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## THE MEDIA AS A POLITICAL ACTOR: the 2013 and 2015 Brazilian demonstrations in the Folha de S. Paulo

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## **Abstract**

In this article, we intend to analyze the articles published by Folha de S. Paulo regarding the Protests of June 2013 in the period between the 6th and the 7th of June, 2013, and the Protests pro-impeachment between the 15th and the 16th of March, 2015. The Categorical Content Analysis is used as a methodological support, aiming to perceive the similarities and estrangements of the newspaper's framework related to the events.

### **Keywords**

Communication; Protests; Politics; Framework.

## Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to verify how the news concerning the June 2013 protests and the 2015 Pro-Impeachment protests were framed by *Folha de S. Paulo*. The publications of the 6th and the 7th of June, 2013 and the 15th and the 16th of June, 2015 were established as a clipping, considering that these dates correspond, respectively, to the first demonstrations organized by MPL in claim regarding the quality and the fares of public transport, and the last one because the 15th of June was the moment that marked the return of protesters to the streets, articulated by shouts against corruption and by the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (PT).

Regarding the characteristics of street movements in 2013 and 2015, it is worth highlighting not only the diversity of demands that mobilize them, but also the points in which they differ from the social movements that traditionally articulate the street protests in the country. Although they comprise acronyms that resemble and may even be confuse, the causes that mobilize the MPL (*Movimento Passe Livre*) and MBL (*Movimento Brasil Livre*), organizers of the acts of 2013 and 2015, respectively, are related to divergent political matrix, ideologies and values. The acronyms, however, converge in the sense that they are related to movements that have logics of articulation and structure different from the classic social movements, represented by trade union groups, movements of the struggle for land and housing, as this article intends to point out.

Concerning to the process of producing news, it is part of the journalistic routine to cut and frame the facts before making them public. As explained by Motta (2010), the framing of a fact or an event assumes that some aspects are highlighted over others. In this way, some information can be included or excluded in the communicative text.

The construction of the journalistic content goes through factors such as the imposition of an editorial line by the newspapers to the journalists they employ and by the individual characteristics and beliefs of these professionals.

It is also worth considering that media companies are guided by interests that go beyond the editorial lines adopted by them, serving market interests and operating through the logic of capital. It is important to note that the media industry is made up of private companies that tend to fragment reality according to criteria related to their particular commercial and ideological aspects. Through the proposed analysis, it is believed that it is possible to understand if there is a maintenance of frameworks and speeches related to the acts of 2013 and 2015 in *Folha de S. Paulo* articles.

## Frameworks: the role of the media as a political and social actor

The social environment is immersed in communication. And not only in the media-informative context. New technologies allow message exchanges on different media in real-time and without geographical limitations. In the same way, access to information was enhanced by the ease of access to content disseminated by the media, which had to be adapted to the intense and immediate flow suggested by the current scenario, crossed by virtuality.

To inform means, in its etymological sense, *to give form to*. All information presupposes a support, material traces (message diffusion means: ink, sound waves, bright spots, etc.) and a code through which information is elaborated, as stated by Martino (2001). The contact with informative content is something common, it is part of social experience. Thus, communication has a sensible existence, it is in the domain of the real, forged as a concrete fact of daily life, exposed almost exhaustively in contemporary society (França, 2001 p.39). Although communication was not discovered in modernity, it has been problematized and complexified over the centuries, which allowed the emergence of multiple forms and modulations in its realization, as highlighted

by França (2001).

Hohlfeldt (2001) emphasizes that there is an intimate relationship between communication and social developments. Communication not only allows the exchange of messages, but also materializes a number of functions, among which it is possible to mention the circulation of information and the construction of consensus of opinion – highlighting its participation in persuasive processes and in formation of identities.

This paper prioritizes the theories that analyze journalism from the constructionist perspective, in which newspapers are considered to be social actors who actively participate in the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1985). On the base of this theories lie the agenda-setting theory, newsmaking theory, and especially the framework theories, that reveal how facts are clipped and selected and, even more, how some aspects are emphasized over others. It is understood that this may occur due to editorial choices, actions of journalists themselves and even aspects related to production routines and criteria of news. This reveals the complexity of journalistic practices as a result of a set of variables that act to transform events into news.

