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How Do News Issues Help Frame Telenovela Plots?

A Framing Analysis of Brazilian Print National Press and

TV Globo's 8 p.m. Telenovela *Duas Caras* [*Two Faced/s*]

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TV Globo's 8 p.m. Telenovela *Duas Caras* [*Two Faced/s*]

by

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Dedication

For my father, who has always cheered my dreams.

For my mother, who has given me the determination by nature.

For my husband, who has joined me in the journey, supporting and enriching this finish.

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This study examines how news issues help frame telenovela plots and compares how the print media and telenovelas frame several key social and political issues. Secondary systematic sampling of the Brazilian leading daily newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil* and newsmagazine *Veja/Veja-Rio* from January 2007 to April 2008 generated 313 news stories along with 292 photos for analysis. A five-composite week sample of TV Globo's 8 p.m. hit telenovela *Duas Caras* resulted in 31 episodes — including its premiere and finale — or a total of 1,051 scenes to explore. Applying framing theory (Reese, 2003) through a reciprocal and dynamic comparative narrative analysis (Berger, 2005; Berger, 1997) to this body of materials suggests the telenovela, compared to news, is a more progressive storyteller with regard to race, class and gender news issues. Salient latent news frames *The Government is the family* and *Brazilian democracy is more social*

than racial emerge from this study's news portion. These are compared with the emergent salient latent novela frames *Family first, family forever* and *It's not the position that rules, but the influence*. For the first time in TV Globo's history, an Afro-Brazilian is an 8 p.m. telenovela hero. In addition, *Duas Caras* highlights his successful municipal election campaign, right around the time municipal election campaigns in Brazil were gearing up and while U.S. citizens were considering then electing their first Afro-American president. *Duas Caras* also sanitizes favelas, or Brazilians shantytowns, contrasting the fictive locale of Portelinha against marginalized portrayals of favelas and their residents in the news. In a diversifying media environment where lines between fact and fiction are increasingly less apparent, Brazilian (alternative) news studies, such as social marketing themes in telenovelas, are critical measures of the state of media opening in Brazil (Porto, 2007). They also reveal from which source(s) Brazilians receive their news information, raising the question, Do telenovelas help frame news issues?

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction & Study Rationale

A recent New York Times article (Dargis & Scott, 2009) claimed Hollywood prepared the United States for a black president. It reviewed movies with black male leads such as James Earl Jones and Morgan Freeman, suggesting strong, non-white men could not only head the greatest nation on earth, but also do a good job. Ultimately, the article suggests popular-culture fiction powerfully influences reality and, ultimately, voter behavior.

Although questions regarding the influence of popular-culture and media on reality may be entering the United States mainstream, nations such as Brazil, home to the world's tenth largest economy, have experimented with it for decades. For many years, the only way Brazilians living under a military dictatorship could get a sense for how things really were was to tune it to alternative news sources, including the telenovela (Straubhaar, Olsen & Nunes, 1993). Essentially, a telenovela is a televised mini-series, or a six-day-per-week, one-hour serial-drama program lasting anywhere from six to about eight months with a pronounced beginning, plot development from episode to episode, and definitive end. Over time, telenovelas have had substantial influence over the Brazilian way of life. Family sizes have decreased and divorce rates have increased as women even in the most remote areas have exercised greater autonomy based on the televised roles they have seen (Potter, Schmertmann & Cavenaghi, 2002; Kottack, 1990; Chong & La Ferrara, 2009; La Ferrara, Chong & Duryea, 2008). In addition, social movements like that of the Movimento Sem Terra, or Landless Farmworkers' Movement, has received positive media coverage in telenovelas, which was picked up by news media, although the attention does not necessarily encourage the goal of mobilization that

the movement seeks to promote (Hammond, 2004). In effect, real life at least in Brazil has mirrored, or quite likely been influenced by, constructed fiction.

Statement of the Problem

This study's overarching concern is how news issues help frame telenovela plots to explore the state of media opening in Brazil (Porto, 2007), 24 years following the Brazilian transition from a military dictatorship to democracy. Brazilian (alternative) news studies, such as social marketing themes in telenovelas, are critical measures of the state of media opening in Latin America's leading economy (Porto, 2007) and reveal from which source(s) Brazilians receive their news information. Despite systemic differences among a print newspaper and newsmagazine along with the electronic medium of the telenovela, this multi-media comparison is timely in a diversifying media environment where lines between fact and fiction are increasingly blurred.

Brazilian media are active institutions of the public sphere (Matos, 2008), participating in the hegemonic (re)creation of what is important. While television can be understood as being more democratic because of its information dissemination to a generalized audience, it is in the spaces of the quality newspapers and newsmagazines that public debates on political issues occur. National dailies and weekly newsmagazines address decision-making publics, having traditionally functioned as main sources for elites to engage in discussions on politics and public affairs. Meanwhile, TV Globo's 8 p.m. telenovela has traditionally been the "cultural forum" in which Brazilian social, cultural and political issues are discussed (Straubhaar, 2007; Newcomb, 1974; Newcomb & Hirsch, 1994). Telenovelas have relied on complicated audience research techniques

including various social media to guide their plot development according to audience (dis)likes. In many ways, telenovelas are larger discussion groups for current Brazilian (news) issues, since (non)elites participate.

With the increase in literacy and enhanced newspaper design, among other factors, newspaper readership and subscriptions are on the rise in Brazil, meaning more have access to and participate in discussions on politics and public affairs. Concurrently, TV Globo, in particular, feels commercial pressure to reach out to previously marginalized groups to maintain its market domination. Nevertheless, significant differences remain in how these media address important issues, such as race and class. While print news tends to continue to skirt particularly the issue of race, TV Globo boldly approaches it through its portrayal of its first Afro-Brazilian hero its 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras*; Afro-Brazilian and favelado, or slum dweller, Evilásio Caó runs for and wins his municipal election.

Applying framing theory to unravel manifest and latent content of news and novela text and visual narratives across media, degrees of press freedom within Brazil's partly-free-ranked media become clear. On the bottom level, or the least free, is the Brazilian print press. Perhaps tied up in the structure of white male journalists writing for an audience like themselves, *O Jornal* does not textually address issues such as race, since the topic has been taboo over time. On the middle step, newsmagazine reports, like those of *Veja* and *Veja-Rio*, seem more free through their treatment of issues such as race and class. Further, *Veja* demonstrates the strength and scope of its investigative reporting through its offering of solutions to the social, cultural and political problems it tackles. Highest or most free within Brazil, the telenovela, as represented by *Duas Caras*, is the

most progressive storyteller. For the first time in TV Globo's history, race and class issues are obviously addressed through an Afro-Brazilian's election victory *and* the sanitized, positive portrayal of a favela.

Telenovelas, Non-traditional News Sources and Proponents of Shared National Identity

Telenovelas saturate Brazilian prime-time viewing. The Cinder(f)ella-like, rags-to-riches stories blending contemporary social and political issues are “the Brazilian cultural product with the greatest audience, the most societal influence, the most sophistication in open television production, and export Brazilian culture to more than 140 countries” (University of São Paulo, Brazil, Agency News, 2004). Indeed, Brazil is the leader in the telenovela industry (Rohter, 2000), challenged only by Mexico, and, at home, telenovelas are “a forum for the discussion of Brazilian reality” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 155).

How does this forum occur? Brazilian telenovelas — which have been broadcast prior to, through, and following Brazil's transition to democracy — are open works; they change in accordance with audience feedback (Hamburger, 1999). The feedback is a unique, dynamic conversation primarily among the Brazilian telenovela audience and the telenovela author, based on current events and social issues. The conversation is a composite; it represents patterns of overlap between news fact and telenovela fiction. It is intertextual. Intertextuality refers to the successful combination of at least two texts, where each text is a coherent set of symbols that transmits some kind of informative message (Geraghty, 2007). In this application, intertextuality is the “interpenetration of

journalistic discourses in the telenovela and the telenovela as a reference to news and political discourse” (La Pastina, 2004, p. 304).

People get news and information from other, nontraditional sources — including online news sources, comedy TV shows and late-night TV programs (Pew Research Center, 2004) — to make daily decisions and to work out or make sense of important life-affecting issues. Indeed a late-night comedy show host, Jon Stewart, who parodies news, has been rated as more credible than any other broadcast network news show host¹. As noted, Brazilians have been turning to alternative news sources and seeking political information for actions such as voting, over time (Straubhaar, Olsen & Nunes, 1993). Telenovelas are one example of nontraditional news sources dynamically communicating truth outside normal journalistic conventions.

Because telenovelas are so pervasive in Brazilian society, being viewed by all genders, ages and social classes, they can substitute as non-traditional news sources and uniquely aid citizens in making daily life-affecting decisions. They do this through their propensity to address current social, cultural and political issues in “real time” (La Ferrera, Chong & Duryea, 2008), helping citizens to make sense of issues as they are occurring or becoming relevant. As telenovela screenwriter Gloria Perez said during the 2005 airing of her TV Globo novela *America*, “Telenovelas have the power to make a whole country discuss a particular subject.” This reflects what television theorist Horace Newcombe calls the rise of television drama as a cultural forum (Newcomb, 1974; Newcomb & Hirsch, 1994).

¹ See the recent *Time* poll found at http://www.timepolls.com/hppolls/archive/poll_results_417.html. Information retrieved Aug. 10, 2009.

Through their potential influence on the formation of political, cultural and social ideas at home and abroad, telenovelas also suggest a shared national identity; Brazilian telenovela viewers absorb in varying degrees the physical (tangible consumer items ranging from clothing and accessories to cars), cultural (including language/slang, music, habits), and social (attitudes regarding immigration, family size, abortion, politics) products and ideas featured in their favorite telenovelas (Cantrell, 2008). Further, “National television can reinforce national political identity and loyalty among the citizens, sustain a sense of patriotism, conform to a military sense of national security, and reinforce a sense of being a national consumer within a national market, which also helps the state by strengthening national industry” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 70).

Telenovela *Duas Caras*, or *Two Faces/d*

Rather than overview several telenovelas, or similar themes from a variety of telenovelas, this study investigates one in depth. “The only way to understand how meanings, media, gender, and power actually interrelate and operate is to examine the details of a specific cultural instance” (D’Acci, 1994, 4-5). *Duas Caras*, or *Two Faces/d*, is the “specific cultural instance” or telenovela under study. This telenovela highlights the story of a man’s corrupt and “two-faced” ascendancy to wealth and credibility, for which he ultimately pays through a two-year prison sentence. Intertwined with the main story line are subplots featuring a powerful favela or slum leader and his god-like reign, his second-hand-man’s turbulent local election campaign, and a drama-ridden university administration headed by a powerful woman.

Duas Caras, which TV Globo produced and aired Oct. 1, 2007, to May 31, 2008, has been selected for study for a number of reasons. One is this telenovela’s potential for

content overlap with news; its chief author, Aguinaldo Silva, is a former journalist known for his ability to interlace political fact with fiction (Straubhaar, 1989). A second reason why *Duas Caras* should be studied is that it portrays TV Globo's first 8 p.m. telenovela male Afro-Brazilian hero. (The 8 p.m. telenovela is the most important and widely viewed.) Does this portrayal, however, help or hinder the racial democracy (non)conversation in Brazil? Third, it offers an example of how incited telenovela viewers can become over issues portrayed in the novela. For instance, early in *Duas Caras*' airing, Silva tried to leave Brazil because he received death threats possibly for his depicted criticism of the leftist government as well as other political and highly controversial news themes (Brayton, 2007). *Duas Caras*' popularity is a fourth reason for its selection. It secured TV Globo top rankings yet again, insuring that TV Globo remains Brazil's and the world's leader in the telenovela industry (Folha Online, 2008). A fifth reason is the telenovela's deliberate mock-reality. One of the reasons *Duas Caras* bears its name is because lead character Dr. Marconi Ferraço spoofs Brazilian politician José Dirceu who also underwent plastic surgery and assumed an alternative lifestyle (see, for example, Braga, 2009). Hence, studying one telenovela, namely *Duas Caras*, in depth allows an interesting and timely opportunity to peek into one forum and its widely-received "discussion of Brazilian reality." It also contributes to the development of a body of knowledge on a genre deserving scholarly attention at least because of its potential influence on national identity formation.

