

# AIDS IN BRAZILIAN JOURNALISM

A study of the sources of information in the newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*

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VICENTE DARDE

MARCIA BENETTI

*Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil*

**ABSTRACT** Journalism, understood as a meaning builder of reality, is a discourse that should represent the diversity of thoughts in a society. This article shows part of the results of a research in which we sought to answer whether Brazilian reference newspapers *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo* treat the plurality of social voices talking about Aids in a balanced way. Through Content and Discourse Analysis, we mapped out the themes addressed and the sources of information by analyzing 310 journalistic texts, which represented the total published in both newspapers in 2004. The enunciator concept allowed us to verify that the dominant voices, even though they reflected official sources, demanded governmental actions in the fight against Aids. We recorded the comparison of enunciators in the texts, which characterized a polyphonic discourse. However, the voices of those living with HIV/Aids were hardly present; thus showing that the field of journalism failed to accomplish its function of representing the plurality of social voices.

**KEY-WORDS** Journalism; discourse; sources of information; communication; AIDS

## 1 ■ INTRODUCTION

Considering the public status and the social commitment of the field of journalism, we may assert that it portrays discourses which are supposed to – or should – represent the diversity of thoughts in contemporary society. One of journalism's main duties is to allow for the plurality of voices and therefore express the multiplicity of cultural manifestations, and to include those who seem to live stranded from society.

Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (Aids) stood out as a disease among American homosexuals. At the time, homosexuals were starting to seek recognition of their rights as citizens and to

fight sexual prejudice. The disease further stimulated prejudice against homosexuals. Aids was then labeled “gay cancer.”

In the first years of the epidemic in Brazil, journalistic coverage relied on material furnished by international sources and agencies, and it often reproduced contents loaded with misinformation and bias. In the relentless search for the “face” of Aids, the suffering of celebrities, such as the singer and composer Cazuza, was mainly shown. The soropositive (people who carry the virus but do not develop the disease) were treated as objects and left out of the discussions on the various aspects of the epidemic.

It was with the establishment of the first non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in 1985 that the soropositive started to have a voice of their own, in opposition to the official voice of the State. This was precisely a turning point in studies in the field of journalism: until then the voices of the oppressed, in this case those with Aids, were always in second place (if at all present), while official pronouncements – from the State and scientific areas – predominated in the journalistic discourse.

Assuming that the relationship between journalists and information sources is determinant in news preparation, we searched for an answer to the following question: being representative of Brazilian mainstream journalism and opinion formers, do the newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* treat the plurality of voices legitimated to address Aids-related matters in a balanced way?

## **2 ■ FROM GAY CANCER TO THE FIGHT FOR CITIZENSHIP**

The Brazilian press played a major role in the construction of meanings about Aids in the early 80s. News about the disease reached Brazil before the first cases were officially diagnosed in the country. Prejudice and intolerance were present in conservative discourses, in which the term *aidetic* was conceived as a sole category, indivisible, and above all, separated from society. The stigmatization of affected people and groups, stimulated by the construction of the meanings related to the disease in the communication media, had much to do with the dissemination of the HIV/Aids in the society.

In the first years of the epidemic, Martha França (2002) recalls, journalistic coverage was not driven by “scientific neutrality”, so necessary for an approach exempt from panic and moralism. As the disease was new and unknown, journalists frequently utilized material provided by

international sources and agencies, many times only reproducing content loaded with misinformation and bias.

On the other hand, once the communication media started broadcasting news about Aids more often, they also contributed to the galvanization of society to express its concern and demand governmental action to curb the spread of the disease. Anthropologist Ana Galvão (2003) argues that the media represented one of the first responses, if not the first, coming from civilian society to the epidemic of Aids in Brazil.

The history of the epidemic in Brazil is paved with accurate and flawed efforts in the struggle against the virus. If on the one hand, there has been an array of technological and scientific progress leading to improvement in the quality of life for HIV-infected people and curbing the development of the disease; on the other hand, there has been a retrenchment of concern over problems such as social inequality, structural violence and the vulnerability of the population to diseases. All of which constitute obstacles to the control of the epidemic.

