Media Representations of Race
Cue the State of Media Opening in Brazil

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This study examines non-white candidate textual and visual framing (Reese, 2003) in the context of a local election, as informed by print national press and a telenovela, to assess the current state of media opening in Brazil. It analyzes a sample of 313 newspaper and newsmagazine reports and 292 photos concurrent with when municipal campaigns were gearing up for October 2008 elections to determine how Brazilian leaders and local election candidates are framed. Likewise, this study examines 31 episodes of the concurrent TV Globo 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras* to understand telenovela local election candidate portrayal. Two salient latent frames surface: One is *Brazilian democracy is more social than racial*. The other is *Black men can succeed*. Together, these two frames indicate that telenovelas are more progressive storytellers than print national news.

A recent *New York Times* article[1] claimed that Hollywood prepared the United States for a black president. It reviewed movies with black male leads, such as James Earl Jones and Morgan Freeman, suggesting that strong non-white men could not only head the greatest nation on earth but also do a good job. Ultimately, the article suggests popular cultural fiction powerfully influences reality.

In an increasingly diversifying media society, news and information are produced in various formats, and audiences get information to make life decisions from diverse sources. In Brazil, the home of "more people of African descent . . . than in any country outside of Africa itself" (BBC World Service, 2009), audiences have tended to obtain social, political, and cultural information from (alternative) news sources, including telenovelas (Straubhaar, Olsen, & Nunes, 1993). A telenovela is a Cinder(f)ella-like, rags-to-riches-type mini-series, or a six-days-per-week, one-hour program with a pronounced beginning, plot development throughout its six- to eight-month duration, and a definitive end. Telenovelas are "the Brazilian cultural product with the greatest audience, the most societal influence, the most sophistication in open television production, and export Brazilian culture to more than 140 countries" (University of São Paulo, Brazil, Agency News, 2004). TV Globo leads and dominates Brazilian telenovela production.

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[1] "How the Movies Made a President." (2009, January 18). Retrieved January 21, 2009, from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/18/movies/18darg.html?th=&emc=th&pagewanted=print:

In Freedom House's 2009 Global Press Freedom Rankings list, Brazil was classified as having a partly free press.[2] By another world press freedom classification system, Brazil's 2009 World Press Freedom Ranking was 71st, up from 82nd in 2008 (Worldpress.org, 2009). Since the 1985 transition from military dictatorship to democracy, Brazil is undergoing media opening, or the "process by which mass media become more representative of societal viewpoints and more independent of official control" (Porto, 2007, citing Lawson, 2002, p. 381). Media opening, then, is a critical consideration. Latin American countries have experienced barriers to it, including general weakness in rule of law, holdover authoritarian legislation, oligarchic ownership of media outlets, uneven journalistic standards, and limited audience access to diverse information sources (Hughes & Lawson, 2005).

Whereas researchers have investigated the relationship among Brazilian telenovelas, politics, and broadcast news (Porto, 2001), few studies exist on Brazilian telenovelas, politics, and the print national press. This relationship increases in importance, primarily because Brazilian newspaper circulation, readership, and subscriptions have been rising recently (Smith, 2008), indicating that more people have access to and possibly engage in discussions on politics and the public sphere (Matos, 2008), particularly at election times (Choi & Becker, 1987). Further, Brazil, as a BRIC nation recently tapped to host the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics, continues to emerge as a powerful world economic player.

This exploratory study examines non-white candidate textual and visual framing (Reese, 2003) in the context of a local election, as informed by the print national press and a telenovela, to assess the current state of media opening in Brazil. A sample of newspaper and newsmagazine reports and photos concurrent with when municipal campaigns were gearing up for October 2008 elections will be analyzed to see how Brazilian leaders and local election candidates are framed. Likewise, all 31 episodes of a concurrent TV Globo telenovela will be studied to understand its portrayal of local election candidates. *Duas Caras (Two-Faced* or *Two Faces)*, broadcast from October 2007 to May 2008, is the telenovela under study, primarily because it helped TV Globo maintain top rankings with its first fictional portrayal (in the 8 p.m. time slot) of an Afro-Brazilian hero, winning candidate Evilásio Caó (Folha Online, 2008). The 8 p.m. telenovela continues to be the program traditionally tuned into by most Brazilians, across gender, age, education, and socioeconomic status in an increasingly competitive (inter)national media market place (Straubhaar, 2001).

It is anticipated that the fictional portrayal of the non-white candidate in *Duas Caras* will be more positive than the Brazilian national press's representation of non-white candidates, largely due to the prominence of the racial democracy myth in Brazil (Chaka, 2005; Sheriff, 2001; Stam, 1997). First put forth in the 1930s by sociologist Gilberto Freyre, racial democracy is the notion that all races are equal. It is also anticipated that a candidate's socioeconomic position will correlate positively with his portrayal, given the common cultural theme of class dominance, the traditional telenovela theme of class ascension, and the rise of the new middle class (*Veja,* April 2, 2008, p. 83).

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[2] Retrieved June 10, 2009, from
http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fop/2009/FreedomofthePress2009_tables.pdf

This fact and fiction comparison of non-white local election candidates enriches studies of Brazil's degree of media opening in face of systemic differences, where news is consumed, but entertainment with social marketing is more widely consumed. It also points to the telenovela as a progressive storyteller or informant in its influencing Brazil toward at least consideration of positive Afro-Brazilian leadership.

