

Death on a postcard: one company, two newspapers, three victims

Morte no cartão postal: uma empresa, dois jornais e três vítimas

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Abstract: *In this essay, we analyze the narrative configuration of urban violence in two newspapers of the same editorial group (O Globo e Extra, both from Infoglobo), from the covers and stories published about an armed robbery that had a strong mass media repercussion. We study how the characters of victim and aggressor compose each narrative, linking them to the notions of politics of pity and virtual victim. We conclude that victims of different orders are in question: fatal, social and virtual. The study highlights how, beyond the “raw fact”, journalistic narratives can configure an event in different ways, since the newspapers need to individualize themselves in the editorial market and, therefore, give several readings for the social experience of violence, according to different dramatic projects.*

Keywords: *journalism; narrative; violence; crime.*

Resumo: *Analisamos as configurações da violência urbana nas narrativas jornalísticas de dois jornais da Infoglobo (O Globo e Extra) a partir da análise de capas e matérias sobre um caso de latrocínio de grande repercussão midiática. Investigamos como os personagens de vítima e de agressor compõem cada narrativa, relacionando-os às noções de “política da piedade” e “vítima virtual”. Concluímos que estão em jogo nesse enredo vítimas de várias ordens: fatais, sociais e*

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virtuais. O estudo evidencia como, para além do “fato em bruto”, as narrativas jornalísticas podem configurar um acontecimento de maneiras diferentes, já que os jornais precisam se individualizar no mercado editorial e, portanto, oferecem leituras diversas para a experiência social da violência de acordo com projetos dramáticos diferentes.

Palavras-chave: *jornalismo; narrativa; violência; criminalidade.*

Introduction

May 19th, 2015. In the middle of the discussion of reduction of the penal age in Brazil by the National Congress, a doctor is approached and stabbed by two teenagers in Rio de Janeiro while he was riding a bike around lagoa Rodrigo de Freitas. His bike and wallet were stolen. Taken to a hospital nearby, the doctor dies in the morning of May 20th, when the newspapers that day already were circulating around town. That same day, one of the suspects is identified by the police. He is a resident of the slum of Manguinhos and is 16 years old.

The event takes an important place on the news in different media and is the leading thread to a discussion that involves, beyond the doctor's death, the reduction of the penal age, the prohibition of possession of knives, the raise of the penalty in case of robbery or theft of bicycle, the vulnerability of those who walk on the streets and the previous lives of teenage offenders.

While O Globo publishes the headline "In the lagoa, another stabbing incident" (O Globo, May 20th, 2015, p. 1), Extra, newspaper of the same editorial group, brings the headline: "Barbarian crime in the Lagoa shocks Rio", with the text: "Don't forget about Gilson and Vanderson" (Extra, May 21st, 2015, p. 1). The case talks about a teenager and a young adult killed by police in a police operation in the Dendê hill. The first page also presents the discussion: "As in any place in the world, crimes in tourist spots have a bigger repercussion. However, at Dendê, mothers cry the death of their children in action of the police and wait that it doesn't get forgotten" (Extra, May 21st, 2015, p. 1). The next day, 22nd, Extra approaches the assassination of the doctor with the headline "Two tragedies before the tragedy. Without family, without school" (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 1) referring to the previous life of the defendant.

Our goal is to reflect about the different possibilities of configuration of this type of event by the journalistic narrative, especially regarding the construction of the crime and the characters involved. We took as base a research performed by Vaz and researchers (2005 and 2006) about O Globo newspaper that investigated the ways in which journalism

narrates crime and builds the idea of suffering between the years 1983 and 2001.³ We analyzed how this type of narrative⁴ is configured years later, motivated both by the debate on the reduction of the penal age surrounding the discussion on the crime in question and the controversy that this event and its coverage by two newspaper of Grupo Globo had also generated on social media.

We dedicate the analysis to the first two days of coverage (20 news report and four newspaper covers from May 21st and 22nd 2015) of *O Globo* and *Extra*. Methodologically, we created a protocol of analysis that highlights the narrative sequences related to the description of the crime, of the victim and the aggressors to make a clipping amongst narratives. The goal is to perceive how the newspapers build the victim-aggressor-reader relationship and what are the forms of identification that the publications offer their readers based on different configurations of the event.