According to Sádaba (2007), considering framing theory, the journalist, when covering an event, tends to influence the way it will be reported. The author lists some individual characteristics of the journalist that may interfere with the process of news construction, such as ethnicity, gender, age, education received, the place where he studied journalism, the professional experiences, his beliefs and the editorial orientation of his employer newspaper. In addition to this, the author points out that the sources used by the journalist also have an influence on the reality he has built. By choosing the sources it is possible to give the news a referral that makes it compatible with the interests of journalists and the newspaper that they represent.

The framework predominantly used by the media in political journalism is, according to Motta (2010), the dramatical frame (narrative). The author explains that, by establishing narrative orderings for reality, journalists have the possibility to tell a story and establish an argumentative line that makes the facts more easily understandable to the reader. From Motta's perspective (2010), political journalism tends to use ludic dramatical frames, incorporating expressions such as war, battle, duel, and puzzle, because these frames allow framing political confrontations in order to make them clearer to their audience.

Politics, in this sense, constitutes a complex power game in which their agents go through processes of formation of alliances, confrontations, convergences and divergences. The production of dramatic frames allows someone to grasp the complex relationships that permeate the political field and to report them to the public in a didactic manner. Reporting the facts in a ludic way facilitates readers' assimilation due to the fact that these frames are part of common sense culture (Motta, 2010, p.158).

The frames produced by the media are determined by factors that go beyond the real nature of the facts. The selection of news content is a process that goes through the individual characteristics of journalists and the editorial vision of each media. This means that the same event can be reported from different points of view. The reality is presented in a fragmented way by the media that will frame it according to criteria that attend to the commercial and private interests of each one of them.

## Protests and activism: the new configuration of Brazilian social movements in the streets

Traditionally associated with collective action by drawing attention to demands that revolve around improving and the gaining of basic rights and ensuring survival, social movements are articulated and organized through the identities and belonging to ethnic, gender or cultural issues, in the struggle for a common cause.

In Brazil, social movements were strengthened between the 1960s and 1970s as a way of

resisting dictatorship and state authoritarianism, bringing together segments of the most popular strata of society, artists, students and intellectuals. These groups were articulating in the process of democratizing the political regime and society. In the second half of the 1970s, the hit by dams movements, the landless, and those organized by feminist, ethnic identity struggles, and so on, also entered in the scene. To the identity struggles of these groups were added the demands for democracy (Scherer-Warren, 2008, p. 10).

Between the 1980s and 1990s, with the political transition to the state democratization, social movements mobilized to guarantee and expand rights in the new Brazilian Constitution. In the same period, there was an increase in the number of NGOs and the third sector of social responsibility, as explained by Scherer-Warren (2008). According to Gohn (2017), these new social movements in the 1980s were organized in such a way as to differentiate from classic groups, moving away from the rigid structures commonly associated to union and workers movements.

Regarding the first decade of the 2000s, Scherer-Warren (2008) points out that social movements remain with characteristics of previous moments, but start to work in a network format, seeking a greater engagement in national issues and more autonomy in relation to the government agencies. This phase, according to the author, is marked by the emergence of a critical citizen movement committed not to a state control project, but to social control based on citizenship, acting in the solution of national issues of public interest. Social network movements, as explained by Scherer-Warren (2008), tend to contribute to popular forces obtaining greater autonomy from the state. The network organization contributes to the empowerment of some groups, with broader and more global forms of communication and demonstration, and through the visibility they can give to their causes.

The interactive, collaborative and decentralized environment of the internet has given social movements the opportunity to spread their claims without having to submit them to the filters of mainstream media. Contrary to the reach of the large media conglomerates that reach millions of people, cyberspace movements seek to promote the dissemination of ideas to groups that are willing to interact, support, suggest or contest the guidelines suggested by the media (Moraes, 2000, p.142).

Gohn and Bringel (2012) point out that the performance of movements through the virtual network has resized the distances of collective actions, which often occur in a space geographically distant from the place where social groups or movements were originated. The setting of these movements in the virtual environment is not characterized “only due to the connections caused by communication technologies, but also to their varied composition of entities and movements” (Gohn & Bringel, 2012, p.31).

There is also the possibility of using the virtual environment as a mediator in the dialogue between activist groups with both civil society and the state. Scherer-Warren (2006) highlights that from the communication forged in the virtuality between the movements and their peers, the face to face actions could be more circumstantial and spaced.