Framing Theory, Hegemony and Intertextuality

Frames are dynamic, active, negotiated elements that uniquely link media producers, content, and audiences across time and space (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008a). Tuchman (1978) borrowed the term *frame* from Goffman (1974), who used frame analysis to phenomenologically analyze the social organization of human experience. She applied it to the news making process and posited that news, especially about phenomena beyond an individual's direct experience,

> . . . is a window to the world. But, like any frame that delineates a world, the news frame may be considered problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. (p. 1)

Tuchman hints that frames are not to be confused nor underestimated as simple lenses through which to view a world; they are complex, deeply-embedded (in cultural and societal norms), often invisible, and understood structures that guide perception, even behavior. Frames are tools that social actors use to structure reality, and they are often so taken for granted that their impact is mostly by stealth (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Lewis & Reese, 2009; Van Gorp, 2007). According to Reese (2003), "Frames are *organizing principles* that are socially *shared* and *persistent* over time, that work *symbolically* to meaningfully *structure* the social world" (p. 11, italics in original).

In this sense, framing is closely tied with hegemony, that is, the status quo, or the assumed and understood way of how things are and operate, or the power that one social group holds over another. Entman (1993) argues that frames are formed and transferred through selection and salience. Scheufele (1999) clarifies that one of four ways to study frames is as media frames, or frames that are contained or shared in journalistic stories across different media, such as print and television. Whether through news production or telenovela production, and perhaps through a combination of both in the Brazilian case, "no society can organize its everyday production of life without hegemony" (González, 2001, p. 108).

Framing theory and hegemony, then, supply the perspective with which to make sense of news and telenovela content intertextuality (La Pastina, 2004; Geraghty, 2007). In this application, intertextuality is the "interpenetration of journalistic discourses in the telenovela and the telenovela as a reference to news and political discourse" (La Pastina, 2004, p. 304). Framing theory can twine manifest (explicitly stated) and latent (deeper, perhaps even unintended) news and telenovela content, uncovering the organizing principles that powerful institutions such as news and telenovela producers craft.

When considering news and telenovela text, visual information can serve as additional, important detail considered (sub)consciously as audiences evaluate messages (Coleman & Banning, 2006, p. 314) and, hence, should continue to be one of the ongoing topics in news framing research (Fahmy & Kim, 2008). This is largely due to the communicable power of nonverbal behavior — gestures, expressions, even posture — that is transmitted in nonverbal dimensions, such as level of activity, arm positioning, eye movement, and hand motions (Coleman & Banning, 2006). Social attitudes of social protests have been strongly correlated through an experiment analyzing news photo framing of social protests (Arpan et al., 2006). A three-year, three-newspaper Israeli text and photo news study determined that negative portrayals of former USSR female immigrants made their assimilation more difficult when newsreaders relied more on news than interaction to form their opinions of the immigrants (Lemish, 2000).

Although only slices of reality (Fahmy, 2004), news photograph studies demonstrate the importance of considering visual information in framing studies of text. News photographs can also indicate what is excluded or not shown (Fahmy & Kim, 2008). Likewise, what is not captured in text, or what is either missing or excluded from news copy or simply unsaid, must also be considered (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008b).

Framing, then, allows a consideration of what is said, unsaid, shown, not shown, and what is inferred or understood. It enables frames emerging from a manifest and implicit approach to print national news and *Duas Caras* to be compared and contrasted to note similarities and differences between news and telenovela messaging. Overlap between news and telenovela frames shows the intricate, deliberate, "real time" conversation that occurs at least between the telenovela writer and concurrent news events.

How framing occurs should not take precedence over *what* frames exist or arise from their cultural rootedness. "The 'what' of the frame must be understood before the 'how' of its effectivity on citizens. In between, it must be processed through institutional machinery . . . ." (Reese, 2009, p. 18).

How, then, does the framing of non-white candidates in real and fictional Brazilian media compare? In brief, framing offers a more holistic approach to making sense of media messages regarding race portrayals to better understand the state of media opening in Brazil.

The Media

This study blends media from different producers with inherent systemic differences to cut through news story normalization and routinization that can occur through press practices (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008a; Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008b; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). At least media production, let alone audience composition (dis)similarities, differentiate national print media from television. Newspaper and newsmagazine reporters and editors tend to come from Brazilian bourgeoisie and above, and they write to people like them (De Melo, 2009; Matos, 2008). At least content — event timing plus story length and focus — separates newspapers from newsmagazines. Similarly, news consumers tend to be more educated and affluent than are general TV viewers. Further, unlike other media, telenovelas evolve according to sophisticated audience research techniques to satisfy general audience preferences, attitudes, and opinions (Hamburger, 1999; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990).

The national print newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil*, widely known as *JB* or *O Jornal*, is a leading daily newspaper published by Editora JB out of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's cultural capitol. It has been recognized for setting the standard for Brazilian journalism, even becoming Brazil's first online newspaper. This left-of-center middle-class newspaper is Brazil's 12th largest of about 300 dailies,[3] and its third oldest existing newspaper,[4] *O Jornal* has maintained a high quality of reporting and degree of news independence, despite sporadic government censorship and control. A series of recent redesigns has resulted in newsstand sales skyrocketing; overall circulation went up 27% in 2007, the most remarkable increase among quality papers in Brazil. But its content and style continue to be directed at an educated and elite readership, which is mostly white.