A preliminary analysis of two leading Brazilian newsmagazines' (Veja and IstoÉ)² contents from January 2007 to the telenovela launch date of Oct. 1, 2007, compared with the final episode of *Duas Caras* indicated overlap among several news themes. One of the most prominent themes in both is municipal politics — municipal campaigns were gearing up for October 2008 elections. As will be pointed out, affirmative action is another.

As has been noted, researchers have demonstrated that Brazilian telenovelas play an active role in the discussion of political themes and events in different periods of the nation's history (Straubhaar, 1988; Rubim, 1989; Weber, 1990; De Lima, 1993; Porto, 1998; Hamburger, 1999; Porto, 2001; Drugg, 2007). Viewers, though, as active audience members, interpret the political themes differently (Sluyter-Beltrão, 1993; La Pastina, 1999; Straubhaar & La Pastina, 2007; Porto, 2001). While researchers have investigated the relationship between Brazilian telenovelas, politics and broadcast news (Porto, 2001), few studies exist on the relationships between Brazilian telenovelas, politics and the national print press. This relationship increases in importance, primarily because newspaper circulation, readership and subscriptions have been growing in Brazil the last several years (Smith, 2008). It is also important to note that in 2001, "a study about the credibility of institutions among the population showed that newspapers ranked second, trailing only the Catholic Church" (Alves, 2003, p. 130). Furthermore, newsmagazines

² Originally, this research project incorporated two newsmagazines, including *IstoÉ*. *IstoÉ* is also a leading Brazilian newsmagazine. However, to make analysis of the materials of this investigation manageable, the Brazilian print national media were scaled back to one leading newsmagazine along with one leading newspaper.

— especially *Veja* — have emerged as a main national news medium, demonstrating aggressive investigative journalism and constantly scooping the newspapers, forcing them to refer to its stories as well as publish the repercussions (Alves, 2003).

As stated earlier, Brazilian news studies are critical measures of the state of media opening (Porto, 2007) and reveal from which source(s) Brazilians receive their news information. Media opening is the “process by which mass media become more representative of societal viewpoints and more independent of official control” (Porto, 2007, citing Lawson, 2002, p. 381).

This Study

Again, the central concern of this study is whether news issues help frame telenovela plots to explore how (alternative) news sources can influence public opinion, public attitudes and public behaviors in the social construction of a national identity. To understand possible societal implications of a fiction-fact media relationship, two Brazilian print news sources, their photographs, and one telenovela’s representations of local election candidates in a democratizing nation are explored. Multiple sources — including the leading Brazilian daily *O Jornal do Brasil* and the world’s fourth largest newsmagazine *Veja* — from different publishers are sampled and narratively analyzed to dismiss “per chance” findings. Studying them also reveals cultural similarities and differences in news textual and visual storytelling. The print news and telenovela comparison is rich because of the recent Brazilian increase in news subscriptions and readership (Smith, 2008) paralleled with the long-lasting popularity that telenovelas have enjoyed. Telenovelas, particularly those of TV Globo, the world’s fourth largest network,

have served as a staple of the Brazilian media diet since the 1950s, prior to and throughout Brazil's democratization period, which began in 1985.

Framing theory helps inspect both manifest and latent news and telenovela content in an attempt to make sense of race, class and other issues present in factual and fictitious local election campaigns and mediated in a complex society. Ideally, as its democratization deepens, Brazil's political, media and social democratization should continue at varying speeds and degrees (Porto, 2007; Lawson, 2002), with Brazil's media becoming more representative of societal viewpoints and independent of official control.

Following this chapter, framing theory will be overviewed. Although oftentimes considered a "fractured paradigm" (Entman, 1993), framing is ideal for this consideration because of it addresses organizing principles communicated primarily through media that are shared and persistent over time (Reese, 2003). News is one medium that communicates such organizing principles, although scholars continue to struggle with the difficulty of defining news (see, for example, Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neill, 2001) along with defining and measuring news frames (see, for example, Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, 2003). Framing theory is particularly helpful because it allows for the consideration of what is reported in news as well as what is missing or unsaid (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008b). In addition, framing theory is useful in making sense of news photographs and other visual information (Coleman & Banning, 2006; Messaris & Abraham, 2003). This involves capturing the tensions between what is included in news photographs along with what is excluded (Fahmy & Kim, 2008), since a news photograph is only a slice of reality (Fahmy, 2004).

Chapter 3 introduces Brazil's TV Globo, its rise to dominance within and without Brazil, and explains more fully the magic and societal impacts of telenovelas, which can be termed the telenovela effect. To this day a typical novela entertains and informs 60 to 80 million viewers (La Ferrera, Chong & Duryea, 2008). In addition, a brief history of the Brazilian print national press is summarized. The transitional Brazilian press has shown to be more preoccupied with instrumental rather than idealistic practices; "meeting standards of accuracy, beating deadlines, juggling sources, and scooping competitors rank more prominently than bringing political reform or democratic accountability" (Waisbord, 2000, p. 187). Again, comparing (alternative) news sources reveals insights into Brazil's state of media opening (Porto, 2007).

Chapter 4 highlights particular Brazilian cultural assumptions that must be understood in order for the issue and thematic frames that surface from the news and telenovela framing analysis to make sense. Those include racial democracy, or the "mythic" notion, according to various scholars, that all races are equal in Brazil. This leads to an inter-related discussion of gender, class and affirmative action in Brazil. In addition, the history, tradition and concept of favelas, or Brazilian slums, must be visited to appreciate the significance of *Duas Caras*' model favela Portelinha, the central locale of the telenovela, which is also a first for TV Globo.

Chapter 5 pinpoints the research questions and guiding hypotheses of this study. Revisiting theory, each research question and/or directed query is contextualized according to its cultural and contemporary significance. Considering the rich research regarding telenovelas intertwining political fact and fiction (La Pastina, 2004; Porto, 2001; Straubhaar, 1989; Hamburger, 1999), the telenovela *Duas Caras*' treatment of the

election and broader news frames is projected to represent a nuanced complexity to the democratic process when compared with the print media. This is largely because telenovela studies have shown that telenovelas play an active role in the representation of political and social issues, often highlighting candidate personalities, which are seen as analogous to those of real candidates (Porto, 2005; Hamburger, 1997; La Pastina, 1999; La Pastina, 2004).

Chapter 5 also spells out the media and the method. Secondary systematic sampling of newspaper and newsmagazine stories and photos over an approximate 16-month time period ranging from Jan. 7, 2007, to April 2, 2008, has generated 313 news stories along with 292 photos for analysis. A five-composite week sample of *Duas Caras* episodes including its premiere and finale delivers 1,051 scenes to study. Comparative narrative analysis (Berger, 2005; Berger, 1997) allows for crystallization of findings (Richardson, 1994). The analysis is not linear, but reciprocal and dynamic. News points to telenovela inclusions, and examination of telenovela elements leads back to news themes that may require additional consideration.

Chapter 6 offers a brief overview of two salient latent news frames that surface from the qualitative framing news analysis of news materials. It also puts forth two framing models to help readers conceptualize the emerging salient latent news frames of “The Government is the family” along with “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” The first news frame — “Government is the family” — houses several manifest content frames pointing to the culturally-embedded notion of paternalistic government. It is apparent through the news framing analysis that Brazilians look to their government to

claim the rights to shelter, security, health and education, although the system is somewhat corrupt.

Chapter 7 debuts the second salient latent news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” Blending news narrative with photos, three clear messages or surface. The first is “Race in Brazil: It matters if you’re black or white.” The second is “Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up.” The third is “Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning.” Each of these news themes is firmly rooted in Brazilian culture.

Chapter 8 provides a plot summary of the telenovela *Duas Caras* as a precursor to the emergent telenovela frames. Main characters and their significance are also highlighted. In addition, the chapter delivers two telenovela frame models to help readers visualize the relationship among the frames’ themes. Further, cultural information necessary to understand the significance of the telenovela frames is provided.

Chapter 9 proposes the emergent telenovela frame “Family first, family forever.” Not an unusual or new telenovela frame, this culturally-embedded concept advances the family notion as it reifies and expands the (non)traditional, modern, ideal and typical Brazilian family themes.

Chapter 10 suggests that a second salient latent telenovela frame emerging from *Duas Caras* is invisible power. The frame’s name is “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence.” White front men and women who actually hold positions of power are not true leaders. They defer to others who hold less visible positions of influence. It is the persons to whom the “leaders” defer who rule. In addition, race is shown to be a completely personal rather than a political factor.

Chapter 11 revisits the first of the two research questions. Specifically, it unravels the intertextuality between news and telenovela frames to show the intricate, deliberate, “real time” conversation that occurs at least between the telenovela author and concurrent news events.

Chapter 12 returns to the second research question and explains the nuanced framing of race, gender and class issues in news and telenovela frames. For example, it explains that Brazilian affirmative action is a murky or ill-defined news issue, largely because of the Brazilian social, cultural and political difficulty in identifying and defining who is black and what blackness means. Meanwhile, in *Duas Caras* fiction, affirmative action is laughed or treated as inconsequential. Chapter 12 also addresses any overlap between real and fictitious telenovela municipal election portrayal. The chapter also indicates important cultural frames discussed in the telenovela but absent from concurrent news stories and/or photos.

In Chapter 13, the conclusion pulls out main arguments to substantiate the intriguing connection(s) between news fact and telenovela fiction. At least a dynamic connection between telenovela author and print national press works in tandem to contribute to national identity formation. Problems encountered during the study and how they were overcome are also addressed. For instance, the limited amount of information that surfaced in print national news regarding municipal elections made some conclusions more difficult to substantiate. Nevertheless, the rich detail surrounding municipal elections found in *Duas Caras* helped demonstrate important systemic or medium differences that suggest telenovelas are more progressive storytellers than national media. The conclusion also calls attention to this study’s most important findings. One is the

advancement of the need to study news verbally *and* visually. Another contribution is finding that news issues *do* help frame telenovela plots, and, perhaps more importantly, *how* they do so. The social marketing of themes in *Duas Caras* demonstrates, among other findings, that telenovelas are more progressive storytellers than Brazilian print national news. In an emerging democracy, alternative news sources such as the telenovela can influence public opinion, public attitudes and public behaviors in the social construction of a national identity. This raises another important question, Does fiction help frame fact?

This study applies framing theory to investigate a media relationship between news fact and telenovela fiction. Although focused on news and telenovela intertextuality, the investigation can also be considered international, if “international” is understood as meaning “between/among nations” rather than just “foreign,” because of Brazilian telenovela popularity within and outside of Brazil. Ultimately, a comparative study of news and telenovela content intertextuality reveals news issues do help frame telenovela plots. It also reveals some of the influences on how Brazilian identity is uniquely and dynamically socially constructed, possibly limiting democracy in Brazil.

CHAPTER 2: Framing Theory Literature Review

Although the concept of framing in mass communication research is not new, no one universally accepted definition of framing theory exists (see, for example, Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005; D'Angelo, 2002; Reese et al., 2001), nor is there only one way to apply it; framing can be used both methodologically and theoretically (see, for example, Coleman & Banning, 2006). Lack of consistent application is one of the reasons framing is considered a “fractured paradigm” (Entman, 1993, p. 55-56), which some scholars see as a beneficial and necessary component for comparative studies (see, for instance, Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008a).

Tuchman (1978) borrowed the term “frame” from Goffman (1974) who used frame analysis to phenomenologically analyze the social organization of human experience. She applied it to the newsmaking process and posited that news, especially news about phenomena that is beyond an individual’s direct experience,

. . . is a window to the world. But, like any frame that delineates a world, the news frame may be considered problematic. The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. (p. 1)

Tuchman hints that frames are not to be confused nor underestimated as simple lenses through which to view a world; they are complex, deeply embedded in cultural and societal norms, often invisible, understood structures that guide perception, even behavior. Frames are tools social actors use to structure reality, and they are often so taken-for-granted that their impact is by stealth (Lewis & Reese, 2009; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Van Gorp, 2007). “Frames are organizing principles that are socially

shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world” (Reese, 2001, p. 11).

Framing research moves analysis beyond simple discussions of media “bias” to consider the deeper structure of news messages. It makes connections between visual and verbal analysis, quantitative and qualitative methodologies, critical and social scientific perspectives, the psychological and sociological (as Dr. Reese teaches). Framing practitioners — or those who apply framing theory or perform framing research — can be housed generally within four categories, content analytic, an effects-and-receiver perspective, an interpretive, sociological grouping, and a critical or public arena.

