

POLICE CASE OR PUBLIC HEALTH ISSUE?

Printed journalism frames on crack use in São Paulo

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ABSTRACT - Based on Entman's (1993) and Iyengar's (1996) concepts, this article intends to identify the frames practiced by *O Estado de São Paulo* (OESP) and *Folha de S. Paulo* (FSP) for the crack issue during Gilberto Kassab's (2009 to 2012) and Fernando Haddad's administrations (2013 to 2016). For that, 120 texts were analyzed, with the hypothesis that the newspapers' political positions are also translated in their information material - and, therefore, FSP and OESP would present different coverages. The results confirmed this hypothesis, since OESP addressed the issue from the health point of view in both periods, with emphasis on public safety during the second administration. In addition to the health issue, FSP has focused on public safety aspects in Kassab's administration and economy in Haddad's administration. Despite this, newspapers have brought similarities, such as the use of episodic frame in most of the texts.

Key words: Framing; Crack; *Folha de S. Paulo*; *O Estado de S. Paulo*; Public Policies.

CASO DE POLÍCIA OU QUESTÃO DE SAÚDE PÚBLICA? FRAMES DO JORNALISMO IMPRESSO SOBRE O USO DE CRACK EM SÃO PAULO

RESUMO - Partindo dos conceitos de Entman (1993) e Iyengar (1996), esse artigo pretende identificar quais os frames praticados por *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP) e *Folha de S. Paulo* (FSP) para a questão do crack durante as gestões de Gilberto Kassab (2009 a 2012) e de Fernando Haddad (2013 a 2016). Para tanto foram analisados 120 textos, com a hipótese de que as posições políticas dos jornais se traduzem, também, em seu material informativo - e, por isso, FSP e OESP apresentariam coberturas distintas. Os resultados confirmaram tal hipótese, pois OESP abordou o assunto sob a ótica da saúde nos dois períodos, com destaque para a segurança pública durante a segunda gestão. Já a FSP enfocou, além da questão de saúde, aspectos de segurança pública na gestão Kassab e de economia na de Haddad. Apesar disso, os jornais trouxeram semelhanças, como o uso do frame episódico na maioria das matérias.

Palavras-chave: Framing; Crack; *Folha de S. Paulo*; *O Estado de S. Paulo*; Políticas Públicas.

CASO DE POLICÍA O ASUNTO DE SALUD PÚBLICA?**Marcos de la prensa escrita sobre el consumo de crack en Sao Paulo**

RESUMEN - Desde los conceptos de Entman (1993) y Iyengar (1996), este artículo tiene como objetivo identificar los enmarcamientos usados por O Estado de S. Paulo (OESP) y Folha de S. Paulo (FSP) para cestión de crack durante las administraciones de Gilberto Kassab (2009-2012) y Fernando Haddad (2013-2016). Por lo tanto, se analizaron 120 textos, con la hipótesis de que las posiciones políticas de los periódicos se traducen también en su material de información - y por lo tanto, FSP y OESP presentarían diferentes coberturas. Los resultados confirmaron esta hipótesis, ya que el OESP se acercó a la cuestión desde la perspectiva de la salud en ambos períodos, sobre todo para la seguridad pública durante el segundo término. Ya el FSP se centró, más allá del tema de la salud, los aspectos de seguridad pública en la gestión Kassab y economía en Haddad. Sin embargo, los periodicos trajeron similitudes, tales como el uso de enmarcamiento episódico en la mayoría de los textos.

Palabras clave: Enmarcamiento; Crack; *Folha de S. Paulo*; *O Estado de S. Paulo*; Políticas Públicas.

1 Introduction

The relationship between media, State and political actors in modern democracies is considered intimate by political communication field authors (Donges, 2015, p. 4). According to this view, the media logic would influence structures, actors, processes and contents of decision-making in these systems, which could then be called media democracies. In some cases, media can be considered as a political actor who pursues certain objectives through the contents that it publishes (Eberwein *et al.*, 2015, p. 02). Golub and Hartman (1999: 423, our translation) emphasize the role of journalism in the definition of public policies: "It is the collective perception of a problem with the general population that often directs government actions, not necessarily the problem itself. For most of the population it is the journalistic media that serves as the main connection between problems and perceptions."

Miguel (2002, 163) also points out that the media is a space for political projects and worldview diffusion, representing voices present in society. Such representation, however, goes far from the normative ideal and ends up over representing some actors to the detriment of others. Furthermore, the impact of the media passes by the definition of agenda not only of the common citizen, but also

of the political agents. Thus, “what is observed is that visibility in the media is increasingly an essential component of political capital production” (Miguel, 2002, p.169). In the public policies field, the media role as a political actor is considered in some models (Souza, 2006, p.33), especially in those that concern the image construction of certain governmental actions before the public.

Taking this perspective into account, the present article has as its main objective the following research problem: how did the newspapers *Folha de S. Paulo* (FSP) and *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP) framed crack use in São Paulo’s capital? The analysis compares published material in two periods: in Gilberto Kassab’s (2009 to 2012) and Fernando Haddad’s (2013 to 2016) administrations, which, as we shall see, have quite different conceptions about how to deal with the problem. The hypothesis that guides the work is that newspapers’ political positions are also translated in their information material - and, therefore, FSP and OESP will present distinct coverages (Pilagallo, 2012), especially when considering the two administrations.

The text is structured as follows: first, in the next section, we make a brief contextualization about our object; then, in the third topic, we clarify the theoretical perspective in which we insert our empirical study, that of *framing*; soon after we bring the detail of our methodological procedures and the results obtained in the news analysis; finally, we bring the conclusions obtained from this study.