Veja (Portuguese for *See* or *Look*) is the world's fourth largest weekly newsmagazine, with a 2008-charted circulation of more than one million copies per issue (Severo, 2008, p. 3).[5] Founded in 1968, it is published by Editora Abril from São Paulo, Brazil's industrial capitol, and distributed nationally. Like most, if not all, Brazilian press, *Veja* endured Brazilian military regime censorship from 1969 to 1976, but has maintained its reputation as a main national news medium, demonstrating aggressive investigative journalism and constantly scooping newspapers (Alves, 2003). A liberal and very well-produced magazine, *Veja* leads as the periodical for Brazilian information and politics (Fadul, 1998). Its audience also tends to be more affluent and white.

Veja-Rio is a special edition of *Veja*. Also published weekly by Editora Abril S/A and distributed throughout Brazil, *Veja-Rio* circulates for free in the city of Rio. This weekly supplement is lifestyle oriented and highlights cultural events and topics in Rio, specifically, and Brazil, in general. It reports on the trendy social issues within Brazil.

With 53% of the broadcast audience, TV Globo or Rede Globo commands the lion's share of TV viewers in Brazil (Hughes & Lawson, 2005; Severo, 2008). Internationally, TV Globo is the world's fourth largest network. TV Globo's sophisticated, Hollywoodesque, cinematic-quality production of telenovelas, along with its successful exportation of them to more than 140 nations, has earned Brazil the nickname "O país de televisão" ("the land of television") for decades.

Duas Caras is the telenovela selected for study, because "[t]he only way to understand how meanings, media, gender, and power actually interrelate and operate is to examine the details of a specific cultural instance" (D'Acci, 1994, pp. 4–5). This "cultural instance" details, among its many story lines, a poor Afro-Brazilian's campaign for local election. This is significant, as *Duas Caras* demonstrated TV Globo's awareness of its diverse audience and its outreach attempt to showcase more media minorities and minority issues. Further, the telenovela's writer, Aguinaldo Silva, is a former journalist known for

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[3] See "Brazil: Transportation and Communications," retrieved October 29, 2008, from http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1685.html

[4] *O Jornal* was founded in 1891.

[5] Special thanks to Rosental Alves for this presentation from iG's Caique Severo, as noted in the reference section. Note that iG is the acronym for Internet Group, Brazil Telecom's Internet branch.

interlacing political fact with fiction in his telenovelas (Straubhaar, 1989). In fact, *Duas Caras* is partially named for lead character Dr. Marconi Ferraço's spoofing of real-life Brazilian politician José Dirceu, who also underwent plastic surgery and assumed an alternative lifestyle (see, for example, Braga, 2009).

To restate, this study considers: What can analysis of factually-based and fictionally-based media reveal about the current state of media opening in Brazil? How does concurrent media coverage of social, cultural, and primarily political issues compare? Are there differences between traditional print press text and photos? What might those differences indicate, and how do they compare with telenovela portrayals of similar concurrent topics? More specifically, how does the framing of non-white candidates in real and fictional Brazilian media compare?

The Methods

Research has shown constructed week samples to be more efficient than other forms of sampling for newspaper studies (Hester & Dougall, 2007; Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993). The constructed week approach allows for a holistic, somewhat objective snapshot of important issues and events in Brazilian newspaper coverage to be systematically captured for discovery of news themes that will be compared with telenovela themes. As hard newspaper and newsmagazine copies comprise this study primarily to ensure corresponding-story-photo capture, a single constructed week of coverage complies with constructed week research rigor and satisfies the requirements for a reliable news study. In brief, secondary systematic sampling of newspaper and newsmagazine stories and photos over an approximate 16-month time period, ranging from January 7, 2007, to April 2, 2008, has generated 313 articles and 292 photos for analysis. The research time period includes nine months of news leading up to the premiere of *Duas Caras* and concludes about one month prior its finale. The telenovela aired October 1, 2007, until May 31, 2008.

A *Veja* weekly Wednesday publication date and an original nine-week constructed week sample from the research period forced a secondary systematic sampling technique that resulted in one constructed week of *O Jornal* articles and photos. In other words, a Sunday was pulled from the first newspaper constructed week, a Monday from the second, and so forth. It should be noted that an additional Sunday was included in the newspaper constructed week sample to more closely match the duration of *Duas Caras* and to more closely coincide with the *Veja*-constructed week sample. The newspaper sample includes front-page stories, political coverage, and the opinion section, plus photos from each sample issue.

Veja's type of constructed week was based upon a census of its Wednesday publication dates, beginning Wednesday, January 10, 2007, through Wednesday, May 6, 2008. The May 6, 2008 date was based upon an educated, but hypothetically-set deadline of when current events could be worked into *Duas Caras* prior to its finale (Hamburger, 1999; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990; M. I. Vassallo de Lopes, personal communication, October 17, 2008). A six-week interval became a six-day interval equivalent.

Veja cover stories, introductory letters to the reader, special interviews, political coverage, and relevant final opinion pieces, along with their photos from the above dates, form the *Veja* newsmagazine-

constructed week sample. Cover stories and profiles, plus their corresponding photos from *Veja's* insert city magazine *Veja-Rio*, have been pooled with the *Veja* sample. A total of 218 *O Jornal* and 95 *Veja/Veja-Rio* articles are included.

Table 1. National Print Media Constructed Week.

