

BRAZIL IN SPAIN:

agenda setting in the newspaper *El País* during President Lula da Silva's second government term¹

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ABSTRACT – This paper stems from the second part of a longitudinal research that shows Brazilian image as portrayed by the Spanish newspaper *El País*, in its international section. The basis for the study was former Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's second presidential term, from 2007 to 2010. Through the content analysis method, 194 informative units about Brazil, including characters, places and events, were investigated for four years, distributed in 17 thematic categories. The results, when compared to President Lula's first four years' term show a decrease in the number of appearances in the news. However, there are increasing positive information occurrences about the country and personalities often present in the news.

Keywords: Image of Brazil. *El País*. Content Analysis. the Lula Administration. Media Scheduling. *El País*.

BRASIL NA ESPANHA: agendamento midiático no jornal *El País* durante o segundo mandato do presidente Lula da Silva

RESUMO – O presente artigo é resultado parcial da segunda parte de pesquisa longitudinal sobre a imagem do Brasil na seção internacional do jornal espanhol *El País*, tendo como balizamento o mandato presidencial de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, de 2007 a 2010. Através do método de Análise de Conteúdo foram verificadas 194 unidades informativas sobre o Brasil (personagens, lugares e acontecimentos), nos quatro anos, distribuídos em 17 categorias temáticas. Os resultados, quando comparados aos quatro primeiros anos do mandato do Presidente Lula, mostram uma diminuição no número de aparições, porém um grau maior de informações de caráter positivo sobre o país e os personagens que aparecem nas notícias.

Palavras-chave: Imagem do Brasil; *El País*; Análise de Conteúdo; Governo Lula; Agendamento Midiático.

BRASIL EN ESPAÑA: agendamento mediático en el periódico *El País* durante el segundo mandato del presidente Lula da Silva

RESUMEN – El presente artículo es resultado parcial de la segunda parte de investigación

longitudinal (financiada por el Programa Erasmus Mundus, por medio de beca de estudio post doctoral realizado en la Universidad de Vigo/España) sobre la imagen de Brasil en la sección internacional del periódico español *El País*, teniendo como balizamiento el mandato residencial de Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, de 2007 a 2010, Com base en el método del Análisis de Contenido fueran verificadas 194 unidades informativas sobre Brasil (personajes, lugares e acontecimientos) en los cuatro años, distribuidos en 17 categorías temáticas. Los resultados, cuando comparados a los cuatro primeros años del mandato del Presidente Lula, muestran una disminución en el número de apariciones, pero un grado más elevado de informaciones de carácter positivo sobre el país e los personajes que aparecen en las noticias.

Palabras clave: Imagen de Brasil; *El País*; Análisis de Contenido; Gobierno Lula; Agendamiento Mediático.

Introduction

The media capacity to create pictures of the world (Lippman, 2008) as well as public agenda (McCombs, 2009) is almost a consensus among social communication researchers, especially journalism researchers. Nevertheless, research has shown that Brazilian image as portrayed by the international section of *El País* has changed considerably. For several years, we have mostly been associated to soccer, samba and slums.

Such concepts still persist. They have not totally been eradicated, and are still an integral part of the concept Spaniards have about us. This is particularly due to the news conveyed by the communication media, such as: famous football players, carnival, as well as the largest slums around the world. These are always present in major media spaces, and have contributed for the concept Iberians have about Brazilians.

Research context

When this research was conducted, Spain had been undergoing an intense economic crisis. Therefore, more than 25% of the economically active workers were unemployed. And besides,

a large number of small businesses, particularly family businesses were quitting, due to underselling. Banks holding a thousand families' mortgages started collecting their debts. Many people looked for shelter at friends or relatives' homes, for fear of becoming homeless, and all the risks involved in the situation.

In a previous study taken place in a period of higher economic stability, we noticed that Spaniards' concept about Brazil stemmed from three basic sources: direct contact with Brazilians living in or visiting Spain; Spanish tourists or businessmen, who reproduced their impressions about our country, in addition to information provided by the media.

Undeniably, the knowledge about Brazil provided by the mentioned sources, has different comprehensiveness and proportion. The pictures created by travelers' reports (either dwellers or tourists), as well as the media's, are diverse. In order to have the exact proportion of such a divergence, a new investigation would be necessary, so as to detect as far as the acceptance of each form of report goes. (Golzio, 2009 p.nd)

The main difference in the forms of knowledge acquisition about Brazil and its citizens is, still according to Golzio, in the comprehensiveness and power of influence that each form can exert. The fact is, Brazil, back in 2003, started to represent a point of interest for the newspaper *El País*. The most adequate explanation for this situation is the respect and prominence gained due to our strong economy at the time (decreased joblessness, commodities potential – mineral and agricultural – as well as consumption increase by the population).