Forms of narrating the crime, the aggressors and the victims

From our point of view, the narrative is a “device of argumentation in the relation among subjects” (MOTTA, 2005, p. 4) and the narrator “invests in the narrative organization of their discourse and requires a certain interpretation of the recipient” (MOTTA, 2005, p. 3). One of the important movements of analysis in the study of narratives is to understand the “dramatic project” of the narrator: “The narrator has always a purpose: *no narrative is naïve, neutral, impartial; all narrative is argumentative*. It wants to attract, seduce, involve, convince, provoke effects of meaning” (MOTTA, 2013, p. 196).

To show how the forms of narrating urban violence are modified throughout history, we base ourselves in Vaz, Carvalho and Pombo (2006), which analyzed the changes in image of the criminal in the

3 We deem important to bring up previous researches in view of scientific production having a cumulative and collective character and the problems presented in that study can be clearer if perceived not only in configuration with this case, but also throughout time.

4 Even though Vaz and researchers (2005, 2006) did not use the perspective of narrative, taken as a base for this study, they bring importante support for the theme of urban violence coverage.

news of a crime on *O Globo* between 1983 and 2001. In the 80's, on news about crimes of proximity committed from people in the family, friends or boyfriends, the authors observe that the journalistic text was conducted from the point of view of the aggressor, which ended up having a voice in news reports: “[...] There is a common humanity between the criminal and the audience” (VAZ, CARVALHO and POMBO, 2006, p. 77). The authors say that there was “a primary identification with the criminal, not on the affectionate level, but for thinking that, if they were in their shoes, they would do the same”. In other words, “the crime gains political dimension and the form to avoid it is to create better social conditions [...]” (VAZ, CARVALHO e POMBO, 2006, p. 77). In the 2000's, however, crime begins to be narrated from another point of view: the newspaper begins to bring the declarations of the victims and relatives and the pain and revolt “begin to be representative of the experience of all readers” (VAZ, CARVALHO e POMBO, 2006, p. 78). There is a growing disinterest for crimes of proximity and a bigger visibility of crimes committed by strangers in a public setting with random victims, or “crimes that generalize the possibility of victimization” (VAZ, CARVALHO e POMBO, 2006, p. 75). In this process, there is no more possible identification between audience and criminal, choosing to privilege the point of view of the victim:

Through this form of appearance of suffering and crime in the media, what is solidified is the avoidable suffering as it is conceived by the conservative populism: if there was more surveillance, if laws were stricter and if prisons had their prisoners captive, the suffering would be avoided (VAZ, CARVALHO and POMBO, 2006, p. 75).

From this study, many studies (VAZ, CARVALHO and POMBO, 2005, 2006; VAZ and RONY, 2011; VAZ, CARDOSO and FELIX, 2012; VAZ, 2014) reflect about how suffering has visibility on media and seek to systematize their configurations on, at least, two perspectives, of the “politics of pity” and the “virtual victim”, which we will talk about in the next title, studying *O Globo* and *Extra* in this 2015 coverage.

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It is in Arendt (1988) and Boltanski (2004) that Vaz and his researchers (2006) seek support to work with the politics of pity, idea that arise with the French Revolution. To define what would be pity, Arendt (1988) differentiates it from compassion. Pity would be “feeling without being touched in the flesh” and compassion would be “being struck with the other’s suffering, as if it were contagious” (ARENDR, 1988, p. 67). Compassion, as the author explains, cannot go beyond what is suffered for a person and extended to a class, a people or humanity as a whole; that would be “co-suffering”, therefore, its strength would be in the private, moved by passion (ARENDR, 1988, p. 67). In pity, in turn, the sufferers are de-personalized, encompassing it, in a way of speaking of “suffering masses”, for example. “Pity, for not being struck in the flesh, and conserving its sentimental distance, can be successful where the compassion seems to fail; it can reach a crowd and, consequently, as solidarity, coming in a public square” (ARENDR, 1988, p. 71). Pity, the author explains, only exists in presence of misfortune, needing the existence of unhappy people and, therefore, is different from solidarity.