2 Crack: media coverage and public policies

In a research using the ethnographic method, Adorno and Raupp (2010, p. 30) spent six months in the region of the so-called “cracolândia” (crackland), in downtown São Paulo, to follow the drug users’ routine. The authors describe an area that merges commercial activities with degraded areas of prostitution, abandoned buildings and use of narcotics. According to them, violence cases among dependents are mixed with solidarity attitudes among users, who feel part of a community and seek help in difficult situations. Another important point pointed out by Adorno and Raupp (2010, 34) is the obsession with the use drug, which generates carelessness regarding personal care and health problems among users.

The multiplicity of issues involving crack use, however, does not translate into media coverage on the subject, which tends to be

superficial - and not only in Brazil. This is shown by studies such as that by Golub and Hartman (1999, p. 429), in which the authors examine drug coverage in published articles in the United States. Their goal was to see if, with the increase of scientific knowledge about crack, the coverage would become deeper, leaving aside some myths and the panic tone. The authors' conclusion, however, is that the news has undergone few significant changes over time. While correcting some distortions, the texts continued to perpetuate a sense of fear about the issue.

In Brazil, literature on how the media approaches crack use has not yet reached a large volume production (Moreira *et al.*, 2015, p. 1057). Some articles, such as Bruck's (2013, p. 175), approach the coverage about the issue in the country's capitals. The author observed texts published in the newspaper *Estado de Minas* between 1996 and 2011 and, as Golub and Hartman (1999, p.425), found in the content myths about the drug. "Among some of these beliefs and imaginary are, for example, reports that 'if you burn the stone once you are already addicted', 'crack kills in a few days', 'the person who smokes crack wants to kill' and 'the crack user is unrecoverable'". (Bruck, 2013, p. 178). Bruck (2013, p. 179) also highlights the elaboration of narratives with emotional appeal, emphasizing traumatic experiences, tragedies and violence situations. Lopes' study (2013, p. 10) also points out that the approach that focuses on public safety issues overlaps with the emphasis on health aspects, for example.

Next, we will detail the public policies adopted by Gilberto Kassab's (2009 to 2012) and Fernando Haddad's (2013 to 2016) administrations to deal with crack use in the city of São Paulo.

2.1 Different views to face crack

The public policies adopted by Gilberto Kassab at the DEM time in his administration in the city Hall of São Paulo had significant differences in relation to those established by Fernando Haddad, from PT, in the next administration. Aligned with the then state governor Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB), Kassab bet on measures such as users' compulsory hospitalization, which led to accusations that his vision would be hygienist (Rolnik, 2012). At the beginning of 2012, the then mayor was widely criticized for a police action that removed users from the crackland region, in the *Luz* neighborhood, downtown,

without providing any kind of social assistance to the dependents (Macedo, 2012). The action ended up pulverizing the points of drug use for other regions of the city.

Fernando Haddad, on the other hand, at the very beginning of the administration pointed out disagreements regarding the public policy standard proposed by Alckmin's government and supported by Kassab (Agostine, 2013). As a result, from the beginning of 2014, the city began to adopt the *Braços Abertos* (Open Arms) program, which offered dependents the possibility of housing in downtown São Paulo hotels. The idea, based on the perspective of harm reduction (Machado; Boarini, 2013, p. 588), was that users should gradually reduce drug use through insertion into employment policies. Project participants received R\$ 15 a day in activities such as sweeping the streets and recycling waste, as well as food and support for the addiction treatment. The lawsuit was criticized for not pulling users from nearby drug outlets and making it harder for them to quit.

In the next section, we will approach the concept of framing, clarifying the theoretical and methodological options of this article, for then to deal with the analysis of the proposed corpus.

3 What frame are we talking about?

The scope of the concept of *frame*, pointed by authors such as Mendonça and Simões (2012, p.187) makes it necessary to place precisely what type of *framing* we deal with in this work. Vreese (2005: 51) defends the notion of *framing* as a process, which involves media uses, content and production dimensions. Two aspects would be essential: *frame-building*, which involves “factors influencing structural qualities of news frames” (VREESE, 2005, page 52, our translation), and *frame-setting*, which refers to the interaction between the frames themselves and receiver predispositions. Within this perspective, the frameworks can be inserted into research designs as both independent and dependent variables.

For the present article, the first aspect pointed by the author is concerned, the *frame-building* aspect. According to him, this frame construction phase can presuppose the influence of internal factors in the newsroom (organizational constraints and production routines, for example) and also aspects of the external world, such as interaction with elites and social movements. “The results of the *frame-building*

process are the frameworks manifested in the text” (Vreese, 2005, page 52, our translation). This work, therefore, aims to analyze these results, that is, the frameworks that are manifested in the news.

It is also necessary to clarify which are the methodological perspectives that guide the research. Still taking into account Vreese’s (2005, page 54) considerations, one can use the typology that divides the news frames into *issue-specific frames* and *generic frames*. The first ones refer to the identification of *frames* pertinent only to a specific fact or topic. While providing an interesting level of detail about the phenomenon studied, this approach makes it difficult to compare and generalize the results. The second type, *generic frames*, points to the other side: it transcends thematic features - decreasing the level of detail - and provides framework identification that can often be observed even in different cultural contexts.