In fact, Spanish audience's agenda is that Brazil started to be a benchmark, whether in economy or in the international relations. In addition, informal conversations with Pontevedra's inhabitants explained the portrait of an emergent Brazil. Such impressions have reproduced research results about Brazilian representation in the international section of *El País*: the reflection of an emerging giant (both by its territorial dimensions and by its economical potentialities, based on agricultural production and natural resources), which reduces the gap between the rich and the poor.

At that time, Brazil also stood out for becoming part of the developed countries summit, with the aim to discuss themes such as: world hunger, climate change issues, the pacific use (or not), of enriched uranium production (by Iran Republic).

The picture about Brazil as exposed above, is very close

to the analysis done in *El País*, by Moisés Naim², in two distinct moments, in 2009. In both, he compares Brazil with two other countries that attempted to reach Latin-American protagonism: Mexico and Venezuela. Coincidence in both concrete cases of the analysis is that, Brazil is a model to be followed by other nations, for President Lula da Silva's performance. Let's see part of the analysis on Global Observatory column:

On the same weekend the Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez celebrated Mauricio Funes' victory on the presidential elections in El Salvador, his Brazilian homologous Luis Inácio Lula da Silva had a meeting with Barack Obama in Washington. Both are concrete manifestations of the tendencies that will shape Latin American politics in the coming years. While the Axis countries construct their anti-Yank alliances and implement what the Venezuelan President names "the XXI century socialism", the Brazilian government has been successfully developing a very different geopolitical Project: constructing alliances that give Brazil voice and vote on the great decisions that affect humanity. Brazil has turned an outstanding player in the main negotiations of our times: the rules of the international commerce, Power, environment, re-design of the international financial system, the search for formulas to reactivate world economy and the fight against poverty. So, while Hugo Chavez makes efforts to influence in countries such as Bolivia or Paraguay, Lula strengthens ties and acts in global forums with India, South Africa and European Union³. (Naim, 2009, p. 7)

Moisés Naim himself exposes his viewpoint in comparison to the title *Mexico, no; Brasil, si* (2009, p.8). This time, he establishes a counterpoint between the two countries, and focuses his perspective on the sort of performance of their governing representatives. Naim makes use of the long-lasting conception or "sarcasm" about Brazil as a "country of the future", to express this vision has changed considerably, especially as contrasted with Mexico: "Only a few years ago, Mexico represented success in Latin America, while Brazil its failure. Today it is just the opposite⁴".

Brazilian changing aspects have occurred in various fields. In Economy, for example, Naim highlights an over 5% increase, whereas Mexico did not go beyond 1%. At another point in his article, he comments on the low percentage of jobless people (or high employment index), the strength of the Stock Market, which grew 144%, and Brazil's inverted role, from debtor to creditor, of the Monetary International Fund (FMI).

Venezuela's former Minister of Economy highlights change in over 20 million Brazilians, from extreme poverty to a better condition of workers' wages. He also points out our protagonism in the crisis

involving the temporary asylum to the Honduras impeached former president, Manuel Zelaya. Here, he pinpoints the active performance of our diplomacy, even more than Mexico's (which is territorially closer): "*However, the fact is that, nowadays, Brazil is leaving Mexico behind. There are various explanations*"⁵, writes.

It is evident that the analyst exposes his points of view based on concrete facts, whether through better living conditions of poor, plain people, or through our prominent role in participating in "*negotiations about environment, commerce, financial system reforms and even the nuclear proliferation*"⁶.

Brazil's appreciation in the realm of diplomacy as a benchmark in Latin America had already been shown in the analysis by Bastenier. The author focuses on the crisis faced by the Bolivian government amidst a few of the provinces' governors, especially, with Santa Cruz de la Sierra:

(...) Luiz Inácio da Silva indulged himself to wait until the Unasul forum occurred in his own terms. The Bolivian president Evo Morales kept repeating that the crisis was intra-Bolivian, and that external mediators were not necessary, and Lula did not want to move one finger if he was not the decisive instance. And when the call was made, even if the press cover would preserve La Paz, no one doubted that Brazil, an emerging superpower nation of Latin America, and most prominent client of the Bolivian gas, would rule the procedure. Lula was invited; he did not have to ask for the floor.⁷ (Bastenier, 2008, p.4)

The analyses have not always favored attitudes or actions by the Brazilian government international relations. However, it is safe to affirm that, in this area, Brazil had more positive than negative appreciations. The least favorable cases occurred by the time of the lack of disapproval to the Cuban government, in the episode of a political prisoner's death from hunger strike, and by the support to the Iranian nuclear program, claimed to be "pacific", but that analysts considered it "doubtful".