The mobilizations in the public sphere are result of the articulation between members of localized social movements, NGOs and sympathizers of their causes that, through protests in the public square, seek to produce visibility in the media, providing symbolic effects that affect the protesters themselves, society in general, besides the possibility of exerting political pressure (Scherer-Warren, 2006, p.112).

Having network communication as its main form of articulation and organization, in 2013 new social actors appear in the protest scene. Gohn (2017) explain that until June 2013 the classic and the *new* movements were the protagonists of the protests in the Brazilian streets. From 2013 onwards, the groups named by the author as *brand new* come into play, characterized by being

not only heterogeneous but also by representing different currents and countercurrents relative to the world of politics and culture.

The identity construction of these *brand new* movements is complex due to the fact that they are groups with diverse references in terms of age groups, tastes, belonging and adherence to the struggle for some cause, values and ideologies that motivate them. It is common for these groups to organize themselves preferentially into collectives and deny the possibility of organizing themselves into social movements because they have the opinion that these movements represent stiffened and traditional forms, and centralized structures. On the other hand, collectives are seen as fluid, horizontal and autonomous groupings, in which their members call themselves activists and not militants of some cause. Members of a social movement militate for a cause and they are more than casual activists for not being strictly summoned by online platforms. They have ties of belonging with a group, repertoire of demands and organizational practices (Gohn, 2017, p.22-23).

Gohn (2017) also points out that these groups called *brand new* are diverse in terms of references, likes, belonging and adherence to the fight for some cause and are composed of a majority of young members. According to the author, the movements in this *brand new* configuration ceased not only of being hegemonic but also identity binders. The organization in the form of collectives may or may not involve contesting practices, depending on their profile and the relational structures among the young people who compose them. In contrast, social movements are tied to more traditional models in terms of structure, cohesive identities, society projects, or resolution of problems that arise in the social field.

Although organized and articulated around demands and repertoires different than the classic and *new* social movements, the *brand new* ones became frequent figures in protests that dominated the streets of the country after June 2013. Understanding who these persons are is essential for some comprehension of recent political and social changes.

## The June 2013 Protests and the 2015 Pro-Impeachment acts

Since June 2013 mass demonstrations have become frequent in the Brazilian social scene. Articulating around heterogeneous demands, ranging from the request for a quality public transport, which initially was the motto of the acts of June 2013, to pro-impeachment acts, numerous protests spread throughout the Brazilian territory.

In 2013, dissatisfactions regarding quality and the fares adjustment of public transport were the agenda that led the MPL (*Movimento Passe Livre*) to the first mobilizations in Sao Paulo. These dissatisfactions were the trigger for diverse and even contradictory claims to gain space on the streets. Protesters clamored for improvements in the provision of services such as health and education, demanded tax cuts, were against public expenditures in hosting the mega events scheduled at the country (Confederations Cup 2013, World Cup 2014 and Olympic Games 2016), besides showing indignation about the national political scenario.

Silva and Ziviani (2014) signalize that the diversity of opinions, claims and points of view hindered the understanding of social movements. In the streets, traditional and organized movements, disorganized movements and people that had not been involved in any kind of combative activity had merged. During this period there was the emergence of a new political subject who had been absent for many years, manifest in the citizens who gathered in the streets in protest, especially those from the middle classes of society, as Gohn (2014) adds.

Although the ideology of the protests was linked to a leftist ideology, evidenced by demands that suggested equal access to public services and criticism of the elites and the political class, it was possible

to see that extreme right groups also marked their position in the streets. Though they were minority and marginal, the action of these groups in Sao Paulo caused the acts of the MPL to move to the outskirts of the city, as Ricci and Arley (2014) recall. Furthermore, it is worth noting that it was from the action of these protesters that the MPL and leftist militants were expelled from the acts of the 20th in Sao Paulo, on charges of these acts had been anti-party protests.

In March 2015, new demonstrations break out in the Brazilian streets, and although they resembled the scenario of June 2013 regarding the number of people present in the acts and the form of organization by social networks, the demands through which they were articulated were different. The Brazilian political polarization, intensified in the 2014 election period, when Dilma Rousseff (PT) was re-elected to the presidency of the republic, after a dispute with Aécio Neves (PSDB), was evidenced in the figure of the *coxinhas*<sup>1</sup> and *esquerdopatas*<sup>2</sup>. Right and left fought not only for space in the government, but also in the streets, in social networks and in the media. In 2015, amongst *panelaços*<sup>3</sup> and a polarized society, middle sectors of Brazilian society came together to fight against corruption and call for the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (PT).