Boltanski (2004), from reading Arendt, characterizes the politics of pity in distinction between those who suffer and those who don’t and for having a focus on what is seen, in the “spectacle of suffering”. The author understands that, in the formulation of Arendt, this suffering is not centered in action, in the power of the strong over the weak, but in the observation of misfortune for those who don’t share their suffering, do not feel it directly and, because of that, can be considered fortunate (BOLTANSKI, 2004, p. 3). With that, the politics of pity is distanced from the idea of justice: “For a politics of pity, the urgency of the action needing to be taken to bring an end to the suffering invoked always prevails over considerations of justice. From such a perspective it is only in a world from which suffering has been banished that justice could enforce its rights”. (BOLTANSKI, 2004, p. 4).

In this reading of Vaz and researchers (2006), the politics of pity defines a basic structure of solidarity in a complex society when putting in relation, at distance, unknown observer and sufferer. This reading can

be done for what we've seen on newspapers, for example, in the 80's. "The sufferer is not known, nor the help can be local; it must unfold in the form of a public world addressed to other non-sufferers, inviting them to mobilize to avoid or reduce suffering" (VAZ et al., 2006, p. 114). That way, news about a crime could also be a way of generating rage against the system" (VAZ et al., 2006, p. 114)

Authors observe that when there was this dislocation and association of crime to social context, the criminal rates were low. However, as the rates come up, the criminal acts gain an increasingly random and violent character. (VAZ et al., 2006)

Then, there is a passage of pity that the authors name as politics of the virtual victim, referring to a contemporary politics of fear. While in the politics of pity the "audience is built as the happy, unlike the sufferer, and responsible for his/her suffering, even for being a bystander" (VAZ, CARDOSO e FELIX, 2012, p. 29), in the politics of the virtual victim, "the audience is stimulated to conceive themselves in the same condition from the one who suffers, dislocating the search for responsibility for the suffering for another character" (VAZ, CARDOSO e FELIX, 2012 p. 29). This passage is concretized "by the emergency of the virtual victim as a subjective and political figure characteristic of our reality, as well as for the predominance of a new ideal of social justice: the right of a safe and happy routine" (VAZ, CARDOSO e FELIX, 2012, p. 29)

In the politics of the virtual victim, we highlight the singular narratives: "no more events linked to social structure, but events that happen on a public setting with a random selection of victims: natural catastrophes, epidemics and accidents" (VAZ, CARDOSO and FELIX, 2012, p. 35). In addition, sufferers are no longer de-personalized: now, there is an interest in the singularity of their stories, in their happiness up until that moment. However, the "individualization [...] is a form of generalization" (VAZ, CARDOSO and FELIX, 2012, p. 36).

One crime, two newspapers and many victims

We start the analysis of the robbery case that involved the doctor Jaime Gold to mobilize the reflections brought by the quoted studies.

The description of the coverage

The first news report of Jaime Gold did not name the doctor. At *O Globo*, the news was published in the May 20th, 2015 edition with the headline “Another stabbing incident at Lagoa”. The news report, on page 13, shows the photo of the unidentified victim, with helmet and cycling suit, bleeding, being rescued. Throughout that day, family and friends published concerned posts on social media, leading authorities such as the Secretary of Security of Rio, José Mariano Beltrame, to also come forward about the subject on social media.

The following day, 21st, the reader finds at *O Globo* newspaper six pages dedicated to the theme. In the first page (Image 1), the headline: “Tragedy shocks Rio” (*O Globo*, May 21st, 2015, p. 1). The edition presents a full-page story with the profile of the doctor, mourning his death. The text brings back the indignation of social media, repercuting the change of routine of people who usually cycled around Lagoa to avoid robbery, reinforces the insecurity in a postcard of the city and observes that, in this region, the number of young people detained is bigger than the adults.

At the 22nd, the subject remains on the newspaper’s agenda. This time, highlighting the fact that one of the suspects was found and arrested by the police. There are four news reports and one editorial column. The news report announced on the first page (Image 2) observes the detention of a boy with a long history of crime; in the same edition, the division of opinion regarding the reduction of the penal age is approached under the title “mourning at Lagoa”, which still talks about the funeral of the murdered doctor, the commotion of family and friends and the announcement made by the Military Police talking about the implantation of a special patrol in leisure areas. The editorial column,

titled “Crime reinforces the pressure for a new penal age”, harshly criticizes the fact that the penalty for homicides caused by teenagers is so soft, quoting the case of the Lagoa.

Image 1 - Clipping of the first page of O Globo in May 21st, 2015.