It is unscientific to affirm that such analyses have a direct relation with Spaniards' opinions about Brazil, or even about Lula da Silva. Neither was the aim of this research to analyze what they think, as supported by the media reception theory. The articles clippings were exposed as reference to analyses units studied during the four years' time of publication by the international affairs column of El País, the most prominent and influent newspaper in Spain.

Method

The research conducted, and supported by a post-doctoral scholarship provided by Erasmus Mundus Program, adopted the content analysis method for considering that this tool allows for a rigorous examination of information (Igartua & Humanes, 2004), through a systematic, objective and quantitative process (Wimmer & Dominick, 1996), having as reference, the Spanish newspaper *El País*, specifically the information published in the international section.

The choice for *El País* is due to the fact that it is the one with the largest number of readers throughout Spain, besides being an international reference. In addition, it had in its favor, its ideological spectrum, as it is considered to have a center tendency (neither a leftist nor a rightist newspaper).

On the whole newspaper, the international section was the basis for research because it imposes a more holistic view (instead of a particular one) of the most relevant facts around the world. That is, involving other sections in the newspaper could mean a certain particularism, such as in the case of the sports section, whose predominance is football. And the same would occur with the other sections, like economy and culture. On the international section we can find facts connected to international politics, global economy, as well as of other countries in particular, besides armed conflicts, rural and urban violence.

This research was delimited, both temporally and spatially, from January 2007 to May 2010. One must remember that the investigation is not restricted to that period. Its longitudinal character reminds us that the eight years of Lula da Silva's two presidential terms are a temporal basis to the research. One can add to the proposed approach, the need to consider the longitudinal character, which makes it possible to compare Brazil's evolutionary picture as projected through the international section of *El País*.

The months from June to December 2010 were excluded from the universe of informative units, due to the coming electoral period for the presidency of the Brazilian Republic. They were not totally excluded from the research. We believed that persuasive games between government defenders and oppositionists might significantly change or distort informative units. During this period, the cards they play with are always superlative, and this could affect the routine of the news coverage.

After identifying the units (the ones published by El País), the same analysis chart used in the first step of the research was applied. It contained basic identification data: day of the week, month of publication, information sources used (experts, people involved, etc), who produced information (special envoy, correspondent, etc.), place of publication (page number, evaluation of type and size of information – less than a quarter, half a page, three-quarters, full page, whether piece of news, journalist report, or notes.

Indicators related to the news are also on the analysis chart, and were coded according to a range of 17 items, in order to detect theme categories (politics, education, international relations, etc.). For this specific point on the chart, one must notice that a certain type of information may refer to only one of the theme categories.

The analysis chart also seeks to learn the way of dealing with the information in three categories: positive, neutral or negative. Such variable made it possible an assessment of the projected image of Brazil during the years of President Lula's governing terms, based on the verbs and adjectives used, as well as the facts representation: whether positive, neutral or negative. Therefore, reference to research produced by the Media Group at the Glasgow University (Beharrel et al., 1982) must be remembered, especially due to their interest, not only for the contents, but also for the textual structures.

Results and discussion

A total of 14.953 newspaper pages composed the sample, and 194 informative units with some sort of relation to Brazil were found. The titles were the main reference to consider the informative unit as having a link degree to Brazil. However, the facts were also important to compose the piece of information related to the research.

A clear example of a fact that had a direct relation to Brazil was the Air France flight 447 tragedy. In a few units about the fact, Brazil was just mentioned because it was the flight departure country. Even so, whenever there was a mention to Brazil, it became part of this research universe.

The 194 informative units are disproportionately distributed, what indicates that facts and not necessarily Brazil, were components taken into consideration, in order to appear on one of the 12 pages meant to international section. In 2007, a total of 55 informative units

about, or mentioning, Brazil were published, totaling 28.4%. In 2010, there were just 26 units, that is, 13.4%. However, one must remember that in 2010, only the months from January to May were computed for this article analysis.

