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QUALITY DODULAR NEWSPAPERS:

Ethics and sensationalism in a new standard of interior Journalism in Santa Catarina - Brazil

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ABSTRACT The circulation decrease of newspapers printed in Brazil, which followed an international trend, became a unique phenomenon observed in the country. The resumption of the editorial success of this media occurred with the adoption of new features that concentrate content and form on the lower classes. In the state of Santa Catarina, a representative sample of newspapers from all over the state was examined. To do that, we used Content Analysis according to Krippendorff's definitions (1990). What we can see is the establishment of a new standard of interior Journalism in Santa Catarina, with the content focused on what is now classified as Quality Popular Journalism. It is the preference for the local viewpoint and for service to the community that is intended, abandoning traditional characteristics of this segment such as sensationalism.

Key-words: popular journalism; ethics; sensationalism; quality; Santa Catarina.

INTRODUCTION

Journalism directed to the lower classes has already received all kinds of classifications and adopted many other modalities and characteristics. Sometimes it is identified as a communicative tool of social organizations or associations; at times as a synonym for lowquality media or reaffirmation of stereotypes. There are also those, like Beltrão (2001), who prefer the paths of Folkcommunication, matching this concept with popular cultural manifestations. Going in the opposite direction from these conceptions, Brazilian Journalism has assumed in recent years new characteristics. These constitute a phenomenon that is different from any other that the press is experiencing in the entire world. Contemporary Brazilian Popular Journalism makes use of graphic and linguistic characteristics that catch the attention of the reader and offer differentiated content - local news and services. The National Association of Newspapers - ANJ (2006) called it Quality Popular Journalism. This phenomenon, nationally consolidated, also gained strength in the state of Santa Catarina. And due to the peculiar characteristics of our press, it is now more like a journalistic standard than a mere marketing trend.

To verify how the printed newspaper market in Santa Catarina behaves in relation to this phenomenon, this research examined the category of highest incidence in the state: weekly newspapers, with local circulation, affiliated to the Association of Newspapers of the Interior of Santa Catarina - ADJORISC, with a price of up to two Brazilian reals, except those with free distribution. In these publications, we looked for characteristics that show the use of sensationalism, ethical violations or the contrary, preference for services and reinforcement of local news. The analysis of the front pages of 24 newspapers in six different regions of the state was organized in categories: five categories for the headlines, three for the photographs, one for the use of advertising on the cover, one for other graphical features and six for the news. Searching for clues that lead to Popular Journalism in Santa Catarina, we found more than that. We observed a growing standard.

What was and what is popular

In past decades, journalism directed to the lower classes was published based on the tripod Crime-Sex-Scandals. It made use of sensationalist strategies, ambiguous messages that incited morbid curiosity, appellative pictures and exploitation of people's tragedies – which were all affronts to Journalism ethics.

During the 70's and 80's, the most remarkable example of this type of journalism was *Notícias Populares* – NP (Popular News), that belonged to *Grupo Folha* in São Paulo. It reached the level of 180,000 daily copies and it was sold only in newsstands. NP left the market in 2001. With a righteous speech on behalf of the people, the daily was sold out within a few minutes in the newsstands near factory exits. Its persuasive text left the sphere of polemics to take an authoritarian, categorical, imperative and stigmatizing tone.

The relation between the text of NP and violence was researched by many authors. Dias (2003), for example, analyzed the texts which integrate the readers' day-to-day routine and contended that their discourse was a source of violence. "The shocking exposition of the facts, events and ideas trying to influence people beyond the normal degrees of psychological tension characterizes the most evident action of the sensationalist press to strengthen violence and make it banal" (Dias, 2003: 1).

In the academic world, Danilo Angrimani (1995) was one of the first to

study what is called "sensationalism". For him, apart from being a group of marketing strategies to catch the readers ´ attention, "sensationalism" also reveals psychoanalytical needs of the ordinary readers, like morbidity, death and love impulses, and attraction to the grotesque. Ciro Marcondes Filho (1989) bases his thought on politics and economy. He affirms that "sensationalism" is the equivalent of "manipulation", "information commoditization" and "information market".