The methodological choices of this work are intended to merge the two approaches. To identify specific *frames* related to the coverage of crack use, the variables proposed by Entman (1993, p. 52) were triggered. The author points out that the framework involves two fundamental processes: the selection process and the salience process. In his classical definition, framing means defining a problem, establishing a causal interpretation, making a moral assessment of the subject, and recommending a treatment for the issue. He details what each variable means:

Frames, then, define problems - determine what causal agent is acting with which costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of shared cultural values; diagnose causes - identify the forces that create the problem; make moral judgments - evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest solutions - offer and justify treatments for problems and predict their possible effects (Entman, 1993, p.52, our translation).

The frameworks, according to the author, can be found in at least four stages of the communicative process: the communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture. In the texts, according to Entman (1993, p. 53), *frames* are manifested through the presence or absence of some keywords, phrases and stereotypes, as well as information sources. The positioning of a story in a newspaper, for example, and the constant repetition of a subject in the news are also ways of putting a frame more prominently for the audience. However, it is not possible to rule out the content receiver characteristics - they can transform a framework or reinforce it.

In order to operationalize the variables proposed by Entman

(1993, p.52), Maia and Vimieiro's (2011, p.240) research, which proposes the indirect analysis of frameworks, is used as a model. The great gain of this proposal, the authors point out, is that "the coders do not know which frameworks they are codifying, since they do not work with frameworks as single units" (Maia; Vimieiro, 2011, 242). Thus, to identify the *frames*, the categories are observed separately so that, afterwards, it is possible to identify the way they are related, forming patterns. These standards are the frameworks themselves.

The authors, who also use Entman's variables (1993, p.52), divide the first variable - problem definition - into two parts: actors and subtopics. The first concerns who are the agents who have a voice in a given subject, and the second refers to which subject is in question. Such a division facilitates the variable operationalization the making the analysis more objective and less subject to the researcher's influence. It is not considered, of course, that the analysis will be totally objective from these strategies. However, such procedures are considered valid in the search for greater objectivity to the results - a way to get around some of the criticisms directed to the framework analysis, often considered as too subjective.

Finally, to identify the generic frameworks in the analyzed *corpus*, this article is based on Iyengar's classification (1996, p.62). The author divides the coverage of political issues into two *frames* or modes of presentation: the episodic and thematic framing. The first, according to him, portrays such questions from a specific perspective. "Episodic news is essentially a way of illustrating an issue" (Iyengar, 1996, p. 62). On the other hand, the thematic *frame* takes a broader approach, inserting that specific question into a historical or geographical context, for example.

4 Analysis

To test our hypothesis, we analyzed 60 stories from each of the newspapers in their printed version. The texts were published between 2009 and 2016 in *Cotidiano* from *Folha de S. Paulo* (FSP) and in *Cidades* and *Metrópole* from *O Estado de S. Paulo* (OESP). The collection of the articles of both of them, in this case, is justified because in 2012 *Cidades* was incorporated into *Metrópole*. We opted

to analyze texts published in these publications because it is in them that the newspapers are dedicated to problems that affect the city's routine, such as crack use. Next, we describe in more detail the procedures for collecting and analyzing the material.

4.1 Methodological procedures

In order to collect the texts analyzed, the tools provided by the newspapers themselves, on the internet, were used (acervo.estadao.com.br and acervo.folha.uol.com.br). On the sites, it is possible to search for articles in all printed editions from keywords. Thus, the research was done from the word "crack" in the years that comprise the two administrations of the city of São Paulo, clipped in this work: that of Gilberto Kassab and that of Fernando Haddad. In the case of FSP, due to the formatting of the site, it was possible to collect it manually. For OESP, it would not be possible to complete the collection manually in time (due to the collection's characteristics), and therefore, it was necessary to use a programming script. The tool consists of a robot that opens each of the search results and saves them in "pdf" format, saving manual work.

From these preliminary surveys, only the texts that dealt with the topic in the city of São Paulo were selected. Material that only cited the word crack, but did not have the subject as a central theme (such as texts dealing with the seizure of drug shipments, for example) were excluded; and content that dealt with the problem in other cities of the country or nationally. Texts of opinion were also disregarded. The result of this filter was a total of 107 articles during Kassab's administration for FSP and 185 for OESP. In Haddad's administration, there were 89 texts in FSP and 82 in OESP.

As the methodology based on the concept of framing requires a complete reading of the material, it would not be possible to do, in this article, the analysis of the universe of articles collected. To ensure that the study was done in a qualified manner, we chose to do a sample of texts, in order to obtain an overview of the framework practiced by each newspaper in each of the measures analyzed. In this way, 60 texts were selected per administration, 30 of each periodical.

In order to make such a selection, a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet

was used, in which the data of each text (title, publication date and access link) occupied a table row. Therefore, each text corresponded to a number - that is, to the row number that occupied the worksheet. After having all the texts registered in the spreadsheet, using the filter tool provided by the program, the articles that corresponded to each period in each of the newspapers (that is, this procedure was done four times) were first grouped together. With the cases filtered, a range of values (that is, of numbers corresponding to the lines) was obtained, in which 30 numbers were drawn (through the website www.sorteador.com.br). Thus, the text that occupied the row corresponding to the number drawn was selected for analysis. With this, the selection of the texts was done in a random way within each clipping (covering the period and the newspaper), ensuring that each administration and each vehicle had the same representation in the final *corpus*.

