

Quem fala sobre a ditadura nos jornais? Reflexões sobre as fontes de informação jornalísticas

Who talks about dictatorship in the news media? Reflections on the journalistic information sources

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Resumo: *O artigo analisa a cobertura jornalística sobre a ditadura no período de funcionamento da Comissão Nacional da Verdade e de outras comissões de âmbito regional. O principal objetivo é verificar quais fontes de informação tiveram espaço na cobertura e identificar se as comissões da verdade impactaram nesse processo. São analisadas as citações entre aspas veiculadas em conteúdos noticiosos por sete veículos de mídia – Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, Carta Capital, rádio CBN, TV Globo e G1 – entre julho de 2012 e dezembro de 2014.*

Palavras-chave: *ditadura; jornalismo; fontes de informação; comissões da verdade.*

Abstract: *This paper analyzes journalistic coverage of the Brazilian dictatorship during the term of National Truth Commission and other local truth commissions. The main goal is to verify which journalistic information sources have had presence in the media coverage and to identify the impact of truth commissions in that process. The quotations of sources published by seven Brazilian media outlets (Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, O Globo, Carta Capital, CBN, TV Globo and G1) between July 2012 and December 2014 are analyzed.*

Keywords: *dictatorship; journalism; journalistic information sources; truth commissions.*

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Introduction

The Comissão Nacional da Verdade (CNV - National Commission of truth) was established between 2012 and 2014 in Brazil with the purpose of investigating the crimes committed by agents in the military dictatorship (1964-1985). Its attributes were to gather documents, find material proof, collect testimonies, perform hearsays and create a final report with the conclusions of works and the recommendations to mitigate damages and prevent new violations.

In order to do that, CNV needed to develop a work of social mobilization, both for ensuring the support of human rights activists and family members of the political dead and missing and to reach other parts of society that ignored or barely knew the investigated period. This job comprised the task of communicating with society both by direct means (making use of social media, government advertisement, public audiences) and by the mediation of journalism. Knowing that the journalistic narratives are not built only from textual choices and imagery, being also elaborated through the selection of information sources and editing speeches to be used, this study intends to understand which sources were privileged on the news about the dictatorship during the CNV. We assume that the choice of sources and what they tell is always a political decision. We will test the hypothesis that, during the CNV and other commissions in regional and local fields, the discourse produced by them was privileged by the main journalistic outlets as the official narrative around the period of Dictatorship.

Sources as a political instrument

In the process of choosing the testimonies of interviews to be incorporated in the journalistic material, there is something at stake that goes beyond ordinary justifications based on the idea of public interest and journalistic ethos. According to Flávio Agnelli (2008), the choice of sources (and also the content they are saying) pre-announces the orientation that the narrative will follow.

Such selection involves a series of issues, as Gaye Tuchman (1978) demonstrated, to who the news are narrations of possible realities, and, therefore, a picked and edited construction. When approaching the structural aspects that involve the ideologies and routines of production of journalists, the author gives clues on how those choices are made, showing that the professionals of media are subject to practical constraints - of time, resources and access to sources - and ideological - editorial policy and political position of the media outlet and the professional.

Manuel Pinto (2000) says to be necessary to analyze the relation with the sources in a vast and complex landscape that indicate internal dynamics to the journalistic field and also the convergences and conflicts decurring from the interaction in the social system.

The sources are people, groups, social institutions or traces - in short, the sources that the journalists recur to or who look for the journalists are interested entities, in other words, they are implied and develop their activity through well determined strategies and tactics. And, if there is news, that is, to a great extent, due to the fact there is someone interested that certain facts become public (PINTO, 2000, p. 278).

However, Herbert Gans (1979) mentions the tendency of journalism of ensuring preference to official sources in opposition of ordinary people. Traquina (2008) reinforces that some sources are favored in the process of producing news: the higher the position of the source, the bigger the tendency to be considered a good source of information. This logic indicates that there are people authorized to talk about certain themes and others not.

Considering the interdependence between journalists and formers of opinion, as well as the fact that not all sources are equal in its capacity of having access of media. Traquina (2008) understands media as a “socially stratified” good. According to him, it was the understanding about the dependence of “routine channels” that took Michael Schudson to describe the process of production of news as an issue of representatives of

a bureaucracy using pre-fabricated news by representatives of another bureaucracy.