Aids currently strikes anyone regardless of gender, origin or social class. People economically and culturally excluded and with no access to information are those most vulnerable to the HIV. At the same time, they seem to lack strength to fight for their rights. In this context, the communication media have played a decisive role in providing information about the epidemic. The challenge is to acknowledge the field of communications as a collaborator in the process of development of public policies as it guarantees access to citizenship for people living with the disease.

### **3 ■ SOURCES AND FIGHT FOR POWER**

The various studies regarding the coverage of Aids by the communication media have converged to a single point: the responsibility of the media in establishing the disease in society's collective imagery. In order to understand how this process operates and what influences and values determine the construction of the journalistic discourse, it is important to raise some issues associated with the final product of journalism: news.

The constructionist paradigm conceives journalism within a discursive framework of complex relations involving the subjects that are at the core of meaning production – journalists, sources, readers – and according to which the pieces of news contribute to building up reality itself or an image of it. This paradigm is based on economic and organizational

factors and understands the news as a way of building reality. Language is neither neutral nor transparent; therefore, it cannot be the direct conveyor of the meaning of a specific fact or happening. There is no room for “literal” in the journalistic discourse.

We know that “[...] pieces of news are the result of complex processes of social interaction between social agents: journalists and sources of information; journalists and society; members of the professional community, within or outside its organization” (TRAQUINA, 2004:173). In this respect, the interaction between journalists and their sources of information turns the news into an important tool for government and established authorities. Thus, news may support misleading interpretations of happenings. In studies made so far on Aids coverage by the media, there is a predominance of official<sup>1</sup> sources in detriment to the people who live with the disease.

Furthermore, the constructionist theory proposes that the dominant role of official sources is not automatic but the result of a strategic action. Accordingly, the dominant position of official sources is an achievement. Traquina (2004) lists four features the sources should have in order to impose their knowledge on journalists’ agendas and to determine their place in the symbolic fight involving the process of meaning construction: economic capital; institutional capital, that is, the extent of institutionalization of the source; sociocultural capital, in the form of authority, “knowledge” and credibility; and strategy and communication tactics.

However, if sources rely on representativeness, credibility and authority to “negotiate” the meaning of a happening with the journalists, a communication professional must have the capacity to select information according to journalistic criteria and must know how to cultivate sources. The relationship between sources of information and journalists involves fight and negotiation, generally marked by an uneven dispute with diverse types of sources. Work routines, the criteria of newsworthiness and other professional restraints have made access to the journalistic field a socially structured asset, in which the path of access used by journalists to their sources and by the sources to the journalists counts tremendously (SCHLESINGER, 1978).

In this relationship of exchanges it is paramount that a journalist contrasts different sources of information; however, it becomes a habit for the professional to rely on only one version of the fact, generally presented by the official source (considered the most “authorized” according to its

legitimacy and representativeness), due to time constraints associated with the closing of the journalistic product.

As official sources represent power institutions and also exert some control and responsibilities, these are the first sought by journalists. In second place come the represented, those who do not have the influence of an authority, and those who do not occupy a representative position (DALMASO, 2002: 11).

There is an array of reasons (WOLF, 2003) accounting for the little or no space allotted to non-official sources and their scant representation in the public opinion. Those reasons are decisive in the development of journalistic discourse, which in turn will influence the way happenings are appropriated by society.

In this sense, the study of sources of information has constituted a central aspect in research on journalism. Before reaching society, information coming from sources is submitted to a process of framing, which will contribute to the construction of a meaning. Hence, it is important to clarify the types of sources which were consulted and then excluded or silenced.

