recognizes his importance and the weight that his decision can have in winning the elections. It also demonstrates that he is actively seeking contact and support and apparently being ignored, as it states that this is not the first time he tried to reach Ciro.

The acknowledgement of another candidate's importance and the statement that his support can make things easier indicates that the PT candidate is aware that there is a long ahead of him in order to win the election and that he will need all the help he can get. It demonstrates he recognizes his position as an underdog in the election, but it also shows he is hopeful of his

---

[31] "Bolsonaro e Haddad são vítimas de agressões nas redes sociais"
[32] "O petista fez novo aceno para Ciro Gomes e disse que com ele "fica mais fácil a virada acontecer""

chances of winning the election as it he states that the support will make it easier, leading us to think that even without it, he believes he can win.

4.6 Pictures

In this section I will analyse the type of pictures chosen by the newspapers to illustrate their articles. This is a very important part of the news story, as it can help to determine the context of the story and the perspective that the newspaper hopes to lead the reader to. The old saying that states that "a picture is worth a thousand words" does have some truth to it, but we must also remember that is through the combination of both the text and the images that the height of influence can be achieved.

There are a lot of ways in which the selection of the image for an article can seek to portray a specific image, such as the angle of the photo, the colour tone chosen, the pose of the person being portrayed, what elements are in the background or in the centre of the picture. All of these will now be applied to the pictures used by the newspaper to provide some insight into the way the people and events are portrayed in the coverage. It is also important to state that is common for newspaper to have a high amount of photos of relevant actors and events, and this is true in the case of the event being studied in this paper, therefore the images chosen can reveal quite a bit about the coverage of the elections.

One thing that is important to notice about this theme is that even though all the articles analysed come from digital versions and that in the society we live in today pictures are of great importance and help compose a story, there was still a high number of articles that contained no picture at all.

From the eighty-eight articles analysed in this study, thirty-seven of them did not contain any picture at all. This represents 42% of the articles, which is a very considerable amount. *Extra Online* had only six articles that contained pictures out of its twenty-three, *Folha de S. Paulo* had pictures in only ten of its twenty-one articles and *O Globo* had the highest amount of pictures, omitting this in only 10 of its forty-four articles.

From these articles, seventeen of them had pictures involving only the two main candidates, while the other twenty had different types of pictures such as famous people, everyday voters, other politicians and other candidates. I choose to focus on the ones containing the main candidates as well as important actors for the electoral process, such as the president that was still in office and the other candidates for the presidency.

Bolsonaro had two pictures by himself, while Haddad had one. Most of pictures showing Haddad have him surrounded by supporters, in which he is usually smiling and with an open body posture, while Bolsonaro is only picture either by himself or with one other person, usually portraying him in a vulnerable position, such as at the doctor. There were five pictures of Bolsonaro and Haddad together, one of which was used in three different articles, showing that repetition can be used to attempt to solidify a specific perspective (Helfert, 2018).

Even if we factor in the necessity of speed when publishing an article during an electoral race, there is still no reasonable explication for the absence of this feature in the stories. Like stated above, newspapers have a gallery of photos that can be utilized in cases where time is of the essence, so the absence of this part in the articles is in itself a finding. Since omission can be a factor in portrayal, the fact that there are a number of articles without pictures shows that some stories were treated by the newspapers with a lower degree of intent to arouse emotion in the readers.

In addition, it's important to state that some of the articles have a gallery of pictures in addition to the main image. For this study I have chosen to evaluate only the main image that is in the very beginning of the article, as it is the one that grabs the reader's attention. I have selected six pictures from *O Globo*, three from *Folha de S. Paulo* and two from *Extra Online*. The selection was not random, but given the number of articles without pictures, I attempted to choose relevant pictures and balance them between newspapers. For *Extra Online*, the articles that contained relevant actors in the elections were chosen, for *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, one picture from each of them main candidates and one of them together were chosen, in the case of *Folha de S. Paulo*, there were less pictures that fit these categories, while for *O Globo* it was possible to get three for each of the rounds.

Extra Online:

Image 1: Candidates in Debate – From left to Right: Henrique Meirelles, Alvaro Dias, Ciro Gomes, Guilherme Boulos, Geraldo Alckmin, Marina da Silva and Fernando Haddad

This picture shows some of the presidential candidates in a television debate. Not all of the candidates were invited to participate in it. Of the thirteen candidates running, there is only seven, with the absence of front-runner candidate Bolsonaro, who chose to not attend. The story it relates to talks about the declarations made by the candidates during the debate, showing which ones were false and true.

There is a couple of interesting elements in the picture which are worth analysing. First of all, the posture of candidates Ciro Gomes (third one from the left) and Alvaro Dias (second one from the left). In the picture it looks as if Ciro is telling Alvaro something and he is laughing, trying to indicate a close relationship between them. This can be seen as prejudicial to Ciro, as he is the candidate in third place and Alvaro has a bad reputation with the voters.

In addition, Marina is squeezed between Haddad and Alckmin, which can be a reminder of the last election, in which she was divided between both parties. Furthermore, the only male candidate not wearing a suit is Boulos, which can be his way of trying to show he is a man of the people.

Image 2: President Temer

This image of President Temer is from an article talking about the future transition of government and that it will be done smoothly. The green background is a big deal, trying to connect Brazilians with a patriotic sentiment for the country. Temer's posture is also quite telling. His open arms can symbolize that he is welcoming the new government in, showing a proximity between him and his successor.

Folha de S. Paulo:

Image 3: Jair Bolsonaro

This picture selected to represent the candidate can influence readers to have a negative image of him. First of all, it is important to state that this picture is from the article in which Bolsonaro's is talking directly to his allies to tell them to stay quiet. The light tone of the picture demonstrates that the newspaper wants us to see clearly the candidates face, pose, gaze and posture.

His pose is quite prejudicial, as it shows him touching his ear, mimicking to some extent a pose that can be easily associate with a monkey. The use of symbolism and associations in this case is negative towards the candidate. In addition, the fact that he is not looking towards the camera, but in an up angle, leads us to think that he is in a submissive position.

The whole image that was selected is aimed at diminishing the candidate's abilities to be a strong presence of leadership, but rather can influence the reader to think of him as a talking monkey.

Image 4: Fernando Haddad

This picture of Haddad portrays him in quite a positive manner. The colour tones are lighter and the candidate is using a white shirt and is surrounded by supporters and allies. This selection brings a certain closeness to the audience and portrays warmth from the candidate. His face has a smile, which reinforces this idea. The crop selection has him at centre stage, showing he is capable of dealing with the spotlight.

The fact that the photo also contains someone's hand taking a picture of the candidate is quite telling. This could have been easily omitted from the picture, but its presence shows that people want to connect with the candidate and find him so important that they want pictures of him.

It is also interesting that his Vice President candidate is in the picture, but hidden by Haddad's arm. We can slightly see her face, but she is obscured by him almost completely. Instead of a picture in which we can see both candidates clearly, the chosen one leads us to think that his VP candidate is not very important in the campaign.

Image 5: Jair Bolsonaro (left) and Fernando Haddad (right)

This picture of the candidates' side by side shows us that the newspaper does favour the PT candidate Fernando Haddad, even if it is not a totally positive portrayal. Although at first sight it might look like a simple picture, small things such as the picture tone, the candidates pose and the direction of their gaze are telling of how the candidates are being represented.

Both photos have dark tones and a dark background, but while Bolsonaro's is completely dark, Haddad's has a touch of blue colour in it. The dark tones can be associated with cold and distance, which can create in the reader the idea that Bolsonaro is more distanced from them.

Furthermore, Haddad is staring straight into the camera, with a determined gaze, creating a connection with the reader. Meanwhile, Bolsonaro is staring slightly up, his gaze avoiding the camera and he has a small smile. This can be seen as an indication that the candidate does not share a connection with the audience and is detached.

O Globo – First Round:

Image 6: Fernando Haddad (red shirt with "Lula" on it, surrounded by supporters and allies

This picture of Haddad is quite interesting as well. Once again, a newspaper opts for showing him in the middle of the public, trying to portray him as one of the people. He also appears to be hugging one of the voters in the event, showing that he is reachable. The fact that the people closest to him are smiling can indicate that he is someone capable of bringing happiness to the population.

The choice to wear a t-shirt with Lula's picture, as well as the reinforcement of the red colour, which is the party colour, and the supporter doing the "L" sign popularly known as a show of support to Lula are all associations with the party and former president. This is purposefully done by the candidate and reciprocated in the media.