Methodological Procedure

In this study, we refer to the analysis of content³ as an analytical methodological procedure. The newslake clipping produced by CNV's office with news on the dictatorship was used to have access to the material to be analyzed: 8,422 journalistic narratives about dictatorship released between July 2012 and December 2014 in more than 60 media outlets.

We selected the narratives shared by the mainstream media that covered the theme the most in the period analyzed, choosing to include three newspaper, one weekly magazine, a radio station, a TV channel and an internet portal: *Folha de S. Paulo*, *O Estado de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, the magazine *Carta Capital*, the radio station CBN, TV Globo and the G1 Portal.

This measure, along with the method of composed week,⁴ allowed to build a sample with 404 journalistic narratives referring to those outlets. The articles of opinion and editorial pieces were excluded from this analysis, since the proposition is to identify the sources acted by the media professionals and used in their journalistic texts. The unit of register analyzed was not the news, but the direct quotation (between quotation marks) of the sources. We identified, then, a total of 807 quotations between quotation marks of sources of information referred by the reporters, among which 226 published by *O Globo*, 191, by *Folha de S. Paulo*, 169 by *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 87 by TV Globo, 82 by G1, 44 by *Carta Capital* and 8 by CBN.

These 807 speeches also were classified according to the type of the source. Among the different classifications of journalistic sources, we picked for the goals of this study, these three natures, according to Nilsson Lage (2003): official, testimonial and experts.

The firsts were “maintained by the State: by institutions that preserve some power of state [...]; and by companies and organizations, like

3 See Krippendorff (1990), Hansen et al. (1998) and Bardin (2008).

4 See Hansen et al. (1998).

unions, associations, foundations, etc.” (LAGE, 2003, p. 62-63). The testimonial sources (“characters” in the journalistic jargon) is distinguished by the emotional character and perspective of these stories, that reveal some experience capable of contributing to illustrate what is told by the reporter. The experts or specialists, in turn, work to supply points of view and analysis of facts and its repercussions based on knowledge and professional experience (LAGE, 2003).

Among the official sources, were identified in the analysis the CNV, the organs of the Executive, Legislative and Judiciary powers, as well as other public institutions or of public interest and its representatives. We considered testimonials the victims (or resisters) of the authoritative regimen and and their family members, the people who experienced the period and the perpetrators. Among the experts, we included historians, journalists, economists and other professionals specialized in the dictatorship period and in related themes, as well as lawyers of the victims of the dictatorship and the perpetrators, non-governmental organizations⁵ and social movements geared towards the defense of human rights.

The voices that echo

The verification of each quotation contained in the journalistic registers allows us to affirm that the most valued sources are the official ones. Out of the 807 quotations, 395 are official sources, which represents 49% of the total analysed. Among them, the commissions of truth are the ones who stand out, having their voice pronounced 173 times (21.5% of the total of quotations) in 106 of the 404 news about dictatorship.

There are different types of reference to the commissions, that involve excerpts of official notes and interviews with commissaries, speeches from its researchers or official responses of the journalistic office. One of the quotations, extracted from the portal G1, is referred to the speech

5 NGOs are considered by Nilson Lage (2003) as independent sources. However, we believe, along with Traquina (2008), that there is no disinterest sources and for considering, in this case, that NGOs and other social movements that act in the field of human rights have expertise in the subject, we chose to work with them as specialized sources, since they are called to position oneself in reason of the knowledge of cause they detain.

of the police officer Daniel Lerner, who worked as an advisor at CNV. About the investigations for the identification of the body of Epaminondas Gomes de Oliveira, missing in Maranhão, he explains: “We made an exhumation in Brasília and now we come to the region to continue the work”.⁶

Another example of official quotation happens in the news of *Estadão* where the president Dilma Rousseff replies the Brazilian diplomat Eduardo Saboia, who compared the situation lived by a political asiled in the embassy of Brazil in La Paz, Bolívia, in 2013 with the experience of being a political prisoner at the time of the dictatorship. The speech is emblematic: “There is no similarity. And I’ve been to DOI-Codi. I know what is DOI-Codi. And I assure you: DOI-Codi is as distant from the Brazilian embassy in La Paz as heaven is far from hell. Literally”.⁷

Despite being used as an official source, authorized to speak on subjects of external politics, in this specific quotation and in other circumstances, the image of the president brings ambiguity, since she was a victim of the dictatorship and is basing her personal experience to speak in a matter of state. In this case, she is both an official and a testimonial source.