#### **4 ■ POLYPHONIC DISCOURSE**

From the observation of subjects that constitute the journalistic discourse – companies, journalists and the sources that are present in pieces of news – we notice that a text is composed of various voices. Discourse is polyphonically interwoven (BAKHTIN, 1979) in a gamut of many crossed, complementary or concurrent voices.

Dialogism makes up the discourse and the dialogical principle originates from the interaction that is established between subjects in the text. In this case, the meaning of the text and the meaning of the words depend on the relationship between subjects. Intersubjectivity comes before subjectivity because the relationship between interlocutors not only provides a basis for language but also builds the subjects, that produce the text themselves. In the field of journalism (BENETTI, 2006), the concept of intersubjectivity reinforces the view of the constructionist paradigm of the news as a result of the interaction between various subjects inserted in a process.

Texts are dialogs because they result from the clash of many voices, but the effect produced is not necessarily polyphony. Because of this, it is important to distinguish between dialogism and polyphony, as

Diana Barros (1997, p.35) proposes: “[...] in polyphonic texts, there are dialogs within discourses that show and are seen; in monophonic texts, dialogs hide behind the appearance of a single discourse, a lone voice”. Without polyphony, from the perspective of Oswald Ducrot (1987), we stand before a falsely plural discourse. We can, for instance, give voice to many sources in a report and even still maintain a monophonic meaning of the enunciation because all the subjects enunciate from the same perspective.

To identify the monophonic or polyphonic character of the discourse, Ducrot differentiates speakers and enunciators. A speaker is a subject who talks and can be identified as the one responsible, at least immediately, for the enunciation. Greater complexity is involved in the study of enunciators. According to Ducrot, the meaning of an enunciation may allow the emergence of voices other than those of speakers, but of enunciators. The enunciation expresses the enunciators’ point of view, position, attitude, but not necessarily their words. In this sense, the speaker in the one who talks, the enunciator is the one through whom you see: “[...] the enunciator must be identified, in voice analyses, as the perspective from which the enunciator enunciates. This perspective is directly associated with a subject position, also shaped by cultural, social and historical inscriptions” (BENETTI, 2006).

If journalism is to represent the diversity of society’s thinking, only the plurality of enunciation perspectives can establish journalism as a representative field of the complex social structure enveloping us. Behind apparent polyphonies, from the verification of multiple speakers, many times there are hidden essentially monophonic discourses. This jeopardizes the social commitment of the profession.

## 5 ■ METHODOLOGY

A study of the information sources of HIV/Aids in Brazilian print media definitely requires a representative corpus of existing journalistic production. We chose the daily newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo* because they are representative of the mainstream of journalism in Brazil.

The newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* was founded on February 19, 1921 under the name *Folha da Noite*. Only in 1960 did it adopt its current name. In 1967, the newspaper was the pioneer in color offset impression, used on a large scale for the first time in Brazil. In 1971, *Folha de S. Paulo* abandoned composition with lead and became the first newspaper

to use the electronic system of photocomposition. In the 80s, it was the best-selling newspaper in the country. In 1983, it ran the first automated edition in South America with the implementation of computers. Currently, it is the newspaper with the largest circulation in the country. In 2004, its daily average reached 307,703 copies according to data from the IVC (Institute for Verifying Circulation)<sup>2</sup>.

The newspaper *O Globo* was founded on July 29, 1925. In the 50s, already with some graphic novelties, it launched the column signed by Ibrahim Sued, who revolutionized social columnism in Brazil. In 1970, it inaugurated the section 'Letters from the Reader' and allotted a space for readers to express themselves. In 1995, already consolidated as one of the greatest newspapers of Brazil, it broke sales records in Rio de Janeiro exceeding one million copies sold on Sundays. Currently it is the newspaper with the second largest circulation in the country, only behind *Folha de S. Paulo*. In 2004, *O Globo's* daily circulation average was 257,451 copies, according to data from the IVC<sup>3</sup>.