Image 7: Jair Bolsonaro

In contrast with Haddad's picture, this photo of Bolsonaro shows him completely alone, as if he is isolated. The background is also of a neutral colour, something that the reader would not relate to with such ease. There is also a shadow in the background, which does not appear to be from the candidate, which provides the reader with an open interpretation of what that can represent.

The candidate has an open posture, with a clear smile and with the thumbs up sign, showing that he is trying to connect with the audience.

Image 8: Fernando Haddad (left) and Jair Bolsonaro (right)

The picture of the candidates' side by side reveals small differences between how they are portrayed. Bolsonaro is once again showed with a completed black background, which can be associated with pessimism. In this picture though, he has a serious tone and glasses and his

gaze is directed towards the camera, which can help give him a more neutral relationship with the audience and an air of confidence.

In contrast, Haddad's picture not only has a much lighter background, but we can also see a person in it. He has a microphone and is speaking to people, showing him as more relatable to the public. The microphone is a symbol for public speaking, which informs us that he is talking to an audience. This can indicate he is capable of leadership.

O Globo – Second Round:

Image 9: Fernando Haddad in campaign act

Once more Haddad is showed amongst voters and supporters, reinforcing the idea that he is among the people and a part of them. He has his hands up and a smile in his face showing an open posture and his dominance of the situation he is in. There are once more people taking pictures of him, trying to show that they believe in his importance.

Even though the tone of the photo is dark, the one surrounding him is extremely light, he has a spotlight on him and bringing the focus towards him and foregrounding him in the picture. In addition, despite the fact that his gaze is away from the camera, it is possible to see a determination in his look, as if he is looking towards the future. This may seem simple, but it can be a powerful way of directing the readers focus into him and showing him with positiveness.

Image 10: Jair Bolsonaro (left) and Gustavo Bebbiano (right)

The last picture portraying Bolsonaro finally has him with other people, instead of all by himself. But unlike his opposing candidate, his picture is with a politician from his own party, with other suited people behind him.

The tone in this picture is quite light, unlike his other pictures in which he is usually portrayed with a certain darkness around him. The candidates posture however is interesting. His gaze is once again not directed towards the picture, but is somewhat a blank expression. This is reinforced by his hand gesture of holding/grabbing Bebbiano's arm, who is his party's president.

This indicates a submissive posture from the candidate. Meanwhile, Bebbiano is staring straight ahead with a determined look and it seems as if he is talking to someone defending/protecting Bolsonaro. It can serve to portray the candidate in a prejudicial way, as if he is not able to fight his own battles and needs others to step in and rescue him.

The most interesting about this picture is the fact that it was used twice by *O Globo* and once by *Folha de S. Paulo*. This could indicate a joint effort to push the idea behind this picture by the newspapers.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

This study set out to better understand how the three main national online newspapers from Brazil performed their coverage of the presidential elections in 2018. Throughout the analysis of the findings, there were some interesting things that I was able to observe pertaining to the way the newspapers behave when covering each of the two main candidates, particularly towards the lead candidate Jair Bolsonaro. In this section I will discuss the findings, relating them to the literature review.

First of all, a little context regarding the media environment in Brazil needs to be recapped and elaborated. As stated before, the media in the country is extremely concentrated in the hands of a small group of families and two of the newspapers analyzed in this study belong to the same organization, which is the largest in Brazil. In addition, it is also important to state that since 2015 and the impeachment process of former president Dilma Rousseff, media in the country had been quite critical of the PT party and its members. This is important to know, given the fact that one of the candidates that reached the second round of elections, Fernando Haddad, is from this party.

Furthermore, it is also interesting to note that the third largest television broadcaster in the country, TV Record, is owned and operated by a religious group, that had openly showed their support towards the PSL candidate and election winner Jair Bolsonaro. Even though this paper does not go into this type of media, it is my opinion that this information is important to help contextualize the online newspapers coverage of the elections.

There were two main research questions that this paper aimed to answer, and two other more specific questions, all of which had as a purpose to provide a good understanding of how the coverage of the elections was conducted by the newspapers and the possible repercussions of such coverage in the result of elections. I will answer each of the questions separately, making connections between them whenever necessary to provide a more complete perspective.

RQ 1: To what extend is there bias in the coverage of the elections?

After evaluating the findings, I was able to determine that there is in fact a bias in the coverage, but that it is not as broad as I was expecting. Every newspaper had a negative bias towards both main candidates in part of their coverage, but they also had some level of impartiality in part of their coverage. This made the analysis of bias in the coverage particularly interesting.

The fact is that in most themes that were analyzed, it was possible to spot that there was bias in the coverage such as in: types of sources used, pictures, headlines and sub headlines. However, in one of the issues analyzed: theme of articles, the coverage had a more impartial and transparent perspective, and lastly, in one of the themes – number of articles - there was a mix of impartiality and bias in different newspapers. Each of the themes evaluated had different was of displaying bias in the coverage and I will now assess them to provide a clearer perspective.

Out of all the themes evaluates, four of them contained bias that could be spotted through the findings. Some of the were subtler, such as the types of sources used, while others were easier to identify, such as the selection of photos. And finally, in the headlines and sub headlines it was slightly mixed, with some of them being openly biased, while others had a more subliminal bias.

Perhaps the easiest bias to spot was the one done through the selection of pictures. Despite the fact that media has a large stock to choose from, the pictures selected to portray each of the candidates were quite telling. The use of associations, especially through photos is a way to create a strong connection with the audience (Helfert, 2018). While Haddad's pictures usually showed him surrounded by people and with lighter/happier tones, Bolsonaro's were usually alone and with a darker connotation and negative associations.

The use of different tones and backgrounds can create powerful images in for the readers (Machin and Mayr, 2012) This power to create associations in the readers' perspectives minds (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Shaw, 1972) is a way that uses agenda-setting to influence the audience, they serve a specific political purpose (Richardson, 2007), which in this case was to direct the audience thoughts about which candidate to vote for.

Even when the candidates were put side by side, it was still possible to spot differences in the way they were portrayed, that could lead the reader to see Haddad in a better way. Almost as if attempting to use a binary opposition (Orgad, 2012; Kapuscinski, 2008), to create separation between the two candidates and their supporters. The use of this type of manipulation seeks to create in the reader's mind an idea of dream/nightmare scenario (Orgad, 2012) of what to expect from the future, if each of the candidates wins.

Although there was still a negative connotation with Haddad, in comparison with his opponent he was showed to be the better option. The use of images to reinforce this idea was based on the idea that this was already what the audience believed, therefore, by supporting it, media would be able to have a bigger influence (Gullestad, 2007). I would, however, not go as

far as state that the media showed Haddad as a dream scenario, but it did portray Bolsonaro as a nightmarish one.

Another important aspect of the bias in the images were the choices of angles and gazes chosen for the candidates. As Machin and Mayr (2012) talk about in their book, this has a significant influence in how the receiver will perceive someone. The choice of media to use photos that had quite discrepant angle and gazes between the candidates shows us that they are attempting to conduct a specific way of seeing them.

In opposition to the analysis of the pictures, the hardest bias to be found in my opinion, although it was still possible to identify was done through the selection of sources. In this theme however, the focus of the media was much more in directing the readers towards the voices and issues that should be taken into consideration when assessing the candidates. This was also corroborated by the findings of earlier studies about the Brazilian media (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013; Ezequiel, 2015).

By influencing what and how the readers think about specific issues (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017; Vargo, Guo and Amazeen, 2018; Moon, 2011), they were able to direct their perspective towards the candidates and therefore attempt to create in the reader a specific image of what to expect in the event of a victory.

One of the main ways that this was done in the selection of sources, was through the omission of certain voices. As Cook (2005) says, news is selective and, in this issue, it was selective towards which type of sources the readers should hear. I believe there was a bit of influencing done by the newspapers in this issue, but it was done mainly by holding some information and sources in obscurity (Blumler, 2015, Alde 2003, Schlosberg, 2016), which made this bias harder to be found.

There was however, an important aspect in the selection of sources, particularly in the coverage done by *Folha de S. Paulo* and *Extra Online*. They gave space, although admittedly small, to the voices of the LGBT and Indigenous community. *Extra Online* had an article with LGBT activists that supported Bolsonaro and rejected the idea that he is homophobic. In *Folha de S. Paulo*, however, the perspective of the LGBT activists was the opposite, not only reinforcing the candidate's homophobia, but also stating their fear in the event of his victory. This fear was corroborated by the Indigenous community, which also suffered with attacks from the candidate and reported being afraid of a future Bolsonaro presidency.