Both concepts - Popular Journalism and sensationalism - have undergone or are still undergoing profound revisions. If for the producers of content and market analysts Popular Journalism is something else, the concept of sensationalism has also been transformed. It has abandoned a stylistic vision and reassumed the concept on a more critical level. Amaral (2006: 20) affirms that "many times, the sensationalist label is connected to TV news and programs which favor the broadcasting of violence. However, sensationalism can occur in many ways". The author considers it possible to affirm that every newspaper is sensationalist, because they all use persuasion artifices to attract readers and sell more copies. For her, the difference between clearly appellative newspapers and those considered serious is just the intensity in their use of these strategies.

Amaral (2006) also cites the case of *Diário Gaúcho*, a newsstands phenomenon in Porto Alegre, to revisit the concepts of "Popular Journalism" and "sensationalism". For the author, it is time for the newspapers to think "of quality standards for this media". It is a lucrative market that is becoming more influential and capable of reconstructing notions and procedures of traditional Journalism.

The interior newspapers of Santa Catarina seem to take this path. Nowadays, the popular newspapers still have attractive front pages and violence remains a subject. On the other hand, shocking images are now rare. Instead of using slang and fake news, the newspapers use simple language and didacticism; they show credibility and useful services.

These newspapers cater to the local public, they invest in the "City" sections and they will hardly become national (ANJ, 2006). With few exceptions, what is nationally noticed is that today's popular newspapers are born in companies already consolidated in the market. These newspapers reach classes of consumers that were neglected by traditional newspapers. Accordingly, in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, for example, the frequent reader of *Diário Gaúcho* is not the same reader of *Zero Hora* or its competitor, *Correio do Povo*. However, the success of *Diário Gaúcho* contributes to the good business performance of the RBS

Group, which also controls Zero Hora.

Among the ten newspapers with the largest daily circulation in Brazil in 2005, the popular newspapers were already in 3rd (*Extra*, with 274,900 copies), 7th (*Diário Gaúcho*, with 152,400), 8th (*O Dia*, with 151,800) and 10th (*Agora São Paulo*, with 80,500) places. This redefinition of segments in the newspaper market of large population centers seems to have started with the decline of *Notícias Populares* in the end of the 80's, when *O Dia* was renovated (1992) and *Extra* was born (1988). From that time until today, new titles have appeared in the newsstands: *Agora São Paulo* (State of São Paulo), *Meia Hora* and *Expresso* (State of Rio de Janeiro), *Hora de Santa Catarina* e *Notícias do Dia* (State of Santa Catarina), *Aqui DF* and *Agora* (Brasília) and *Super Notícia* (State of Minas Gerais). In 2007, four quality popular newspapers remained in the list of the ten largest circulation newspapers in Brazil.

In the report "*Jornais Brasileiros em 2005*" (Brazilian newspapers in 2005), by the ANJ, the tone was optimistic. The narrative confirmed the recuperation of the daily newspapers in the country in 2005, a trend that started in the year before. In the first three years of the decade, the numbers were decreasing. In 2004, the growth of the circulation was 0.8% and in the following year, 4.1%. The ANJ attributed these results to three aspects: the growth of the Brazilian GDP, the improved income distribution of the population and the launching of items directed to the lower classes, which had been excluded by the newspapers.

Moreover, the average daily circulation of 6.78 million copies increased after being motivated by the popular newspaper phenomenon that grew 7% in a single year, according to the *Instituto Verificador de Circulação* (IVC) – Circulation Verifying Institute. Quality popular newspapers began to supplant the blatantly popular ones in this public's preference. The sensations to be stimulated are others rather than violence, mockery, sex and the so-called "*mundo-cão*" (dog world, which means a difficult world to live in).