Regarding the content analytic division, Pan and Kosicki (1993) and Entman (1993) address, generally, the empirical debate occurring within framing dialogue. Since a frame is an illusive concept and therefore difficult to define, how does one measure it? And, as Pan and Kosicki (1993) question, how are different perspectives or points of view or frames contested or struggled over in the public arena? This issue is particularly critical in the American political process when politicians and interest groups are straining to reach (and, arguably, persuade) every constituent possible. “Packaged sponsorship” (as exemplified by prepared media kits), “oppositional news” in radio stations, the U.S. civil rights movement, and former-Pres. Clinton’s health care reform are a few examples of their Age of Talk and Role of Stage within discursive communities. Journalists, sources and audiences participate in a sticky web of public deliberation, and (in)visible actors are engaged in a performance to reproduce community binding, sharing enduring values. It is political spectacle, with elite manipulations and performances in which the media are not neutral. Pan and Kosicki (1993) present

framing analysis as a constructivist approach to examine news discourse, with the primary focus on conceptualizing news texts into empirically operationalizable dimensions — syntactical, script, thematic, and rhetorical structures — so that evidence of the news media's framing of issues in news texts may be gathered. To them, framing is a multifaceted process in which influences travel in and through many different directions, integrating the discursive, political and sociological subprocesses in public deliberation.

Entman's (1993) work underscores Pan and Kosicki's (1993) understanding of framing. One of his goals is to identify and make explicit common tendencies among the various uses of framing terms and to suggest a more precise and universal understanding of them (p. 52). Through selection and salience, frames are formed and transferred. They define problems, can diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies, through connection: shared understanding — culture being highly implicit — is key. Entman (1993) succeeds in detailing how framing can be successful. He argues that framing can lead to audience autonomy, “illuminating” public opinion and normative democratic theory (p. 57).

Pan and Kosicki's (1993) and Entman's (1993) ideas merge on the power framing has within a democratic society and musings over techniques in how to achieve what appear to be strong (as in similar) audience effects (Entman refers specifically to opinion polls and how framing can be used to achieve different results). Analysis of news text, separately and contextually (along with other media and audience reaction), is key. Also, both indicate framing involves a holistic albeit complex approach to media sensemaking

and detail — although they do not solidify — approaches to empirically accomplish it. Trying to understand effects requires other framing theoreticians' voices.

Regarding an effects-and-receiver perspective, both Scheufele brothers (B., 2004, and D., 1999), Iorio and Huxman (1993), and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) point out various dimensions of framing effects. Scheufele (B., 2004) suggests four. One is activation, in which existing schemata — templates/ideas/notions that combined can form frames — of an individual can be activated or “primed.” Another is transformation, during which existing schemata are transformed; media change an individual's existing cognition through cumulative and constant coverage. A third is a formation effect, where schemata not yet existent can be seeded through media framing. A fourth is attitudinal. Attitudes change when new attributes are applied to an object, as in when individuals adjust their attitudes to maintain a consistent link with new cognitions formed through new knowledge. Scheufele (1999) raises interesting points connecting journalists not only as propagators and potential creators of, but also as receivers of frames. To him, media and individuals participate in the framing or the construction of social reality, built from personal experiences, interaction with peers and interpreted selections from and by mass media. Frames can be both dependent and independent variables.

More specifically, Iorio and Huxman (1993) analyzed dependent individual frames through their analysis of respondents' media framing discussions surrounding a variety of personal concerns. Through focused, in-depth interviews conducted with 191 Wichita, Kansas, area adults prior to the 1992 elections, they learned that accounts of commonly held personal concerns were highly individualized through linking, collapsing and colorizing. (Those concerns included crime, education, taxes, economics, abortion,

family life, status of government and leadership, health care, drugs, and the future of the nation's children.) Iorio and Huxman (1993)'s conclusion: A discussion of the framing of concerns as politically charged 'problems' more often than issues to be resolved in the legislative arena suggests new directions in research and reporting of politics in media.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) investigated media politics, testing the prevalence of five news frames identified in earlier studies on framing and framing effects: attribution of responsibility, conflict, human interest, economic consequences, and morality. After content analyzing 2,601 newspaper and 1,522 television news stories in the period surrounding the 1997 Amsterdam meetings of European state heads, they found that, overall, the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used. The conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality frames, respectively, followed. The use of news frames depended on both the type of outlet and the type of topic. Interestingly, the most significant differences were not between media (television vs. the press), but between sensationalist vs. serious types of news outlets. Sober and serious newspapers and television news programs more often used the responsibility and conflict frames in the presentation of news, whereas sensationalist outlets more often used the human-interest frame.

An interpretive, sociological grouping can be represented through Gamson's (1989) "News as Framing," Entman and Rojecki's (1993) "Freezing out the Public" and Snow and Benford's (1988) "Ideology, Frame Resonance" pieces. Briefly, Gamson (1989) contributes what I feel is one of the most crucial elements to framing theory with his break down of manifest and latent content; he spells out that manifest content, or informational content, is relevant in so far as it is meaningful in distinguishing among

different potential frames. Perhaps more critical, Gamson (1989) stresses the need to also consider latent content, or material requiring an interpretivist approach for understanding cultural context, historical contingency, tension between what is said and unsaid, in identifying frames. Frames can be transmitted verbally or visually, and cultural resonances, sponsor enterprise (basically, frame management) and media organization and practice are three determinants of frame prominence (or news content etiology).

Entman (2004) uses the *Times*' 1980-1983 nuclear freeze movement portrayal as a case study to show media coverage discovering and legitimating then marginalizing the movement. Unequal application of seven evaluative news message dimensions³ correlates with framing judgment (journalist judgments in selecting and conveying information that filter in to news) impact. In short, movement coverage analysis shows that much of the democratic process of policymaking is a *ritual* designed to calm public anxieties while maintaining existing power relationships.

Snow and Benford (1988) add to Gamson's (1989) and Entman and Rojecki's (1993) works through their merging of ideas; they show how movements can be constructed as functioning in part as signifying agents. Social movements frame; they assign meaning to and interpret relevant events and conditions intended to mobilize adherents and constituents, garner bystander support and demobilize antagonists. This is done through cycles of power, based upon phenomenological constraints or enablers (i.e., more narrative resonance equals greater support), which affect the substance and latitude

³ Those dimensions include rationality-emotionality, expertise, public support, partisanship, unity (degree of agreement among participants), extremism (deviation from mainstream) and power (likelihood of influence).

of framing efforts. In short, interpretations by and through media and audience members allow or contribute to public action.

Regarding a critical dimension of framing research, Carragee and Roefs (2004) argue that framing, as a metaphor, is incomplete, lacking definition, and needing frame sponsor consideration. Further, framing studies are lopsidedly content-based approaches to media effects. They find this disappointing, when framing inherently allows for studies of power, particularly hegemony. Their media hegemony thesis links framing to power and investigates the relationship between political change and the news media, including production, distribution and, primarily, interpretation angles. It seems that hegemony or the status quo is engineered, but a researcher can study it through understanding product framing and routine.

Reese (2004) attempts this in his “Militarized Journalism.” In his framing consideration of the embedded v. unilateralist journalist, he questions the suffocating of information transparency that occurs when journalists lose their objectivity largely because of their reactions to the circumstances they are in. His contribution stands out, because of his direction to a globally oriented news perspective. His contribution is necessary and noteworthy for this argument primarily because of comparable conditions under which Brazilian journalists work. Much like the constraints war-time embedded journalists find themselves among, Brazilian journalists function limitedly within hegemonic racial democracy on the cultural level and a partly-free press on the national level, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

With this background, frames are understood as being dynamic, active, negotiated elements that uniquely link media producers, content and audiences across time and

space (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008a). Entman (1993) argues that frames are formed and transferred through selection and salience. Scheufele (1999) clarifies that one of four ways to study frames is as media frames, or frames that are contained or shared in journalistic stories across different media, such as print and television.

Framing and Intertextuality

Framing theory supplies the perspective by which to make sense of news and telenovela content intertextuality (La Pastina, 2004; Geraghty, 2007), which can lead to a socially constructed identity, because of individualized frame understandings sometimes termed mental schemas, heuristics or scripts (Entman, 2004). Framing theory can twine manifest — explicitly stated — and latent — deeper perhaps even unintended — news and telenovela content, uncovering the organizing principles that help dictate Brazilian national identity. Powerful institutions involved in the telenovela production craft those organizing principles, or frames, that become socially shared and persistent over time, pointing to an idealized identity, although individuals may resist many of the ideas.

When considering news and telenovela text, visual information can serve as additional, important detail considered (sub)consciously as audiences evaluate messages (Coleman & Banning, 2006, p. 314) and, hence, should continue to be one of the ongoing topics in news framing research (Fahmy & Kim, 2008). This is largely because of the communicable power of nonverbal behavior, or gestures, expressions, even posture, that are transmitted in nonverbal dimensions, such as level of activity, arm positioning, eye movement and hand motions (Coleman & Banning, 2006). A recent study of a major U.S. daily newspaper's photographs of 1,595 individuals from different gender, age and ethnic

subgroups found that news media contribute to the framing and constructing of emotional meanings of different subgroups; emotionality was stereotyped, particularly in relation to women, ethnic minorities, and senior citizens (Rodgers, Kenix & Thorson, 2007).

Further, when news photos of social protests were analyzed in an experiment, a consistent news frame that delegitimizes and depicts most social protests as “police vs. protesters” was identified in correlation with social attitudes (Arpan et al., 2006). An additional three-year, three-newspaper study investigated the intersection of gender, race and class among Israeli text and photo news items to uncover news portrays of former-USSR female immigrants and the effects of this portrayal on newsreaders. Lemish (2000) found that these female immigrants were portrayed negatively as prostitutes, negatively as foreigners, or positively as defying-the-odds exceptionally successful women. Both the prostitute and foreigner frames are complicatedly associated with race and class, since many poor USSR women involve themselves (un)knowingly in Israel’s sex trafficking business to earn money or are involved in various levels with crime and alcoholism. Further, telephone surveys to newspaper readers indicated that Israelis who had interaction with female USSR immigrants held more positive opinions of them than those who did not. In other words, the visual representations of these female immigrants via the news and without interaction left assimilation into the Israeli community more difficult for USSR females.

These noted news photograph studies demonstrate the importance of considering visual information in framing studies of text, although news photographs are only slices of reality (Fahmy, 2004). Also important to consider is what is *not* captured in text, or what is either missing or excluded from news copy or simply unsaid (Cantrell &

Bachmann, 2008b). As slices of reality, news photographs can also indicate what is excluded or not shown (Fahmy & Kim, 2008).

In summary, framing theory is a powerful perspective by which to make sense of news frames and telenovela frames. In one sense, framing theory allows an overview of manifest content, or the general categorization of emergent themes, from media. While this basic level of analysis is helpful, it is limited, incomplete and sometimes misleading. Latent news and telenovela content, or the material made sense of when considered from cultural, social and political contexts, must also be addressed to understand organizing principles that are shared and persistent over time. These organizing principles can lead to hegemony, or an understood and unchallenged way of being.

Framing, Hegemony and Worldview

Hegemony is not to be mistaken for simple domination. Rather, in Gramsci's (1971) notion of hegemony, hegemony relates with the capacity of a social group to exercise intellectual and moral direction over society (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1998). Elites and sometimes others compete to use media to create or perpetuate a dominant ideology that members of society tend to (un)knowingly accept. Media institutions serve a hegemonic function by continually producing a cohesive ideology, a set of commonsensical values and norms, that serves to reproduce and legitimate the social structure through which the subordinate classes participate in their own domination (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 237). This fits with Carragee and Roefs (2004) earlier-cited interpretation with regard to framing in news media. Stated perhaps another way,

...hegemony is considered... a framing of competing definitions of reality to fit within the dominant class's [sic] range... [H]egemony permits us to analyze how

collective social agents have established historical and specific symbolic relationships with each other. Hegemony lets us identify the totality of relationships in society from a cultural perspective; that is, from the point of view of all the representations of the 'world' and 'life' that are skillfully elaborated, either by social institutions or by social agents, in an endless dialogical way. (González, 2001, p. 107)

Since it can be construed as an end process in which a unified perspective has driven others from view (Miller & Riechert, 2003), hegemony can also be termed a worldview. Worldview refers to the framework of ideas and beliefs through which individuals interpret the world and interact with it. Media producers such as Brazilian journalists and telenovela content creators perpetuate a worldview through narrative, including text and photo or film. They participate in the tensional and dynamic construction of common meanings that become organizing principles that are shared and persistent over time.