Image 2 - Clipping of the first page of O Globo in May 22nd, 2015.



On the 22nd, the Extra brings the first page with the headline: “Two tragedies before the tragedy. No family, no school” (Image 3). The photograph is the same used by O Globo when they show that the suspect “is 16 years old and has 15 crimes under his belt”, but the narrative construction of Extra, while informing the infractions committed by the suspect, take another direction. After the headline, the text follows:

The reporter Carolina Heringer reconstituted the life of the minor suspect of killing the doctor Jaime Gold, at the Lagoa. With 16 years old, he has 15 crimes under his belt, the first one when he was only 11. He has only seen his father twice. His mother, a garbage picker, was indicted for abandoning him on the streets. The other barrier of protection of the minor had also failed: he quit school on the 6th year. And it was reciprocal: the school had also quit him. On Tuesday, an innocent paid with his life for the succession of tragedies (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 1)

Image 3 - Clipping of the first page of Extra from May 22nd, 2015.



The differences in approach for both newspapers, which belong to the same editorial group, are visible. In the following excerpt, we take as base the narrative sequences that talk about the crime, the place, the victim and the criminals on both newspapers.

Description of the crime scene

Newspapers do not differentiate themselves in the way of describing the strict crime. However, *O Globo* adds some judgement: “Cruelty spiral - 16-year-old suspect of killing doctor has 15 registered crimes for robbery” (*O Globo*, May 22nd, 2015, p. 8)

The description of places and crimes is also similar between the two publications. Both characterize the Lagoa as a “postcard”. However, through a source *O Globo* publishes a criticism that relates homeless people to the violence spiral: “Near the heliport, homeless people wash clothes, bathe and barbecue - says the president of the Jardim Botânico Residents Association (*O Globo*, May 21st, 2015, p. 11).

Extra, in turn, warns that the crimes in tourist attractions gain more journalistic highlight, but reinforces that this cannot make us forget crimes that occur, for example, in the slums, as the text of the first page of the May 21st edition says (Image 4).

The description of the victim and the aggressors

To describe the victims in the journalistic narratives, the first reflection to be made is about who the newspapers choose to fill this role. According to Vaz (2014), in order to get compassion, it is necessary to have some beliefs about who is the victim. First, we have to recognize that the other’s suffering is important, which is only possible when we believe the one who suffers is equal to us. When we attribute inferiority or moral difference over the one who suffers, he will hardly be worthy of compassion. The second belief brought by the author the “judgement over the sufferer’s innocence” (VAZ, 2014, p.86), is related to the notion that

Image 4 - Clipping of the first page of Extra of May 21st, 2015.



The suffering is not deserved. In the case we are analyzing, the doctor Jaime Gold is demonstrably innocent and details over his moral virtues are praised throughout O Globo's coverage. The teenager who killed him, on the other hand, is not a sufferer according to O Globo, because he is not innocent and, therefore, not worthy of compassion.

Extra's coverage also recognizes the innocence of the victim (the doctor), although it does shortly: "a doctor" (Extra, May 21st, 2015, p. 12) an "innocent who paid with his life for the succession of tragedies" (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 1). In the last sentence, we highlight the expression "succession of tragedies". Therefore, they open a space to also consider the teenager as a victim, even though he is a social victim. In the case of the news about the teenagers Gilson and Vanderson, killed by the police, Extra picks as victims also the poor young men killed at the same

day as the doctor and publishes a sentence said by one of their mothers: “My son was not a bad person, [...] He was a student - said Eliane, showing his school report [...]” (Extra, May 21st, 2015, p. 13).

At O Globo, the first news report out of the eight who compose the series of news under the title “Mourning at the Lagoa”, on the first day of coverage, the profile picture of the doctor gains a cutout with the outlines of his body, with him smiling. There were interviews with declarations about the doctor by the doorman of his building, his ex-wife and a television actor. The beginning of the text sets the tone of how the narrative will be conducted:

As some might say, he wasn't from this world. A renowned cardiologist, he gave up his practice to dedicate himself to public health at the Hospital do Fundão. Divorced, he became a mother and a father to his two children, now adults. He was an athlete by passion and, when he used to pass by the lobby of his building, he would also say hi to the doorman and start a little conversation. The doctor Jaime Gold, 55 years old, said goodbye to his life in a way that didn't do him justice (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 8).