Furthermore, the headlines and sub headlines contained quite open bias, by using negative words and associations (Machin and Mayr, 2012) towards the candidates. While in its

majority it was negative for both candidates, there was undoubtedly a stronger danger factor being associated with a possible Bolsonaro win, creating an atmosphere of fear (Helfert, 2018).

The selection of what was relevant to have in the headlines and sub headlines demonstrates the way that media wanted to frame the issues (Fairclough, 1995). The newspaper chose the perspective to show its audience (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), directing their attention to what they thought was important. The use of specific words was done to create associations (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Shaw, 1972), such as linking Bolsonaro to his army service and Haddad to former president Lula, all of which aimed to determine how the reader saw the candidate, this was also found in previous studies (Cervi and Massuchin, 2013; Santos and Piovezani, 2016; Alves and Silva, 2018) which demonstrates the use of symbolism by media with the same purpose. In addition, the use of language was done in an intentional manner, seeking to create a political connection (Richardson, 2007; Ezequiel, 2015; Aydin-Duzgit, 2016; Donaghue, 2015) between the chosen words and what they represented.

There was also an attempt to associate Bolsonaro with a risk to democracy, as well as questions regarding his capacity to perform the duties expected from a President, that could be seen through what the headlines and sub headlines highlighted, such as: people fearing him, him giving commands to his supports, among others. This portrayal of Bolsonaro was repeated in several elements of the coverage, this may familiarize the reader with the idea of him lacking fitness for office.

As for the themes of the articles, by looking at the tables presented in the findings chapter, we can see that the main one was "Campaign", which portrayed different events that each candidate was participating, which is a common them in elections coverage. There was also balanced coverage of other important issues for elections, such as candidates' profiles and expectations for the country's future.

Even though it was through the theme selection that the newspaper told the readers what to think about (Vu, Guo and McCombs, 2014; McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017; Vargo, Guo and Amazeen, 2018; Moon, 2011), the issues portrayed were and given focus were in synch with election periods. It is possible to argue that while there was not a lot of bias in this issue, which regards the first level of the agenda setting theory, it was possible to find bias in the second and third level, which were exposed previously. Although media in this regard did not direct what to think about, in other aspects analyzed in this study, it did influence how to think about it.

Overall, this matter provided impartial coverage of the elections, as neither newspapers attempted to give a high amount of attention to subjects that could be beneficial or prejudicial

to a specific candidate. Therefore, it is my opinion that this theme was the most impartial one across the coverage.

Furthermore, when discussing the number of articles, it was possible to identify impartiality in both *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*, while *Extra Online* contained bias. Even though there were more articles covering Bolsonaro than Haddad, which could lead us to think there was bias, the difference was quite small. In addition, the overall amount of articles that covered both candidates and had general coverage of the elections vastly outnumbered specific coverage. This impartiality had been noted before in elections in the country (Alde, 2003; Rubim and Colling, 2004), demonstrating that this not exclusive to this election. It is important to highlight that this refers only to part of the coverage and not all of it.

This however, was not reproduced when looking into *Extra Online* coverage, particularly in the second. In this instance, there was a large number of articles about Bolsonaro, which indicates bias in the coverage, given their use of repetition (Robinson, 2012; Helfert, 2018; Fernandes, 2013). This was a negative bias towards the candidate, as most of these articles were prejudicial towards him.

This duality, in which media is capable of using impartial and biased coverage is interesting as in my opinion demonstrates two things. One that media is aware of its position and the influence that it is capable of exercising in the population. And two, that they can also portray events fairly when they chose to, reinforcing the idea that bias is purposefully applied in their coverage.

RQ 2: To what extent is it possible to find a correlation regarding the media coverage and the result of the elections?

This to me was an interesting find. As stated in the discussion regarding the previous research question, it was possible to identify bias in several parts of the coverage, this bias however, did not translate to the result of the elections. Even though the candidate Jair Bolsonaro was mostly negatively portrayed, he still managed to emerge victorious in the election. This negative portrayal was a bit unexpected, since he was the conservative candidate and Brazilian media has a history of defending this stance (Miguel, 2004). This could indicate that the media's influence is not as powerful as one might think, but it is my opinion that this indicates a different phenomenon.

Even though there is a correlation between what the audience talks about and media coverage (McCombs and Kiousis, 2004; Vargo and Guo, 2017) and as demonstrated above, they can even influence how the issues are discussed, media cannot for certainty control the

outcome of the public's reaction (D'alessio and Allen, 2000). They have the power to steer and even influence the discussion, but they do not have total control over how the reader will react. This shows that there is truth to Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet study (1944).

It is my opinion, however, that this may indicate that there is a correlation between the media coverage and the result of the elections, but it's a negative one. Meaning that the general public does the opposite of what the mainstream media is influencing them to. Over the past few years, media mistrust[33] in Brazil has increased. This decrease in trust as well as the negative correlation are quite significant as it can help shape the future of how the society obtain their information and of how media behaves.

If media continues acting the same way and the lack of trust continues to evolve, it is likely that the population will turn to alternative sources, such as social media influencers, independent news organizations, among others; to keep informed (Feres Jr and Sassara, 2016). Which with the plurality of options that exist nowadays can lead to an extremely segmented and polarized situation. In addition, these alternative sources not always will follow guidelines to ethics and can be pathways for the dissemination of fake or biased news.

There is also a factor that must be accounted when discussing the growth in mistrust towards mainstream media, and that is the acceptance of the existence of 'alternative facts', a term that even though is not new, it has been quite used by Kellyanne Conway, one of Trump's main advisors. This is also being repeated by Brazilian's politicians and influencers, reinforcing the idea that the media twists facts and creates fake news, opening space for the audience to seek information in other channels, diminishing media's credibility and therefore power to influence politics in the country.

SQ 1: From the newspaper's analyzed, is there one that can be considered more impartial?

All the newspapers analyzed in this study had their biases, however, it is possible to argue that the coverage that was more impartial and transparent was the one performed by *Folha de S. Paulo*. This does not mean that their coverage was free from bias, but only that the degree in which this was present was smaller in comparison with the other two newspapers evaluated.

The fact that they even took the time to do an article specifically addressing their own coverage demonstrates that they at least attempted to be transparent. It can however be argued that this was done with an intent to manipulate the audience to think of them as a more credible source.

---

[33] https://www.statista.com/statistics/695784/media-trust-brazil/

The balance of the number of articles in their coverage, the fact that their sources selections was more elevated and distributed than the other newspapers indicate a more impartial coverage. However, their headlines and sub headlines had a higher level of negativity towards the PSL candidate Bolsonaro, but it was also quite critical of Haddad. This trend was continued in their selection of pictures, maintaining a darker image of Bolsonaro and portraying Haddad as a better option.

It is my belief, that despite the attempt to be a more balanced and transparent newspaper, *Folha de S. Paulo* still exhibited a higher degree of bias than what should be considered acceptable in a news coverage. In comparison with *Extra Online* and *O Globo*, however, it was slightly more impartial.

SQ 2: Does the media give a specific candidate more attention? If so, is that attention beneficial or not?

Yes, the media gives one candidate more attention. This was observed in across all newspapers and in both rounds. Bolsonaro received a larger amount of attention however, the attention given to the candidate was mostly prejudicial, with attempts to point out his lack of capacity or his extremism.

It can be argued that due to the fact that he was the front-runner candidate it was likely that he would get more attention. Or even that because he is knowingly a more polemic candidate, that the media would attempt to explore this in order to create a larger spectacle of the elections and grab the reader's attention (Hjarvard, 2008; Stromback, 2011). Although both of these arguments have their relevancy, the discrepancy in the amount of focus towards him is higher than what can be justified by those factors.

It is my opinion that the media gives the candidate more attention with the intention of undermining him. This can be seen as an attempt to influence the results, by over-exposing his faults and incapacities. The selection of images to portray the candidate are often negative and the amount of articles that have headlines or sub headlines in which he brings strong emotions such as fear (Helfert, 2018) can be strong indicators that media is attempting to associate him with this emotion.

There are a few other things about the coverage that I believe deserve to be highlighted. It is my opinion that the coverage lacked impartial information regarding each of the candidate's profiles and proposals. Although it is possible to gather this information in the candidate's websites, there was an omission of this type of article, which could provide the reader with

better insight into the candidates and allow for a better-informed decision. This could have been given more focus in the coverage and provided more impartiality to it.