"Weekday"	Newspaper Date	Newsmagazine Date
Sunday	Jan. 7, 2007	Jan. 10, 2007
Monday	March 12, 2007	Feb. 28, 2007
Tuesday	May 15, 2007	April 18, 2007
Wednesday	July 18, 2007	June 6, 2007
Thursday	Sept. 20, 2007	July 25, 2007
Friday	Nov. 23, 2007	Sept. 12, 2007
Saturday	Jan. 26, 2008	Oct. 31, 2007
Sunday	March 30, 2008	Dec. 19, 2007
Monday	N/A	Feb. 13, 2008
Tuesday	N/A	April 2, 2008

A composite week is similar to a constructed week, yet it serves broadcast medium study purposes rather than print media. As in the case of constructed week sampling, research demonstrates that a sample of two to five composite weeks of broadcast materials is sufficient for a broadcast television program under study, like *Duas Caras* (Kunkel, Cope & Biely, 1999; Stern & Mastro, 2004). Given the importance of the initial episode or telenovela premiere, which lays out initial characters, themes, and frames, the start date for the composite week was Monday, October 1, 2007. Creating the telenovela sample resulted in five six-day-per-week composite weeks, or a total of 30 episodes, ending on Saturday, May 24, 2008. The all-important telenovela finale, which was broadcast outside the sample parameters one week later on May 31, 2008, was added to the sample, resulting in 31 of a possible 209 episodes or 1,051 scenes.

With data pooled, Brazilian print national news stories and photos, along with telenovela scenes, have been comparatively narratively analyzed to understand news theme framing and intertextuality of African Brazilian candidate media representation around recent Brazilian municipal elections. Comparative narrative analysis allows for inductive, theoretical, crystallized interpretation of various media components, including verbal and nonverbal representations or symbols, or texts and visuals (Berger, 1997; Berger, 2005). The process is reciprocal and dynamic, rather than linear, with news themes in each medium triggering consideration, then evaluation of possible news themes in other media to surface salient latent news frames. In other words, this exploratory qualitative analysis, in the Rojecki (2005) and Esser and D'Angelo (2006) traditions, went farther than a mere topical assessment; in addition to considering what themes rose from the stories, photos, and telenovela scenes, the author made connections to larger ideologies to give voice to some frames embedded within or alluded to among the media.

An inductive rather than a deductive process is used to arrive at an understanding of news frames in the print media and how those compare and contrast with telenovela themes. That said, some quantitative measures are useful to help give this project trustworthiness, or "'credibility' (in place of internal validity), 'transferability' (in place of external validity), 'dependability' (in place of reliability), and 'confirmability' (in place of objectivity)," according to Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 219). For example, using constructed and composite week samples has made the data set manageable as well as reproducible. It also allows for a systematic processing of the information. In addition, counting visual representations of African Brazilian persons delivers powerful evidence to debunk the notion of racial democracy within Brazil's press, as will be discussed.

For our purposes, a *news story* is an article — a hard news cover story, a letter to the editor, or a profiled special interview, as in *Veja*'s case — from the byline to its last printed word. A *photo* is defined as a news photograph appearing in conjunction with a news story's text. This excludes newspaper masthead photos, for instance. A *scene* is defined as an exchange of dialogue between or among telenovela actors on a given topic until a break in the flow of the scene occurs.

It should be noted that, as the researcher, I am a U.S. Caucasian female citizen, who is fluent in Portuguese. Having lived in Brazil and visited the country on several occasions, I consider myself familiar enough with its culture to understand the environment, but not so native that I could not be blinded to important cultural assumptions necessary for a framing analysis. Considering that this is a qualitative, multimedia, bilingual study, it is nearly impossible to develop any kind of an intercoder reliability that would enhance the credibility and/or reliability of this study. However, multimethods have been deployed to achieve crystallization of results, or an idealized form of triangulation. "Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of 'validity' [and] . . . provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic" (Richardson, 1994, p. 522).

Findings

National print news and photo analysis, plus one telenovela vis-à-vis non-white candidate portrayals, point to a possibility of racial democracy in fictionalized Brazil and indicate gradations of media opening, with the telenovela being the most progressive storyteller. With regard to the 313 news stories and 292 photos, insufficient material about the upcoming 2008 municipal elections surfaces to draw conclusions indicating national print news framing of non-white candidates. One reason for this is a national fixation — at least from press reports — as to who will be the top contender for unprecedentedly popular Pres. Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva's presidential post in 2010. Nevertheless, the 31 sampled *Duas Caras* episodes tell the story of an African Brazilian's successful election. From the study materials, two salient latent frames speaking to the treatment of African Brazilians in (news) media arise.

Salient Latent News Frame: *Brazilian Democracy is More Social Than Racial*

Sociologist Gilberto Freyre first advanced the notion of racial democracy in 1933, and recently the conception that "all races are equal" has come under scrutiny for being a myth, according to many critical scholars (Chaka, 2005; Sheriff, 2001; Stam, 1997). Although more commonly associated with race, racial democracy also comprises stretches for equality among gender and class. Although not a topic generally spoken about in the Brazilian press, racial democracy remains a critical component of Brazilian national identity (De Sousa & Nascimento, 2008) and way of life (Htun, 2005).

For example, a sampled *Veja* cover story (June 6, 2007) tells the story of two identical twin boys preparing to enter college. For all intents and Brazilian purposes, and through subjective coding by "race judges," one twin is deemed white, and the other black. Each twin's color codification opens and closes certain education doors, given Brazil's developing affirmative action policy.[6] That policy continues to be in upheaval, considering Brazilian legislation's inability to define blackness. As Brazilian judicial bodies have not prescribed a formulaic criterion for determining race, race continues to be contextual, subjective, and malleable (Greene, 2008).