Dilma Rousseff was the fourth most mentioned official source by the media outlets we’ve researched (see Board 1), in a total of 26 times (3.2%) in the sample analyzed. Even though she did not recurrently refer to her personal experience, in significant dates, as the installation and closing of CNV and the 50 years of the coup of 1964, we observe that her life experience was valued.

6 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/ma/maranhao/noticia/2013/10/comissao-da-verdade-realiza-audencias-em-porto-franco-ma.html>. Accessed in: Jan 8th. 2017.

7 Available at: <http://internacional.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,doi-codi-e-tao-distante-da-embaixada-quanto-o-ceu-do-inferno-diz-dilma,1068368>. Acesso em: Jan 8th 2017.

Board 1 - Detail of sources according to the frequency of quotations

| | Sources | Frequency | Percentage (%) |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| Official | CNV | 120 | 14,9 |
| | Other commissions of truth | 53 | 6,6 |
| | Ministry/ministers | 27 | 3,3 |
| | Dilma Rousseff | 26 | 3,2 |
| | Federal State Prosecution | 23 | 2,9 |
| | Judiciary | 19 | 2,4 |
| | Military Club | 16 | 2,0 |
| | International entities (UN, embassies, etc.) | 16 | 2,0 |
| | Deputies | 11 | 1,4 |
| | Municipal and state governments | 7 | 0,9 |
| | Armed forces | 7 | 0,9 |
| | OAB | 7 | 0,9 |
| | Police | 7 | 0,9 |
| | Senators | 6 | 0,7 |
| | Commissions and official organs in defense of human rights | 4 | 0,5 |
| | Other official sources | 46 | 5,7 |
| Specialized | Historian | 34 | 4,2 |
| | Journalist | 30 | 3,7 |
| | Lawyer/legal expert | 21 | 2,6 |
| | Economist | 21 | 2,6 |
| | Researcher/intellectual of other areas | 20 | 2,4 |
| | NGOs and social movements | 13 | 1,6 |
| | Member of the Armed Forces (speaking personally) | 3 | 0,4 |
| | Other specialized sources | 51 | 6,3 |
| Characters | Victim/Survivor | 80 | 9,9 |
| | Family member of a victim | 42 | 5,2 |
| | Witness | 32 | 4,0 |
| | Perpetrator/suspect of violation | 28 | 3,5 |
| | Demonstrator | 7 | 0,9 |
| | Military reserve (pronouncing individually) | 5 | 0,6 |
| | Other characters | 17 | 2,1 |
| | Other sources | 8 | 1,0 |
| | Total | 807 | 100,0 |

Source: Own elaboration.

We observe that the commissions of truth and their members assumed the posture of authorized voice to pronounce themselves about the theme dictatorship, being more frequently acted by journalists than other official sources. CNV's members with most quotation between quotation marks published were Pedro Dallari (26 times), José Carlos Dias (23) and Rosa Cardoso (20). Other sources from CNV were acted, but not always had speeches quoted between quotation marks. In total, we counted 120 quotations from members of CNV and their advisors (15% out of the total). In turn, the state commissions or local commissions of truth were pronounced 53 times (6.6%).

In the case of commission circumscribed to states or municipalities, the main sources were Wadih Damous, from the State Commission of Truth in Rio de Janeiro (CEV-Rio), and Gilberto Natalini, from the Municipal Commission of Truth Vladimir Herzog in São Paulo. The Commission of Truth of the State of São Paulo "Rubens Paiva" was also referenced, however, the sources varied between the state deputy Adriano Diogo (PT) and the former political prisoner Ivan Seixas, who presided the collegiate.