I also believe that is interesting to highlight the fact that it was possible to find the same article in more than one newspaper and there was even the re-use of the same picture. This is interesting as it can show a certain level of synchronicity between the newspapers. Furthermore, the fact that all the newspapers analyzed had a more negative portrayal of the same candidate shows us that there is some intermedia agenda-setting taking place in Brazilian media.

This can be due to the fact that the owners of all newspapers come from the country's elite. So, despite some attempts to have some impartiality in their coverage, there is still a desire to ensure that media continues to play an important role in the society and have a strong voice. This role, however, is being challenged by the increase of mistrust in media and the fact that they are no longer capable of directly influencing events in the country. This provides interesting opportunities to study if there will be changes in behavior to counter-react this and where this will lead the country.

The findings of this study demonstrate that media's power in the country is decreasing, although they still wield an important role. They also corroborate the findings of the studies Azevedo (2006) and Rubim and Colling (2004) which show that media acts as an active actor in Brazilian politics, not only reporting on events, but using manipulation to determine how each candidate will be perceived, as it was showed in Ezequiel (2015); Alves and Silva (2018) and Assis (2017).

Previous studies, such as Alde (2003) and Rubim and Colling (2004) have found that some members of the media do provide impartial coverage in some moments. It is also important to note that as Donaghue (2015) found that its impossible to be completely impartial, but it is important to not be openly partial. This study found *Folha de S. Paulo* to have the more impartial coverage, corroborating Alde (2003) and Feres Jr and Sassara (2016) and also in accordance with their findings, the overall coverage of all newspapers was more negative than positive, showing that this can be considered a trend when discussing political processes.

In addition, the coverage of *O Globo* and *Extra Online* was found to be more partial in this case, which can be considered to be in accordance with the findings of Azevedo (2006); Alde (2003); Feres Jr and Sassara (2016) and Rubim and Colling (2004), which demonstrates that the Organization changes its coverage election to election focusing on their own interests.

Furthermore, it was evident the use of symbols and associations by the media to portray the candidates, which builds on the findings of Cervi And Massuchin (2013) Santos and Piovezani (2016) Alves And Silva (2018). This was also found to be an important aspect of

media coverage in international studies, such as Aydin-Duzgit (2016); Donaghue (2015); Schuck, Vliegenthart and De Vreese (2014); Greene and Luhiste (2017) and Schlosberg (2016).

The fact that there was some repetition in the articles across newspapers demonstrate that there is a level of homogeneity in Brazilian media, like that found by Miguel (2004). Even though Brazilian media often has a more conservator stance as found in Azevedo (2016), this election demonstrated that they do not always support the more conservator candidate, which in this election was Jair Bolsonaro.

There was a high number of opinion type articles in the coverage done by *O Globo*, but that was not found in the other newspapers. Azevedo (2016) and Assis (2017) had found in their studies that the media often focuses more on opinion than information and while there was some evidence to support that in *O Globo*, this was not openly done in the other newspapers.

As Miguel (2004) discusses, the concentrated ownership of the newspaper plays a role in the type of coverage done, which was also an important aspect in the international experience as described by Udris, Lucht and Schneider (2015) and Cushion, Kilby, Thomas, Morani and Sambrook (2018) and this study corroborates.

The findings of this thesis also reinforce the idea of the spectacle politics has become found in Udris, Lucht and Schneider (2015). There is more focus in portraying the elections as something the audience will buy than providing them with impartial information. The sensacionalization of the process is one way that media has of ensuring the audience will pay attention and by playing on their emotions, will attempt to influence them.

And lastly, it is relevant to mention that as Greene and Luhiste (2017) and Schlosberg (2016) found, media coverage is an important factor to a party's success in elections. The study done in this paper demonstrates that media coverage is important, but not necessarily a positive coverage. Ensuring a candidate is in the spotlight can be key to determining his success.

Overall, the findings of this study corroborates the findings of previous studies, both on the national and international levels, with a few small discrepancies. This indicates that Brazilian media behavior is becoming more predictable, however, with the introduction of new types of media in the future, this may change.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

After analyzing the way that the coverage of the Brazilian Presidential elections of 2018 was conducted by the main online newspapers, it is my belief that Brazilian media cannot be considered as impartial. There were clear signs that demonstrated attempts to persuade the readers towards specific points of view. The Brazilian media utilizes agenda-setting and its different levels in order to influence public opinion and steer political processes in the country.

The fact that media ownership in the country is highly concentrated, in my opinion, is one of the factors that exacerbates this type of behavior and allows for it to continue to happen. There is no denying that the owners of the newspapers analyzed are a part of the country's elite and that is reflected in the way the coverage is done. Despite being from different owners, there is a level of collaboration between the newspapers and that can be a way of ensuring that the status quo when it comes to media power is maintained.

It was interesting that both newspapers from the Globo Organization, *O Globo* and *Extra Online* had impartial coverages towards the same candidates, even though they are aimed at different target audiences. The change in the way the portrayal was conducted by each newspaper indicates that the organization knows and understand its potential and aims to reach different audiences, with the same message. Meanwhile, *Folha de S. Paulo*, which had the more impartial coverage, still followed the lead of the other newspaper by being more negative towards one candidate.

Another important aspect of the coverage, that could be found in all newspaper is the fact that all of them focused on the negative aspects of the candidates. The associations made were always with negative actors and events, as well as the choice of sources and pictures. The fact that all newspapers chose to rely on the instigation of fear and darkness shows us that Brazilian politics are no longer perceived as a means to a positive future, only to a less grim one.

There is however, an interesting finding in this study that points to the fact that their power to dictate terms is being diminished. The fact that even though all newspapers had a more negative portrayal of the PSL candidate Jair Bolsonaro and still he emerged victorious demonstrates that the population no longer blindly follows media information. This is extremely interesting as it appears that a negative influence effect is taking place in the country, where the mistrust in media is growing and the public chooses to believe the opposite of what it sees in it.

The development of news types of media and the facility in which people are able to propagate different ideas, especially through social media, allows for this situation to occur.

Media has been in control of important events in the country for so long, that now that is findings resistance, it must find ways to adapt to the situation. This will provide a fruitful area for future research of media behavior in Brazil.

It is also important to note that the rise in fake news in the country and their quick dispersion through social media are relevant factors in the media scenario in the country. Even though specific fact-checking companies are being created by the media houses to address this issue, it is still relevant to mention the impact that this is having in the relationship between media and the public. This is one of the study's limitations, as it did not address the role of fake news in the electoral process and it would be an interesting topic for further research.

While the findings of this paper are important and help deepen the knowledge regarding media behavior in Brazil, there is still much that needs to be studied in the country. The fact that Brazil now finds itself under a government that openly questions and contradicts the mainstream media, whilst providing support for alternative means of communications and backing only media that are in accordance with government views has the potential of completely changing the media structure in the country. The constant attack by the government can have significant impacts in how media is perceived and Brazil.

As demonstrated in this study, there is some basis for the attack, given the impartial nature in which the media performs its coverage, particularly of political processes. However, the creation of an atmosphere of uncertainty regarding the veracity of sources of information is a dangerous path that can further divide the country. Therefore, there is no denying the necessity of an impartial media in order for Brazil to grow as a country.