In addition, the option to standardize the number of articles per newspaper and per administration period, even with differences in the universe, was made to avoid that the final results were biased. The complete *corpus* of the research, therefore, is 120 informative articles. Thus, it is taken into account that some frameworks may have been excluded in this work. It is considered, however, that the *corpus* presented here gathers a significant part of the frameworks practiced, giving an initial step to the study of the coverage of these newspapers on the subject. It is hoped that this initial effort - still incipient in literature (Moreira et al, p.1050) - could be an impetus for future research to analyze larger quantities of texts dealing with the crack issue at other time periods.

Thus, after collecting the texts, a codebook was constructed to carry out the analysis. The model is based on a codebook developed by the Communication and Political Participation Research Group (Compa), from the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR). The codes were modified for the topic in question in this work and, in addition, the typology proposed by Iyengar (1996, p.62) was added.

The categories formulated for the Entman's variables (1993, p.52) were as follows:

Table 1 – Codebook

	0	1	2	3	4
Definition of the problem - actors	Absent	Political field / State authorities	Chemical dependents	Other citizens	Especialists
Definition of the problem – subtopic	–	Violence / public safety	Health	Urban economy / gradation	Human interest
Causes	Absent	State inefficiency	Inequality and social problems	Personal choices	–
Moral judgement	Absent	Blame the state / society	Blame chemical dependents	–	–
Solutions	Absent	Internment	Social reintegration policies	Police action	–

Source: the authors

From the definition of the categories the codification was done (it is possible to see the complete table in goo.gl/jdykWv), whose results will be exposed next.

4.2 Results

Before starting the analysis through the codebook built, however, it is necessary to verify how the distribution of articles occurred in the vehicles. Contrary to expectations, FSP and OESP did not show the same behavior in the cut-off period, as shown in graphic 1. Attention is drawn, in the first years of the interval, to the difference between the two newspapers (in 2009, the longest interval appears, with a difference of 36 articles between periodicals). In 2012, there is a peak of coverage, caused by the polemic police action in crackland. After that, already in Haddad's administration,

the situation is reversed and it is FSP which most deals with the issue. In this interval, however, the differences are not as significant as in Kassab's administration.

Graphic 1 –Temporal evolution



Source: the authors

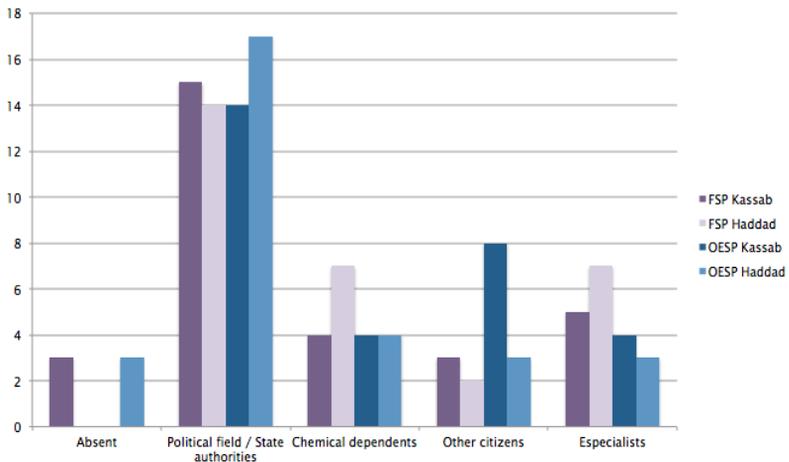
Having seen the amount of material published, we began to analyze the content of the texts. We emphasize that our unit of analysis was the complete text. As the framing analysis, in this case, resembles content analysis (Bauer, 2002, page 201), each text has to be classified into only one category within each variable. When there were questions as to which code to select, title, subtitle and lead of the articles were considered, in hierarchical order of importance, so that it would be simpler to choose between the proposed categories.

Taking these aspects into account, we begin the obtained data exposition, thus, through the analysis of the first variable proposed by Entman (1993, p.52), the problem definition. We found, initially, which were the predominant voices, based on Maia and Vimieiro's (2011, 243) proposal. In this variable, it was verified which actors had more speech spaces in the articles, considering both indirect and direct citations. In both administrations and for the two newspapers, the use of official sources, when it came to the crack problem, was the most recurrent: the mayors themselves, municipal secretaries or police authorities were consulted in half of the *corpus*, with few variations between newspapers and time clippings. The other actors appear very close to each other: specialists, as psychiatrists

or researchers, appear in second place (with 19 occurrences, or 15.8% of the total corpus), but well behind official sources. Chemical dependents appear tied with the second group, being activated as sources in 15.8% of texts. During Haddad's administration, however, it is observed that there is a peak in the use of these two groups as sources by FSP.

Other citizens – such as residents of the regions where they use crack or merchants - have been sparsely employed in general. The highlight is in Kassab's administration for OESP, which mentioned them in eight texts (13.3% of the analysis units of this newspaper). In all, there were 16 articles with predominance of these sources (13.3% of the total corpus). Only descriptive articles, without any source, totaled six units of analysis, that is, 5% of the texts. In graphic 2, below, the results of this variable are detailed.