Then, other excerpts would show how the doctor's innocence was exhaustingly praised by O Globo: “Goodbye, doctor”, “a good man”, “spartan discipline and athletic figure”, “dedicated person”, “24-hour doctor”, “would distribute candy to cheer up people on call” (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 8), “peaceful personality”, “we've lost one of the good ones”, “he was a golden man” (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 10).

The third belief pointed by Vaz (2014, p. 86) is that, in order to have compassion, the person has to have “judgement of similar possibilities”. According to the author, the post-modern compassion is about the “maximum distance between the sufferer and the audience” (VAZ, 2014, p. 94). The reader must put oneself in the sufferer's shoes. Similar events can happen to anyone in any moment and the risk is generalized. This “judgement of similar possibilities” is exhaustively used by O Globo, which recurrently quotes the urgency of prevention and intensification of laws. The crime is seen as incomprehensible. There is the highlight of innocence and the raise of indignation. We build

a community imagined by virtual victims, according to the following example: “[...] Walking or riding a bike around Lagoa has brought another feeling to Rio residents: fear” (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 11). In the journalistic text, there are strangers that sympathize with the victim: “Despite not knowing the doctor, the cyclist Mário Luiz Vides [...] Came from São Gonçalo to pay his condolences to the family [...]” (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 10). “Psychology student and a rider, Alexandre Rodrigues [...] Brought a poster as a protest: ‘I don’t deserve to be stabbed’” (O Globo, May 21st, p. 10). Some groups are named as potential victims: “The death of the doctor [...] Caused commotion, fear and a feeling of helplessness between friends, family and many people who frequent the area - one of the most valued leisure spaces in the city and scenario of different events at the Olympic games in 2016 (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 10).

In this politics of virtual victim, the necessity of punishment is highlighted. For the newspaper, the teenagers involved are not victims and should be punished more harshly. O Globo publishes a story, on May 21st, titled “In the region, number of teenagers arrested is higher than the adults”. In the same page, another news receives the title “Penal age in discussion”. Below, two articles compose the page, one pro and one con the reduction of the penal age. In the first page of the next day, we read: “The crime rekindled the debate about the reduction of the penal age, whose project is still ongoing in the Congress” (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 1). Inside the newspaper, that same day, an infographic with a map indicates the different places where the teenager would have approached people at Lagoa. At O Globo, many news reinforces the fact the aggressor is a teenager, important designation at that moment of the debate, as in the following examples: “[...] Three teenagers were arrested yesterday at Lagoa” (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 10). Crime rates are associated to the age group: “The number of teenagers arrested in April at the area of 23rd BPM Leblon, which comprises Lagoa, was higher than the adults arrested” (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 14) and “In a month, 40 teenagers were arrested in the region for crimes of

robbery and drug trafficking, against 30 adults arrested. Therefore, they represented 57% over the total of 70 cases” (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 14). The relation between the numbers and the poll of reduction of penal age gets explicit in Rio’s governor speech, Luiz Fernando Pezão, source heard by O Globo:

I don’t want us to make unfruitful actions. Most arrests we make is with minors. It is unacceptable. The place of a minor is the school - he says. - I just want a discussion to be made at the National Congress. The police broke a record of minor’s arrests and it is not enough (O Globo May, 22nd, 2015, p. 8)

At Extra, the fact the aggressor is a teenager appear only on two excerpts: “[...] “A 16-year-old minor with 15 reported crimes, took part in the doctor’s death” (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 4) and “We are certain that the teenager effectively participated in the death” (Extra May 22nd, 2015, p. 4).

What Vaz (2014) calls politics of pity, there is an articulation between suffering and politics, in other words, there is the inclusion of the system, making the criminal a victim as well. This perspective is based on the idea that every human being is born equal and it is unfair that some suffer. The aggressors are victims of poverty and the audience, “superior”, should act politically against this situation. O Globo mentions only one sentence in this sense, in the last lines of a news report, through a source, the ex-wife of the murdered doctor: “They are generations of victims of our system, our lack of education, of health” (O Globo, May 21st, 2015, p. 8). On Extra, on the other hand, this notion goes through different stories about the case in question, as in the first page of May 22nd: “16-year-old minor suspect in the death at Lagoa left school at 14 years old, has only seen his father twice and was neglected by his mother” (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 1). Within the edition, this perspective remains being worked:

Since 2010, there were 15 reported crimes - including robbery, theft, contempt and traffic - and nine by the Department of Socio-Educational

Actions (Degase). Other three times, X went through 14th DP, but as a victim. [...] Policemen reported the incidents as material neglect (twice) and child abandonment. In one of these reports, on October 25th, 2010, policemen say that X and the other minor were starving, without any money to come back home (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 3).