CHAPTER 7: REFERENCES

1. Alde, Alessandra. "As eleições presidenciais de 2002 nos jornais". *Alceu,* nr 6 vol 3(2003): 93-121.
2. Alves, Tatiane dos Santos and Silva, Edvania Gomes da. "Analise Discursiva da Campanha de Marcelo Crivella na Midia Brasileira em 2016". *Interdisciplinar,* nr 29 (2018): 189-205.
3. Assis, Edjane Gomes de. "Memória e História na Mídia: A Imagem De Dilma Rousseff Nas Eleições De 2014 No Brasil", *Simpósio 13 - O sujeito e a língua sob determinações do discurso e da história* (2017).
4. Aydın-Düzgit, Senem. "De-Europeanisation through Discourse: A Critical Discourse Analysis of AKP's Election Speeches". *South European Society and Plitics,* nr 21 vol 1(2016): 45-58.
5. Azevedo, Fernando Antonio. "Midia e democracia no Brasil: relações entre o sistema de mídia e o sistema político". *Opinião Publica,* nr 1 vol 12 (2006): 88-113.
6. Berger, Peter and Luckmann, Thomas. *Social Construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* New York: Anchor Books, 1966.
7. Blumler, Jay G.. "Core Theories of Political Communication: Foundational and Freshly Minted. *Communication Theory,* nr 25 (2012): 426-438.
8. Boynton, GR and Richardson Jr., Glenn W. "Agenda-setting in the twenty first century". *New Media & Society,* nr 9 vol 18(2015): 1916-1934.
9. Cervi, Emerson Urizzi; Massuchin, Michele Goulart and Tavares, Camilla Quesada. "Agenda Da Mídia, Dos Políticos E Do Público Na Campanha Eleitoral De 2010". *Revista Debates,* nr 1 vol 6(2012): 237-261.
10. Cervi, Emerson Urizzi and Tavares, Camilla Quesada. "Agenda da mídia impressa brasileira durante o período eleitoral de 2010: a visibilidade dos temas políticos, sociais e de entretenimento". *Observatorio,* nr 1 vol 7(2013): 219-242.
11. Cho, Jaeho. "Media, Interpessoal Discussion and Electoral Choice". *Communication Research*, nr 3 vol 32 (2005): 295-322.
12. Bryman, Alan. *Social Research Methods.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2012
13. Cook, Timothy E.. *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
14. Cushion, Stephen; Kilby, Allaina; Thomas, Richard; Morani, Marina and Sambrock, Richard. "Newspapers, Impartiality and Television News". *Journalism Studies,* nr 19 vol 2(2018): 162-181.
15. D'Alessio, Dave and Allen, Mike. "Media Bias in Presidential Elections: A Meta-analysis". *International Communication Association,* (2000):*133-156.*
16. Donaghue, Ngaire. "Who gets played by 'the gender card'?". *Australian Feminist Studies,* nr 30 vol 84(2015): 161-178.
17. Elder-Vass, Dave. *The reality of social construction.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
18. Ezequiel, Vanderlei de Castro. "Mídia e eleição: dimensão política da imprensa na disputa eleitoral brasileira". *Aurora: revista da arte, mídia e politica,* nr 21 vol 7 (2015): 81-98.
19. Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* Essex: Pearson Education Limited, 1995.

20. Fairclough, Norman. *Analysing discourse: textual analysis for social research.* London: Routledge, 2003.

21. Feres Jr, Joao and Sassara, Luna de Oliveira. "O cão que nem sempre late: o Grupo Globo e a cobertura das eleições presidenciáveis de 2014 e 1998".*Revista Cosmopolitica,* nr 1 vol 6: (2016): 31-63.

22. Fernandes, Juliana. "Effects of Negative Political Advertising and Message Repetition on Candidate Evaluation". *Mass Communication and Society,* nr 16 vol 2(2013): 268-291.

23. Goodseed, Ochulor Nwaugo. "Ideology and Power: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Excerpts from Peter Abraham's Tell Freedom". *Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities,* nr 1 vol 2(2015): 29-46.

24. Green, Zachary and Luhiste, Maarja. "Symbols of priority? How the media selectively report on parties' election campaigns". *European Journal of Political Research*, nr 57(2018): 717–739.

25. Gullestad, Marianne. *Picturing pity: Pitfall and pleasures in cross-cultural communication. Image and word in a North Cameroon mission.* New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.

26. Guo, Lei and Vargo, Chris J.. "Global Intermedia Agenda Setting: A Big Data Analysis of International News Flow". *Journal of Communication,* nr 67 (2017): 499-520.

27. Helfert, David L.. *Political Communication in Action – From Theory to Practice.* Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2018.

28. Hjarvard, Stig. "The Mediatization of Society - A Theory of the Media as Agents of Social and Cultural Change". *Nordicom Review,* nr 29 (2008): 105-134.

29. Huckfeldt, Robert; Johnson, Paul E. and Sprague, John. *Political Disagreement: The Survival of Diverse Opinions Within Communication Networks.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

30. Kapuscinski, Ryszard. *The other.* London: Verso, 2008.

31. Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Berelson, Bernard and Gaudet, Hazel. *The people's choice.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

32. Lecheler, Sophie; Keer, Mario; Schuck, Andreas R.T. and Hanggli, Regula. "The Effects of Repetitive News Framing on Political Opinions over Time". *Communication Monographs,* nr 82 vol 3(2015): 339-358.

33. Lodzki, Bartlomiej and Paluch, Anna. "Intermedia Agenda-Setting During the European Parliament Elections in Poland". In *Political Communication and European Parliamentary Elections in Times of Crisis – Perspectives from Central and South-Eastern Europe.* Edited by Ruxandra Boicu, Silvia Branea and Adriana Stefanel. 43-56. London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017.

34. Machi, David and Mayr, Andrea. *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction.* London: Sage Publications, 2012.

35. Maxwell McCombs, Maxwell "Building Consensus: The News Media's Agenda-Setting Roles". *Political Communication*, nr 14 vol 4(1997): 433-443..

36. Maxwell McCombs, Maxwell "A Look at Agenda-setting: past, present and future". *Journalism Studies*, nr 6 vol 4(2005): 543-557.

37. McCombs, Maxwell and Kiousis, Spiro. "Agenda-Setting Effects and Attitude Strength Political Figures During the 1996 Presidential Election". *Communication Research,* nr 1 (2004) – vol (31): 36-57

38. McCombs, Maxwell and Shaw, Donald L. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media". *The Public Opinion Quarterly,* nr 2 vol 36 (1972): 176-187.

39. Miguel, Luis Felipe. "Eleições, opinião pública e mídia: reflexões a partir das eleições brasileiras de 2002". *Politica & Sociedade,* nr 2 (2003): 41-66.

40. Miguel, Luis Felipe. "Mídia e vínculo eleitoral: a literatura internacional e o caso brasileiro". *Opiniao Publica,* nr 1 vol 10 (2004): 91-111.

41. Mira, Gustavo Fernandes Paravizo; de Oliveria, Luiz Ademir and Leal, Paulo Roberto Figueira. "Estratégias Discursivas De Oposição: O Lugar De Fala De Aécio Neves Na Campanha De 2014 E No Cenário Pós-Eleitoral". *Comunicacao e Mercado,* nr 11 vol 4 (2015):210-223.

42. Moon, Soo Jung. "Attention, Attitude, and Behavior: Second-Level Agenda-Setting Effects as a Mediator of Media Use and Political Participation". *Communication Research,* nr 40 vol 5 (2011): 698-719.

43. Orgad, Shani. *Media Representation and the global imagination.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012

44. Patrona, Marianna. "'We Change or We Sink': Discursively Constructing the Voter's Dilemma in a Pre-election Interview with the Greek Prime Minister". In *Media Talk and Political Elections in Europe and America.* Edited by Mats Ekstrom and Andrew Tolson: 13-40. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

45. Richardson, John E.. *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

46. Robinson, Piers. "The Role of the Media and Public Opinion." In *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases.* 2nd ed., edited by Smith Steve, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne,168-188. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

47. Rodriguez, Lulu and Dimitrova, Daniela V. "The levels of visual framing". *Journal of Visual Literacy*, nr 1 vol 30(2011): 48-65.

48. Rubim, Antonio Albino Canelas and Colling, Leandro. "Mídia e Eleições Presidenciais no Brasil Pós-Ditadura". *Diálogos de la Comunicación*, nr 69 (2004): 74-87.

49. Santos, Lorena and Piovezani, Carlos. "Discurso, Política E Mídia: Uma Análise Discursiva Da Divulgação Midiática Dos Resultados Das Eleições De 2012". *ALED Brasil* (2016).

50. Shanto, Iyengar and Hahn, Kyu S. "Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use". *Journal of Communication,* vol 59 (2009): 19-39.

51. Schmitt-Beck, Rudiger. "Mass Communication, Personal Communication and Vote Choice: The Filter Hypothesis of Media Influence in Comparative Perspective". *Mass Communication, Personal Communication and Vote Choice,* 33(2003): 233-259.

52. Schuck, Andreas R.T; Vliegenthart, Rens and De Vreese, Claes H. "Who's Afraid of Conflict? The Mobilizing Effect of Conflict Framing in Campaign News". *B.J.Pol.S,* nr 46 (2014): 177-194.

53. Scheufele, Dietram A. (2000) "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication". *Mass Communication & Society*, nr 3 (2000): 297-316.

54. Schlosberg, Justin. "Should he stay or should he go? Television and Online News Coverage of the Labour Party in Crisis". *Media Coalition Reform* (2016): 1-17.
    Stromback, Jesper. "Mediatization and Perceptions of the Media's Political Influence". *Journalism Studies,* nr 4 vol 12 (2011): 423-439.