Sensationalism is not the same anymore either

There is no exception. When a journalistic publication is pointed to as sensationalist, the connotation is extremely negative. There is no other meaning usually assumed except "low quality journalism". Historically, though, the use of the fantastic and sensational in discourses has often meant the opposite: in novels, it took on characteristics of popularity, a process of "hold and resist", as Hall (2003) pointed out.

This style, which ranges from the purely fantastic to the grotesque,

left literature behind to take over pages in the newspapers through the *fait divers*. In the end of the 19th century they spread all over Europe and United States, arriving in Brazil in the 20th century. Both types have in common an important element: the odd, the weird (Enne, 2007).

For the author, the current sensationalism is the heir of some contemporary cultural matrices. For her, a sensationalist publication is one that presents the following marks:

a) the emphasis on criminal or *Extra*ordinary themes, the focus on the body in its scatological and sexual dimensions;

b) the presence of oral marks in the construction of the text, implying a day-by-day relation with the reader;

c) the perception of a range of sensorial marks spread throughout the text, such as the use of verbs and corporal expressions ("smoking" gun, "icy" voice, "shiver" of terror, etc), as well as the recurrent use of personification (attributing or applying human qualities to inanimate objects) as a fundamental figure of speech;

d) the use of editorial strategies to emphasize the sensational appeal: headlines in capital letters, often followed by ironic or impatient titles; constant presence of illustrations, like photos showing details of a crime or tragedy; afflicting images; comics reconstructing the history of the event, etc.;

e) in the narrative construction, the recurrence of simplicity and manichean structures;

f) he relation between a sensationalist newspaper and its consumption by the lower classes that, because of several reasons, would be manipulated and would believe they were consuming a "popular press (...) whereas they would actually be buying a kind of commercial journalism made to sell and alienate." (pp. 2-3)

There are people who still think that sensationalist characteristics are essential for a publication to be really considered popular because with these characteristics, they would have a close connection with people's desires and thoughts. Others prefer to attribute these marks to a salable product which does not talk about the people, but simulates a connection with them. For Amaral (2005: 1), sensationalism "corresponds more to perplexity with the development of a cultural industry in the media field than to a concept capable of translating the more recent popular media products". The author also affirms that the definition of sensationalism "remained too connected to the kind of journalism that favors the superexposition of violence in three ways: broadcasting news about crimes; the publication of shocking photos, distortions, lies; the utilization of a language based on slang" (p.2).

Angrimani (1995) was the first to study sensationalism in Brazil.

In his researches, he goes beyond the dictionary definition, which links the concept to the exploration of emotions, of scandals. For him, a sensationalist vehicle is one which moves away from those considered "serious", that has no quality, grouping characteristics such as: "imprecision, mistakes during the investigation, distortion, misrepresentation, aggressive editorial" (p. 14). All of them imply ethical commitments. The main artifice and the most important representation of this commitment is the use of cliché-language "as a possibility for manipulating the reader's emotions" (p. 42).

Sensationalism and Ethics

Is there an ethical commitment only in the newspapers pointed to as sensationalist or directed to the lower classes? Johannesen (apud Japp, Meister, Japp) says no. For him "ethics issues, of right and wrong levels, addictions and virtues, and moral obligation, [...] are inherent in the process of human communication" (p. 2). He means that even unconsciously, communicators expose their values in an explicit or implicit way. Therefore the meanings of ethics will depend on a dialogical interaction among the communicators and also between them and the audience.

For Christofoletti (2008:11), ethics is more than a journalistic accessory; it influences the very quality of the work. The author affirms that unlike other professions, information is our main base, so it cannot have a lack of ethical principles. "Lying to a patient cannot be a problem for a doctor; it can be a manner of protecting him or her during the terminal stage. For a journalist, abandoning the commitment to the truth is not a hiccup; it is a serious ethical failure". He refers to key situations, such as the dilemma of publishing a text or not, choosing sources correctly, preserving their integrity and also the integrity of the revealed information and divulging honestly the chosen version of some event.