Gohn (2017) explains that the crowd on the streets on the 15th of March, 2015 was summoned through the social networks, especially by groups that had emerged in the recent national scene: the *Movimento Brasil Livre* (MBL), *Revoltados Online* and *Vem pra Rua*. These groups presented themselves in opposition to the federal government, asking for the deposition of the president Dilma Rousseff (PT). The protest, which according to estimates gathered more than 200,000 people in the city of Sao Paulo, draws attention not only because of the number of protesters, but also due to the way it occurred.

Gohn (2017) highlights the recurrence of protesters' selfies, mostly dressed in CBF shirts, with the police apparatus present at the event. The police force, which usually acts to oppress protests with the use of force, became the target of photos that would later be shared on social networks by the public of the acts. The author also points to the presence of the Brazilian middle classes on 15 March.

The protests on the 15th of March 15, 2015, were summoned based on moral criteria and values, appealing to ethics and shouting against corruption, not having a specific agenda as demand and without any association with a past of struggles and militancy by the protesters (Gohn, 2017, p.69). These groups organized themselves on the streets in the months that followed, in 2015, and continued to mobilize during the following year. Although they had no decisive power in the process that led to the ousting of a democratically elected president without a crime of responsibility, these groups had considerable weight in the process.

In order to understand how *Folha de S. Paulo*, the newspaper that have the largest circulation in the country, which positions itself as a pluralist, critical and non-partisan framed the June 2013 Protests and the March 2015 Protests, this paper presents an analysis of articles published by the newspaper between the 6th and the 7th of June, 2013, and the 15th and the 16th of March, 2015. Using the categorical content analysis, it is intended to observe if there is a maintenance of the discourse disseminated by the newspaper about street demonstrations through the frameworks used by it, the valences given to publications, the sources selected and the newspaper itself, as a political actor.

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1 The term *coxinha* is used in a derogatory sense to describe people of conservative political stances, commonly associated with the right-wing political spectrum.

2 *Esquerdopata* is a term used to refer to left-wing militants, often viewed as radical by some social groups.

3 A form of protest in which pans are used to make noise and draw attention to some cause with the peculiarity that the demonstrators protest without leaving home. In Brazil, several of these protests took place during the government of Dilma Rousseff (PT).

## Analysis of the frameworks of articles published by Folha de S. Paulo regarding the “June 2013 Protests” and the “March 2015 Protests”

In order to verify the framing of the news published by the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, the articles referring to the June 2013 Protests and the March 2015 Protests were collected, which received the front page highlight in the newspaper. The clipping comprises the period between the 6th and the 7th of June, 2013, and the 15th and the 16th of March, 2015, which correspond to the days when the acts occurred and to the subsequent days, respectively.

In order to be able to carry out the proposed analysis, three categories were mobilized, in which the *Frames of the demonstrations* will be presented, taking into consideration the valence of the articles, the *Characters/sources* that the newspaper convoke, besides the position of the *Newspaper as a political actor*. Below are the basic data of the studied news, including the title, the date of publication, the sections of the newspaper and the valence (negative, positive, neutral or balanced), and the (Table 1) corresponds to the 2013 Protests and (Table 2) regarding the 2015 Protests.

Table 1 - Briefing on the June 2013 Protests

| <b>News Title</b>                                                 | <b>Date</b> | <b>Sections</b> | <b>Valence</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| -----                                                             | 06/06/2013  | -----           | -----          |
| Protest against bus [fares] rise has conflict and vandalism in SP | 07/06/2013  | Daily           | Negative       |
| Act closes even mall and leaves stations depredated               | 07/06/2013  | Daily           | Negative       |

Source: table elaborated by the authors

Table 2 - Briefing on the June 2015 Protests

| <b>News Title</b>                                           | <b>Date</b> | <b>Sections</b> | <b>Valence</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| The opposition decides to join anti-Dilma protest en bloc   | 15/03/2015  | Power           | Positive       |
| From Fasano to the street                                   | 15/03/2015  | Illustrated     | Positive       |
| Crowd takes the streets against Dilma and scares government | 16/03/2015  | Power           | Positive       |
| Avenue visage                                               | 16/03/2015  | Power           | Positive       |
| Flattered, police pose for photos with protesters           | 16/03/2015  | Power           | Positive       |