The results allow to confirm that the voices acted by the journalism in the coverage of the dictatorship between July 2012 and December 2014, period where CNV was functioning, privileged the official discourse. However, there were a dislocation of the type of official source that gained more voice, since in other moments the official narrative focused on the Armed Forces or in representatives of the three powers and the police. At least three reasons allow to evaluate such variation as positive: (1) those commissions are considered organs of State, with autonomy of proposing recommendations and investigate the violations practiced by the same state; (2) commissions of truth usually have, among their members, people who resisted the repression and, therefore, witnessed the authoritative process, which attributes to the official sources the authority of testimony; (3) the investigations of commissions involve works of researchers that subsidized the official narrative through data extracted

from their studies, which introduces the story of official sources specialized content.

It is important to reinforce that, because it integrated a series of politics by memory and truth inaugurated at the time by the federal government and being created as an organ of State, CNV could speak in its behalf, diffusing a discourse in sync with the politics of human rights of the government at that time.

Board 2 - Frequency of quotations between quotation marks by type of source

| Source | Frequency | Percentage* |
|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Official | 395 | 49% |
| Testimonial | 211 | 26% |
| Expert | 193 | 24% |
| Others | 8 | 1% |

Source: own creation

*Rounded values

Despite most quotations between quotation marks come from official sources, if we consider separately the mentions to those who speak on the behalf of commissions, it is possible to see that the coverage was quantitatively balanced in this aspect (27.5% of quotations are from traditional official sources; 26% of testimonials; 24% of specialized sources; and 21.5% of representatives of the commissions of truth).

It is pertinent to observe that, while analyzing separately the types of official and testimonial sources, the number of quotations referring to CNV (15% of the total) was even bigger than the number of victims that had their stories published (10%). That shows that the commissions of truth began to take on, at least at that moment, the role of the main narrator of the authoritative period, being authorized to speak on the behalf of the State and who witnessed that historic period, manifesting itself as an authority on the theme. Therefore, it is up for evaluation that the commissions, more than assuming the space conventionally exercised by politicians and high-level public servants in media outlets, have

also expressed in different situations “in the name of” the victims and as specialized sources (when the Researchers of the commissions had a voice). Even if many other voices had been acted in the coverage, they did not predominate as much as the commissions.

Among the official sources, the Legislative power (2% of quotations) did not stand out in relation to the quotations of the Executive (7.5%) and Judiciary (5.5%) powers. Even if some commissions had been created in the field of legislative houses - as the “Rubens Paiva” house - and, because of that, members of the parliament that compose it had been heard by journalists, they were acted because they integrated a commission of truth - that differs in objective and action of the traditional parliamentary commissions.

Among the official sources, the least recurring were militaries, probably due to the posture of the Armed Forces of avoiding to speak up about the work of commissions, of not collaborating with investigation and not formally assuming that their installations worked for abusive practices and violations of rights in the dictatorship period.

Together, the statements of the Armed Forces and the Military Club (association of private right without lucrative goals constituted by the Association of Military of the Navy, the Army, the Air Force and its dependents) represented 3% of the total of quotations. The discourses of militaries in action or from reserve in an individual and independent manner of corporations happened in 1% of the material.⁸It is a symptom that the members military reserve (Through the Military Club or independently) had come forward more than the Armed Forces officially, always adopting a critic posture in relation to commissions and in defense of the institution, with emphasis in the justification of the acts of the corporation and its members. The violations are seen as “excess” and not as a systematic practice of the authoritative period by these military that chose to “attack” the commissions.

8 The low incidence does not necessarily mean the silence of these voices in the journalistic outlets. It is admissible the hypothesis that, deliberately, these manifestations had dislocated to spaces of opinion in the press, which remained more guarded from the direct confrontation with diverging opinions.

In one of the moments of coverage, journalistic registers approached the confrontation of these groups and commissions. The consideration of the president of the Aeronautics Club, brigadier Ivan Frota, who considered CNV as an “insult to truth”⁹, published by the Estado de S. Paulo, is an example of that.

In the same news, it is written that, during the ceremony that marked the 50 years of civil-military coup, performed behind “closed doors” and far from downtown Rio de Janeiro to avoid calling attention of critics, the president of the Navy Club, admiral Paulo Frederico Dobbin, said to have “almost a massacre of an episode of history that was the participation of military [...]. Our power of communication is minimal in front of the media, but it will be the fight between David and Goliath. Counteradvertising is what is left for us”.