The corpus of the research was defined as all documents related to HIV/Aids (informative and opinionative) published during the year 2004. During data collection at CEDOC (Center of Documentation and Resources) of ABIA (Brazilian Interdisciplinary Association of Aids), we gathered 377 journalistic texts. Among the collected material, we decided we would analyze only journalistic texts containing reference to the words HIV/Aids, together or separately. This happened in 310 texts. Our corpus was then established at 310 texts; 228 were informative and 82 opinionative. Of the 310 texts, the central focus of 199 was HIV/Aids. In the remaining 111, it was not. We analyzed the themes addressed in all 310 texts. But analysis of the sources was carried out only in the 199 texts where the focus was on HIV/Aids, as it was not required for a journalist to interview the sources when the main theme of the texts was not HIV/Aids. In the analyses of voices, we established only the enunciators of the informative texts because it is our understanding that opinionative texts do not necessarily bear voice plurality.

The 310 texts comprising the research corpus were numbered according to the following sequence: first, the texts from the newspaper *O Globo*, opinionative (Letter from readers, Editorial, Report, Columnist) and informative (News and Interview). In this sense, Text 1 (T1) is a letter from a reader and Text 147 (T147), the last from *O Globo*, is an interview. The sequence follows in the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, with the same sequence of genres – opinionative and informative (T148 is a letter from a reader and T310, an interview).

To manage the codification and categorization of the material analyzed, we established a systematization that involves the following levels of classification:

- object (*O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*);
- journalistic genre (opinionative and informative);
- focus on HIV/Aids (yes and no);
- theme (Public Policy, Epidemic, Medical-Scientific, Religion, Society, Prevention, Ethics and Others);
- source (UN, Government, Medical-Scientific, Non-governmental Organization, Other Authority, Soropositive, The (Catholic) Church, Communication Media and Others)<sup>4</sup>.

At a later moment, it was fundamental to separate the texts according to their focus, because this criterion was decisive for the next phase. In the 111 texts where the focus is not on HIV/Aids (36% of the corpus), but a reference is made to the word Aids or HIV, only the thematic which led the journalist or the source to cite the disease was analyzed. The objective of this stage was to map out the themes that are associated, even though indirectly, with the appearance of the term HIV/Aids in the journalistic discourse. Here, for the observation of themes addressed by the newspapers, we made the following division of the texts: I – *O Globo*, opinionative; II – *O Globo*, informative; III – *Folha de S. Paulo*, opinionative; IV – *Folha de S. Paulo*, *informative*.

In the second phase, we carried out the evaluation of the themes with focus on HIV/Aids, allowing greater detailing, with categories created based on our own observation. The thematic analysis of the texts contributes to the determination of the sources of information used in the preparation of the pieces of news about the HIV/Aids. It also helps understand what themes can lead to insertion of Aids in the press media's agenda.

The sources of information were classified based on our observation, but we also referred to the table proposed by Traquina (2004). After this categorization, we classified the sources as official and non-official. This allowed us to find the dominant, occasionally present and absent groups. Two types of evaluation were generated:

1. quantitative – the results from each newspaper are displayed in tables (both in the first and second phases of the categorization);
2. qualitative – split into two types of analyses:

a) interpretation and contextualization of those groups, analyzing the way they are configured with relation to the journalistic field (dominance and tension);

b) accounting for the silencing of sources that should or could have been heard, by debating the relationship between the choice of the sources and the quality of the journalistic information.

In the third phase, in order to examine the voices present in the news about HIV/Aids, we used Ducrot's concept of polyphony of speakers and distinguished the speaker from the enunciator in the journalistic text. From this analysis we established the final configuration of the sources on HIV/Aids and checked on the movements of dominance and silencing of different groups.

## 6 ■ THEMES

### Texts with no focus on HIV/Aids

In 2004, 111 texts with no focus on HIV/Aids but referring to the disease at some point were published in the newspapers *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*. Most of those texts dealt with themes associated with *Public Policy* (59.5%). In these cases, Aids was portrayed as a disease of great proportions which must be fought by countries and which required government investments so as to foster an effective advancement in the treatment of infected people. The participation of the government as a provider of medicine and condoms has been highlighted; although the focus of the texts was not on HIV/Aids.