Chart nº 1: Informative units distribution by researched year

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>ValidPercentage</i>	<i>Accumulated-Percentage</i>
2007	55	28.4	28.4	28.4
2008	32	16.5	16.5	44.8
2009	81	41.8	41.8	86.6
2010	26	13.4	13.4	100.0
<i>Total</i>	194	100.0	100.0	

Source: the author

Other interesting data for analysis effect are related for being main or coordinate (secondary) information to other unit, if these come on the front page, and if they open the international section. In this case, it is very impressive to know that 84% (163 units) were main information and 16% (31 units) were computed as coordinate to the main information.

The spaces occupied by informative units about Brazil on the paper front page also represent data that confirm the importance our country has been conquering in the last few years. The number of information published on the international section that occupied front page, totals a 7.7% percentage (15 out of 194) of informative units appearing on first page.

It is also convenient to notice the registered percentages of informative units opening El País international section, as shown on chart 2. Not just the total amount of published information, but it is interesting to check it in a broader sense: by adding the 194 units to first page appearances indexes, as well as to the ones opening the section, it is possible to recognize Brazil as a reference for the paper.

Chart nº 2: opens international section

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>ValidPercentage</i>	<i>Accumulated-Percentage</i>
No	175	90.2	90.2	90.2
Yes	19	9.8	9.8	100.0
<i>Total</i>	194	100.0	100.0	

Source: the author

Brazil's importance or relevance earned in the period can also be noticed by observing information production. What means: 54.1% of informative units were produced by the correspondent and special envoys. It is highlighted that about half the 194 occurrences were produced in Brazil.

Chart nº 3: who produces information

	<i>Correspondent</i>	<i>Envoy</i>	<i>Newsroom</i>	<i>Reporter</i>	<i>Agency</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Frequency</i>	91	14	12	59	19	195
<i>Percentage</i>	(46.6%)	(7.1%)	(6.1%)	(30.2%)	(9.7%)	

Source: the author

Those data indicate Brazil started to be an informative reference with correspondents and special envoys' presence, too. One must point out that a correspondent's maintenance is expensive, and it can only be justified, if the place where he/she is inserted, is relevant for the newspaper advertisers and readers.

Contradicting the proverb

"*Bad news is good news*". The sentence that has long marked journalism information characteristic seems to be changing, at least when Brazil is the context, or Brazilian characters are. Data found in research for the period between 2007 and 2010 show that positive disposition of main event accounted for a 41.2% percentage (80 units), whereas negative disposition information totaled 22.2% (43 units), and those of neutral or ambiguous disposition were 36.6% of the total number.

Chart nº 4: year x publications disposition

Negative disposition Neutral or Ambiguous disposition		Disposition			Total
		Positive disposition			
Year	2003	14	23	91	128
		10.9%	18.0%	71.1%	100.0%
	2004	26	15	37	78
		33.3%	19.2%	47.4%	100.0%
	2005	49	28	41	118
		41.5%	23.7%	34.7%	100.0%
	2006	18	3	29	50
		36.0%	6.0%	58.0%	100.0%
	2007	33	17	43	93
		35.5%	18.3%	46.2%	100.0%
	2008	7	4	21	32
		21.9%	12.5%	65.6%	100.0%
	2009	14	44	23	81
		17.3%	54.3%	28.4%	100.0%
2010	3	13	11	27	
	11.1%	48.1%	40.7%	100.0%	
Total		164	147	296	607
		27.0%	24.2%	48.8%	100.0%

Source: the author

Brazil ceased to draw the attention of El País readers because of urban violence, corruption cases and other facts which labeled it as “*República Bananera*”. It does not mean that corruption cases or thugs’ violent actions that provoked terror waves, or even police doubtful actions ceased to exist in first year of Lula da Silva’s term. However, the facts the paper gave more attention to, seem to have tendentiously changed.

Proportionally, main event thematic focuses of predominant units disagree (to less) with figures verified between 2003 and 2007, during Lula da Silva’s first presidential term. Among the 569 verified informative units from 2003 to 2010, 375 were published on the

first term and 194 on the second one. The newspaper El País stopped focusing on Brazilian political divergences, to the point of keeping just 29 out of a total 227 units, from 2007-2010 (chart 5).