The larger issue in the identification of each twin's race is the question of race in Brazil. Inspection of news text and photos reveals that messages clash. Removing text from newspaper and newsmagazine, observers "see" a Brazil that is different from what is reported; colorless stories become colorful.

Photos of groups largely show people of color in bad situations, in working conditions, and as committers of crime. For example, the lead story on the cover of *O Jornal*'s January 7, 2007, paper shows a boat of brown men and women in knee-deep water. The photo caption states, "In Campos, the river South Paraiba overflowed and residents were rescued by boats." Similarly, *O Jornal*'s July 18, 2007, cover story on Rio de Janeiro's Santos Dumont Airport fire is accompanied by a revealing photo; the workers waiting outside to clean up the mess — as indicated by the logos on the backs of their uniforms — are brown. In another instance, Brazilians are shown working to unearth and collect guerrillas' corpses are brown and black (*O Jornal,* May 15, 2007, p. A3). In *Veja's* January 10, 2007, special on crime, a dramatic photo of prison convicts shows brown and black hands and feet reaching from overfilled jail cells (see same issue, pp. 48–49). Again, militia operatives fighting crime in the favelas are brown and black (see same issue, p. 53). Still again, another photo, this one of a sea of seated, bare-backed, backs-to-the-camera Febem Prison inmates, shows only one man's skin lighter than that of all the others, but it is questionable if he's white or light-brown (see same issue, pp. 80–81). Not even the statistics associated with the crimes mention race.

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[6] Although birthed within the last decade, affirmative action is not a new antidiscrimination policy in Brazil. For example, the nation's three constitutions in the 1930s and 1940s each proclaimed that all were equal under the law. And although other proposals have occurred, the return to democracy in 1985 and the 1988 Constitution showed the state beginning to take more significant action on race issues (Htun, 2005).

The news is saturated with additional examples of visual references to black or brown people in negative situations. Of primary concern is the framing of Brazilian politicians. Again, while direct reference to race is absent from news text, the photos accompanying the stories, addressing credit card fraud among political public figures, highlight Afro-Brazilians. In particular, the single black male politician shown in the news sample, Orlando Silva, the Minister of Sports, is divulged as the third — not the top — largest spender of public funds in the federal government credit card scandal (see *Veja,* February 13, 2008, p. 55). Why visually single Mr. Silva out? This visual representation is particularly troubling, considering that Afro-Brazilians comprise a minority of government posts. In other words, this visual portrayal is disturbing because it is skewed, given the dominance of white males in Brazilian news photos:

Table 2. Overall News Photo Composition.

Total News Visual Racial & Gender Representation			
	White (%)	*Unsure/Brown (%)*	*Black (%)*	**TOTAL (%)**
Men	195 (90)	5 (2)	16 (7)	216 (74)
Women	60 (80)	8 (11)	7 (9)	75 (26)
TOTAL	255 (88)	13 (4)	23 (8)	**291**

Photos of men and women from about the waist up — not full body — are counted.

More precisely, the numbers in Table 2 show that while only 54% of Brazil's population is white,[7] 88% of people in the (headshot) news are white. While 39% of Brazil's population is mulatto or mixed white and black, only 4% of persons appearing in the joint news sample are. And while 6% of Brazil's population is reportedly black, 8% of featured persons are black. However, various scholars contest that the number of blacks comprising Brazil's reported Census 2000 numbers, upon which this comparison is based, is frighteningly low and inaccurate (Dr. Joseph Straubhaar, personal communication, June 2009). Predictions of forthcoming census data support scholars' earlier suspicions, with whites forecast to be the minority race for the first time in Brazil (BBC World Service, 2009). To restate, the news photos of men and women taken from about their waists up are heavily skewed toward a white male majority, which is not representative of Brazil.

From 1985, Brazil has been transitioning from an era of dictatorship to democracy through popularly elected government officials. Yet, whereas Brazil identifies itself in the political realm as a democracy, the general populace has continually elected and popularly supported its current and previous president hailing from socialist (democrat) parties through two terms. Pres. Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, who is currently in his second term as president of Brazil, has succeeded President Fernando Henrique

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[7] These percentages are from Brazil's 2000 census, IBGE. According to the CIA World Factbook, the percentages are: 53.7% (white); 38.5% (mulatto, or mixed white and black); 6.2% (black), 0.9% (other, which includes Japanese, Arab, Amerindian); and 0.7% (unspecified). These figures are contested, given the lack of definition for "blackness," the under-reporting or dual reporting of blacks, and so forth.

Cardoso, a renowned scholar and sociologist, who was first elected to power in 1995.[8] For various reasons, both presidents are recognized for their efforts to advance and open race relations in Brazil. For example, President Lula and his administration have expanded former-President Cardoso's policies. They have created a Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality, appointed a record number of blacks to senior posts (though their presence still lags far behind their numbers in society), and enacted a new law that makes education in Afro-Brazilian history and culture obligatory in public schools (Htun, 2005). Yet, it is the Afro-Brazilian-led Secretariat that President Lula has formed that has come under press scrutiny for government corruption charges.

One unique Afro-Brazilian included in national print press photographs is Gilberto Gil. When his white wife of almost 30 years, Flora, was profiled in *Veja*'s September 12, 2007, issue, Gil was noted for his historic musical and political contribution to Brazil. A famous singer, lyricist, and guitarist, Gil served in President Lula's administration as Brazil's Minister of Culture from 2003 to 2008. The article noted that he had matured since his crazy, younger days, during which, for instance, he was jailed for marijuana possession. Given at least his unmatched success, Gil straddles the contributions and cultural costs individual Afro-Brazilian press photographs represent. He seems outside the boundaries of normalized negative Afro-Brazilian behavior.