The prevention of sexually-transmitted diseases (STD) like Aids through the use of condoms was the main topic discussed within the theme *Sexuality* (15%). References to sexual intercourse among youths and seniors as well as taboos and sexual abstinence were present in the texts analyzed.

Right after this came Aids as a theme involving the civil rights of homosexuals - gays, lesbians or transvestites - a group still marked by vulnerability to the disease. The theme was classified under the category *Society* with 14.5% of the total. In the analysis of this category, the newspaper *O Globo* was more prominent, presenting a greater diversity of social concerns such as violence against women, racial prejudice and the rights of the elderly, among others.

In last place, the theme *Medical-Scientific* (9%) addressed studies about other viruses such as HTLV and HPV, virus transmission by primates and

biotechnology. In *Others* two texts were classified, which represented 2% of the total and which did not fit into any other category.

**Table 1: Themes of texts with no focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers**

Theme	O Globo		Folha de S. Paulo		Total	
Public Policy	31	59.5%	35	59%	<b>66</b>	<b>59.5%</b>
Sexuality	2	4%	15	25.5%	<b>17</b>	<b>15%</b>
Society	11	21%	5	8.5%	<b>16</b>	<b>14.5%</b>
Medical-Scientific	6	11.5%	4	7%	<b>10</b>	<b>9%</b>
Others	2	4%	0	0%	<b>2</b>	<b>2%</b>
Total	32	100%	59	100%	<b>111</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Texts with focus on HIV/Aids

The final establishment of the themes associated with the texts with focus on HIV/Aids in the two greatest newspapers in Brazil showed the official character of the texts with topics related to the different spheres of public domain (national and international), representing 34% of the total. Aids appeared in 1/3 of the texts as an epidemic to be fought by governments. Furthermore, it was assumed that it was a governmental duty to favor the access to new medicines and prevention methods.

The category *Epidemic* came in second place with 25%, reflecting the preference of the press to explain the disease based on statistics. In this theme, we also listed subgroups present in the analyses of the texts. Two groups stood out based on their vulnerability to the disease nowadays: women and children.

The *Medical-Scientific* theme came right after this with 18%. It referred to information about new treatments, medicines and the inexorable search for a vaccine against the virus. We noticed the significant number of news items on medicine and science in *Folha de S. Paulo*, which visibly dedicated more space to this theme than *O Globo*.

Issues related to the theme *Religion* accounted for 9%. They almost exclusively dealt with the polemic surrounding the use of condoms. The clash between representatives of the Catholic Church and the Federal Government emerged essentially during Carnival due to STD and Aids prevention campaigns.

In fifth place is the category *Society* (7.5%), in which we grouped the texts about activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), media participation, protests and mobilization in the fight against HIV/Aids. There was little information showing the organized civilian society as the

main character of the news, mainly with regard to actions and the search for alternatives to help people who live with HIV/Aids.

Prevention was present in 4.5% of the texts, with a greater participation of *Folha de S. Paulo*, due to the column "Sex and Health" from the *FolhaTeen* supplement. Nevertheless, Aids prevention was not portrayed as a matter of public service by mainstream journalism. Despite the fact that the matter which is gaining ground most within the society is how to prevent people from getting infected with the HIV, it seems to us that the most basic prevention information was not being offered to society.

Lastly, the category *Ethics* (2%) showed up due to the immoral (even criminal) behavior of human beings, as in the cases of voluntary HIV transmission. We could cite the cases of a Brazilian who contaminated his girlfriend, the contamination of people in a party in Taiwan and the case of five Bulgarian nurses and a Palestinian physician all accused of infecting Libian children with the virus. We noticed here the image present in the society of the hunt for the villains, the dichotomy reinforced between innocents and culprits.