Framing theory, then, also makes possible a more balanced understanding of news and telenovela content through its applicability to visual information. Not only is it important to consider news photographs and other visual content, it is necessary to question what is excluded or not shown. Framing, then, allows a consideration of what is said, unsaid, shown, not shown, and what is inferred or understood.

In brief, framing offers a more holistic approach to making sense of hegemonically-influenced media messages crafted and perpetuated by and through a Brazilian worldview to better understand Brazilian fact and fiction, (re)production of life (see Bertaux, 1977), or nation building.

CHAPTER 3: Brazilian Media & Brazilian Telenovelas

Brazilian media are dynamic and global. Like any nation's media, they have the unique responsibility of recording history and the opportunity of participating in nation building (Anderson, 1983). They also have their own development history and method for producing nationalism.

Leading Brazilian's media in producing nationalism is TV Globo. The fourth largest television network in the world, it continues to dominate Brazilian programming in an increasingly competitive and technologically diversifying media landscape (Appadurai, 1990). A significant variable in TV Globo's success is its commercial focus. In a unique way, that has helped its telenovelas to consistently be among the most popular in Brazil as well as enjoy international success through exportation to more than 140 nations (University of São Paulo, Brazil, Agency News, 2004).

One of TV Globo's chief commercial enterprises is the telenovela. This chapter explains what a telenovela is, how one is created, and the kinds of societal impacts telenovelas have, including identity formation and sensemaking. Their co-authorship is described, the concept of social merchandising is explained, and the way in which telenovelas mirror current and suggest a future or more progressive society is elaborated.

The Brazilian national press has survived impressively through turbulent times, including a recent military dictatorship. It is important to note that it has been an instrument primarily for elitist audiences, since Brazil in general has struggled over time with high rates of illiteracy (Cantrell, 2004). However, not only are literacy rates increasing, but subscriptions to and readership of newspapers and newsmagazines are also on the rise in Brazil, particularly over about the last decade (Smith, 2008).

TV Globo and Brazilian Television

Roberto Marinho of the newspaper-owning Marinho family founded TV Globo in 1965, which was about 15 years after the initial advent of TV in Brazil through such stations as TV Tupi and TV Excelsior. TV Globo's birth coincided with the government's perception of and actions toward televisual communication as a potential tool for controlling political information, creating a broader consumer economy and creating a stronger national identity (Straubhaar, 2001). Although audiences were primarily urban and elitist since new TV technology was typically large and expensive, the Brazilian government took specific steps toward mainstreaming TV through increasing TV emission availability and subsidizing credit for set sales. Part of TV Globo's power and prestige results from an alliance with Time-Life, which was established during Brazil's military dictatorship in 1964 and lasted until 1970, and its continual process of concentration and diversification (Fadul, 1998).

Of the five phases television has passed through in Brazilian media history, TV Globo has played a dominant role in each. In the first phase, which was prior to 1968, TV Globo successfully lured talented theatre, radio series and film scriptwriters to help fuel its lead in telenovela genre development and production. Already, TV Globo was gaining recognition in Latin America and internationally in Europe, Asia and Africa for the quality and popularity of its telenovelas. In the second phase, which was 1968 to 1985, TV Globo was accused of being a mouthpiece for the government and faced strategic competition from stations such as SBS, TV Manchete and TV Bandierantes. Although these other stations targeted the lower middle class or an elitist upper class and emphasized news, public affairs and sports, respectively, TV Globo tended to have a 60

to 80 percent share of the viewers in the major cities at any given time (Straubhaar, 2001). The third phase of Brazilian TV history involved Brazil's transition to civilian rule beginning in 1985. So as to not lose its audience, TV Globo hopped the media bandwagon to anti-government commentary. The fourth phase solidified the decrease of imported cultural artifacts and the increase in domestic production and exportation of telenovelas; TV Globo's telenovelas experienced their widely and wildly popular internationalization. The fifth phase of Brazilian TV history is ongoing with increases in home technologies such as VCRs and, more pronouncedly, satellite distribution of television to small repeaters, extending television to about 99 percent of the population (Straubhaar, 2001).

TV Globo is privately held and headquartered in Rio de Janeiro. As of June 2005, the Globo Network comprised 119 television stations. TV Globo engages in TV content production, namely drama, journalism, sports, children's programs, and other shows. According to *Business Week*, the company also transmits and operates a horizontal Internet portal and provides products and services for the Portuguese-speaking communities; provides Internet access services; renders interactive services through the Internet; and facilitates e-commerce⁴. Newer technologies and increased access to them seem to threaten to bring in a significant amount of U.S. programming. However,

... audience studies so far do not indicate a strong [Brazilian] audience response to [or acceptance of] them, except perhaps among a globalized elite and upper middle class. The dominant characteristic of Brazilian television still seems to be that of a strong national system with a distinct set of genres very popular with its own audience and in export. (Straubhaar, 2001)

⁴ Retrieved June 29, 2009, from <http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapId=7685508>

Brazilian Telenovelas

Again, a telenovela is a serial drama, a six-day-per-week, one-hour program lasting anywhere from six to about eight months with a pronounced beginning, plot development from episode to episode, and definitive end. According to De Melo (1988), the “popularity of fiction television in Brazil began in the late 1960s when the telenovelas discovered Brazilian reality and presented it in daily chapters offered to the delight and distraction of the public viewer” (p. 261, my translation). Within two decades of television being introduced to Brazilians (by the 1970s), Brazilians, who had been accustomed to largely-imported-from-the-U.S. entertainment products, had become fascinated with daily Brazilian fantasy artistically reproduced in a recognizable, relatable way. TV Globo, the fourth largest network in the world, led the “Brazilianization” of telenovelas, taking popular radio scripts and transforming them for television, with better music/sound quality, elitist-theatre-style acting and cinema-level production quality.

As Vink (1988) demonstrates, within certain limits, the telenovela is a vehicle of innovative, provocative and politically emancipatory popular culture rather than a mere instrument for the reproduction of capitalist ideology and consumer desires. The great telenovela authors — Dias Gomes, Janet Clair, Aguinaldo Silva, among others — have perfected a basic storyline. Their storylines — some adapted from novels, some from radio scripts, others being original ideas —involved dreams, love and passion in ways that powerfully resonated within the Brazilian people. The people’s fascination with the stories and TV Globo’s portrayal of them was so intense that it was not unusual for these author greats’ telenovelas to claim 100 percent of the television audience (Ferreira & Coelho, 2003). For example, Ms. Clair, who began her career rewriting radio scripts into

immensely popular telenovelas, was nicknamed “Nosso Senhora da Oito [Our Lady of the 8 p.m. telenovela]”⁵. Popular telenovela plots have been Cinder(f)ella-like, rags-to-riches, happy-ending stories, engaging at least class and gender conflicts involved with social mobility. It is the Brazilianization of the American-dream — a lead character coming to terms with his/her status and somehow overcoming or succeeding. For example, (wo)men are rescued from their destitute state, either by a lover or through the discovery of a secret connection to wealth.

What is it about such a formulaic storyline that makes it a *repeat* success? Brazilian telenovela producers have discovered and mastered that the closer the fantasy is to reality, the more glamorously the storyline approaches truth, the more accepted the production is. Viewers must be able to relate with telenovela characters’ lives. Vink (1988) summarizes four points of audience connection with telenovela characters: perceived similarity (age, gender, personality, interests); attractiveness or desire (the viewer perceives the star and/or his/her situation as desirable); “instrumental means” (the information has been structured, or the camera positioned, in a way to enhance identification with the character); and theatrical projection (viewers project certain characteristics into the character) (p. 235). Brazilian historical telenovela storylines are also widely popular. But perhaps more importantly, telenovelas are filmed with Brazilian scenery or recognizable locations so viewers can better relate with the story (La Ferrara, Chong & Duryea, 2008). Common ingredients found in successful presentations include a real-life quality or portrayal of daily life, hopes for upward social mobility or the

⁵ This is also a religious reference to Mary, the Mother of Jesus. Brazil has a strong Catholic tradition, so Ms. Clair’s nickname honors her culturally in a way similar to Elton John being knighted “Sir” Elton John.

bettering of one's socio-economic position, and social merchandising, which will be discussed further on. The line between fact and fiction blurs, almost disappearing. In short, Brazilian telenovelas repeatedly captivate unprecedented audience share and time through their fictive reality programming. A driving force in how this is achieved stems not only from how telenovelas are co-authored.

The Power of Co-Authorship

Telenovelas are written by the people for the people. As De Melo (1988) quoted Sánchez, "The public knows more about the telenovela than the author, the director and the actors, combined" (p. 263, my translation). While some scholars argue that "Novela é coisa de mulher (telenovelas are women's things)," or that women are the target telenovela audience for reasons including consumerism (Hamburger, 2000, 2005; De Almeida, 2003), other scholars more strongly evidence telenovelas are designed to attract a wide viewing audience of men, women and children (Lopes, Borelli, & Resende, 2002; La Pastina, 2004). Perhaps Vink (1988) states it best: That "the [tele]novela is considered a female genre by many men is not without significance: it confirms that the 'female' perspective of this genre, with its emphasis on personal relations and private sphere, is perceived by the audience... [but] the novela audience cannot be called typically or predominantly female" (pp. 240-241). One confirmation of a strong male audience is the televising of soccer, the great Brazilian pastime, after the 8 p.m. novela.

According to Mattelart and Mattelart (1990), Brazilian telenovelas are an "open work" or an "open genre." During production, the telenovela's creators receive direct and indirect input from viewers and fans (often through letters), theatrical productions,

commercial, elite and popular press (De Melo, 2001), institutional networks, audience and marketing research organizations and other social actors such as the Catholic Church, the government and activist groups (Hamburger, 1993; La Pastina, 2002). Even the acting can affect how the author scripts the telenovela (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990). This constant feedback process provides the authors and their narratives with input from different segments of society, which, it could be argued, transforms these texts into democratic forums (Porto, 1998; Porto, 2005). In fact, through planned media strategies, specific cultural industries were able to gain recognition from the prestige papers and stimulate TV fan participation in public issue debates (De Melo, 2001).

This ‘openness,’ however, does not reflect all segments of society for a number of reasons. One stems from the fan base; letters typically come from students or middle-class people and the popular classes, not elites (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990). Another stems from Globo’s in-house research methodology; surveys and focus groups are conducted in a select number of urban centers and mostly with women of the upper and middle classes. Consequently, low-income and rural communities are excluded. Further, prestige papers, which have been found to correlate with telenovelas, cater to an elitist audience and entice participation from them (De Melo, 2001).

In short, telenovelas result from highly-engaged audience members and a process in which various group/members in society engage with the author in various mediums to produce a telenovela. As Brazil has enjoyed more freedom of expression with its move into democracy since the late 1980s, this dynamic of controlled content has, ironically, been increasingly the case. ‘Openness,’ therefore, places particular pressure on authors and restricts the inclusion of certain themes, characters and products; items deemed

unsuitable to/by the target audience and/or advertisers⁶ can be excluded. This kind of open-ended inclusion can be considered the art of the telenovela, social merchandising.

Social Merchandising

Social merchandising is the Brazilian television version of product placement, a ...commercial insertion within a particular media program intended to heighten the visibility of a brand, type of product, or service. These insertions are not intended to break away from the narrative but to be an integral part of the text, attempting to create an organic relationship between the advertised product and the narrative, encouraging viewers to ‘read’ the product as a quality of the characters using and approving it. (La Pastina, 2001, p. 541)

One of the points of constant debate — among academics, but also among viewers — is how telenovelas portray a world full of goods, creating the desire to buy and to consume (De Almeida, 2003). Branding connects any good purposively portrayed with a personality, and merchandising segments into physical, cultural and social products.

Acertain amount of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Straubhaar, 2007) — or a knowledge of or fluency in cultural norms to a degree that allows participation in that society — is required to understand the products promoted in a telenovela (La Pastina, 2001). Physical products range from various kinds of goods to certain services. Clothing — one of the most obvious products on display (De Almeida, 2003) — and accessories, hairstyles, foods, cooking utensils, cars, houses, are modeled in each telenovela scene. Authors trust stage designers, directors and documentalists for the “internal coherence of the universe represented” (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990, p. 42) to deliberately negotiate

⁶ Actors’ salaries are supplemented by product placement and opportunities for participating in commercials. This can even affect what roles actors choose to play (La Pastina, 2002).

who uses what from whom, when, and in what ways. In fact, “Globo has become a master in the art of merchandising by creating its own merchandising agency, Apoio, where thirty staff members devote themselves daily to arranging the possibility of subtly inserting products into the script on the basis of interaction studies” (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990, p. 47). Services are also portrayed. They can include which salon characters go to have their hair and nails done, or which restaurant chain characters prefer. “Community” services are also promoted and include both cultural product and social product.