But if the free press was a great achievement for the society and journalists, the discourse of a free press serves many times as a mask for abuses or ethical violations. It is a tenuous limit that may lead to big risks. Aznar (1999), when dissertating about the liberty and responsibility of the media, considers that this is not a dilemma of slightly critical intellectuals, radicals or apocalyptical believers.

There are plenty of people who think the media use a large part of their power and leading role – and we have said it is huge – only for their own benefit, wishing to obtain more profits or accumulate more power. These media, which should be serving society, are seen as a threat by it (Aznar, 1999: 33)

Content analysis

The chosen method for analyzing the front pages of the 24 selected newspapers for this research was Content Analysis. This method was originated by the demand created by the new American journalism schools in the end of 19th century, especially for empirical research regarding the newspapers that were being transformed.

For Krippendorff (1990: 28), "the analysis of content is an investigation technique intended to formulate, from some data, reproducible and valid inferences that can be applied in its context". He affirms that is necessary to desist from some affirmations that are based on common sense, such as "messages have only one meaning". Krippendorff remembers that the analysis of the messages must complete their symbolic meanings. "Messages and symbolic communications are generally about phenomena that are distinct from those which are directly observed" (op.cit, 31).

After establishing the inferences, the following procedures are established (p. 161):

• Summarize the data, presenting it in a manner it can be better understood and interpreted, or related to some decision the user wants to make;

• Discover the inner meaning of the data and agenda and the relations the "naïve eye" could not easily discern, verifying related hypotheses;

• Relate the data obtained from a content analysis to that obtained from other methods used to supply the missing information.

Within the possibilities for the use of Content Analysis, the most current way of representing data, and the one adopted in this research, is the representation of frequency: the absolute frequency, which measures the number of times that the category analyzed is found; and the relative frequency, involving the percentages relating to the universe analyzed or another category.

To verify the characteristics attributed to Quality Popular Newspapers, we selected publications which represent the profile of most newspapers of Santa Catarina. According to the Association of Newspapers of the Interior of Santa Catarina – ADJORISC, 58.97% of the associated newspapers are weekly, 94.87% have tabloid shape and 57% have a circulation between one and three thousand copies. To characterize the position of the chosen publications in the market, we discarded those

with free distribution and we restricted the prices to those that cost less than two Brazilian reals – since it was intended to study aspects of Popular Journalism, the price had to be accessible. Therefore, the newspapers that constitute our sample are all weekly, with tabloid form and have a price of up to two reals.

Newspaper	City	Region
O Caranguejo	Florianópolis	Greater Florianópolis
Razão	Tijucas	Greater Florianópolis
Palavra Palhocense	Palhoça	Greater Florianópolis
Jornal de Tijucas	Tijucas	Greater Florianópolis
O Esporte	Tubarão	South of Santa Catarina
Jornal de Capivari	Capivari de Baixo	South of Santa Catarina
Folha Regional	Jaguaruna	South of Santa Catarina
O Regional Sul	Armazém	South of Santa Catarina
Tatuíra	Bombinhas	Itajaí Valley
Sem Limite	Itapema	Itajaí Valley
Cruzeiro do vale	Gaspar	Itajaí Valley
O Rio Sulense	Rio do Sul	Itajaí Valley
Nossa Terra	Correia Pinto	Highland Region
Integração	Lages	Highland Region
Correio dos Lagos	Anita Garibaldi	Highland Region
Serra Catarinense	Bom Retiro	Highland Region
Voz Regional	Pinhalzinho	West of Santa Catarina
Mídia Mais	Concórdia	West of Santa Catarina
Folha Sete	Seara	West of Santa Catarina
O Jornal	Concórdia	West of Santa Catarina
O Regional	Jaraguá do Sul	North of Santa Catarina
Correio do Norte	Canoinhas	North of Santa Catarina
Gazeta de Itaiópolis	Itaiópolis	North of Santa Catarina
Correio do Contestado	Papanduva	North of Santa Catarina

The selected sample covered the entire state of Santa Catarina, dividing it into six regions, and analyzing four publications from each one: three newspapers from the towns and one from the main city.