Graphic 2 –Problem Definition – actors



Source: the authors

In order to complete the analysis regarding the problem definition, the topics covered by the texts were identified. In this variable, unlike the previous one, there were significant differences between the two periods analyzed and between the vehicles themselves. In Kassab's administration, two approaches predominated in FSP, with 12 subjects each (adding up, therefore, they correspond to 80% of the texts of this period for the periodical): public safety

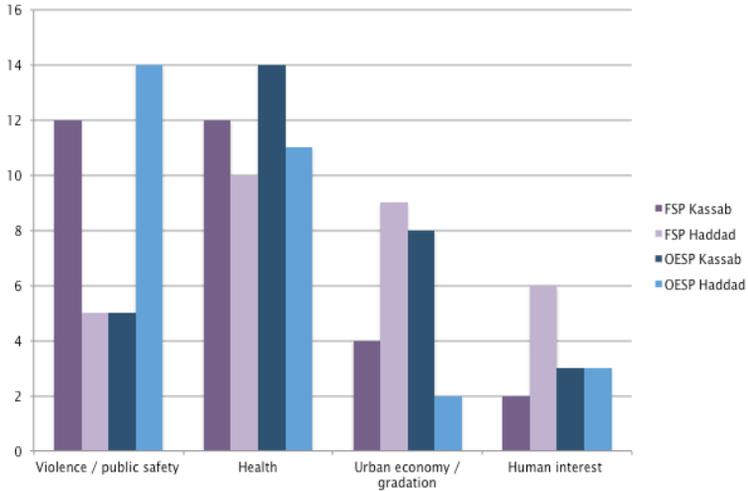
and health. Articles of this type appeared especially in 2012, the year in which Kassab began a series of PM operations in the crack land region, in downtown São Paulo, dispersing users. The city's intention was to force dependents to seek treatment.

In the first time clipping, considering the OESP newspaper, however, what predominated was the health focus, with 14 texts (46.6% of the articles of this first period for the newspaper). Then, there is urban economics/degradation, with 26.6% of the articles analyzed in Kassab's administration in the periodical (eight appearances). The health focus can be found, for example, in articles that are concerned with demonstrating medical opinions that would not indicate inpatient treatment against the will of the chemical dependent (Conselho, 2011). On the other hand, urban degradation was a central axis of the articles that related spaces in downtown São Paulo that had their routine affected by the presence of drug users, as can be seen in the following passage: «The movement on the overpass is much smaller than that registered in crack land. However, it is enough to take away the sleep of the residents of a building next to the new concentration (Capitelli, 2010).

In Haddad's administration, the focus that appeared most in FSP was health, with ten texts (33.3% of the analyzed texts of the period). In this case, the main topic addressed by the articles was not trafficking or violence cases, but rather ways to recover users. Next, code three, urban economics/degradation (30% of the analysis units) is presented, which deals with the disorders caused by the crack use area for downtown residents. The approach is justified because Haddad's program did not remove users from the *Luz* region, but provided housing and work for the dependents downtown.

In OESP, however, the behavior was different, resembling that of FSP in Kassab's administration. In this newspaper, there were 14 articles (46.6%) dealing with the subtopic violence public safety, and another 11 dealing with the topic under the public health approach (36.6%). In the first case, the texts deal with police actions to combat trafficking, including divergences between the state government - which promoted actions through the Military Police - and the municipal - often critical to the police approach. Another issue frequently addressed was violence cases in hotels accredited by the *Braços Abertos* program by Haddad's administration. In the second case, the sub-topic of health, the focus was the program *Recomeço*, by the Alckmin's government, which provided for the compulsory hospitalization of chemical dependents.

Graphic 3 brings the results in detail.

Graphic 3 – Problem definition– subtopic

Source: the authors

Following with the analysis, we proceed to the identification of the most recurrent causes in the texts observed. In this case we have similar results for newspapers and administrations, with the exception of OESP coverage during Kassab's administration. In the latter case, 24 texts (80%) did not identify causes for the problem. Among the few who presented responses in this variable, five pointed to state inefficiency (16.7%) and social inequality (3.3%).

In other periods, there was a salience to the State inefficiency in solving problems in crack land. In the case of the Kassab's administration, in FSP, the texts emphasized the failure of the police actions that, although promising to end traffic downtown, did not have significant results:

Earlier this year, when the Military Police intensified *Centro Legal* Operation and occupied the main streets of *Luz* with about 300 men, the then general commander of the corporation, Alvaro Camilo, stated that in 30 days crack traffic would be disarticulated in area. On the eve of the occupation completes four months, drug sales and consumption remain intense there (Benites, 2012).

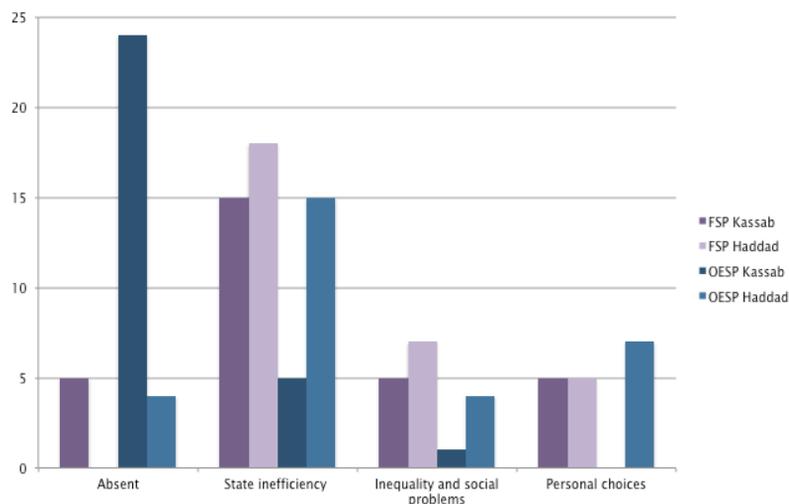
In OESP texts also appeared in which the govern is criticized because it was not able to offer solution even for those users who were in search of aid treatment. One of the texts says:

When the 49-year-old unemployed administrative assistant Márcia Aparecida de Souza saw the construction of the tent of the City's Labor Assistance Center (CAT), at Rua Dino Bueno in crack land, she

was filled with hope of getting treatment for crack. From there, she left with the guidance of social workers to go two days later to Ambulatory Medical Assistance (AMA) Boraceia, two kilometers away. "I'm chemical dependent and, by then, I'll continue to smoke crack", said Márcia. [...] I was disappointed that in the tent where there were about 20 city officials, no one could help her. "The most difficult thing is to get hospitalized. It's too bad you want to quit the stone and see that you cannot be without it" she said (Rodrigues, 2012).