Cultural products, or social ideas inserted into telenovelas, can include language, music, dance styles, lifestyles, customs and habits. Music sales lead telenovela product revenues. Trends can be introduced and/or marketed in this venue. Recognized geographical locations and historical moments or recountings in Brazil tend to be well received among telenovela audiences. Elements missing from telenovelas, or “absences,” can be important markers, or signs, of cultural feelings or taboos in Brazil. For example, through his comprehensive analysis of blacks in Brazilian telenovelas from 1963-1997, plus the contexts surrounding their in/exclusion in various roles, Araújo (2000) articulates how racism in Brazil appears on Brazilian television; the lack of black leading actors and actresses, along with stereotypical portrayals of and/or roles for black or non-white Brazilians in telenovelas, has created a false image of a “alourado” or a “lightened”-complexion type of Brazilian identity. This exclusion is one reason why this dissertation focuses on the framing of race in the news and the telenovela *Duas Caras*, as will be further introduced and discussed in Chapters 7 and 10. Further, the intertextual framing

of race in news and *Duas Caras* along with its theoretical importance will be highlighted in Chapters 12 and 13.

Social products are also incorporated into telenovelas. As previously noted, the telenovela medium can be a way to introduce the public to various social issues. Personal hygiene, abortion, immigration, politics, ethics/morals, among other notions, are all intertwined in the lives of and with the choices telenovela characters make. Social issue presentation on telenovelas impacts Brazilian society in various ways. De Andrade's (2003) study of 10 people within very different families with varying economic, cultural and social situations and their understandings of Aguinaldo Silva's telenovela *Suave Veneno, or Smooth Poison*, demonstrated how different people varyingly interpret the same information; themes presented in telenovelas are adapted à la carte, according to the interests and backgrounds of the viewers. Schiavo (1995), for example, detailed the use of a telenovela to discourage drug abuse and inform on AIDS prevention.

Social merchandising in Brazilian telenovelas is strategically interwoven with a mass-written storyline. The constant-feedback loop serves "dressed" ideas to the public for consumption. While not all ideas are completely digested, Brazilian society does reflect certain absorbed telenovela images. For example, a recent news report highlighted how the chances of a newborn baby being named after a telenovela star were significantly higher in areas where telenovelas are broadcast (Downie, 2009).

“That which we pretend to be, we become”⁷

Social issues raised in and/or by telenovelas and their adoption are constantly being tracked and documented. This is the sole purpose of the University of São Paulo’s Núcleo de Pesquisa de Telenovela (Research Center for Telenovelas), initiated in 1992 by Prof. Anamaria Fadul, under Prof. Marques De Melo’s direction (De Melo 2001, p. 43). As its academic studies indicate, one of the most famous societal changes was a push for criminal legislation that stemmed from the 1992 murder of the Brazilian telenovela actress Daniella Perez (Tufté, 2000; Hamburger, 2005). Because telenovela fiction seems so real to many viewers, *De Corpo e Alma* (Of Body and Soul) viewers struggled to distinguish between the character Yasmin’s disappearance and the murder of the actress who played her, Perez. Perez’s mother, a telenovela writer, used this confusion to create a social movement to change Brazil’s Penal Code. Culminating her efforts, 70,000 people assembled in a São Paulo football stadium to witness her releasing a petition with more than 1.3 million signatures supporting the revision⁸. Afterward, a moment of silence honoring Daniella was interrupted with her character Yasmin’s theme music.

Changed legislation is one form of political reform associated with telenovela societal impact. In another, social movements such as Brazil’s Landless People’s Movement, received unprecedented news coverage in the 1995 telenovela *The Cattle King*. When Movement members re-enacted a fictitious riot staged in the novela, they brought greater attention to their plight, again blurring fact and fiction lines (Hamburger, 2000). Also, the delegitimation of politics within telenovelas has been connected with

⁷ This is a reference to C.S. Lewis’ *The Screwtape Letters*.

⁸ The revision, ultimately, would result in Perez’s murderer, her co-star Guilherme de Padua and his wife Paula Thomaz, being sentenced to 19 and 18, respectively, years in prison.

“outside” candidates being legitimized and considered by the telenovela audience during an election year (Porto, 1998, 2001). In other words, it is not unimaginable that a maverick candidate or the idea of a unknown introduced to the general public through a Brazilian telenovela could gain attention and be elected in real life. The “maverick candidate” theme was first popularized through the telenovela *Roque Santeiro*, which finally aired 1985-1986, ten years after government censors prohibited its run (Straubhaar, 1989). A fable of Brazil (De Paiva, 2001; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990), *Roque Santeiro* typecast corrupt national leadership at the local level and began a trend of telenovelas discussing social problems such as corruption and inequality that had been absent from television (Porto, 2008, p. 14; Straubhaar, 1989, p. 149).

Repeat telenovela images have had lasting effects on, for example, fertility and birth rates among Brazilian families. Studies have shown a relationship between the size of telenovela families and decreases in Brazilian fertility, that over time, smaller real-life families began to reflect fictive telenovela family sizes (“Telenovela and Socio-Cultural Impacts,” 1992). Interestingly, the variables most reiterated through a four-decade — the 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s — Brazilian telenovela and press study were ‘family’ and ‘marriage.’ “They are treated as essential ingredients in the telenovela dramas... Problems like abortion and divorce remain opaque, almost absent” (De Melo, 2001, p. 70, my translation). Yet it is the *image* of the families — what has been shown rather than talked about — that has been adopted. In tandem with smaller family sizes, female novela viewers, even in Brazil’s most remote areas, experience lower fertility (Downie, 2009).

As indicated, telenovelas are suspected to have had strong impacts on Brazilian society, including in the intimate aspects of viewer’s lives. Although research that has

been conducted represents a dynamic, nonstandardized field of study, telenovela researchers continue to expand methods used in attempts to make sense of the effects telenovelas are having over time on (Brazilian) society (Lopes, Borelli, & Resende, 2002). Studying telenovelas and their effects on society is increasingly necessary, because telenovelas continue to reflect a vibrant society, one in constant flux, one negotiating what and/or who it is.

Telenovela Identity and Sensemaking

Brazilian telenovela studies hint at deeper sociological and psychological issues. One recurring inquiry is, What does it mean to be Brazilian? Vink (1988)'s investigation covering 24 stories from 1971-1987 addresses this. Denouncing class and gender inequality as oppressive, Vink argues through his holistic production, message and reception approach that the central point of telenovelas is to show that "...life can be different. This can produce a suspension of the immediate attachment [sic] to the existing social world and is, as such, a first step in the process of emancipation, a precondition for collective action, based on a common identity" (Vink, 1988, p. 241).

Studies regarding questions of identity and negotiated ways of sensemaking demonstrate a more webbed or intricate telenovela study approach to how individuals come to terms with/approach/understand the central question, "Who am I?" At the risk of sweeping generalities, Straubhaar (2007) argues through more than 30 years of ethnographic research on Brazilian TV that individuals interpret media messages differently based upon various proximities — genre, cultural, thematic, and value. Further, one's social capital, cultural capital, economic capital, frames of reference based

upon one's age, race, (dis)likes, and so forth, also affect interpretations. De Melo (2001) indicates that woman and men "read the romance" differently; "Paulista women in the 60s typically considered telenovelas 'instructive,' 'fun' and situated the telenovelas in the land of fantasy, although they encountered points of union in their own reality.

Telenovelas became a principle theme in interpersonal conversations, establishing a communication continuum between the telenovela scenes and the daily life of the viewers" (De Melo, 2001, p. 42, my translation). Individuals could make sense of at least themselves, their situations, their opinions in a sheltered dialogue among friends.

Additional studies approach questions of femininity and masculinity. For example, La Pastina (2004) performed an ethnographic study of the telenovela *The Cattle King* in Macambira, a small, rural, geographically-isolated, non-traditional, woman-as-breadwinner-through-their-needlework community in the backlands of northeast Brazil. *The Cattle King's* urban reality portrayed through melodramatic elements of class ascension, love and betrayal, adultery, and pre-marital sex, and how these played a central role in the main characters' lives, clashed with local patriarchal culture. La Pastina argued that geography and culture mediated the process of reception, interpretation and appropriation of the urban representations in the telenovela narratives, intensifying the perceived gap between local patriarchal culture and the telenovela's urban reality. In other words, how rural viewers appropriated telenovelas in their daily lives and assigned meanings to the texts were interpreted according to their own values and beliefs about gender roles, relationships, and sexuality.

In addition, Afonso's (2005) comprehensive study investigating elitist (fe)male perceptions of the two telenovelas *Vila Madalena (Borough Madalena)*⁹ (1999-2000) and *Laços de Família*¹⁰ (*Family Ties*) (2000-2001), focused on the communicative ways in which television educates, primarily how social knowledge regarding women is constructed and interpreted. Her feminist study of (fe)male Brazilian educators reiterated, among other points, that Brazilian society is gender-divided and economically disparate. Although television and telenovela images of women have increased and in progressive ways, women are still represented stereotypically. These inappropriate and incorrect framings contribute to social construction of reality, generally and individually. She suggests that teachers and professors *should* be critical telenovela viewers to effect an emancipated education, leading to a more equal and friendly society.

Identity can also be normalized or socialized through various censorings. For instance, La Pastina (2002) explored the framing of sexual others — gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered (GLBT) individuals — in prime-time Brazilian telenovelas. Few images of gay males are on telenovelas, with even fewer portrayals of lesbian, bisexual and transgendered characters occurring. He also pointed out the strong impact

⁹ This telenovela tells the story of two young men about to marry when, through different circumstances, they are imprisoned for accidental crimes. While in prison, the two meet and become friends. When one is released before the other, he is asked to deliver a letter for his friend to his former fiancé. The released and the fiancé fall in love, but the released must also seek out his betrothed and his child with her. He finds his betrothed married to another man and with two children from him, but still in love with him. The story takes place in this glamorous São Paulo neighborhood, known for its nightlife, modern people and alternative markets or contemporary, high-class society.

¹⁰ Craziensness ensues in this telenovela when through an unlikely car accident, a 44-year-old woman falls for the 26-year-old doctor who not only aids her, but is the same man with whom her daughter is in love. This story treats the socially unpopular theme of older women having relationships with younger men, or vice versa.

that official censorship, audience ratings, pressure from conservative groups, such as the Catholic Church, and advertisers have on the fate and range of those images.

In regard to making sense, telenovela studies indicate that telenovelas have become key to the framing and understanding of the dilemmas and perspective of Brazilian democratic politics (Porto, 2005). In particular, Porto's (2000) case-study research involving three telenovelas¹¹ revealed the role telenovelas play as a key public forum in the discussion of political as well as social issues, such as opinion forming of candidates. Further, *how* political candidates and issues are framed affects election outcomes (Downie, 2009).

It would seem that productions contributing, in whatever way(s), to societal constructions of identity and knowledge would be limited to the culture in which they are produced or for whom they are produced. This is not the case with Brazilian telenovelas. Research indicates that they are wildly popular nationally as well as trans- and inter-nationally; Brazilian telenovelas, again, are successfully exported to more than 140 other countries (University of São Paulo, Brazil, Agency News, 2004).

(Inter)national Popularity

Why the (inter)national acceptance? Reasons range. Some scholars focus on the production level, or technological sophistication. As Mattelart and Mattelart (1990), for example, have stated, "If the creativity of the Brazilian television has largely profited from the creativity of the theatre, the hold of television and especially the 'Globo label of quality' is such that it tends to become a norm for all professional artistic performances"

¹¹ TV Globo produced the three telenovelas included in his study, namely *Renascer* (Revival), *Fera Ferida* (Wounded Beast) and *Pàtria Minha* (My Homeland).