55. Udris, Linards, Lucht, Jens and Schneider, Jorg. "Contested Elections in Increasingly Commercialized Media. A Diachronic Analysis of Executive and Parliamentary Election News Coverage in Switzerland". *Swiss Political Science Review,* nr 21 vol 4(2015): 578-595.
56. Vargo, Chris J.; Guo, Lei and Amazeen, Michelle A.. "The agenda-setting power of fake news: A big data analysis of the online media landscape from 2014 to 2016". *New Media & Society*, nr 20, vol 5 (2018): 2028-2049.
57. Vargo, Chris J.; Guo, Lei. "Networks, Big Data, and Intermedia Agenda Setting: An Analysis of Traditional, Partisan, and Emerging Online U.S. News". *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, nr. 4 vol 94 (2017): 1031-1055.
58. Vu, Hong Tie; Guo, Lei and McCombs, Max. "Exploring 'the world outside and the pictures in our heads': A Network Agenda-Setting Study". *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, nr. 4 vol 91 (2014): 669-686.

Articles analyzed – all articles were accessed in November 2018:

Extra Online:

1. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/brasileiros-vao-se-unir-depois-das-eleicoes-diz-temer-23135660.html
2. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/urnas-fecham-na-maior-parte-do-pais-resultados-comecam-sair-as-19h-23136894.html
3. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/candidato-do-governo-meirelles-diz-ter-buscado-ganhar-respeito-na-campanha-23135828.html
4. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/ausente-lider-nas-pesquisas-bolsonaro-alvo-preferencial-em-ultimo-debate-antes-do-1-turno-23129298.html
5. https://extra.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/veja-que-fato-ou-fake-nas-falas-dos-presidenciaveis-no-debate-da-globo-23130161.html
6. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/eleitores-votam-com-expectativa-de-decisao-plebiscitaria-para-planalto-no-2-turno-23135612.html
7. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/lideres-na-disputa-presidencial-pt-psl-formam-maiores-bancadas-da-camara-mostra-levantamento-da-xp-23138759.html
8. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/vice-de-bolsonaro-general-mourao-aposta-em-vitoria-com-placar-de-60-40-23192683.html
9. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/tse-convida-partidos-para-acompanhar-apuracao-eleitoral-na-sede-do-tribunal-23190625.html
10. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/temer-diz-que-transicao-ja-esta-organizada-sera-muito-sossegada-23192260.html
11. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/rodrigo-maia-diz-que-sua-agenda-mais-convergente-com-de-bolsonaro-23181387.html
12. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/repercussao-politicos-entidades-analisam-vitoria-de-jair-bolsonaro-23193962.html
13. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/ciro-gomes-rejeita-criticas-sobre-neutralidade-fala-que-nunca-mais-fara-campanha-com-pt-23192835.html
14. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/cunhada-de-temer-comemora-vitoria-de-bolsonaro-ironiza-ele-nao-23194255.html

15. https://extra.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/e-fake-que-haddad-acusado-de-estuprar-menina-de-11-anos-23192061.html

16. https://extra.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/e-fake-que-fh-declarou-voto-em-fernando-haddad-neste-2-turno-23190999.html

17. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/economia/reuniao-de-bolsonaro-com-chefe-da-aneel-eletricas-causa-estranhamento-no-setor-23189105.html

18. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/bolsonaro-diz-que-expectativa-de-vitoria-pelo-que-tem-visto-nas-ruas-23192323.html

19. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/bolsonaro-vota-com-seguranca-reforcada-diz-que-espera-vitoria-pelo-que-tem-visto-nas-ruas-23192463.html

20. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/futuro-presidente-deve-respeitar-instituicoes-a-democracia-diz-toffoli-23192801.html

21. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/wider-image-no-nordeste-do-pais-bolsonaro-envereda-por-caminhos-inesperados-23181409.html

22. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/eleitores-escolhem-novo-presidente-em-disputa-com-bolsonaro-favorito-haddad-em-busca-de-virada-23192192.html

23. https://extra.globo.com/noticias/brasil/governo-argentino-cumprimenta-bolsonaro-diz-que-eleicao-demonstra-forca-das-instituicoes-brasileiras-23194349.html

Folha de S. Paulo:

1. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/quarto-colocado-alckmin-tem-pior-desempenho-da-historia-do-psdb.shtml

2. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/no-quintal-de-ciro-eleitores-trocam-lula-por-bolsonaro.shtml

3. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/apos-trauma-de-2014-marina-silva-revive-drama-de-ter-que-se-decidir-no-2o-turno.shtml

4. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/colunas/eliogaspari/2018/10/a-utilidade-do-fator-arrependimento.shtml

5. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/painel-do-eleitor-acirramento-da-disputa-leva-angustia-a-indecisos.shtml

6. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/tse-falha-no-combate-a-fake-news-na-campanha-de-primeiro-turno.shtml

7. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2018/10/ue-minimiza-impacto-de-eleicoes-no-brasil-em-negociacoes-com-o-mercosul.shtml

8. https://painel.blogfolha.uol.com.br/2018/10/06/todo-mundo-quieto-ate-a-eleicao-ta-ok-ordenou-bolsonaro-a-aliados-na-reta-final-da-disputa/

9. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/arroubo-autoritario-faz-bolsonaro-perder-eleitores-na-reta-final.shtml

10. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/com-retorno-de-ciro-ao-brasil-haddad-espera-declaracao-de-apoio.shtml

11. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/frente-de-fernando-haddad-chega-tropega-ao-2o-turno.shtml

12. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/cobertura-da-folha-teve-reportagens-exclusivas-e-inovacoes.shtml

13. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/record-amplia-visibilidade-de-bolsonaro-e-evita-criticas-ao-presidenciavel.shtml

14. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/favoritismo-de-bolsonaro-e-reforcado-por-pior-desempenho-do-pt.shtml
15. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/haddad-tem-aval-de-lula-para-liderar-oposicao-do-pt-ao-governo-bolsonaro.shtml
16. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/sem-internet-comunidades-rurais-dependem-de-radio-para-definir-voto.shtml
17. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/indios-do-xingu-veem-com-preocupacao-uma-possivel-vitoria-de-bolsonaro.shtml
18. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/temos-um-psicopata-violento-que-pode-virar-presidente-diz-lindbergh.shtml
19. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/com-medo-de-bolsonaro-lgbts-se-engajam-para-virar-votos-nas-redes.shtml
20. https://f5.folha.uol.com.br/celebridades/2018/10/leandra-leal-paulo-betti-e-outros-famosos-pedem-voto-a-fernando-haddad-nas-ruas-de-sp-e-do-rio.shtml
21. https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/10/campanha-de-bolsonaro-apagou-registro-de-envio-de-whatsapp-pt-usou-sistema.shtml

O Globo:

1. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/tudo-sobre-os-outros-candidatos-presidencia-23129718
2. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/tudo-sobre-candidato-presidencia-geraldo-alckmin-psdb-23129395
3. https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/merval-pereira/post/recomeco.html
4. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/tudo-sobre-candidata-presidencia-marina-silva-rede-23124668
5. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/sou-unico-capaz-de-derrotar-bolsonaro-diz-ciro-gomes-23129974
6. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/saiba-tudo-sobre-os-candidatos-presidencia-23130344
7. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/sera-tenso-mas-passa-23138413
8. https://oglobo.globo.com/opiniao/plantando-vento-23127949
9. https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/focanovoto/post/seis-acontecimentos-que-marcaram-eleicoes-ate-agora.html
10. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/um-pais-dividido-vai-as-urnas-pela-oitava-vez-apos-redemocratizacao-23135728
11. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/elio-gaspari/a-utilidade-do-fator-arrependimento-23135487
12. https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/bernardo-mello-franco/post/eleicao-da-incerteza.html
13. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/aumenta-numero-de-brasileiros-votando-fora-do-pais-23136191
14. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/desde-cedo-brasileiros-fazem-fila-para-votar-em-lisboa-23135935
15. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/brasileiros-votam-para-presidente-no-exterior-23135639
16. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/analise-bolsonaro-larga-forte-parasegundo-turno-mas-tera-que-se-expor-23137857

17. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/tudo-sobre-candidato-presidencia-jair-bolsonaro-psl-23123698
18. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/tudo-sobre-candidato-presidencia-fernando-haddad-pt-23126402
19. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/na-eleicao-das-fake-news-fato-ou-fake-faz-mais-de-700-checagens-durante-campanha-23135263
20. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/merval-pereira-ascensao-de-bolsonaro-no-primeiro-turno-pode-criar-clima-favoravel-ao-candidato-do-psl-23138335
21. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/fernando-haddad-impulso-o-peso-de-ser-cara-de-lula-23134593
22. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/colunistas-do-globo-analisam-expectativas-para-as-eleicoes-deste-domingo-23135763
23. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/em-eventual-2-turno-mp-planeja-pedir-direito-de-resposta-fake-news-espalhadas-por-whatsapp-23131954
24. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/fernando-haddad-nao-impulsiona-candidatos-nos-estados-23128994
25. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/ascanio-seleme/perguntas-fazer-antes-de-votar-23135467
26. https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/entenda-as-propostas-dos-candidatos-presidencia-nos-temas-economicos-do-dia-dia-23183535
27. https://oglobo.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/e-fake-que-haddad-acusado-de-estuprar-menina-de-11-anos-23192060
28. https://oglobo.globo.com/opiniao/eleicao-uma-etapa-num-processo-de-mudanca-na-politica-23184942
29. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/sem-companhia-de-politicos-alckmin-vota-em-sao-paulo-nao-revela-candidato-presidente-23192264
30. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/pf-faz-operacao-para-apurar-ameacas-candidatos-crimes-eleitorais-23180507
31. https://oglobo.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/e-fake-que-miguel-falabella-gravou-audio-sobre-cenario-pos-eleicao-23189777
32. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/perguntas-respostas-entenda-acao-da-justica-eleitoral-nas-universidades-23189884
33. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/polarizacao-no-pais-impoe-candidatos-espirito-critico-em-declaracoes-diz-corregedor-eleitoral-23182571
34. https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/merval-pereira/post/os-mesmos-eleitores.html
35. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/observadora-da-oea-diz-que-distribuicao-de-fake-news-no-brasil-pode-nao-ter-precedentes-23184079
36. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/na-quebrada-de-mano-brown-decepcao-com-politicos-que-ignoram-periferia-23186646
37. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/campanha-de-bolsonaro-pede-inelegibilidade-de-haddad-por-causa-de-show-de-roger-waters-23189522
38. https://oglobo.globo.com/fato-ou-fake/e-fake-que-fh-declarou-voto-em-fernando-haddad-neste-2-turno-23190993
39. https://oglobo.globo.com/opiniao/democracia-modera-discursos-de-candidatos-23185309
40. https://oglobo.globo.com/economia/com-fim-das-eleicoes-mercado-de-capitais-espera-abertura-de-oportunidades-23191702

41. https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/ciencia-matematica/post/jair-bolsonaro-e-morte-da-democracia-no-brasil.html
42. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/o-dia-em-resumo-com-56-dos-votos-validos-bolsonaro-ve-vantagem-recuar-para-12-pontos-segundo-datafolha-23185%E2%80%A6
43. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/presidente-de-partido-de-bolsonaro-diz-que-direitos-humanos-devem-ser-primeiro-para-as-vitimas-pessoas-de-bem-23%E2%80%A6
44. https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/presidente-de-partido-de-bolsonaro-diz-que-direitos-humanos-devem-ser-primeiro-para-as-vitimas-pessoas-de-bem-23%E2%80%A6

CHAPTER 8: APPENDIX

Newspaper	Election Round	Headline	English Headline
Extra Online	1	Ausente, líder nas pesquisas Bolsonaro é alvo preferencial em último debate antes do 1º turno	Absent, poll leader Bolsonaro is preferencial target in last debate before first round
Extra Online	1	Veja o que é #FATO ou #FAKE nas falas dos presidenciáveis no debate da Globo	See what is #Fact and what is #Fake in the presidential candidates discourse in the Globo debate
Extra Online	1	Brasileiros vao se unir depois das eleicoes, diz Temer	Brazilians will be unified after the elections, says Temer
Extra Online	1	Candidato do governo, Meirelles diz ter buscado ganhar respeito na campanha	Government candidate, Meirelles says to have seek to gain respect in campaing
Extra Online	1	Eleitores votam com expectativa de decisão plebiscitária para o Planalto no 2º turno	Electorate votes with expectations of plebiscit decision for second round offices
Extra Online	1	Líderes na disputa presidencial, PT e PSL formam maiores bancadas da Câmara, mostra levantamento da XP	Leaders in the presidential race, PT and PSL form biggest Congress groups, a report by XP shows
Extra Online	1	Urnas fecham na maior parte do país, resultados começam a sair às 19h	Polls close in most of the country, results start to appear at 19hrs
Extra Online	2	Temer diz que transição já está organizada e sera muito sossegada	Temer says that transition is alaready organized and that it will be very tranquil
Extra Online	2	Bolsonaro vota com segurança reforçada e diz que espera vitória pelo que tem visto nas ruas	Bolsonaro votes with reinforced security and says that expects victory from what he has been seeing in the streets
Extra Online	2	Bolsonaro diz que expectativa é de vitória pelo que tem visto nas ruas	Bolsonaro says that expectations are of victory from what he has been seeing in the streets
Extra Online	2	Rodrigo Maia diz que sua agenda é mais convergente com a de Bolsonaro	Rodrigo Maia says that his agenda is more convergent with Bolsonaro's
Extra Online	2	REPERCUSSÃO-Políticos e entidades analisam vitória de Jair Bolsonaro	Repercussion - Politicians and entities analyze Jair Bolsonaro's victory
Extra Online	2	Reunião de Bolsonaro com chefe da Aneel e elétricas causa estranhamento no setor	Meeting between Bolsonaro and chief of Aneel and eletrics causes weridness in the sector
Extra Online	2	Governo argentino cumprimenta Bolsonaro e diz que eleição demonstra força das instituições brasileiras	Argentinian government greets Bolsonaro and says elections demonstrates strenght of Brazilian institutions
Extra Online	2	WIDER IMAGE-No Nordeste do país, Bolsonaro enshada por caminhos inesperados	Wider Image - In the Northeast of the country, Bolsonaro gets on unexpected paths
Extra Online	2	Vice de Bolsonaro, general Mourão aposta em vitória com placar de 60% a 40%	Bolsonaro's Vice, general Mourao bets in victory with score 60% to 40%
Extra Online	2	Cunhada de Temer comemora vitória de Bolsonaro e ironiza 'Ele Não'	Temer's sister in law celebrates Bolsonaro's victories and ironizes "Ele nao"
Extra Online	2	TSE convida partidos para acompanhar apuração eleitoral na sede do tribunal	TSE invites parties to follow electoral examinations in the tribunal headquarters
Extra Online	2	Futuro presidente deve respeitar instituições e a democracia, diz Toffoli	Future president must respect institutions and democracy, says Toffoli
Extra Online	2	Eleitores escolhem novo presidente em disputa com Bolsonaro favorito e Haddad em busca de virada	Voters chose new president in dispute with Bolsonaro as favorite and Haddad searching for turnaround
Extra Online	2	Ciro Gomes rejeita críticas sobre neutralidade e fala que nunca mais fará campanha com o PT	Ciro Gomes rejects criticism about neutrality and says that he will never campaing with PT again
Extra Online	2	É #FAKE que FH declarou voto em Fernando Haddad neste 2° turno	It's #Fake that FHC declared vote in Fernando Haddad in second round
Extra Online	2	É #FAKE que Haddad é acusado de estuprar menina de 11 anos	It's #Fake that Haddad is accused of raping 11 year old girl