Chart nº5 : publications theme x publication year

	Year								Total
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	
Violence	5	7	15	10	8	2	0	0	47
	10.6%	14.9%	31.9%	21.3%	17.0%	4.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Politics	76	36	68	18	3	10	11	5	227
	33.5%	15.9%	30.0%	7.9%	1.3%	4.4%	4.8%	2.2%	100.0%
International-Relations	11	15	15	9	12	14	17	14	107
	10.3%	14.0%	14.0%	8.4%	11.2%	13.1%	15.9%	13.1%	100.0%
Justice	8	4	1	0	5	3	4	3	28
	28.6%	14.3%	3.6%	0.0%	17.9%	10.7%	14.3%	10.7%	100.0%
Work	5	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	12
	41.7%	33.3%	8.3%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Economics	14	5	7	10	9	2	13	2	62
	22.6%	8.1%	11.3%	16.1%	14.5%	3.2%	21.0%	3.2%	100.0%
Social Matters	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5
	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Agrarianconflicts	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	7
	42.9%	28.6%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Accidents	0	0	0	1	8	0	22	0	31
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	25.8%	0.0%	71.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Humaninterest	3	4	5	2	1	0	1	0	16
	18.8%	25.0%	31.2%	12.5%	6.2%	0.0%	6.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Culture	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	100.0%
Living Together	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Defense	1	1	1	0	1	1	5	1	11
	9.1%	9.1%	9.1%	0.0%	9.1%	9.1%	45.5%	9.1%	100.0%
Science	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Religion	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	6
	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	129	78	118	50	55	32	81	26	569
	22.7%	13.7%	20.7%	8.8%	9.7%	5.6%	14.2%	4.6%	100.0%

Source: the author

In almost every thematic category there was a considerable decrease in the paper publications. The most relevant exceptions occurred in Defense, Justice and Culture categories, above all in

Accident category, because of the tragedy involving the Air France plane (30 events during the second term, and just one during the first).

Concerning this point, it is important to highlight that the change in the record of informative units is due to the fact that Brazilian government's priorities were towards International Relations. This explains, for example, more frequent appearances of this category in the paper, during President Lula's second term. During his second term, it is clear the relevance of Brazil's intervention in a few world's important matters.

South America's presence was internationally highlighted, particularly when changes occurred during presidential elections (until 2010) in many southern countries were taken into account. The rise in power of leaders from popular classes and of leftist ideologies drew the world's attention, mostly when a high index of anti-Americanism in Bush's era was registered.

But it was not only Latin America and United States' relationship that drew a more intense attention on the part of El País: misunderstandings, almost conflicts, among South American countries. For example, the *riff-raff* between Colombia and Venezuela, but, above all, general behavior changes regarding some agreements Bolivia, Paraguay and Ecuador had with Brazil.

The small skirmishes between Bolivia and Brazil occurred because of gas price (GALINDO, 2008 e Delano, 2008). After Evo Morales' rise in power, a wave of nationalism reached considerable dimensions, to the point that Bolivian military force invaded Petrobras hydrocarbons processor headquarter. At the same time, Morales threatened to interrupt gas pumping, what would represent a great damage to the major industrial concentration region: Brazilian southeast, and more heavily, São Paulo State.

As to Paraguay, Brazilian diplomacy faced a payment review request for electric power surplus (Gualdoni, 2008). The new Paraguayan president was interested in selling Itaipu Hydroelectric plant's power surplus directly to Brazilian companies, through a sort of public auction. The Paraguayan government claimed an update of the contract signed during the hydroelectric construction, which he considered outdated. He was also interested in selling the surplus production to Argentina.

Concerning Ecuador, the issue involved a Brazilian company responsible for the construction of a hydroelectric plant (Barón, 2008) financed by the Social and Economic Development Bank (BNDES). Ecuadorian government intervened in the construction, claiming there were construction errors, and threatened not to pay for it.

In every case, Brazilian diplomacy was able to satisfactorily manage our neighbors' demands, without significant losses. Even not being part of *El País*' informative contents, it is worth contextualizing, for example, that some of Lula's government opposition congressmen demanded more assertive positions regarding Bolivia, even suggesting a military intervention to guarantee Brazilian nationalization over Petrobras headoffice, which had been nationalized by Evo Morales' government.

Conclusion

By leaving out the few skirmishes between Latin-American countries and Brazil, our country's appearance is undoubtedly important and consistent, particularly when information portrays Lula and Brazil as an inseparable duo. The president's image, or his government's, was almost always associated to a prosperous country, at almost every civilization levels.