During Haddad's four-year administration, the questioning was related to the effectiveness of the *Braços Abertos* program, as the dependents continued to consume crack and crowding downtown even while participating in politics. In other cases, criticism was to the lack of harmony between the municipal and state governments, which did not act together because they established completely different guidelines (Bergamim Jr., 2014). Personal choices cause appears in second place, with five texts for FSP (16.7%) and seven for OESP (23.3%). The detailed results are in the following graphic.

Graphic 4 – Causes



Source: the authors

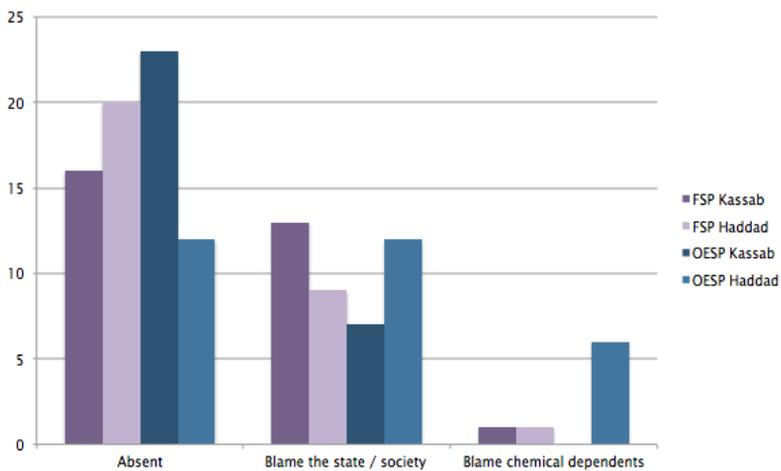
Regarding moral judgments, we have relatively similar behaviors among the clippings. When considering the total of articles, 59.1% did not present moral judgments. When they were not classified in the missing category, the texts blamed the state for problems related to crack. In FSP, only one subject in each administration (in other words, 3.3% of the analysis units of the periodical in each

analyzed period) blamed users in a forceful way (Murauskas, 2009; Wainer, 2014). One of the articles says: “Daily approaches. This is Kassab’s recipe to increase the adherence of street-dwellers and drug addicts to the city’s social programs and health care. According to official data, 80% of those approached refuse care “(Murauskas, 2009).

In OESP, the judgment on chemical dependents appeared more frequently in Haddad’s administration, totaling six texts (20% of the analysis units in this cut). An article is the most forceful in this sense. The text brings stories of people who had high purchasing power and ended up getting involved with drugs, destroying their assets due to the addiction, as described: “His socioeconomic origin is not the pattern described in surveys. Born in Tupã, his family has a financial institution and a horse farm. Michel lived comfortably with his wife and daughter, now 11 years old, but he traded everything to stay on the street living depending on the drug” (R\$1 milhão, 2014). The article emphasizes how crack is not a drug that affects only people of low economic power.

The absence of moral judgments, in turn, can be justified by the Brazilian journalism model, which intends to clearly separate opinion texts and news deemed “objective”. Although we do not consider that a journalist can be completely objective - a view already surpassed in literature (Traquina, 2005, 145) - it is often difficult to identify moral judgments amid the techniques employed by journalism (Tuchman, 1983). Next, in graphic 5, we bring the complete results for this variable.

Graphic 5 – Moral judgments



Source: the authors

After analyzing Entman's (1993, p. 52) categories, we turn to the solution variable pointed to the problem. We verified, considering the total of texts, that more than half - 51.6% - did not present solutions to the problem. When considering each separate period, only Kassab's administration, in FSP, did not have half the analysis units or more coded in the missing category (results were 11, or 36.6%, for the Kassab's administration in FSP, and 19, or 63.3% for OESP, 17 or 56.6% for Haddad's administration in FSP and 15 or 50% for OESP).

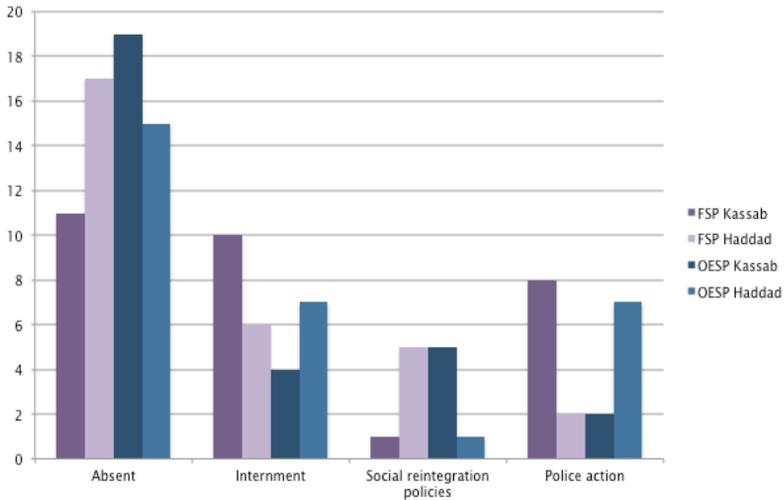
However, when presenting alternatives, the articles behaved differently. In FSP, for Kassab's administration, internment policies were predominant (ten texts, 33.3% of the articles of the period) and police action (eight articles, 26.6% of the texts in this clipping). The newspaper, for example, tells the story of a student at the University of São Paulo (USP) who took three chemical dependents from crack land and took them home. Despite the opportunity offered, highlights the text, only one continued in the housing paid by the young woman and remained employed. The other two relapsed into addiction which, for the interviewee, demonstrated how only willpower and opportunity offer, without hospitalization, are not enough to leave the world of drugs (Sasaki, 2012).