Therefore, the aggressor's description is very different in both newspapers. At O Globo, a news report describes each one of the thefts committed by the teenager with the use of a knife and emphasizes that was shortly on closed regimen. The newspaper briefly quotes that he was tortured by agents in a crime denounced by the Public Ministry, but the emphasis was in the cold blood of the killer in the case in question, as in the following excerpt, credited by the newspaper to the deputy that took care of the case: "The coldness of the teenage offender and the coward way in which he acted called my attention. He doesn't show any resentment for another human being" (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 8). The journalistic text also assumes this perspective:

[...] Even before announcing the robbery, he brutally struck him on the back. Seeing the victim on the floor, the suspect, still according to the witness, kept striking him, ripping his abdomen open in a long and vertical deep cut, which reached four organs and took any possibility of Jaime to survive the attack [...] (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 8).

In that same news report, a source is invited to explain what would lead the author to commit this infraction: "According to the psychologist Luiz Alberto Py, the author of the stabbing has symptoms of psychopathy: [...] 'I don't know this young man [...], But he gives me the impression that there was a desire to stab someone prior to the contact with the victim, there was an enjoyment in the act'". (O Globo, May 22nd, 2015, p. 8).

At Extra, however, the aggressor gains characteristics that allow him to also be treated as a victim; there are many details about his life. This logic is visible in the headline "Two tragedies before the tragedy. No family, no school", on May 22nd, as well as in the following excerpts:

“Teenager suspect of killing doctor had a history of hunger, school evasion and abandonment” (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 3) and “He confessed the robberies, but not the participation in the doctor’s death” (Extra, May 22nd, 2015, p. 4).

The different constructions of these characters indicate different dramatic projects that seek to create different effects of meaning in each group of readers. Although one cannot be certain that the newspapers strategies in fact were successful, it is necessary to say that they are organizing strategies of discourses that invite the reader to fill different positions and understand the crime in different configurations.

The criminal, the victim and the reader: possible triangulations

The two newspapers belong in the same editorial group, the Organizações Globo, in its part dedicated to printed journalistic publications, Infoglobo. O Globo, the first informative media of the group, is published since 1925; Extra, on the other hand, begins to be published in 1998. The proposal was to produce a newspaper to an audience that did not consider using O Globo: lower classes (SILVA, 2012). Probably due to Extra had been more popular in middle class, the company created, in 2006, a newspaper geared towards lower classes, Expresso (SILVA, 2012).

The Globo group has a document of “Editorial Principles” available on the internet.⁵ The orientation of the document is that the opinions expressed by the different vehicles of the group are common: “The texts can and must diverge in style, in focus, in emphasis on this or that argument, but the essence is the same”.

In its presentation on Infoglobo’s website, Extra is called “the most popular newspaper in Brazil” and Globo is considered the “preferred newspaper of people who are forming their opinion”. There are different audiences for both newspapers, specified through a type of social status and school level. While O Globo characterizes its audiences as B class

5 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/principios-editoriais-do-grupo-globo.html#principios-editoriais>.

(50%), C (28%), A (15%) and DE (6%), Extra presents the following class configuration: C (58%), B (25%), DE (15%) and A (2%). In terms of school level, 56% of Extra readers have completed high school, 21% have completed elementary school and 17% have graduated university. Among *O globo* readers, however, most readers have graduated university (39%), following by high school (22%) and elementary school (14%).