**Table 2: Themes of texts with focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers**

Themes	O Globo		Folha de S. Paulo		Total	
Public Policy	26	27%	41	39%	<b>67</b>	<b>34%</b>
a) National	11		28		<b>39</b>	
b) International	15		13		<b>28</b>	
Epidemic	31	33%	18	17%	<b>49</b>	<b>25%</b>
a) General	9		6		<b>15</b>	
b) Children	10		1		<b>11</b>	
c) Women	5		5		<b>10</b>	
d) Porno movies	1		2		<b>3</b>	
e) Blacks	2		0		<b>2</b>	
f) Elderly	1		1		<b>2</b>	
g) Drug Users	2		0		<b>2</b>	
h) Army	1		0		<b>1</b>	
i) Homosexual	0		1		<b>1</b>	
j) Mentally Ill	0		1		<b>1</b>	
k) Adolescents	0		1		<b>1</b>	
Medical-Scientific	13		14%		23	
Religion	14	15%	3	3%	<b>17</b>	<b>9%</b>
Society	6	6%	9	9%	<b>15</b>	<b>7.5%</b>
Prevention	4	4%	6	6%	<b>10</b>	<b>4.5%</b>
Ethics	1	1%	4	4%	<b>5</b>	<b>2%</b>
Total	95	100%	104	100%	<b>199</b>	<b>100%</b>

## 7 ■ THE SOURCES

The thematic analysis of the texts on HIV/Aids was the first step to map out the voices. Only after a topic is decided at an agenda meeting, a reporter proceeds to make contact with the sources. Then, for a better assessment of the sources of information used by the newspapers, we analyzed the corpus based on the division in themes. As mentioned before, we analyzed only the voices of informative texts *with* focus on HIV/Aids.

The final mapping of the voices present in the informative texts on HIV/Aids in the two mainstream Brazilian newspapers has shown the predominance of enunciator 2 (42%): voices demanding more investments and actions by wealthy countries (and by the Brazilian federal government in local news) in the fight against the Aids epidemic. 139 sources were recorded with this point of view. Enunciators 1 (21%) and 3 (21.5%) reached virtually the same results in 71 and 72 sources respectively. Enunciator 1 refers to the position of governments, with a discourse for the control of the disease. Enunciator 3 (discourse from the medical-scientific field) advocates the search for a cure through the research of new medicines and development of a vaccine.

Six other enunciators were present; although they were less frequent in journalistic discourses on HIV/Aids in both newspapers. Our attention was drawn to the fact that enunciator 4 (5.5%), with only 18 sources of information, demanded that society as a whole could and must act in order to help the sick, along with the government. The participation of non-governmental organizations and private enterprises in the process of informing and educating the population is fundamental for Aids prevention. We consider this type of discourse fundamental to the galvanization of society, mainly with respect to voluntary initiatives, along with NGOs fighting against the disease throughout the country.

**Table 3: Enunciators<sup>5</sup> of informative texts with focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers**

Enunciador	O Globo		Folha de S. Paulo		Total	
E1	16	11%	55	30%	<b>71</b>	<b>21%</b>
E2	86	57%	53	29%	<b>139</b>	<b>42%</b>
E3	17	11.5%	55	30%	<b>72</b>	<b>21.5%</b>
E4	12	8%	6	3.5%	<b>18</b>	<b>5.5%</b>
E5	5	3%	2	1%	<b>7</b>	<b>2%</b>
E6	4	2.5%	1	0.5%	<b>5</b>	<b>1.5%</b>
E7	4	2.5%	0	0%	<b>4</b>	<b>1%</b>
E8	6	4%	9	5%	<b>15</b>	<b>4.5%</b>
E9	1	0.5%	2	1%	<b>3</b>	<b>1%</b>
Total	151	100%	183	100%	<b>334</b>	<b>100%</b>

The analysis of the themes with focus on HIV/Aids revealed an official character in the texts, with 243 official sources adopted (72.5%) against 91 non-official sources (27.5%).