(p. 56). As noted earlier, TV Globo has made a significant contribution to the rise of the Brazilian telenovela. It spares no expense in producing novelas of the highest technical and artistic quality. In fact, each episode of an average novela costs around \$125,000, which is about 15 times more than the production costs of the other Latin American novela powerhouse, the Mexican Televisa (La Ferrara, Chong & Duryea, 2008; De Melo, 1988). “Intentionally or not, Globo transformed the Brazilian Telenovela into a forum for the discussion of Brazilian reality” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 155).

Figaro’s (1997) examination into Brazilian telenovela exportation and widespread (inter)national acceptance focused on particular features of Brazilian “soap operas” that differentiate them from similar genres, such as Latin American “folletines” (serial novels) and American soap operas. She highlighted, for example, how episodes were standardized in length and often edited down to fit other countries’ broadcast requirements. She also charted what telenovelas were popular where in Latin America during 1995 and 1996, what hours which station broadcast Brazilian telenovelas, and listed Globo telenovelas exhibited in Europe and the U.S. during the mid 1990s. She claimed the main reason for Brazilian telenovela popularity independent of location went beyond structural differences separating the telenovela from similar genres in other countries and production superiority; it equated the content and context of the *human* experience. This means, as La Ferrara, Chong and Duryea (2008) echo, that one of the main reasons Brazilian telenovelas are so popular is that novelas always relate issues to the daily life of the (Brazilian) population.

Vink (1988) calls this individualization of issues watching with the heart. La Pastina and Straubhaar (2005), similarly, note that telenovela popularity resides in the

sense of shared historical experience of specific groups within nations. In other words, telenovela popularity corresponds with individuals' degrees of cultural proximity.

Telenovelas — their issues and characters — must resonate within viewers. Concepts need to be framed in culturally accepted and familiar terms, building on universally accepted or familiar notions. Faces, clothing, (non)verbal expressions, language and experiences must be familiar so audience members relate to and enjoy them (Straubhaar, 2007). Novelas mix with real, everyday life as characters celebrate the same festivities and national occurrences in “real time” (Ferrara, Chong & Duryea, 2008).

Other scholars focus on telenovela content as a reason for (inter)national fame. For instance, to Lopez (1995), Mexican telenovelas are the weepers — ahistorical telenovelas with no context provided. Colombian ones are more comedic and ironic, with a greater concern for context. Venezuelan ones are more emotional, but they do not have the ‘baroqueness’ of Mexican sets. And Brazilian ones are the most realistic, with historically based narratives that have a clear temporal and spatial contextualization (La Pastina, 2002, p. 86; La Pastina, Rego & Straubhaar, 2003, pp. 2-3). As Kraidy (2005) summarizes, the Brazilian telenovela “...carries modern stories of upward mobility concurrently with anachronistic narratives of identity. The dynamic links between traditional and modern forms and practices create the peculiar hybrid cultures of Latin America” (p. 8). In other words, and to restate an earlier notion, telenovela popularity largely depends upon the telenovelas' weaving of fact with fiction (De Melo, 1988).

Brazilian telenovelas are a unique phenomenon at home and abroad. While being produced at home, they are co-authored through fan weigh-in to the telenovela author, based on a complex conversation weaving opinions, current events, and so forth. As the

author guides the telenovela plot direction, s/he works (in)directly with the telenovela director to create all aspects of the telenovela, delivering social merchandise — a detailed and deliberate commentary and commodity collection — to its audience. Over time, studies have shown that audience members adopt certain ideas, characteristics, notions from the group-produced telenovelas. This leads to a form of identity creation, one that crosses (inter)national boundaries.

Comparatively, Brazilian news is, in a sense, dull. Its crucial role is to report on everyday events. Its ability to do so may be somewhat hampered; in Freedom House's 2009 Global Press Freedom Rankings list, Brazil was classified as having a partly free press. Nonetheless, as will be explained, Brazil's press is experiencing more media opening (Porto, 2007).

The State of Brazilian Journalism

Today's Brazil¹² matures from a dramatic relationship among government, press and other forces, including religious institutions and influences plus economic forces (De Melo, 2009; Dulles, 2002; Skidmore, 1988; Skidmore, 1967). While 19th Century journalistic thinking has been understood to be emancipatory, 20th Century has been categorized as a time of identification and 21st Century an era of autonomy (De Melo, 2009). Brazil's emerging democracy is undergoing what scholars term media opening.

¹² To briefly overview her founding: Brazil gained her independence from Portugal in 1822; abolished slavery in 1888; established its presidential system and first democratic period in 1889 after a military coup d'état against Emperor Pedro II; entered into its first dictatorship in 1930 under Getúlio Vargas; reestablished democracy after ousting Vargas in 1945; sanctioned a second military coup d'état in 1964; and heralded its third and current democracy in 1985 with Tancredo Neves' election. Brazil has had six constitutions throughout its democratic history.

Media opening is the “process by which mass media become more representative of societal viewpoints and more independent of official control” (Porto, 2007, citing Lawson, 2002, p. 381). As noted, in Freedom House’s 2009 Global Press Freedom Rankings list, Brazil was classified as having a partly free press. It tied for 89th place with Bolivia and El Salvador¹³. Freedom House, which assesses (inter)national legal, political and economic environments, noted in its press release announcing the rankings that journalists faced an increasingly grim work environment in 2008; global press freedom declined for a seventh straight year from trends such as consolidating control, violence and impunity, and punitive laws and new media, which tends to be more free than traditional news outlets¹⁴. Nonetheless, Brazil’s 2008 World Press Freedom Ranking was 82¹⁵, up from 84 in 2007¹⁶. It is experiencing charted media opening (Porto, 2007).

International communication researchers have written sporadic and sparse findings about the Brazilian way of thinking about journalism (De Melo & Moreira, 2009). The lack of attention is unexpected, given Brazil’s position as the leading South American economy and a top-ten global market power and player, the B of the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) that are widely seen as the dominant emerging markets. Further, whereas newspaper readership and loyalty are dwindling in countries such as the United States, Brazilian newspaper circulation, readership and subscriptions

¹³ Retrieved June 10, 2009, from

http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/fop/2009/FreedomofthePress2009_tables.pdf.

¹⁴ Ingalls, L. (2009, May 1). New study: global press freedom declines in every region for first time Israel, Italy and Hong Kong lose free status. *Freedom House*. Retrieved June 10, 2009, from <http://freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=70&release=811>.

¹⁵ U.S. tied with five other nations, including South Africa, Taiwan, and Bosnia and Herzegovina for 36th place; Retrieved June 10, 2009, from http://www.worldpress.org/link.cfm?http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=15333

¹⁶ See, for example, “Brazil Falls to 84th Place in World's Press Freedom Index.” Retrieved July 16, 2009, from <http://www.brazzilmag.com/content/view/8781/54/>.

are rapidly rising (Smith, 2008). This has occurred concurrently with the dynamic multi-media competition among television — one of the most influential communication means in Brazil — new media and online journalism (Becker & De Bustamante, 2009).

Brazilian media are an interesting and impressive topic that should spark scholarly interest.

To re-emphasize, Brazilian news studies are critical measures of the state of media opening (Porto, 2007) and reveal from which source(s) Brazilians receive their news information. A Brazilian news study conducted two years after its 1985 move to civilian rule and democracy (December 1987) found that stories in eight local Curitiba city papers with ideological themes played prominently in all the newspapers, but ran more frequently throughout the tabloids (Schiff, 2006). A more recent Brazilian political news study demonstrated lack of diversity, particularly reflective diversity — the ability of media to represent or reflect the prevailing differences of culture, opinion and social conditions of the population (Porto, 2005). Another article called the media out, arguing that through the specific inclusion and exclusion of information, the nature of politics can serve (ir)reverently the legitimization of the democratic state; “...the media transform into the fourth estate when they plan and construct specific versions of the facts and propagate them with the purpose of manipulating the people” (Rothberg, 2005, p. 16). This can lead to adoption of a determined worldview as well as elitist leaders packaged and sold by the media being elected to power.

Additional research indicates the permanence, perseverance and prominence of the Brazilian press at critical junctures in Brazilian history.

The Brazilian Way of Thinking About Journalism, Then

Brazilian press history dates back to the early 19th Century, just prior to Brazil gaining its independence from Portugal in 1822. During its national youth and fervor from fresh freedom, “...the first Brazilian intellectuals... wrote copiously in passionate style... the first newspapers of the country... to understand and to influence the rapid changes that were occurring” (Candiani, 2009, p. 29). Tensions between journalists and the economic, religious and political elite developed as the values to which they were each attached clashed; journalists related both with the elite — of whom they were members — and the poor, with whom they developed an affinity and whose access to education and equality they sympathetically defended (Candiani, 2009; Lustosa, 2003; Lustosa, 2000; Sodré, 1966).

Journalists then were primarily thinkers, from privileged families, educated abroad, well networked and well funded. There were journalism theorists who sometimes printed the first newspapers off Brazilian soil and shipped them home to readers (De Melo, 2009; Candiani, 2009). Journalism theorists were committed to creating a public space for conversation surrounding ideas, current events, views and values (Maia, 1998; Candiani, 2009). At a critical time when Brazil felt isolated from the rest of the world, they were deeply interested in developing a national identity (Candiani, 2009; De Melo, 2009).

Turbulent Times & the Brazilian Press

Since its institutionalization, the Brazilian press has suffered traditional impasses, namely the cooptation of the media by government, the fragility of the country’s market

economy, and the problematic high levels of illiteracy or semi-illiteracy among Brazilians (De Melo, 2009, p. 13). Particularly perilous press times occurred prior to World War II and during Brazil's military dictatorship, which lasted 1964-1985. For example, after Brazil finally decided to side with the Allies during World War II, press censorship was lifted; the censorship bureau no longer punished newspapers for anti-government commentary, allowing articles like the February 1945 *Correio da Manhã* interview with José Américo, a 1937 presidential candidate, in which he openly attacked then-President Getúlio Vargas (Dulles, 2006¹⁷). Such editorializing in the press led to the overthrow of Pres. Vargas' dictatorship and establishment of Brazil's second democratic period.

Just prior to the military dictatorship, Brazil savored a type of (inter)national triumph; it won two of its five World Cup (Soccer) Championships in 1958 and 1962, watched its Éder Jofre claim the world bantamweight and featherweight titles, awed the likes of tennis star Maria Ester Bueno debuting women's tennis on the world's sport stage, and rose to international film acclaim when director Anselmo Duarte brought Brazil the Palme d'Or from the 1962 Cannes Film Festival for his revered *O Pagador de Promessas* (Jawsnicker, 2007). Times were romantic. Yet as theatre, music and cinema began to reflect, cultural debate was increasingly political and leftist (Jawsnicker, 2007; Kornis, 2004; Buarque de Hollanda & Gonçalves, 1982). Eventually, suspicions of then-President Goulart and his administration transforming Brazilian government into a communist regime were publicized and criticized. The newspapers *O Jornal do Brasil*, *O Estado de São Paulo* and *O Globo* — not to be confused with TV Globo — led public outcry for military intervention against Goulart and his threat of communism

¹⁷ Lecture notes from Dr. J. W. F. Dulles' "Recent Brazil" course on Oct. 16, 2006, Austin, Texas.

(Jawnsnicker, 2007; Smith, 1997). But by performing its watchdog function of calling out a dangerous betrayal of the public trust and successfully rallying public opinion, the press ironically snuffed out its own power by ushering in a military dictatorship. Press power would be dammed by censorship and harbored with political repression during the 20-year military dictatorship.

During the 1970s, however, press censorship began to erode. Once again, the Brazilian print media — particularly the newsmagazine *Veja* — inspired, echoed and amplified popular movements (Civita, 2006). An additional medium, television, also began to pick up national prominence and prestige (Straubhaar, 1989). When Brazil's current democracy was inaugurated in 1985, the Brazilian media zipped political and media worlds into a unique dyad; key media moguls were tapped for government power and the promise of a powerful cultural industry, particularly TV Globo, was consolidated (Straubhaar, 1989; Porto, 2003). As noted earlier, TV Globo, in particular, aligned with the government and its interests.

The Brazilian Way of Thinking About Journalism, Now

Civilian presidential candidate Tancredo Neves' 1985 victory proved a resurrection for democracy and an achievement for the press. It also provided opportunity for examining two important journalism questions. One addressed the media's role in democracy. The other surrounded journalists' roles in democratic media.

The media have helped re-establish and develop Brazil's democratic politics and institutions in a number of ways. Those include through their roles as instruments, culture creators, mirrors of society/ies, and autonomous organizations in which journalistic

professionalism is active (Porto, 2003). These roles become particularly vital during election campaigns.