Source: table elaborated by the authors



Analyzing each mentioned article extracted from the front page of *Folha de S. Paulo* in the 2013 and 2015 publications, it's possible to notice that there is a discrepancy regarding the valences used in each of the contents. While the June 2013 Protests had their first act framed in mostly negative perspective, evidenced by the constant use of terms that emphasizing derogatory aspects (vandalism, riot, panic, depredation, etc.), the act that inaugurated the pro-impeachment demonstrations in 2015 was positively framed by the newspaper, which used terms that denoted the peaceful and orderly characteristics of the protests (political act, peaceful atmosphere, expression of the democratic spirit, etc.).

It is also worth mentioning the absence of articles about the acts of the 6th June, 2013, in the edition of *Folha de S. Paulo* published on the same date. In the absence of information about the demonstrations called by MPL, there is an article about the march that took place in Brasilia, against abortion and gay marriage, which was attended by Pastor Silas Malafaia and had a great adherence of evangelical communities. Unlike what occurred on the date of the June 2013 demonstration, on the 15th of June, 2015, *Folha* published two articles that concerned the acts that would take place on the same date. In addition to the information about the time when the protests would take place, the newspaper reported on meeting points of protesters and presented the movements that organized the event.

## Characters/Sources

Regarding the characters that were featured in *Folha de S. Paulo* front page in the articles of the 7th of June, 2013, MPL members were not only organizers of the protests, but also associated with a *radical left* and *anarchist* groups. The protagonism was assigned to the protesters, who received nicknames such as vandals, troublemakers and disorder promoters. To the act was attributed the responsibility for the interdiction of important roads of Sao Paulo, causing major traffic jams and disrupting the flow of the city. In addition, it was emphasized in more than one moment that the increase in the amounts paid for public transport was given at a price below inflation. This statement contributed to delegitimize the movement, which claimed that the addition of twenty cents of the Brazilian currency would have a negative impact on the lives of many workers who were dependent on the public transport.

The Military Police (MP) were also featured in the 7th of June, 2013, publications. The MP's actions were sometimes characterized by the newspaper as abusive, but even indirectly they were justified by the violent action of the protesters. It is noteworthy that the articles use only official sources, including, besides the MP, political leaders and the administration of the Underground. The MPL, the main organizer of the events, was indirectly quoted, attributing to one of its leaders the argument that the group had lost control of the demonstration. Although was given to MPL a brief place to speak, the larger space given to the subject by the newspaper was used to explain that the movement consisted of radical activists from leftist parties.

The articles of the 15th and the 16th of March, 2015, highlighted the leading role of opposition political leaders, personified by parties like PSDB and DEM and by the groups that would be responsible for the summons and organization of the acts (MBL, *Vem pra Rua* and *Revoltados Online*). Contrary to what is observed in the publications referring to the 7th of June, 2013, the news referring to the pro-impeachment demonstrations refer to the people who went to the streets dressed in green and yellow as protagonists of the act and are given to them a place of speech. There were direct sources that represented the people present in the protests. Among the people that were heard by the newspaper, there was the speech of an artist who said he wanted to leave Brazil due to the high price of dollar, inflation and lack of security, quality of transport and education. There was also an accountant who evoked the need for military intervention to end corruption.

The articles focused on the characteristics of the protesters who starred in the act on the 15th of March, 2015, composed mainly of families. The differences between the acts of 2015 and 2013 are

reported, highlighting that the previous acts would have been marked by the massive participation of young people and the police confrontation. Unlike June 2013, protesters attending the 15th of March acts would have drawn attention by taking selfies with the MP and the riot police.

The Military Police are protagonists of the acts of the 15th of March, along with the protesters. Noteworthy is the fact that the MP, commonly mobbed during the manifestations, were being harassed by protesters who embraced, praised and asked to take selfies with the police. Institutional sources were indirectly listened. In addition to the Military Police, government-related political leaders and oppositionists were heard by the newspaper.