In one of the rare official speeches of the Armed Forces, which appeared in different newspapers due to the end of the CNV, in December 2014, the Commander of the Navy, admiral Júlio Soares de Moura Neto, said that CNV “fulfilled its goal. It made a report which we still haven’t had the chance of reading”.¹⁰ After the episode and in sufficient time to study the document, nothing else was said.

Dobbin’s perception - that the media outlets began to share other interpretations of historic episodes and that the version defended by the Armed Forces does not have the social resonance desired - contradicts the official posture of the corporation of “being silent”. However, it also shows that the strategy of not coming forward or conceiving shallow responses is, in fact, an act of protest. Facing the demands of commissions and journalists about the investigated episodes, the Armed Forces chose to establish a “diplomatic” relationship”, without, however, contributing.

The prohibition of the commander of the Army, General Enzo Peri, that the headquarters collaborated with investigations about the violence practiced

9 Available at: <http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,para-evitar-protestos-militares-celebram-golpe-longo-do-centro-do-rio,1147415>. Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.

10 Available at: <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/comandante-da-marinha-comissao-da-verdade-cumpriu-papel-dela-14817117> and at: [http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/ geral,cnv-cumpriu-papel-e-relatorio-sera-analisado-diz-comandante-da-marinha,1606074](http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,cnv-cumpriu-papel-e-relatorio-sera-analisado-diz-comandante-da-marinha,1606074). Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.

in its location during the dictatorship gained proportions when CNV and the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) realized the act. The Federal Attorney Sérgio Suiama considered “unfortunate that the current command of the Army of a Democratic State is so eager to conceal evidence and protect authors of kidnapping, torture, homicide and concealment of bodies”.¹¹

Testimonials

The detail of quotation through type of source shows that even though they received less space than official sources, victims and survivors of the dictatorship, as well as their family members, fill the second position if we consider each type of source separately.

The victims and their family members are represented in 122 quotations between quotation marks, which means approximately 15% of the analyzed sample. The number is only preceded by que quotations of the commissions of truth, which occur, according to what we shown, 173 times (21% of the cases).

The testimonials focusing the victims, in general, seek to show the pain and suffering they’ve experienced and also the struggle of family members seeking rights and justice. Even though the priority framing of some of these stories has been thematic, focusing on the actions and investigations of the commissions or the historical context, they verbalize the testimonial of the victims.

That was the case of the article from G1 focused on the historical context and published in the 50 year anniversary of the 1964 coup. When rescuing the memories of women victim of the dictatorship that found in the activism a way of helping preserve the memory of this period, the reporter Janara Nicoletti highlights the speech of a character, Derlei Catarina de Luca, which narrates how her torture was made: “The first night was indescribable. They ripped my clothes. I was hung in the parrot perch, received electrical shocks in the fingers, vagina, in

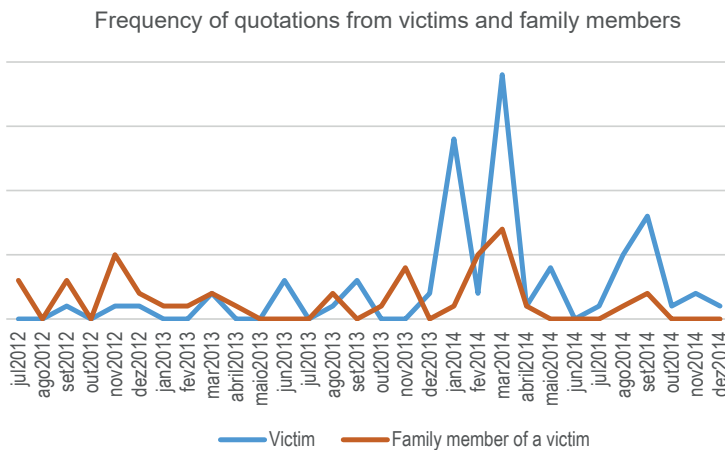
11 Available at: <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/anos-de-chumbo-comandante-impoe-silencio-ao-exercito-13690198>. Accessed in: Jan 9th, 2017.

the ear. They break my teeth. The pain is unbearable. So intense I can't even scream [...]" (NICOLETTI, 2014).