As noted earlier, racial democracy also involves gender and class elements. For example, Brazil hosts Latin America's earliest, largest, most diverse, radical and successful women's movement, although it has one of the lowest rates of women's political participation in the world (Alvarez, 1990; Htun, 2002; Sáez, 2008). Since the government of João Baptista do Oliveira Figueiredo (president, 1979–1985), several female ministers have been in the Brazilian president's cabinet, and in 1994 two women were candidates for vice president. Whereas only 7% of Congress was female by 1994, women have better representation at state and municipal levels (Gender, 2009). Female Dilma Rousseff, Lula's chief of staff, is the rumored lead contender to succeed him (Bremmer, 2009). Further, news and newsmagazine accounts and photos highlight the participation of women in Brazil's government. Consider the well-documented tapping of Solange Vieria as President Milton Zuanazzi's replacement in ANAC, Brazil's federal aviation agency, which was held responsible for the July 2007 TAM flight tragedy (see, for example, *O Jornal*'s September 20, 2007, issue), and Senator Kátia Abreu's success as the nation's first female vice president of Brazil's Confederation of Agriculture and Cattle Breeding (see, for instance, *Veja,* December 19, 2007, pp. 84–85).

With respect to class, Brazil's middle class (Class C) has undergone unmatched growth and stability over the last three years, becoming Brazil's largest socioeconomic group. For instance, since 2007, some 20 million Brazilians have left poverty and joined 66 million other hard-working Brazilians in a new station of life (*Veja,* April 2, 2008, p. 83). The establishment and stabilization of the middle class stems from increased job opportunity in Brazil, given that unemployment is down to the lowest it has been in 22 years (cover story, *O Jornal*, November 23, 2007). In turn, the government benefits from

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[8] An abnormality among Brazilian leadership, one that tends to reinvent the wheel, President "Lula" has furthered many of the initiatives his presidential predecessor initiated 10 years after Brazil's move to democracy.

increased revenue from new middle class taxes and a larger paying populace. Although the middle class is required to pay upward of four months of one's annual salary in taxes (see the cover story, *O Jornal*, March 30, 2008), life is good. Members of Brazilian Class C are taking advantage of their good fortune to reinvest in the Brazilian economy, changing it and Brazilian society. They have purchased 40% of the computers sold and mobile phones owned in Brazil, along with 70% of the apartments and financed houses (*Veja,* April 2, 2008). Part of Brazil's middle class growth and stability also stems from social programs that President Lula has continued and developed, such as the Bolsa Família, or Family Grant Program (see *Veja,* April 2, 2008).

Therefore, the frame *Brazilian democracy is more social than racial* is defined to mean that, while class and gender may make upward social mobility and social inclusion possible, race can stymie progression.

Salient Latent Telenovela Frame: *Black Men Can Succeed*

Evilásio Caó is the Afro-Brazilian hero of *Duas Caras,* pushing boundaries for black telenovela actors as well as blacks in Brazilian society. As his character's leadership skills mature, he is elected "vereador" of the Portelinha favela (shantytown or slum). His character turns traditional black telenovela character stereotypes inside out by proving he is a loyal family man and marrying up when he weds rich, white Júlia. He overcomes significant familial prejudice and bigotry. And he does all this generally by playing along with the rules of the system; Evilásio constantly recognizes the authority of both Juvenal (his white supervisor and godfather) and of Barreto (his white father-in-law and a very prestigious lawyer) and seems to request power "by their leave."[9] It seems that when playing by the rules, black men can come to power and succeed.

Evilásio's election to "vereador" pits him against traditional white leadership, as portrayed in *Duas Caras.* Juvenal, the self-proclaimed, but positioned leader of Portelinha, is a deft politician; he uses events to his favor to secure votes. He knew, for example, that someone would try to assassinate him at one of his campaign rallies. He prepared by wearing a bullet-proof vest and placing a Bible in his chest pocket over his heart, so that when he was shot, it would appear the Bible saved him, that divine intervention had occurred (Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 5). This kind of event, as well as Juvenal's general popularity in the favela, seemed to be the reason why Juvenal appeared ahead in the polls, having "twice as many votes as Evilásio" (Wednesday, April 30, 2008, Episode 183, Block 1). Yet Juvenal recognized Evilásio's reputation, his attractiveness as a city councilman to the people, and the large 17% undecided vote. He also reflected that he had personally groomed Evilásio since his youth for leadership and had taught him — as he, Juvenal, admitted — everything he knew (see Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 1).

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[9] This is the literal translation for the common Portuguese phrase *com liçensa*. This phrase is heavily entrenched in Brazilian culture. It is a common form of etiquette and behavior. In this sense, Evilásio's framing as the *Duas Caras* hero is normalized.

In a supposed power play, Juvenal proposed ending his candidacy and urging his supporters to vote for Evilásio (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 3). Juvenal's relinquishing of his campaign could signify a hollow win for Evilásio, considering the two candidates' positions in the polls; it appeared that Juvenal was guaranteed to win. At least two points counter this perception. One is Evilásio's strength through his own status within the community as a strong, wise, and "democratic" leader, one who is "on the people's side" (see, for example, Tuesday, January 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 2). Evilásio's reputation for governing Portelinha was established when he temporarily assumed Juvenal's position while Juvenal recovered from a first failed assassination attempt (Monday, January 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 1). Juvenal, seeing Evilásio's growing favor within the community, speculated if his own time as the leader of Portelinha was passing (Tuesday, January 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 4).