Through the analysis of the articles it was observed the predominance of news that use official sources excessively. The news published in 2013 that were analyzed draw attention to the absence of sources from the public present at the protests. Although they have led a major part in the news, their voice did not appear directly at them and their leading role was pejorative and associated with vandalism and the deprecation of public assets. Regarding the 2015 Protests, as shown in the period analyzed, it could be seen that in the articles after the acts, there was the insertion of sources that were present in the streets and also the exaltation of the civility of the people present in the acts.

The choice for primary sources is related to the constructionist perspective of journalism (Berger & Luckmann, 1985), more specifically to structuralist theory. Traquina (2001) explains that the press fights against the tyranny of time and, to ensure the newspapers is ready to be published, are forced to organize themselves in time and space. For this, they create a network of sources that support the different sectors of news. As explained by Traquina (2001), there is an increasing dependence of journalists on *primary definers*. Both in the case of the March 2013 and 2015 demonstrations, the sources that appeared with emphasis were the Military Police, the governments representatives and groups that organized the movements, although in the 2015 acts the protesters were contacted by *Folha*. This, according to the author, reinforces the worldview of consolidated social institutions by giving voice, preferably, to sources linked to the structural logic of society.

## Newspaper as a political actor

Considering that the June 2013 and the March 2015 demonstrations were separated for a short period of time, it could be expected that the newspaper would have a discursive maintenance about the protests. However, it can be seen through the frames, valences, sources and characters that *Folha de S. Paulo* attributed to the events differentiated valuation patterns. While the 2013 acts were predominantly framed under negative biases, the pro-impeachment demonstrations received positive evaluations in the articles covering the period analyzed.

Regarding the political stance of the newspaper, in the publications of the 7th of June, 2013, it is possible to observe at several moments indirect critics to the left parties and also to the political class in general. It was noteworthy that the MPL, the creator of the protests, was composed of students linked to the radical left and anarchism. In the case of the articles of the period analyzed, as evidenced by the empirical data, *Folha de S. Paulo*, due to an editorial decision, opted for a negative framework and sought to criminalize the acts, giving legitimacy even to the aggressive and violent stance of the Military Police, treating the protesters present in the acts in derogatory ways.

In the articles referring to the 15th and the 16th of March, 2015, *Folha*, as well as the news referring to June 2013, maintained a political position of discredit to the left parties and their agents. However, the demonstrations on the 15th of March, 2015, not only had space for dissemination but also for convening to the protests, publishing the times of the acts and the meeting places of the groups that organized them. The same cannot be observed in the news about the 2013 demonstrations, in the article published on the 6th of June this kind of information received no prominence, entering in the journalistic

script only after the acts.

Through the analysis of the data presented, it is possible to state that the newspaper, due to an editorial decision, chose to highlight negative aspects of the acts of the 6th of June, 2013, highlighting the disorderly characteristic of their protesters, while the acts of the 15th of March, 2015, received positive frameworks, extolling their democratic and peaceful nature.

## Final Considerations

Through the analysis utilized in this article it is possible to observe how the same newspaper approach to events of a similar nature (both characterized by the crowding of people in the streets) can receive opposite treatments depending on the perspective of the frameworks to which they are submitted.

In addition to the frames observed in the publications regarding the June 2013 and March 2015 demonstrations, predominantly negative for the first one and positive for the second, there is also a differentiation of the people present in the streets. If in 2013 protesters are not heard or named and are often treated as vandals and troublemakers, in the acts of 2015 they had a place of speech, highlighting that the people present on the streets were composed of families who peacefully gathered in the streets in the name of a democratic demonstration. It is also noteworthy that the newspaper chose to refer to these groups as *people*, or to listen to them directly, giving them name and face. Through these lexical choices, the term *demonstrator* was used less recurrently.

The June 2013 demonstrations and the 2015 Pro-Impeachment demonstrations contain differences concerning the political-ideological references of the protesters, the repertoire of the demands, the social groups that articulated them and the values that supported them. *Folha de S. Paulo* assumes, through the frameworks given to the facts, a role as a political actor, as evidenced earlier. In this sense, it was decided to treat the 2013 demonstrations and protesters in a predominantly negative and derogatory manner and, on the other hand, adopted a mild and civilizing tone to describe the acts of 2015. Given the context in which both events are articulated, *Folha's* position, evidenced throughout the period analyzed here, contradicts the exemption policy that the newspaper attributes to itself.

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