For Haddad's administration, police repression appeared only twice (6.6%). On the other hand, social reintegration policies, almost nonexistent in Kassab's period texts, appeared on five occasions (16.6%). An example is the text that interviews chemical dependents served by *Braços Abertos* program, from Haddad's administration, who ask the new mayor not to dismantle the actions. The article highlights the improvement in the lives of the users who, despite not having abandoned the drug, have had advances in their life quality, as in the following excerpt: "He [crack user] says he would be on any sidewalk if he were not at the hotel. 'If the program is over, I'll have to live on the street again' "(Gagnani, 2016).

On the other hand, OESP had a more balanced behavior in Kassab's administration. Among the texts that suggested solutions, four (13.3%) indicated hospitalization, five social reintegration policies (16.6%) and two police actions (6.6%). For Haddad, social reintegration policies - precisely the focus of the *Braços Abertos* program - were mentioned only once (3.3%). Among the other texts, seven (23.3%) dealt with hospitalization (as in *Mãe encontra filho que fugiu do Cratod* (Mother finds a child who escaped from Cratod, January 27, 2013, pointing to the need for compulsory hospitalization) and another

seven (23.3%) the police action (an example is the news that highlights how police presence can improve the daily life of the region): “For Marina, the presence of the base will bring a greater sense of security” (Castro, 2014). Graphic 6 shows the complete results.

Graphic 6 – Solutions



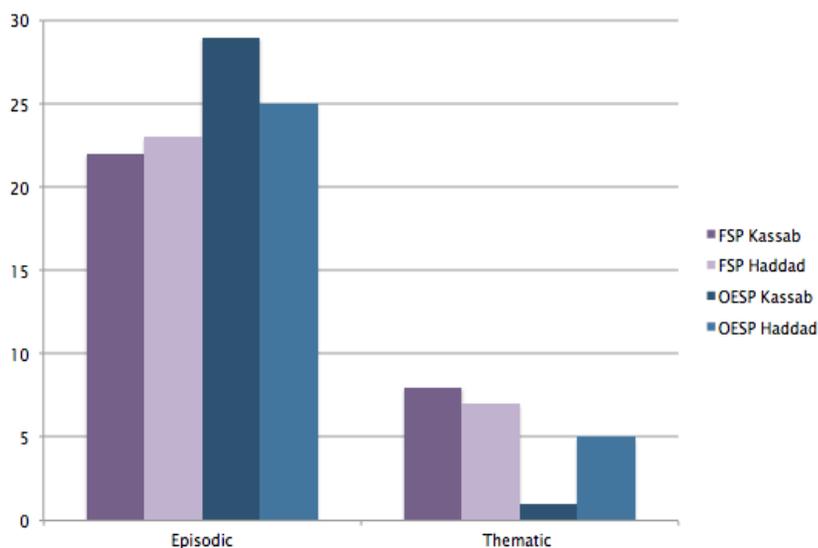
Source: the authors

Finally, in relation to the categories proposed by Iyengar (1996, p. 62), we can observe that more than half of the texts (82.5% of the total) in both periods and newspapers, can be classified as episodic, as graphic 7 shows. The issues dealt with specific cases, such as life stories or occasional police actions, without giving an overview of the issue. Those that were classified as thematic brought more elements of historical context or dealt with the topic in a broader way, without restricting the discussion to a specific fact. In OESP, one of the five articles classified so brings to the debate the reasons that lead to drug use in childhood (Rodrigues, 2014). In FSP, one of the articles considered as thematic presents long-term solutions for urban degradation in the region, pointing out that “the image of the middle class resident in crackland has two key concepts by Leira: the need to mix social classes in the same urban space and the belief that the car destroys cities” (Carvalho, 2009).

The low occurrence of articles with a thematic focus is contrary to expected in this case. As the texts were taken from a

printed newspaper, subjected to intense competition from online media, the tendency was for the thematic framework to appear more. This would be one of the differentials of printed newspapers that, with more time to produce, could bring more interesting analyzes of the facts, escaping from the superficiality of the coverage in real time. Editorial and production process issues, beyond the scope of this article, can justify this result.

Graphic 7 – Iyengar’s classification (1996)



Source: the authors

Next, we will present the complete *frames* and the relation of the results with the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this article.

4.3 Complete *frames*

In order to identify, finally, which frameworks were practiced by the newspapers on crack use in Kassab’s and Haddad’s administrations, it is necessary to relate the categories analyzed, which we present in tables 2 and 3.