**Table 4: Sources of informative texts with focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers**

Sources	O Globo		Folha de S. Paulo		Total	
Official	101	67%	142	78%	<b>243</b>	<b>72.5%</b>
Non-Official	50	33%	41	22%	<b>91</b>	<b>25.5%</b>
Total	151	100%	183	100%	<b>334</b>	<b>100%</b>

The significant presence of sources from the Brazilian government (National Program for STD/Aids and Health Ministry) was decisive in the attainment of the first place for the category Government – with 27% of the total. Secondly, the United Nations (UN), mainly through the UNAIDs, was referred to in a great number of texts. It was usually associated with information and figures about the epidemic around the world and urged more effective participation of developed countries in the fight against the disease.

The Medical-Scientific category, more frequent in texts from *Folha de S. Paulo*, came in third place reinforcing the existing interest in a cure for the disease through the development of new medicine or vaccine. In fourth place, NGOs accounted for 11%, a low number considering the work developed by those entities for the prevention and treatment of Aids, mainly in Brazil. Soropositives came next with 7%. Less significant percentages were displayed by Other Authority (5.5%), Others (4.5%), The Church (2.5%) and Communication Media (2.5%).

**Table 5: Sources of informative texts with focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers**

Sources	O Globo		Folha de S. Paulo		Total	
Government	29	19%	62	34%	91	27%
a) National	18		50		68	
b) International	11		12		23	
UN	45	30%	24	13%	69	21%
a) UNAIDS	26		10		36	
b) UN	7		7		14	
c) WHO	3		6		9	
d) ITO	8		1		9	
e) UNICEF	1		0		1	
Medical-Scientific	20	13%	45	25%	65	19%
NGOs	17	11%	21	11.5%	38	11%
Seropositive	18	12%	4	2%	22	7%
Another Authority	7	5%	11	6%	18	5.5%
Others	7	5%	8	4%	15	4.5%
Church	5	3%	3	1.5	8	2.5%
Means of Communication	3	2%	5	3%	8	2.5%
Total	151	100%	183	100%	334	100%

## 8 ■ CONCLUSION

From the analysis of 111 texts with no focus on HIV/Aids from the newspapers *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*, we concluded that **Aids was treated as a public health concern which must be fought by governments**. Aids was conceived as a disease of large proportions, therefore government funds should be provided for the treatment of people already infected. Brazilian measures to combat and treat the disease have been referred to mainly when the status of the disease worldwide is discussed. Medicine and Science were referred to in only 9% of the texts, under themes like Sexuality and Society. Those data point out the difficulty on the part of the communication media in dealing with matters related to science and as a consequence, the lack of participation of readers and collaborators in the debate on themes in this area.

The outline of the themes addressed by the two most important Brazilian newspapers in the 199 texts with focus on the HIV/Aids have also shown the discourse that **Aids is an epidemic which needs to be fought by governments and that it is also the government's duty**

**to provide access to new medicines and prevention methods.** In the analysis of the themes we also noticed the need to explain the disease using figures to show the current status of Aids.

Just as in the themes of the dominant discourse, prevention and the fight against Aids were regarded as a governmental responsibility in the final mapping of the voices behind the journalist discourse on HIV/Aids in the two largest newspapers in the country. We recorded **the prevalence of voices which demanded more investments and actions by wealthy countries (and by the Brazilian federal government in local news) in the fight against the spread of Aids.** Those voices were classified as enunciator E2 and accounted for 42% of the total. Dominant pronouncements came from NGOs, mainly represented by the UN and governments. They were also the ones that consistently criticized the public policies designed to control HIV/Aids in wealthy countries

**The classification of sources as official and non-official in informative texts with focus on HV/Aids demonstrated the dominance of official sources.** The 148 informative texts with focus on HIV/Aids found in the newspapers O Globo and Folha de S. Paulo displayed 72.5% official sources against 27.5% non-official sources. **Research results emphasized that the classification of sources of information as official and non-official did not guarantee per se an analysis of the content of the message and the source's perspective.** Therefore, it is important to go beyond this simple classification. It was through the concepts of speaker and enunciator that we identified the dominant voices in the journalistic discourse on HIV/Aids.