In this sample, we observed the following categories on the covers of the 24 newspapers, one edition of each.

- 1. Subject of the headline attributing a section
- 2. Headline writing in direct order respecting a journalistic rule
- 3. Use of vocatives in the headline as a mark of sensationalism

4. Use of exclamation marks or other punctuation marks in the headline that suggest sensationalism

5. Key-words in the headline – identifying the purpose and the angling of the news.

- 6. Size of the photos on the front page
- 7. Use of colors on the front page
- 8. Subject of the photo attributing a section
- 9. Use of publicity/advertising on the front page
- 10. Number of titles on the front page
- 11. Subject of the titles attributing a section
- 12. Use of direct order in the titles respecting the journalistic rule
- 13. Use of vocatives in the titles suggesting sensationalism

14. Use of exclamation marks or others punctuation marks in the titles that suggest sensationalism

15. Key words in the titles – identifying the purpose and the angling of the news

The frequencies obtained

In relation to the first category observed, the predominant section in the headlines of the newspapers is General, since 70.8% of them (17 headlines) could fit into this section. Called "popular", these newspapers are about themes essentially connected to the day-by-day life of the communities where they circulate and give voice and opportunity to problems and citizens disdained by reference journalism. These subjects are not necessarily about questions of politics and economy; they have a wide variety and these themes are seen by the journalists as "general". This is the case, for example, of the community leaders in the headline of *O Regional*, of the family that asks for help to buy medicines in the headline of *Jornal de Capivari* and of the new store in the city of Tijucas, which occupies the headline of *Jornal Razão*.

Another of the basic rules of journalism requires headlines to be written in direct order, and this was a norm respected by 79.1% of the

newspapers analyzed (19 publications). Of the other five publications (20.9%), two have their headlines expressed in one word: *Attitude*, the headline of **Rio Sulense**, and *Cladivan*, that summarizes the main news of **O Esporte**. **Folha Regional** initiates its headline with the phrase *Desrespect with the citizen's money*, to criticize abusive expenses of city hall, and **Correio do Norte** utilizes the expression *No Conditions!*, referring to the awful installations of a public school. There is no action verb in the sentence. Actually, there are no verbs at all, coming close to magazine titles. One of the newspapers analyzed, **Correio de Contestado**, did not even have a headline.

The use of vocatives to attract the attention of the reader is, in the vision of many scholars, an appeal to increase the sale of the newspapers. The intimacy with the public makes people believe that the report is directed to someone in particular, influencing the reader that identified himself/herself with the content to buy the newspaper. However, none of the vehicles analyzed utilized this tool; and expressions like "Hey, you!" or "Look, Mrs. Maria!" were not found. This recourse that would show sensationalism was avoided by all the newspapers of the sample.

Punctuation marks in headlines, which are not recommended either, were verified in just 12.5% of the publications analyzed (which amounts to three newspapers). This was the case of **Rio Sulense**, that used in the headline the expression *Attitude*!, said by the winner of The Apprentice 4, whose speech in Rio do Sul became the main topic in that edition. This was also the case of **Jornal de Capivari** that with the phrase *Family asks for help*! drew the attention of the public to the situation of a poor family that could not obtain the necessary resources to treat an illness of a child. It was not different with **Correio do Norte**, which utilized the expression *No Conditions*! criticizing the precarious installations of a public school and the negligence and inattention of the government with regard to this problem. The exclamation mark, the preferred punctuation in our sample, denotes that even in a more timid way, there still is the intention to shock, to cause sensations in the readers, to move them.