Table 2 – Complete frameworks for *Folha de S. Paulo*

	Actors	Subtopic	Causes	Moral judgments	Solutions	Iyengar's classification (1996)
Kassab	Political field (50%)	Violence/ Public security; Health (40% each)	State inefficiency (50%)	Absent (53,3%); Blame the state / society (43,3%)	Absent (36,6%); Police action / internment (33,3%)	Episodic (73,3%)
Haddad	Political field (46,6%)	Health (33,3%); Economy/ Urban degradation (30%)	State inefficiency (60%)	Absent (66,6%)	Absent (56,6%)	Episodic (76,6%)

Source: the authors

Table 3 – Complete frameworks for *O Estado de S. Paulo*

	Actors	Subtopic	Causes	Moral judgments	Solutions	Iyengar's classification (1996)
Kassab	Political field (46,6%)	Health (46,6%)	Absent (80%)	Absent (76,6%)	Absent (63,3%)	Episodic (96,6%)
Haddad	Political field (56,6%)	Violence/ Public security (46,6%); Health (36,6%)	State inefficiency (50%)	Absent; Blame the state (40% each)	Absent (50%)	Episodic (83,3%)

Source: the authors

Crossing was done based on the prevailing subtopics. From it, we checked which were the other codes that most appeared. We emphasize here, that it is not a matter of showing the categories that appeared the most, as we did in the previous section, but of demonstrating the relation between them. This interaction is what forms the complete frameworks (Maia; Vimieiro, 2011). As the results show, in FSP the articles published in both administrations have similarities in three variables: problem definition - actors, causes and Iyengar's classification (1996, p.62). However, it is important to

highlight two important points in our analysis. The definition of the problem presented the health topic in both periods, but in the first there was also emphasis for the approach of public violence/safety. In the solutions, in the same way, in Kassab's administration there was highlight to the police action.

For OESP, the most recurrent framework was centered on health issues of crack users during Kassab's administration, always with a predominance of political field sources. During Haddad's administration, the predominance of characters from the official sphere remained, but there was a greater emphasis on the question of public violence/safety, with texts often pointing out that the causes for the problem involved state inefficiency.

As the results show, therefore, the two newspapers treated the same topic in a different way, which leads us to confirm the initial hypothesis of this article.

5 Final considerations

The results obtained in this work show some known realities of media coverage. The predominance of official sources, for example, is already present in journalism literature (Tuchman, 1983; Lopes *et al.*, 2011) and it was once again reiterated by this research, in which constant emphasis was placed on municipal secretaries and other members of state bureaucracy. Even in this specific case, which involved the use of narcotic substances whose characters are known from everyday reality, the newspapers preferred to give voice to the components of the administration than to sources with scientific knowledge about the problem or to those who experience the situation portrayed. It is evidence that journalism prefers to restrict itself to known sources than to provide room for other voices at least as relevant as those.

The frameworks found also demonstrated, for this specific coverage, how state inefficiency was recurrent among the causes mentioned. Regarding the problem of drug abuse in the city of São Paulo, whatever the thematic approach used by the news (such as health, public security or economics), a cause related to the govern prevailed among newspapers.

Regarding moral judgment and the solutions of the articles,

according to the adopted classification, the predominant absence of these elements is in itself a sign of how journalism practiced by vehicles was organized. Based on a journalism more focused on reporting than on interpreting, the stories did not present visions about the problem, in what appears to be a recurrent style of Brazilian journalistic making.

The lack of more explanatory articles to deepen the topic under discussion, which was considered thematic framework, can be a revealing sign that the printed coverage has not fulfilled the contextualizing role that it attributes itself. The reiteration of episodic framework texts, which only reported a fact without relating it to broader issues of the topic, hinders an understanding of the public on the subject, especially in a controversial field such as this, attention to crack users.

The results presented here, in our view, constitute a significant contribution to the study of journalistic coverage regarding the crack issue in Brazil. This is because there were analyzed texts that relate to the topic in the largest city in the country, which suffers with the problem in a cyclical way: the different administrations that pass through the city of São Paulo, even with different perspectives, cannot solve the problem permanently. Furthermore, the analyzed *corpus* was taken from two of the main newspapers in the country. Another strong point of the study lies in the fact, already pointed out in the theoretical section, that few articles approach the subject in a systematic way. We consider, therefore, that this work can serve as a methodological model so that the question can be deeper studied.

Moreover, in relation to our research hypothesis, it is interesting to note how the same question can be treated in such different ways by two newspapers that, in theory, use the same professional procedures when it comes to producing news. *O Estado de S. Paulo* opted for a framework of public security during Haddad's administration that was not the framework used by *Folha de S. Paulo* over the same period of time, for example.

The differences make it evident, therefore, that there are editorial factors that influence journalists' work routine and cause distinctions in the final product. Investigating how this interference occurs is an interesting topic for future research, which may involve, for example, interviews with the editors of their respective newspapers

analyzed in order to learn the production routine in these periodicals. The work done here, however, is already a sign of how the editorial line of the vehicles actually transcends the opinionated content part. The importance of the diversity of voices and approaches in the journalistic media is emphasized, so that the public debate on issues of social interest can be done in a deeper way.

It raises new concerns that may give rise to other researches. Although these two newspapers are paradigmatic because they are national in scope and are consumed by readers from all regions, for example, it would be interesting to extend the number of vehicles used in order to ascertain whether these framework lines are repeated in other periodicals in the country, even more when considering that other great Brazilian cities suffer with similar problems. From the methodological point of view, in addition, new studies can improve aspects related to the presentation of the data obtained from the framework analysis, so that the results can be compared with future research. New research, therefore, can bring great contributions to the area of knowledge, by further consolidating the investigation of the predominant mediatic framework in national journalism.

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