Even though these differences of direction would correspond different narrative strategies to configure events, in case of Extra, there seem to correspond not only to market strategies in the sense of appealing to the reader. In July 2015, the same year of the crime at Lagoa, Extra published a first page that won the ExxonMobil prize (former Esso prize) of journalism in the category “First page”. The story, titled “From the whip to the lamp post”, approaching the death of a young man at São Luís, Maranhão, that, while tied to a post, was lynched after trying to steal a bar. Extra compared the photo of the scene to a painting of Debret from the 19th century, portraying a slave being whipped on a square. The story would describe the 29-year-old victim as black, young and resident of a slum. “If in 1815 the crowd would watch, powerless, to the barbarity, in 2015 the vast majority would applaud the savagery. Literally - in São Luis neighborhood - or through the internet. Out of the 1,817 comments on Extra’s Facebook, 71% supported the contemporary overseers” (Extra, July 8th, 2015, p. 1).

The approach of the Lagoa’s crime also had a negative repercussion on the Facebook comments. We have to consider that not every audience commenting the social media profile of Extra subscribes the newspaper. The editorial director, Octavio Guedes, said that, out of the 642 thousand fans the newspaper had on Facebook on May 2015, only 192 thousand were identified as living in Rio de Janeiro (MORETZSOHN, 2015).

Extra kept searching, in the next years, a different element in the coverage of urban violence. On August 16th, 2017, they announced the creation of a war editorial office. The insertion of this editorial office was not explained as “a simple change in the way of writing, but, mainly, in

the way of looking, interpreting and telling what is going on around us” (Extra, August 16th, 2017, p. 1).

We can infer that Extra’s trajectory in this and other similar cases can be related to the necessity of standing out in the market, the intention of making a different journalism and/or seeking identification with a simpler audience (target audience from lower classes with lower school status), which sees urban violence differently. A possible hypothesis is that the newspaper, a little bit more popular, are open to different forms of address in the sense of captivating the audience by the identification of pity with the criminal. The construction of characters allows the reader to also feel as a victim of a system or a social structure that, at some point, can also leave him/her in a state of social vulnerability. Extra does not narrate the crime in the aggressor’s point of view, but it opens up to multiple argumentative dispositions.

We systematized these characteristics below:

Table 1 - The criminal, the victim and the reader at O Globo and Extra.

Newspaper	O Globo	Extra
The criminal	The criminal is incomprehensible	The criminal is a victim of a social structure
The victim	Reinforcement of the victim’s innocence and evidence of details in its individual story	The real victim is de-personalized
The reader	The reader is invited as a virtual victim (alterity by risk)	The reader is invited in its pity (alterity by social exclusion)

Source: own elaboration.

In the analyzed coverage, we perceive two movements of event configuration: one that, in the first moment, add victims to the tragedy, relating different cases to affirm that teenagers that live in the slum are not only cause of violence, but victim of it; and in a second moment, talking about the past, especially a past of injustice and abandonment in the life of a teenager that will commit the act that becomes the journalistic event in question; and other projecting the future and the measures that must be adopted to avoid other crimes like this one. When someone

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seek explanations for a crime, in this case, the return is not to the past, but to a construction of bad men that do not value life, psychopaths. The own concept of virtual victim is based on a supposed future in which others will suffer as the first victim did.

Vaz and researchers (2006) say that the address to the middle class in the politics of virtual victim goes through the de-contextualization: Becoming a Virtual Victim does not imply any responsibility for the other's suffering. The individual identification of a subject with the victim is a mere trigger of concern to their future and their loved ones" (VAZ et al., 2006, p. 125).

On the other hand, authors claim a journalism that would reconnect the demand for security to the social context. In order to do that, they say, it is not necessary to re-edit the politics of pity: "We simply need a minimal sense of equality before the law or even before the possibility of being a victim" (VAZ et al., 2006, p. 126), highlighting that hardly the slum residents, that are the main victims of violence, appear as such in the news.

The different construction of victim and aggressor in the newspapers analyzed show us that this is a theme that can only be treated in view of a game of mirrors in which there are specific argumentative strategies. Either the reader must identify with the victim, or the reader must also identify with the social situation of the aggressor. The journalistic narratives are configured, thus, as argumentative devices (MOTTA, 2005, 2013) that use, among other resources, characters to create an identification with their readers through different projects in the journalistic market.

Thus, they are two different dramatic projects that institute crime, their characters and also position readers in different forms of experimentation of reality. In the analyzed case, the politics of pity and virtual victim are historic steps of the coverage of violence, but they are ways that co-exist in the same temporality. One configures the alterity in the risk and the other, in poverty, as shown by the authors that inspired this study (VAZ, CARVALHO and POMBO, 2006, p. 117)

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