All the newspapers published photos on the front page, in a total of 43 images. They can be divided into 20 large photos (46.2%), 16 small (37.2%) and 7 medium (16.6%), revealing the predominance of the large ones. All of them are colorful. The illustration of the front pages is one of the characteristics of the popular newspapers that changes a little – more in the content than in the quantity or size: 41.8% of them, 18 photos, are part of the newspapers ' headlines. More than half of the pictures, 55.8%, are from the General Section, reaffirming, as in the headlines,

the prevalence of this section. Our observation encountered many fewer shocking images and female nudes than the popular newspapers used to publish in the past, reaffirming the preference for local themes.

On the front page of all the newspapers there is space for advertising of local or regional companies and institutions. The covers of **O Esporte**, **Correio do Norte**, **Nossa Terra**, **Serra Catarinense**, **O Caranguejo** and **Palavra Palhocense**, still analyzed in the election period, published images of the candidates.

The 24 newspapers analyzed had a total of 100 titles on the front page, 51% of them belonging to the General Section. As in the headlines, most of these titles, 70%, were written in direct order, with objective and clear language and no vocatives were used to catch the attention of the reader.

O Esporte utilized an exclamation mark to show the comeback of the Formula 1 and marked with the shape of stars the titles that reinforced the day's headline, *Cladivan – corruptela* from gladiator and Ivan, name of the player in question. **O Correio do Lagos** used an exclamation mark to call the readers' attention to an interview with the candidates for mayor: *In this edition!*

The key words used in the headlines and in the titles revealed a clear, simple and objective language, which indicates that the newspapers used to obey, in general, the journalistic rules for drafting. Expressions with difficult or pejorative meanings were not used. However, *O Esporte* used the term *Gladivan* to compare the soccer player Ivan with the character of Russel Crowe in the movie *Gladiator*, but it makes clear what it intended to affirm with the illustration and the text.

Santa Catarina citizens follow the national phenomenon

The phenomenon of the growth of newspapers that left crimes and scandals behind and preferred to follow a new path to journalism that serves society was as effective in Santa Catarina as it was nationally. More than just an isolated phenomenon, the examination of the newspapers pointed out the establishment of a new standard of interior Journalism in Santa Catarina.

In the representative sample of all regions of the state, most of the newspapers preferred local news, giving more importance to the reader of the city, his/her interests and needs. This can be proven by analyzing the key words connected with the main themes of the journals (shown on the front pages with headlines, photos and titles). Sports and violence still predominate, but the tone adopted is not one of mockery anymore, as the history of blatantly popular Journalism has shown.

The ideal of journalistic quality has not been attained yet. It was studied by many authors like Chaparro (2007: 125), who appeals in the name of ethics: "Ethics is not a gag. What it asks is not less news, but better news: the correct, complete and worthwhile information". But it is possible to identify advances in what the author considers the worst defects in this profession:

The hiding or distortion of information; the agenda/texts motivated by unrevealed private interests; the irresponsibility with which false information is spread among the public; the accommodation of the reporters to a journalism of superficial news and reports; the confusing and imprecise texts; the facility with which the press accepts, without investigating, accusations that favor or disfavor someone; the frequent predominance of marketing goals over journalistic reasons; the disdain for the right of reply; the arrogance with which the mistake is protected and the anti-social appropriation of the right to information (readers´ right) is made – are clear symptoms of an imbalance in journalism´s identity as a social function. (pp 134-135)

There is a new journalistic intentionality that, according to Van Dijk (1990) is part of the studies of pragmatics. It is what makes us become responsible and conscious in our actions. It is in the themes/ agenda and in the edition of the front pages of the quality popular newspapers from Santa Catarina. Even when the news refers to crime, we do not see dead bodies exposed. Now, we see indignation because of the lack of security.

The analysis of the 24 front pages of newspapers from the interior of Santa Catarina pointed out the growth of the phenomenon of Quality Popular Newspapers in the state, with great acceptation from the public/readers, since the newspapers ´ circulation grows too, as is happening nationally.

What can also be seen is that the agenda, the text and all the content, in a general way, even with the new intentionality observed, still lack qualification, both in the text and in the editing, in order to serve in a more satisfactory way the communities for which they are intended.

NOTES

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