In addition to dramatic stories, the testimonial quotation have also mentioned episodes where the survivors got to escape the persecution, as shown in the speech by José Maria Rabelo - owner of the newspaper Binômio at the time of the coup - in an article¹² of the newscast Bom dia Brasil, from TV Globo. "They detained me at the 29th, 11AM. [...] While they got up through one of the elevators of the building, I would go down through the other. The doorman said: "Zé Maria, get out because the men are looking for you". That was the wisest advice I've ever received in my life".

When the frequency of the use of quotation of victims and family members is observed month by month (Graph 1), it gets clear the biggest concentration in March, 2014, month where most special series about the 50 year anniversary of the coup was edited.

Graph 1: Variation of the amount of quotations of victims and family members per month.



Source: own elaboration.

12 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/bom-dia-brasil/noticia/2014/03/nova-geracao-de-brasileiros-conhece-ditadura-pelas-historias-de-familia.html>. Accessed in: Jan. 9th, 2017.

Due to this ephemerid, all media outlets analyzed privileged, in different circumstances, the voices of those who experienced the dictatorship suffered their consequences. O Globo newspaper, for example, published a series of testimonials of artists who survived the authoritative regime.

One of the goals of exploring the testimonial sources of an episode with such timely distance is to allow them to revisit their memories and narrate details that, in other moments, could be avoided to mention. We notice that, in the 50 year anniversary of the coup, the aspect of human suffering was valued in the coverage.

To give voice to artists was the option of the article¹³ by Monica Sanchez released on *Jornal Hoje*, by TV Globo, where the experience under censorship was the main theme and the resource of protesting between the lines, what was unsaid.

In addition to the victims of physical violence, persecution and censorship, the family members of people who were killed or missing also deserved a space in the coverage as testimonial sources. Their speeches represented more than 5% of the total. However, precisely those who would be the main reason to persist the investigation on the period received proportionally less space than some modalities of official sources. That doesn't mean they were overlooked, but it can indicate other possibilities, like the difficulty of some in talking about the suffering, the lack of investigative journalistic pieces that find these sources or the fact that many family member are equally direct victims of authoritarianism, as it is the case of Ivan Seixas. He was arrested with 16 years of age at DOI-Codi at São Paulo along with his family members and heard from a nearby room the screams of his father in torture sessions that would kill him. Source frequently brought by journalists, Seixas became a militant of the cause, collaborated with the works of commissions of truth, and, because of that, he is an example of a testimonial and official source: he was quoted both as a victim and a family member of people killed or missing

13 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/jornal-hoje/noticia/2014/03/artistas-relembra-repressao-e-censura-na-epoca-da-ditadura-militar.html>. Accessed in: Dec. 15th, 2016.

in the regime and as a coordinator of the commission “Rubens Paiva” in São Paulo.

The same happened with Maria Amélia Teles, known as Amelinha. In 1972, while she was an activist at the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCdoB - Brazil’s Communist Party), she was arrested, with her husband, at Operação Bandeirante (Oban). Her children, Edson and Janaína, with four and five years at that time, were kidnapped and taken to watch their parents’ torture sessions. All her family has a history of activism in defense of human rights, and Amelinha integrates the Commission of Family Members of Political dead and missing and was an advisor at the Commission of Truth in the state of São Paulo “Rubens Paiva”.

Because of her history of suffering and political engagement, Amelinha was heard in some situations as victim, as in the article¹⁴ from *O Globo* where she indicates one of the names of those who tortured her: “[Aparecido Laertes] Calandra had the alias of Capitão Ubirajara, tortured me physically and psychologically [...]” As an activist or official source, Amelinha was heard for having a deep knowledge of the system of repression and the openness, where she didn’t spare criticism to the function of CNV, as shown in this quotation in a G1 article:¹⁵

“We were also concerned with the fact that [CNV’s] audiences were confidential. We understood that the principle of transparency demands advertisement from all audiences because the construction of truth is collective”.

In the specific case of family members, the most common people called were the family members of victims in emblematic cases, as the grandchildren of João Goulart, the children of Rubens Paiva and the wife and child of Vladimir Herzog.