Race adds another tension to the power play between Juvenal and Evilásio. Juvenal is white, and Evilásio is black. In the telenovela, Evilásio is framed as many black characters of telenovelas are. For example, he belongs to a lesser social class. This is evident by the possessions the two candidates own or use; whether they be cars or motorcycles, larger or smaller refrigerators, or larger or smaller homes, each item is a social class indicator, according to Brazilian socioeconomic standards. Also typical of how black men have been portrayed in telenovelas, Evilásio is subjugated as Juvenal's right-hand man. His secondary role is traditional in Brazil, since black actors in TV Globo productions do not typically play lead characters. Third, Evilásio, as a black character, is initially and stereotypically portrayed as sexually promiscuous. For example, while Evilásio is dating Júlia, he maintains a pre-existing passion for an older white woman, who is Juvenal's office assistant and close confidant. He also simultaneously sees Juvenal's college-aged daughter, who is brown.

Another interesting point is a comparison within the telenovela of white/non-white candidate attention. In brief, *Duas Caras* gives more attention to the white candidate. A simple count of scene appearances, compared with total scenes in the sample, provides this fact. For example, considering all 1,051 scenes of the telenovela sample, Juvenal appears in 13% (133 scenes). Meanwhile, Evilásio is in 8% (84 scenes). The two characters appear together in only 2% of the sample (26 scenes). This means that although Evilásio is a *Duas Caras* hero and experiences a progressive framing transition from negative Afro-Brazilian stereotypes to that of a potentially positive leader, he remains minimalized through receiving less screen time than does Juvenal. In other words, white male candidates still dominate in the fictive setting, although black candidates are much more visible in the telenovela than in print, comparatively. This will be further discussed later.

Table 3. Telenovela Local Candidate Attention.

Character	Race	Screen Appearances	Percentage
Juvenal	White	133 (of 1051)	13%
Evilásio	Afro-Brazilian	84 (of 1051)	8%
Juvenal & Evilásio	Mixed	26 (of 1051)	2%

To summarize, the salient latent telenovela frame *Black men can succeed* is evidenced through Evilásio Caó's character. As long as he plays by the (white men's) rules, he can succeed. Still, he is the

true winner of the local election, not the benefactor of a hollow victory. Although he experiences progressive framing, he is minimized in comparison to Juvenal, the white candidate.

Discussion & Conclusions

This study's purpose has been to consider non-white local election candidate framing in real and fictional Brazilian media, namely print national news and the telenovela *Duas Caras,* to assess Brazil's degree of media opening. The study applies framing theory that is blended with intertextuality through a comparative narrative analysis, and its findings indicate several points for discussion, although news materials for comparison in regard to the municipal elections are slim. One point for discussion is the contrast between Afro-Brazilian politician or candidate framing in print news, compared with that in the telenovela. Implications for what this means in Brazilian culture introduce other areas for discussion.

Regarding the disparity between non-white candidates or politicians in the news and the telenovela, the negative framing of Afro-Brazilians in print news photographs is disturbing, especially considering the absence or silence of topics of race in news text. When news text and photos are compared, clashes in messages surface. In particular, sample headshots of Afro-Brazilians in power are included because, generally speaking, they are under fire for fraudulent use of taxpayer funds. Although not singular participants in the tale of government corruption, Afro-Brazilian political leaders, for whatever reason, are featured. This example indicates that Afro-Brazilians are either newsworthy when contributing to Brazilian culture in traditional or above-the-norm ways — as Gilberto Gil did with music — or when they are deemed to be making trouble. This signifies that Brazilian democracy at least appears to be more social than racial.

What is a possible explanation for the negative visual framing of Afro-Brazilian or non-white politicians? One possibility resides in the Brazilian production of news. As has been the tradition in Brazil for almost two centuries, white men from elitist backgrounds train for and then become Brazilian journalists, who write for elitist audiences (Candiani, 2009; De Melo, 2001; De Melo, 2009). In other words, Brazilian news production is routinized by and for an elitist audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), although audiences are changing. One step toward a more diverse news text and visual representation, then, needs to stem at least from Brazilian schools of journalism, where sensitivities to minority populations and the ways their stories are told verbally and visually are emphasized.

Could the negative inclusion of Afro-Brazilians in photographs be inherent to news — given that the medium values conflict and other unhappy topics — as well as the rise of reported numbers of African Brazilians? Certainly, the group photographs of Afro-Brazilians in bad situations could be possible, allowing for the larger percentage of Afro-Brazilians than whites. However, the negative framing of Afro-Brazilian leaders, who are a minority among leaders, appears suspect.

Meanwhile, in the *Duas Caras* telenovela, as Afro-Brazilian local election candidate Evilásio Caó progresses through the storyline to later become elected city councilman for Portelinha, his framing goes

through several transitions. First, he is negatively stereotyped as being subjugated to (white) Juvenal and as sexually promiscuous. Each of these roles evolves positively as his father influences him in preparation for his new position of power, and particularly, as he marries rich, white Júlia. While class ascendency is a common telenovela theme, Evilásio's progression is unprecedented. Within the short time frame of a few years in the telenovela, his character development blends aspects of fiction and fact, particularly when Evilásio takes on the "mantel" of idealistic candidate qualities, including that of a dedicated family man to his wife and son. This is a necessary quality for him to have to be a potential successful (real-life) candidate, as previous Brazilian election research has shown (Cantrell, 2004).