The most emblematic case is the emergence of an international agenda where either President Lula or the Brazilian Government stands out as an important player: discussion about Islamic Republic of Iran's self-determination and the possibility that it could hold as an energy matrix/alternative source to fossil fuel: nuclear power.

After the nearest period to the episode had passed, the agreement between USA and Iran proved that Brazilian diplomacy was right to propose a more expanded dialogue, and for defending the Islamic Republic in guaranteeing its nuclear plant operation with pacific purposes, as an alternative source.

When the analysis of informative units, published by *El País* about Brazil, considering the information treatment disposition (as positive, neutral and negative) is concluded, it isobvious that Brazil has had a good appreciation for all of Lula's government years. Only in 2005 (first term), the negative disposition of informative treatment surpassed the positive one (41.5% versus 34.7%). However, in the period between 2003 and 2010, the positive informative disposition registered 48.8%, whereas the negative disposition of 27%, was very close to the neutral or ambiguous information disposition registered (24.2%).

If we exclude publications about criminal groups' raids (PCC) in the State of São Paulo, during Lula da Silva's first term, as well as Air France plane crash on his second term, the positive information about Brazil, or about the government, would rank higher.

The best Brazilian definition for Lula da Silva's government period was given by Moisés Naím, when he wrote that Brazilian government properly developed a wide range geopolitical project, by building alliances that granted "Voice and vote in the great decisions that affect humanity⁸". More than that, for the globalization scholar, Brazil was on the way to become an influent player in the most decisive negotiations of our time.

*This paper was translated by Glória Miudinho Obermark

NOTES

- 1 Funded by Erasmus Mundus Program, through a postdoctoral degree scholarship at Vigo University, Spain
- 2 Naim, Moisés (Born in 1952, Venezuela). Earned his PhD from MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology); writer and columnist and, since 1996, publisher at the Foreign Policy Journal. He writes about international politics and economics and economic growth. His weekly column about global issues in the Spanish newspaper *El País* is also published by many of the main Spanish language newspapers in the Americas. He was Commerce and Industry Minister in Venezuela, and played a central role at the onset of great economic reforms, in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In addition, he was a professor and Dean at the Management Higher Studies Institute, Business School and Research Center in Caracas. Naím is a member of the Media International Council at the United Nations Forum.
- 3 ... Mientras que los países del *Eje de Hugo* construyen su alianza *anti yanqui* y aplican lo que el presidente venezolano denomina "el socialismo del siglo XXI", el Gobierno brasileño está desarrollando con gran éxito un proyecto geopolítico muy distinto: construir alianzas que le den a Brasil voz y voto en las grandes decisiones que afectan a la humanidad. Brasil se ha convertido en un influyente actor en las principales negociaciones de estos tiempos: las reglas que rigen el comercio internacional, la energía, el medio ambiente, el rediseño del sistema financiero internacional, la búsqueda de fórmulas para reactivar la economía mundial y la lucha contra la pobreza. Así, mientras Hugo Chávez dedica sus esfuerzos a influir en países como Bolivia, Nicaragua o Paraguay, Lula estrecha lazos y actúa en los foros mundiales con

- India, Suráfrica y la Unión Europea. Translated by the author.
- 4 “Hace apenas unos años México simbolizaba el éxito de América Latina, y Brasil, su fracaso. Hoy sucede lo contrario”. Translated by the author.
- 5 “*Pero la realidades que, por ahora, Brasil está dejando atrás a México. Las explicaciones son muchas*”. Translated by the author.
- 6 “*negociaciones sobre el medioambiente, el comercio, las reformas del sistema financiero y hasta la proliferación nuclear*”. Translated by the author.
- 7 Luiz Inácio da Silva se ha permitido el lujo de esperar hasta que la reunión de Unasur se concibiera en sus propios términos. El presidente boliviano Evo Morales repetía que la crisis era intra-boliviana y que no hacían falta mediadores externos y Lula no quería mover un dedo si no era a instancia de parte. Y cuando la convocatoria se produce, aunque la cobertura de la reunión internacional baste para salvar la cara a La Paz, nadie duda de que es para que Brasil, superpotencia emergente de América Latina y principal cliente del gas boliviano, ordene el procedimiento. A Lula le han llamado; no ha tenido que pedir turno de palabra”. Translated by the author.
- 8 “*voz y voto en las grandes decisiones que afectan a la humanidad*”. Translated by the author.

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