The American — and even the French — model(s) of journalism has greatly influenced Brazilian press (Alves, 2003; Herscovitz, 2004). This means their election coverage shares important similarities and differences. For instance, horse race coverage contrasts. The U.S. national and local presses report a greater discussion of the horse race surrounding the election than issues involved (Porto, 2001; Patterson, 2005; Boyle, 2001; Kaniss, 1991). In Brazil, the amount of horse race coverage appears to be decreasing in national election coverage while the discussion of issues is increasing as Brazil enjoys a more democratic opening (Porto, 2007). This shift to more substantive, more issue-driven Brazilian electoral news reporting has occurred “...through live interviews with the candidates and thematic reports” (Porto, 2007, p. 16). Election issues have included economy, education, health and infrastructure (Porto, 2007, p. 23).

Another example is that of candidate coverage. Although candidates address policy more than character in their messages, discussion of their character and any scandal attached to them have been more common in presidential candidate news election coverage than that of their policy positions (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005; Gilens, Vavreck & Cohen, 2007). News reports that are candidate-centric address a candidate’s personal life, campaign, and character or attributes.

Character attributes are broadly defined in the literature. They can include leadership and wisdom, but can also be more value-centric, as in if a candidate is viewed as moral and/or loyal to one’s spouse (Trent et al., 2005). At least in a comparison of 2000 U.S. and 2002 Brazilian presidential national election news coverage, “ideal”

candidate qualities include whether or not the candidate is hard working, has integrity and is a religious or family man (Cantrell, 2004; Trent et al., 2005, 1993). Other “ideal” candidate qualities found in both the U.S. and Brazilian presidential candidates include experience in office, energetic and aggressive leadership, forceful public speaking, talks about the nation’s problems, remaining calm and cautious, having served in the military, and financing their campaign with personal funds (Trent et al., 2005).

Candidate coverage also includes personal life coverage and campaign coverage. Personal life coverage includes spousal relationships and substance abuse (Patterson, 1994, pp. 167-9), and campaign coverage comprises if the campaign is positive or negative, how well the campaign is being run or managed, and how political fundraising is occurring. Candidate coverage in Brazilian election studies includes topics of ethics and campaign management. Ethics includes reports about scandal and corruption, and campaign reports highlight the candidate’s agenda — incorporating when the candidate will be where speaking about what (Porto, 2007).

Another differentiation from the U.S. model is that the transitional Brazilian press is more preoccupied with instrumental rather than idealistic practices; “meeting standards of accuracy, beating deadlines, juggling sources, and scooping competitors rank more prominently than bringing political reform or democratic accountability” (Waisbord, 2000, p. 187).

Democratization and increased press freedom initiated national debate regarding the role of journalists in Brazilian society following 20-plus years of military dictatorship. The controversy surrounding journalists’ role that had begun during Neves’ campaign grew when media accusations against Neves’ successor, José Sarney,

influenced his decision to end his term in 1989. It intensified during the direct election of Pres. Collor de Mello by popular vote in 1990 (Civita, 2006). It climaxed with Collorgate, the impeachment of Pres. Collor for his participation in a corruption ring in 1992 (Herscovitz, 2004; Waisbord, 1996).

Brazilian journalists maintain a value system unique to their own culture and conditions (Herscovitz, 2004). Their value system stems from the newsroom routines and organizational constraints they share; foreign influences on local journalistic patterns; specific historical conditions and contextual variables such as the route taken by democratic consolidation (Herscovitz, 2004). Stated perhaps another way,

Certain principles guide the organizations' journalistic activities, in which value is given to concepts such as neutrality, correctness, objectivity, clarity, independence, impartiality, precision and faithfulness to reality. Even though these concepts are not considered to be absolute, there is a search for the "truth" of the facts, an ethical and moral concern. (Moreira & Helal, 2009, p. 104)

Perhaps because the main goal of Brazilian journalism is collecting and exposing a great amount of factual information under a specific code of presentation, journalists are still viewed as intellectuals — which is, as explained above, how they started out — and are still respected (Candiani, 2009; Herscovitz, 2004). In 2001, "a study about the credibility of institutions among the population showed that newspapers ranked second, trailing only the Catholic Church" (Alves, 2003, p. 130). Furthermore, newsmagazines — especially *Veja* — have emerged as a main national news medium, demonstrating aggressive investigative journalism and constantly scooping the newspapers, forcing them to refer to its stories as well as publish the repercussions (Alves, 2003).

Brazilian news covers many things, including poverty and class inequality, at least some of the time. For example, while TV Globo telenovelas do not typically portray

favelas nor favela life, favelas are often reported on in the news. Brazilian favelas will be explained at the end of the next section. An element missing from Brazilian news discourse, however, is that of race. Race is a social concept that changes over time (Angier, 2000), particularly in Brazil. This discourse now turns to an elaboration on the unique concept of racial democracy in Brazil and, later, some of the implications affirmative action is introducing into its national discourse and Brazilian society.

CHAPTER 4: Racial Democracy & Brazilian Favelas

While the previous chapter specified TV Globo's rise to dominance in the Brazilian media market through its telenovelas, explained what telenovelas are, and summarized Brazilian print press history, this chapter identifies several cultural concepts unique to Brazil. These cultural aspects include racial democracy, or the notion that all races are equal, and favelas, or Brazilian slums or shantytowns. They must be explained to help contextualize as well as indicate the significance of the findings that emerge particularly from a latent content framing analysis of Brazilian print national news and TV Globo's 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras*. These findings will be explicated in Chapters 7 and 10, respectively.

Like the story of the emperor's clothes, racial democracy is a topic not generally spoken about in the press in Brazil, but apparent in every which way. Sociologist Gilberto Freyre first advanced this notion in 1933, and recently the conception that "all races are equal" has come under scrutiny for being a myth, according to many critical scholars (Chaka, 2005; Sheriff, 2001; Stam, 1997). Yet racial democracy remains a critical component of Brazilian national identity (De Sousa & Nascimento, 2008) and way of life (Htun, 2005).

Explanation regarding racial democracy necessitates discussion of gender, class and affirmative action in Brazil, especially when considering the print press' (lack of) coverage pertaining to racial democracy. While the triad of race, class and gender is closely knit, gender is given less attention in this discussion because of its lesser prominence in both news and telenovela frames. The discussion of affirmative action that follows below is a snapshot of the convoluted state this legislated equality is currently at

in the Brazilian education and labor arenas. It also indicates some of the implications affirmative action is introducing into national discourse and Brazilian society regarding racial democracy.

The history, tradition and concept of favelas, or Brazilian slums, must be visited to appreciate the significance of *Duas Caras*' model favela Portelinha, the central locale of the telenovela. A sore spot in Brazilian culture, favelas are often reported on in Brazilian press reports because of their newsworthiness through conflict, but they tend to be absent from Brazilian telenovelas. Since TV Globo telenovelas do not typically portray favelas nor favela life, Portelinha's portrayal of a favela is significant, seeing as this is a first for TV Globo. The prominence of *Duas Caras*' Portelinha along with its framing and intertextuality in relation with news reports will be further addressed in Chapters 11 and 12.

Racial Democracy: Brazil's Own Emperor's Cloak

“Brazil has the worst form of racism because it operates undercover...
It's in the unconscious. It's a lot more efficient than the law.”
~ *Ivanir dos Santos, a prominent black activist in Rio*¹⁸

Brazil defines one's race according to an individual's skin color. But in a nation where one national household survey turned up no fewer than 136 terms — from “snow white” to “cinnamon” — by which Brazilians classified their complexions, this is much easier said than done (“No black and white matter,” 2006). Perhaps hoping to tidy things up, official record-keepers have reduced racial types to just five: white, “yellow” or oriental, indigenous, black and pardo (brown). When asked about their race, many

¹⁸ Quoted in Lloyd, M. (2004). In Brazil, a new debate over color. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 50, A38-A40.

Brazilians shrug and say they are a mixed-blooded people. This response represents the hegemonic Brazilian notion that all races are equal.

Talk about race, particularly among the Brazilian middle-class, has tended to emphasize this notion of “racial democracy” (Sheriff, 2006): the commonly expressed belief in the absence of racism despite apparently racially structured patterns of inequality and widespread use of racial terminology in everyday social life. Stated another way, gender or class may impede an individual’s social mobility, but one’s skin color or racial prejudice toward people based on skin color seems to more definitely prevent a non-white individual’s upward social mobility. As noted in the previous chapter, social mobility is the ability to move up or down the socio-economic ladder.

According to the 2000 IBGE census, blacks comprised 6.1 percent of the Brazilian population, pardos or mixed persons 38.9 percent and whites 53.4 percent. Yet scholars question these numbers, saying that not only do blacks underreport, but also that agreement about what constitutes blackness has not been achieved. Further, within the census categories, Afro-Brazilians can be categorized or identify themselves as both black and brown. Regional differences in the concentration of Afro-Brazilians also complicate the count. For instance, it is estimated that of the 2.5 million people living in the metropolitan area of the northeastern seaport of Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, 80 percent is either black or brown. Sizable numbers of browns and blacks live in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, but Afro-Brazilians also reside in less dense concentrations throughout the national territory. Taking just these factors into account, it becomes more difficult to verify the true size of the Afro-Brazilian population within the national population (“Afro-Brazilians Identification,” 2008).

Class also complicates the race discussion, further muddying individual let alone national statistics. As one example, world-famous soccer player Romário “looks” dark from press reports, yet classifies himself as “white” possibly because of his social position and fame. The possibility of anyone labeling him/herself a race other than what s/he may appear to be is rooted in cultural conceptions of race being defined by socio-economic status. A common Brazilian saying is that “Money whitens.”

The notion of “whitening” in Brazil is not new. It blends blood and money issues and is historically controversial for at least moral reasons. In the nation home to more African slaves than any other, 19th century Portuguese, Italian and German immigration served the Brazilian elite in their desire to whiten the population through affecting Brazil’s racial composition. In other words, in the first American colony to use black slave labor, white Portuguese men, predominantly, procreated with female African slaves in a decided attempt to “whiten” Brazil’s population (Nunes, 2004; Da Silva, 1999).

Over time, Brazil’s miscegenation¹⁹ has been romanticized, with the attractiveness of mulatto women to white males forming a cornerstone of the racial democracy ideology. In fact, popular books — many written by Jorge Amado — and movies along with annual Carnival celebrations continue to reinforce this image for sex-seeking tourists from Europe and elsewhere. The image is also termed the mulatta myth, and it will be further discussed in Chapters 10 and 12, in particular. Miscegenation — preferably between white men and black women — has thus become a prescribed route to socioeconomic ascent, condemning Afro-Brazilians to a deceptively inclusive but fiercely

¹⁹ Brazil’s miscegenation is not to be understated. It is a complex reality rooting Brazil’s cultural hybridity and underlying telenovela’s national success (Kraidy, M. M. (2005). *Hybridity, or the cultural logic of globalization*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press).

patriarchal, sexist and racist doctrine (Fernandes, 2001). It is also important to note that although practiced since colonial days, interracial mixing is legally increasing through greater reported numbers of interracial marriage²⁰.

In some rare instances where Afro-Brazilians are highly educated and highly paid, they favor choosing a black identity and even impose a black identity on politicians who may not self-identify as black. This is postulated to be because they can *afford* to choose the “luxury good” of black identity or blackness (Mitchell, 2007). Choosing blackness for a purpose is evidenced through politicians like João Henrique²¹, who has been suspected of strategically manipulating his identity to gain Afro-Brazilian support (Mitchell, 2007).

In another sense, the idea that “money whitens” is a classic topic in the sociological literature on race in Brazil. Re-considering at least Romário’s earlier-noted racial classification, socio-economic status can translate into racial boundary-crossing. An avenue other than position or notoriety like Romário’s that allows racial boundary-crossing is education; education can become a racial passport. For example, results from a national household survey (PNAD 2005) show that highly-educated nonwhite parents are more likely to classify their children as white than are comparable less-educated nonwhite parents. This can happen because more-educated nonwhite parents are more likely to marry whites and less likely to marry nonwhites, and more-educated interracial couples label their children white more often than do less-educated interracial couples (Schwartzman, 2007).

²⁰ See, for example, the 2003 *Gazeta Mercantil* article at http://indexet.investimentosenoticias.com.br/arquivo/2003/12/26/167/IBGE_-Aumenta-miscigenacao-de-racas-nas-familias.html, retrieved July 1, 2009.