In addition, Evilásio possesses other ideal candidate qualities. He is hard working; his work is "24 hours a day" (Gislaine speaking to disgruntled Júlia, Wednesday, January 23, 2008, Episode 99, Block 1). Evilásio avoids scandal. Although he initially has his other interludes on the side, neither is focused on nor made out to be significant. Among the Portelinha people, he is respected as someone who listens (see, for example, Monday, January 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 2). Viewers gain insight into his campaign management when they see how he works with his friend and supporter, Congressman Narciso Tellerman, to run the best campaign possible (see, for example, Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 3). They also watch how a white man in power grooms Evilásio and politicks on his behalf, intently laboring against traditional mindsets in support of Afro-Brazilians (see, for example, Thursday, October 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 5). In the end, Evilásio turns typical Afro-Brazilian media stereotypes inside out by achieving both social mobility through marriage and work, plus an elected position of power.

Why are the news and telenovela framings so different? One reason stems from Brazil's state of media opening, or the "process by which mass media become more representative of societal viewpoints and more independent of official control" (Porto, 2007, citing Lawson, 2002, p. 381). Although Brazil is experiencing charted media opening, particularly in the last few years since its 1985 transition from a military dictatorship to democracy, it is only partly free. Like many Latin American countries, Brazil continues to struggle against certain barriers to its media opening. TV Globo's dominance of the Brazilian market remains substantial, affecting both news and entertainment productions, although it has broken from its original emergence and expansion under an authoritarian regime that protected and promoted it (Hughes & Lawson, 2005). "Clientelistic" ties between politicians and media owners persist (Sinclair, 1999; Valença, 1999), meaning that private media companies rarely intervene in ownership issues or can provide any measure of information balance and independence (Hughes & Lawson, 2005). Perhaps, it is the audience that ties most critically into the question of press freedom in a diversifying media environment.

Concurrently, telenovelas are produced generally by playwrights for general audiences. Over time, they have developed to become cultural forums (Newcomb, 1974; Newcomb & Hirsch, 1994; Straubhaar, 2007). Intentionally or not, given the social, political, and cultural dynamics of a country troubled by periods of dictatorships, TV Globo transformed the Brazilian telenovela into "a forum for the discussion of Brazilian reality" (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 155). For many years, the only way Brazilians living under a military dictatorship could get a sense for how things really were was to turn to alternative news sources, including the telenovela (Straubhaar, Olsen, & Nunes, 1993).
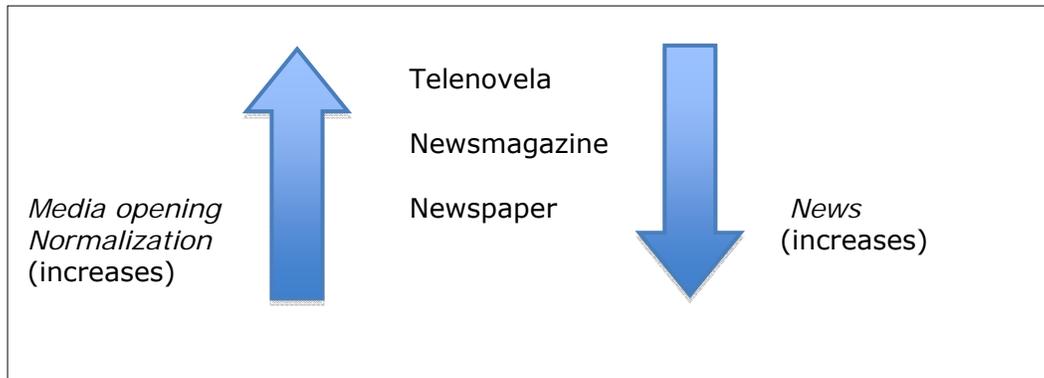
Figure 1. Medium Positioning Within Brazilian Media Opening.

When one applies framing theory to unravel manifest and latent content of news and telenovela text, as well as visual narratives across media, degrees of press freedom within Brazil's partly-free-ranked media become clear. At the bottom level, or the least free and most normalized, is the Brazilian print press. Perhaps *O Jornal* does not textually address issues such as race because it is tied up in the structure of white male journalists writing for an audience like themselves, and the topic has been taboo over time. In addition, the print national press, particularly newspapers, continues to serve a smaller niche audience, although this audience is expanding and its composition is changing. In the middle, newsmagazine reports, like those of *Veja/Veja-Rio*, seem more free or less normalized than newspaper journalism through their treatment of issues such as race and class. Further, *Veja* demonstrates the strength and scope of its investigative reporting through its offering of solutions to the social, cultural, and political problems it tackles. It also serves an impressive audience, with a circulation reaching at least one million. Highest or most free and least normalized, the telenovela, as represented by *Duas Caras,* is the most progressive storyteller. For the first time in TV Globo's history, race and class issues are obviously addressed through a fictional poor Afro-Brazilian's election victory.

In sum, telenovelas are more progressive storytellers than are print national news. Audience dynamics, or numbers, correlate with this insight. Through featuring its first Afro-Brazilian hero in one of its 8 p.m. telenovelas, TV Globo has certified its lead as the (inter)national leader of telenovela production, reaching larger and more diverse audiences. Although progressing, news lags behind in its ability to communicate openly and freely regarding at least social issues. In an increasingly diversifying media environment, greater attention to storytelling and storytelling formats is needed for citizens to know where to go to get the information they need to function in their societies. This is because, for better or worse, fiction appears to be informing fact.

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