While G1, Folha de S. Paulo and O Estado de S. Paulo were the media outlets that most published quotations from official

14 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/sao-paulo/noticia/2013/06/ex-ministro-reconhece-falhas-em-comissao-nacional-da-verdade.html>. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

15 “Other sources” are, in fact, information extracted from documents of the dictatorship (processes, inquiries, reports and official letters), in addition of excerpts of newspapers of the period.

sources (approximately 50% of quotations in the three cases), TV Globo’s newscast gave more voice to the testimonials of characters. O Globo newspaper, in turn, despite also having valued the official sources more, they better distributed the space destined to them, having published almost 30% of quotations between quotation marks coming from specialized sources and approximately the same percentage coming from testimonial sources.

Board 3 - Crossing of quantity of quotation per type of source and out

| Total | Percentage of quotation per outlet | | | | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|-------|---------|----------|
| Sources | Carta Capital | Rádio CBN | O Estado de S.Paulo | Folha de S. Paulo | G1 | O Globo | TV Globo |
| Official sources | 40,9% | 25% | 50,9% | 52,9% | 53,7% | 38,5% | 32,2% |
| Specialized sources | 18,2% | 50% | 16,6% | 26,2% | 26,8% | 27,9% | 20,7% |
| Testimonial sources | 22,7% | 25% | 21,3% | 16,2% | 19,5% | 29,6% | 56,3% |
| Others ¹⁶ | 18,2% | 0 | 11,2% | 4,7% | 0 | 4% | 0 |

Source: Own elaboration.

The surprise, in this case, was *Carta Capital* magazine. As it is self-affirmed a left-wing media outlet, which would tend to value the voice of survivors in relation to the official discourse, we imagined the victims and their relatives would have more space in their narratives, which didn’t happen in the analyzed material. In this case, the space conceived to the official sources can be justified by the fact that the magazine is aligned with the agenda of PT governments.

In turn, the number of quotations at radio CBN was considered, but it represents an inexpressive result (only eight quotations) facing a corpus of 807 mentions between quotation marks. That is justified with the already mentioned fact of having a smaller quantity of material referring

16 “Other sources” are, in fact, information extracted from documents of the dictatorship (processes, inquiries, reports and official letters), in addition of excerpts of newspapers of the period.

to the radio than other media and also the characteristic perceived, in the CBN coverage, that the subject is, generally, presented and discussed by commentators, not as much in news and reports.

Specialized sources

The coverage has also used specialized sources - especially historians, journalists, economists and lawyers - to discuss the theme. Their quotations were used 193 times or 23.9% of the cases. Among the historians that helped the construction of journalistic narratives about the dictatorship are the professors of the Universidade Federal Fluminense Daniel Aarão Reis and Jorge Ferreira and the professor of the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro Carlos Fico. They are experts in the subject and their interviews were used as authority reports to analyze facts and consequences in reports of historical context: “[...]There was a military operation of a coup, but there was also a coup in the Legislative power when they deposed João Goulart from presidency, being in national territory. Soon after, [senator] Áureo Moura Andrade gives presidency to the [deputy] Ranieri Mazzilli [...]”, says, for instance, Jorge Ferreira in a news story in *Jornal Nacional*.¹⁷

In other circumstances, historians were called to compare the Brazilian historical processes with the operation of CNV. In an interview to *Estadão*,¹⁸ American historian Kenneth Serbin affirms that “the commissions of truth arrived too late (to Brazil). They should’ve been made in the 90’s. Over time, people begin to forget what the military regimen was”. The historian and professor of UFRJ Maria Paula Araújo evaluated, at *Folha*, that “the justice of transition in Brazil gave emphasis to the issue of compensation, rather than other aspects, like truth and justice” (BRITTO, 2013).

17 Available at: <http://g1.globo.com/jornal-nacional/noticia/2014/03/golpe-militar-de-1964-completa-50-anos-relembre.html>. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

18 Available at: <http://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,oficio-indica-que-reitoria-da-usp-ajudava-a-repressao,1077031>. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

In its majority, historians quotations strengthen the understanding through which is necessary to revise some of the socially fixed versions about historical facts and question the remaining narratives that still valued authoritarianism or minimize its impact. It is possible to consider that the journalistic narrative that privileged these sources contribute to propose other gazes on dictatorship, which, beside testimonial discourses, enriches the repertoire and motivates a more critical posture, even if this aspect cannot be observed in daily coverage.