By dividing the enunciators into two main groups, we noticed that the discourse of control of the epidemic on the part of the government, which was represented by E1, E3, and E7, added up to 44% while the other enunciators reached 56%. They focused on other discourses about HIV, such as criticism of the government and mobilization for a more effective participation of society in the struggle against the disease. Hence, **there is a dominance of alternative discourses, represented mainly by the demand for actions on the part of the government.** A study of the voices based only on the classification of the sources as official and non-official would have been insufficient because this analysis indicated the predominance of official sources. The UN, for instance, was considered an official source, but it is in fact against most public policies adopted by developed countries.

From the analysis of enunciators in journalistic discourse on HIV/Aids, we concluded that the newspapers involved in this research did not treat the plurality of voices legitimated to talk about Aids in a balanced way. Predominant voices demanded more action on the part of governments to intensify the fight against the disease. However, people who live with HIV/Aids are virtually excluded from the texts. **Soropositive pronouncements were present in only 7% of the total of the sources of information in both newspapers.** Among the 22 sources found, 18 were in O Globo: 11 of them African, one American and only 6 Brazilians. Among the four soropositive sources found in Folha de S. Paulo, three were Brazilians. That adds up to only **8 soropositives in a universe of 334 sources of information on HIV/Aids.**

If the press has been advancing in the construction of the discourse about Aids in the society, with the broader approach to themes and the comparison of enunciators that characterize the plurality of voices present in the texts, we can empirically attest that soropositive people are still treated as objects, not subjects, when it comes to discussions about Aids. Without a doubt, this is not what a plural journalism is meant to be. Neither is this journalism representative of our reality.

## NOTES

- 1 From the dialog of our research involving studies on sources of information regarding HIV/Aids (FAUSTO NETO, 1999; PONTE, 2004; SANTOS, 1997, 2002, 2004; TRAQUINA, 2001, 2004, 2005), we adopted the classification of sources into official (sources maintained by the State, institutions and NGOs), non-official (sources not connected with power relations) and anonymous sources (people to whom a journalist imputes opinions without revealing their identity). Other classifications could be used in this paper, but the research objective is not to establish a typology of sources but rather to check the legitimation of some sources and the silencing of others.
- 2 Electronic document.
- 3 Electronic document.
- 4 The categories defined in the classification by theme and source were designed based on the analysis of the corpus.

- 5 From the analysis of the informative texts with focus on HIV/Aids in both newspapers, we established the following categories of enunciators: E1 (Aids control on the part of public services), E2 (demands for more actions to combat the epidemic on the part of the government), E3 (search for a cure by medicine and science fields), E4 (participation of the society in the fight against Aids), E5 (the Catholic Church position against the use of condoms), E6 (Government support for condoms as a prevention method), E7 (incentives for prevention), E8 (for the conviction of people who transmitted HIV to others) e E9 (against the conviction of people who transmitted the HIV to others).

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**Vicente Darde** has a masters degree in Communication and Information from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS) and graduated from the same university, currently works as a producer and editor for the TV broadcaster *Canal Rural* and as a reporter for the newspaper *Jornal do Comércio* in Porto Alegre/RS (Brazil).

**E-mail:** vicentedarde@terra.com.br

**Marcia Benetti** is a professor in the Graduate Program in Communication and Information of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (PPGCOM/UFRGS). She has a PhD in Communication and Information from the Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo (PUC-SP), and graduated in Journalism from the Federal University of Santa Maria. She is the Scientific Director of SBPJOR (Brazilian Association for Journalism Researchers).

**E-mail:** marciama@uol.com.br