Newspaper	Election Round	Headline	English Headline
O Globo	1	Análise: Bolsonaro larga forte para segundo turno mas terá que se expor	Analysis: Bolsonaro starts strong for second round but will have to expose himself
O Globo	1	Merval Pereira: Ascensão de Bolsonaro no primeiro turno pode criar clima favorável ao candidato do PSL	Merval Pereira: Bolsonaro's ascension in first round can create favorable climate to PSL's candidate
O Globo	1	'Sou o único capaz de derrotar Bolsonaro', diz Ciro Gomes	"I am the only one capable of defeating Bolsonaro", says Ciro Gomes
O Globo	1	Tudo sobre o candidato a Presidencia Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)	All about the candidate to the Presidency Jair Bolsonaro (PSL)
O Globo	1	A eleição da incerteza	The election of uncertainty
O Globo	1	Um país dividido vai às urnas pela oitava vez após a redemocratização	A divided country goes to the urns for the eight time since the redemocratization
O Globo	1	Aumenta o número de brasileiros votando fora do país	Number of brazilians voting outside of the country increases
O Globo	1	Brasileiros votam para presidente no exterior	Brazilians vote for president overseas
O Globo	1	A utilidade do fator arrependimento	The utility of the regret factor
O Globo	1	Desde cedo brasileiros fazem fila para votar em Lisboa	Since early, brazilians line up to vote in Lisbon
O Globo	1	Em eventual 2º turno, MP planeja pedir direito de resposta a 'fake news' espalhadas por WhatsApp	In an eventual second round, MP plans to request right of answer to 'fake news' spread by Whatsapp
O Globo	1	Colunistas do GLOBO analisam expectativas para as eleições deste domingo	Globo columnists analize expectations for this Sunday elections
O Globo	1	Recomeço	Restart
O Globo	1	Perguntas a fazer antes de votar	Questions to make before voting
O Globo	1	Na eleicao das Fake News, Fato ou Fake faz mais de 700 checagens durante a campanha	In the Fake News elections, Fact or Fake does more than 700 checks during campaing
O Globo	1	Plantando Vento	Planting wind
O Globo	1	Sera tenso, mas passa	It will be tense, but it passes
O Globo	1	Tudo sobre os outros candidatos a Presidencia	All about the other candidates to the Presidency
O Globo	1	Tudo sobre o candidato a Presidencia Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB)	All about the candidate to the Presidency Geraldo Alckmin (PSDDB)
O Globo	1	Seis acontecimentos que marcaram as eleições até agora	Six events that marked the elections so far
O Globo	1	Saiba tudo sobre os candidatos a Presidencia	Know all about the candidates to the Presidency
O Globo	1	Saiba tudo sobre a candidata a Presidencia Marina Silva (REDE)	Know all about the candidate to the Presidency Marina Silva (REDE)
O Globo	1	Fernando Haddad, o impulso e o peso de ser o 'cara' de Lula	Fernando Haddad, the boost and weight of being Lula's 'man'
O Globo	1	Fernando Haddad não impulsiona candidatos nos estados	Fernando Haddad does not boost candidates in states
O Globo	1	Tudo sobre o candidato a Presidencia Fernando Haddad (PT)	All about the candidate to the Presidency Fernando Haddad (PT)
O Globo	2	O dia em resumo: Com 56% dos votos válidos, Bolsonaro vê vantagem recuar para 12 pontos, segundo Datafolha	The day summarized: with 56% of the valid vootes, Bolsonaro see advantage retreat to 12 points, according to DataFolha
O Globo	2	Campanha de Bolsonaro pede inelegibilidade de Haddad por causa de show de Roger Waters	Bolsonaro's campaing asks for inelegibility of Haddad due to Roger Waters' concert
O Globo	2	Jair Bolsonaro e a morte da democracia no Brasil	Jair Bolsonaro and the death of democracy in Brazil
O Globo	2	Presidente de partido de Bolsonaro diz que direitos humanos devem ser primeiro para 'as vítimas e pessoas de bem'	President of Bolsonaro's party says that human rights must be first for "victims and people of good"
O Globo	2	Entenda as propostas dos candidatos a Presidencia nos temas economicos do dia a dia	Understand the proposals of the candidates to the presidents in the economical subjects of the day to day
O Globo	2	Democracia modera discursos de candidatos	Democracy moderates candidates speeches
O Globo	2	Com fim das eleições, mercado de capitais espera abertura de oportunidades	With the end of elections, capital markets expects the opening of opportunities
O Globo	2	Na 'quebrada' de Mano Brown, a decepção com políticos que ignoram a periferia	In the "guetto"of Mano Brown, the disappointment with politicians that ignore the outskirts
O Globo	2	Eleição é uma etapa num processo de mudança na política	Elections is a step in a process of change in politics
O Globo	2	Os mesmos eleitores	The same voters
O Globo	2	Perguntas e respostas: entenda a ação da Justiça Eleitoral nas universidades	Questions and answers: understand the action of Electoral Justice in the universities
O Globo	2	Observadora da OEA diz que distribuição de fake news no Brasil pode não ter precedentes	OEA observer says that the distribution of Fake news in Brazil may not have precedents
O Globo	2	Sem a companhia de políticos, Alckmin vota em São Paulo e não revela candidato a presidente	With the company of politicians, Alckmin votes in SP and does not reveals candidate to the presidency
O Globo	2	PF faz operação para apurar ameaças a candidatos e crimes eleitorais	PF makes operations to investigate threats to candidates and electoral crimes
O Globo	2	Polarização no país impõe a candidatos 'espirito crítico' em declarações, diz corregedor eleitoral	Country's polarization imposes to candidates 'critical spirit'in declarations, says electoral magistrate
O Globo	2	É #FAKE que Miguel Falabella gravou áudio sobre cenário pós-eleição	It's #Fake that Miguel Falabella recorded audio about post-election scenarion
O Globo	2	'A virada já começou', diz Fernando Haddad (PT), em ato de campanha no Recife	"The turnaround has already began" says Fernando Haddad (PT), in campaing act in Recife
O Globo	2	É #FAKE que FH declarou voto em Fernando Haddad neste 2° turno	It's #Fake that FHC declared vote in Fernando Haddad in second round
O Globo	2	É #FAKE que Haddad é acusado de estuprar menina de 11 anos	It's #Fake that Haddad is accused of raping 11 year old girl

Newspaper	Election Round	Headline	English Headline
Folha de S. Paulo	1	'Todo mundo quieto até a eleição, tá ok?', ordenou Bolsonaro a aliados na reta final da disputa	"Everybody quiet until the elecion, ok?" commanded Bolsonaro to allies in the final stretch
Folha de S. Paulo	1	Após trauma de 2014, Marina Silva revive drama de ter que se decidir no 2º turno	After 2014 trauma, Marina Silva relives drama of having to decide in the second round
Folha de S. Paulo	1	Painel do eleitor: Acirramento da disputa leva angustia a indecisos	Elector Panel: Increased dispute leads undecided to anguish
Folha de S. Paulo	1	A utilidade do fator arrependimento	The utility of the regret factor
Folha de S. Paulo	1	No quintal de Ciro, eleitores trocam Lula por Bolsonaro	In Ciro's backyard, voters trade Lula for Bolsonaro
Folha de S. Paulo	1	UE minimiza impacto de eleições no Brasil em negociações com o Mercosul	UE minimizes the impact of Brazilian elections in negotiations with Mercosul
Folha de S. Paulo	1	TSE falha no combate a fake news na campanha de primeiro turno	TSE fails in combat against fake news during the first round campaing
Folha de S. Paulo	1	Quarto colocado, Alckmin tem pior desempenho da história do PSDB	In forth place, Alckmin has worst performance in PSDB history
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Favoritismo de Bolsonaro é reforçado por pior desempenho do PT	Bolsonaro's favoritism is reinforced by worst PT performance
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Record amplia visibilidade de Bolsonaro e evita críticas ao presidenciável	Record amplifies Bolsonaro's visibility and avoids critics towards the candidate
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Arroubo autoritário faz Bolsonaro perder eleitores na reta final	Authoritatian stance makes Bolsonaro lose voters in final stretch
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Com medo de Bolsonaro, LGBTs se engajam para virar votos nas redes	With fear of Bolsonaro, LGBTs engage themselves to turn votes in the networks
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Índios do Xingu veem com preocupação uma possível vitoria de Bolsonaro	Xingu indigenous people see with worry a possible victory of Bolsonaro
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Temos um psicopata violento que pode virar presidente', diz Lindbergh	"We have a violent psicopath that may become president", says Linderbergh
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Cobertura da Folha teve reportagens exclusivas e inovações	Folha's coverage had exclusive stories and innovations
Folha de S. Paulo	2	PT usou sistema de WhatsApp; campanha de Bolsonaro apagou registro de envio	PT used Whatsapp system, Bolsonaro's campaing erased sent record
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Sem internet, comunidades rurais dependem de rádio para definir voto	Without internet, rural communities rely on radio to define vote
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Haddad tem aval de Lula para liderar oposição do PT ao governo Bolsonaro	Haddad has Lula's endorsement to lead PT's opposition to Bolsonaro's government
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Com retorno de Ciro ao Brasil, Haddad espera declaração de apoio	With return of Ciro to Brazil, Haddad expects support declaration
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Leandra Leal, Paulo Betti e outros famosos pedem voto a Fernando Haddad nas ruas de SP e do Rio	Leandra Leal, Paulo Betti and other famous ask for vote to Fernando Haddad in the streets of Rio and SP
Folha de S. Paulo	2	Frente de Fernando Haddad chega trôpega ao 2º turno	Front of Fernando Haddad arrives shaky in second round