These more analytical gazes are also stimulated by the “wave” of activities and discussions by the civil society, and, specially, by the social movements on the heels of the operations in the commissions. In the already quoted article from O Globo,¹⁹ historian Pilar Lacerda, professor at UFMG, recognized this web of new interpretations and realizations around traumatic memories: “This moment that Brazil is living of revising dictatorship thrilled us [...]. We think a festival has the obligation of bringing new approaches [...]. We want more of what is unheard of, of what is silenced’.

Pilar’s quotation, related to the choice of theme of the Festival de História de Diamantina in 2013, strengthen the idea that, when there are political politics of memory, they motivate cultural practices about specific themes, like the dictatorship. In CNV’s period of operation, members of social movements, NGOs, cinematographers and other artists were called by journalists as specialized sources to speak about cultural manifestations organized in this sense.

News show that we had plenty of protests, film exhibitions, plays and books to debate the theme of authoritarianism. It is the case of the news story²⁰ of the fashion section Ela, published by O Globo, *in which fashion historians, stylists and family members of victims are called as sources to speak of an exposition released in 2014 about the artistic and political journey of Zuzu Angel, victim of the dictatorship who died in the*

19 Disponível em: <http://oglobo.globo.com/sociedade/historia/festival-de-diamantina-mostrara-otica-dos-derrotados-8103237>. Acesso em: Dec. 8th 2016.

20 Available at: <http://oglobo.globo.com/ela/moda/trabalho-de-zuzu-angel-estilista-do-desfile-protesto-volta-cena-nos-50-anos-do-golpe-militar-16951260>. Accessed in: Jan 20th, 2017.

70's and mother of the political missing Stuart Angel. However, despite many journalistic registrations about manifests in favor of remembering the dictatorship, generally, these themes are dealt as an episode in the coverage. When framed in a thematic way, they privilege the use of quotations of official and specialized sources rather than members of independent social movements, non-governmental organizations in defense of human rights and activists, whose identified quotations correspond to only 2.5% of the total.

Conclusion

The study proved the hypothesis that official sources were privileged in media outlets, except for TV Globo, who preferred testimonial narratives. However, even majorly recurring to the official discourse, those media outlets shared, during the operation of CNV, narratives carrying new approaching angles about the dictatorship period, having the commissions of truth and their members as main sources of journalists at the time.

The analysis allowed to verify a certain plurality of points of view in information gathered with commissions of truth, revealing them as non-strictly official sources, although they would be essentially considered official by the journalistic coverage. In addition to coming forward in the name of the federal governments, the members of commissions expressed themselves, not rarely, also as someone who witnessed the period or as experts. That happened due to the composition of commissions, which had amongst their members people that resisted repression and witnessed the authoritarian process, as well as researchers specialized in the theme dictatorship. Therefore, in this case, non-official voices gained the status of official sources.

This interaction of different modalities of sources in the Brazilian press during the operation of CNV opened horizons of meaning about the dictatorial period. The officialization of sources (often original from non-official environments and roles) which acted in a commission with

status of a “federal policy” authorized and stimulated other voices of testimonial and specialized sources till then despised by the news outlets.

The exposure and confrontation of these information coming from varied sources about its relation with the theme, but majorly converging in the way of composing a narrative of abuse, transgression and impunity, made silent some of the voices that traditionally had preponderance in the narration of one of the harshest moments of Brazilian history in the 20th century. The spokespeople of Brazilian Armed Forces practically rejected the prerogative of coming forward as an official source in the coverage when they preferred the strategy of voluntary privation of word to the discursive dispute with other sources, official and non-official, which only not happened in rare occasions.

Even though their circumstantial character made them a type of unconventional official source, commissions of truth effectively represented the insertion of a new voice in the narratives. As much as it valued the official discourse, it opened space, at least during the operation of the investigation, of the dissemination of variants in the production of journalistic content about dictatorship.

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