²¹ João Henrique is currently in his second term as mayor of Salvador and previously served as a congressman from the state of Bahia.

At least problems surrounding the definition of blackness, the mulatta myth along with interracial marriage and money whitening through position and/or education notions increase racial ambiguity for classification purposes among survey interviewers and respondents alike. This augments the complexity of structuring and defining race and racial relations in an increasingly diverse and multiethnic society (Telles, 2002).

Generally speaking, people of color remain concentrated at the bottom of the socio-economic hierarchy; they suffer higher rates of un(der)employment, wage discrimination, rates of disease and infant mortality, as well as lower levels of education and wages, and shorter life spans than do whites (Sheriff, 2006; Hasenbalg, 1979, 1985; Lovell, 1989; Silva, 1985), and research convincingly demonstrates that specifically racialized discrimination forms play a significant role in Brazil's structuring of inequality (Hasenbalg 1979, 1985; Silva, 1985). It should be noted that although structural changes between 1960 and 1980 opened new opportunities and removed traditional barriers to employment, Brazilians have continued to suffer occupational, race, gender and wage discriminations (Lovell, 1994), contributing to social exclusion.

Part of the complexity among race relations stems from Brazil's multiracial environment; the white (branco), brown (pardo or moreno) and black (preto, negro, Afro-descendente or of African descent), among other classifications, denote Brazil is not bi-racial, or composed of just black and white individuals (see, as one example, Telles, 2004). While affirmative action policies, which have increased within the last decade, theoretically force a re-structuring of the inequality, as will be further discussed later in this section, they in fact hamper the ability of Brazilians categorized in the lower socio-economic echelons to advance (personal observations and interviews, 2004). Even when

black Brazilians are in higher salaried jobs, pay discrimination occurs, with whites earning substantially more (Arias, Yamada & Tejerina, 2004).

In other words, racial democracy grandfathered in issues of gender and class along with race.

Gender

“If discrimination were the real issue, they should have set up quotas for women... Blacks are not slaves anymore.”

~ *Nino Oliva, an 18-year-old Federal University of Rio de Janeiro law student who considers himself white*²²

Regarding gender, Brazil presents an interesting paradox. Although it hosts Latin America’s earliest, largest, most diverse, radical and successful women’s movement, it has one of the lowest rates of women’s political participation in the world (Alvarez, 1990; Htun, 2002; Alcântara, 2008). Still, Brazilian feminists have worked with state officials to pioneer some of Latin America’s most advanced legislation and innovative mechanisms to advance women’s rights. Plus, Brazil is home to the world’s first women’s police stations, which were created in the early 1980s in the state of São Paulo (Htun, 2002, p. 738). This is noteworthy, given Brazilian (non)governmental sectors’ actions to decrease violence — a major problem for Brazilian women of all socio-economic, race and cultural strata — and increase freedom from all forms of discrimination (Report on the Situation of Human Rights in Brazil, 1997).

Women’s struggles dominate the areas of political representation, reproductive health and work (Cole, 2000; Reichmann, 1999). For example, since the government of

²² Quoted in Lloyd, M. (2004). In Brazil, a new debate over color. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 50, A38-A40.

João Baptista do Oliveira Figueiredo (president, 1979-85), several female ministers have been in the Brazilian president's cabinet, and in 1994 two women were candidates for vice president. While only 7 percent of Congress was female by 1994, women have better representation at the state and municipal levels (Gender, 2009). Women running for municipal positions increased from 19.14 percent in the 2000 election to 22.14 percent in the 2004 municipal elections, although women comprise 51 percent of the electorate (Cfemea, Alcântara, 2008). Family planning, maternal mortality along with (unsafe and illegal) abortion, and the sex trade or sex slavery²³ have been crisis health issues and agendas in Brazil over time (Corrêa, McIntyre, Rodrigues, Paiva & Marks, 2005; International Women's Health Coalition, 2008)²⁴.

In the workplace, Brazilian women continue to fight increasing unemployment, with the situation of black women and women in rural areas growing even more precarious (Social Institutions and Gender Index, 2009). And although women are increasingly present in politics, the production sector and the job market in general, professional segmentation on the basis of gender and wage inequality persists (Htun, 2002; Social Institutions and Gender Index, 2009).

In fact, a wide wage gap based on seeming discriminatory practices as well as upon location exists between men and women, although the differential between women and men seems to be less pronounced in urban areas. For instance, women reportedly earn on average 77.8 percent of men's wages in Rio de Janeiro and 73.6 percent in São

²³ See, for example, Ross, J. (2005). Brazil tries to stem tide of sex slavery. *Women's eNews*. Retrieved June 19, 2009, from <http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/2342/context/archive>.

²⁴ International Women's Health Coalition. (2008). IWHC and the Brazilian feminist movement. Retrieved June 19, 2009, from http://www.iwhc.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3232&Itemid=546

Paulo, but they earn comparatively less in the Northeast (Gender, 2009). There, in cities like Salvador, women earn, on average, 63.5 percent of men's wages. According to recent economic studies, only a small portion (between 11 percent and 19 percent of wage differentials in the formal labor force) can be attributed to differences between men and women in their endowments, meaning education or experience (Gender, 2009).

In other words, at least gendered wage differences indicate that class issues are also a significant topic within the Brazilian social discourse.

Class

“You're not discriminated against because you're black, but because you're poor.”
~ Flávio Bolsonaro, a Rio state legislator who has
filed a lawsuit challenging the quota laws²⁵

Regarding class, recent research (Jannuzzi, 2003) has also developed a five-level, socio-occupational stratum, based on British social stratification research and empirical indicators of socio-economic status, among other elements. It segments typical Brazilian occupations into high, medium-high, medium, medium-low and low socio-occupational strata. In Brazilian terms, classes are labeled A, B, C, D and E.

As of 2008, 15 percent of the population, or 28 million Brazilians, were members of Classes A/B, earning on average R\$2,217/ 2,120²⁶ per month. This would include doctors, engineers, university professors and public administrators like lawyers and

²⁵ Quoted in Lloyd, M. (2004). In Brazil, a new debate over color. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 50, A38-A40.

²⁶ At the time of this study, R\$3 was the equivalent of USD1. So, this monthly salary would have been the equivalent of USD707 (please see http://www.data360.org/dsg.aspx?Data_Set_Group_Id=59, accessed 27 January 2009). With the U.S. dollar currently being so low internationally, this same amount in Brazilian reais is roughly equivalent to about \$4930 per month.

judges in Class A, as well as police investigators, office administrators and farmers in Class B. Their salary is two and a half times more than members of the lowest class, including rural workers, domestic servants and garbage collectors, who bring in about R\$799/580 on average per month. They, along with restaurant workers, security, janitors and other “working middle class,” form the fourth, or Class D, totaling 39 percent of the population, or 72.9 million Brazilians. Police, military, retail workers and mechanics comprise the third, or Class C, which is currently Brazil’s largest class; 49 percent of the population, or 86.2 million Brazilians earn on average R\$1,062 per month. Of course, income ranges vary from region to region within Brazil (Jannuzzi, 2003; Duailibi & Borsato, 2008). As will be discussed in Chapter 7, Class C is experiencing significant, stable and unprecedented growth within Brazil. In particular, access to credit and credit cards are exploding for members of Class C (Senna, 2008), who are also enjoying Internet shopping at extraordinary rates (Maia, 2009).

Overcoming social inequality speaks to the growing “new” (upper) middle class in Brazil — salaried liberal and technical professionals who invest in home and car ownership, enroll their children in private schools, visit Disney World, stage elaborate debutante balls, and so forth (Blint & Quintero, 2003). This class is “new” given its rapid expansion and notable force within Brazil’s economic infrastructure over the last three years (Duailibi & Borsato, 2008). Advertisers continually target them for their increasing buying power (De Oliveira, 2005; De Almeida, 2003; La Pastina, 2001).

Market researchers, however, give little credence to the items many of the “new middle class” purchase, including microwaves, cellular phones and computers, arguing that such items are not large indicators of income spending power (Abep, 2007, p. 14).

Rather, strong indicators of one's socio-economic status include a composite score tabulated from a combination of the number of cars, *color* TVs, bathrooms, maids, radios, washing machines, VCRs/DVDs, refrigerators and freezers one owns (Abep, 2007). Another indicator of class is the highest level of education the head of household achieved, or the age at which the household head stopped going to school (Abep, 2007; Abipeme, 2003).

Unequal access to high-quality education and the persistence of discrimination against colored workers in the labor market continue to be probable explanations for the large discrepancy in poverty levels between whites and Afro-Brazilians (Gradín, 2007). And affirmative action attempts in Brazil do not yet seem to have been very helpful in equalizing the playing field for anyone, regardless of gender, race or class.

Affirmative Action: The Unveiling of the Emperor's Cloak

The point on which the racial democracy, gender and class conversation converges and begins *together* to enter the social mainstream in Brazil is affirmative action. The recent adoption of affirmative action policies in Brazil has generated a public debate starkly in contrast to the traditionally hegemonic discourse of "racial democracy," something race relations experts may never have predicted.

Although birthed within the last decade, affirmative action is not a new anti-discrimination policy in Brazil. The nation's three constitutions in the 1930s and 1940s each proclaimed that all were equal under the law. Proposals made by the Afro-Brazilian social movement in the 1940s and 1950s, advanced particularly by the Black Experimental Theater, and bills introduced by Abdias do Nascimento in both houses of

the Brazilian Congress seeded the debate (Da Silva Martins, Medeiros & Nascimento, 2004). The 1960s saw the military regime reintroducing the prohibition of racial distinctions and making racism a punishable offense. Yet these early measures were mostly rhetorical and symbolic. The return to democracy in 1985 and the 1988 Constitution showed the state beginning to take more significant action on race issues (Htun, 2005).

Among others, two major forces have ignited affirmative action policies in Brazil. Black women's lobbies, juggling both gender and race hot potatoes, were active participants in Brazil's preparation for the United Nations Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in 1994, and the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995 (Htun, 2005). The development of the black movement's political articulation and demands spearheaded Brazil's active participation in the 3rd World Conference Against Racism in Durban in 2001 (Da Silva Martins, Medeiros & Nascimento, 2004) as well as its own first national conference against racism and intolerance, held that same year in Rio (Htun, 2005).

Concurrently, presidential leadership and administrations sympathetic to race relations acted. Pres. Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a renowned scholar and sociologist whose dissertation explored race relations, came to power in 1995. He and his administration took decisive steps toward equalizing races, at least in policy. For example, in 1996, the National Human Rights Program was launched. Eight years later, when Pres. Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva was elected, Pres. Lula expanded former-Pres. Cardoso's policies. For example, he and his administration have created a Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality, appointed a record number of blacks to senior posts

(though their presence still lags far behind their numbers in society), and enacted a new law that makes education in Afro-Brazilian history and culture obligatory in public schools (Htun, 2005). Further, Pres. Lula issued a presidential decree requiring private universities that receive government tax breaks to set aside a share of seats for black students (Lloyd, 2004).

Along those lines, in 2001, the State universities of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ and UENF) were the first Brazilian public universities to reserve 40 percent of their places for self-declared blacks and browns. In 2004, the University of Brasilia became the first federal university to implement an affirmative policy for black and indigenous people in Brazil (Tavolaro, 2008). Around that same time period, Zumbi dos Palmares University of Citizenship, a business college in São Paulo that prioritizes black students by reserving 50 percent of its seats for them, opened its doors to 177 students — 90 percent of them black (Lloyd, 2004).

However, the percentage of quota students enrolling every year in academic courses has constantly decreased since quotas were introduced (Cicalò, 2008). This may be because determining who is black remains incredibly complex, and Brazilian judicial bodies have not prescribed a formulaic criterion for determining race; race continues to be contextual, subjective, and malleable (Greene, 2008).

In short, quota implementations have caused great controversy, culminating in a constitutional challenge that has reached Brazil's Supreme Federal Tribunal. The Court now finds itself grappling with the meaning of terms such as “equal before the law” and “university autonomy” (Rochetti, 2004). Further, debate regarding educational as well as employment quotas — another element of affirmative action based on race — has posited

that such identification is discriminatory and raised antagonistic positions regarding social inclusion in Brazil (Silverio, 2007). Some scholars worry that heated ferment surrounding affirmative action, its pros and cons, and popular resistance to race-based public policies will propel the rise of a sort of resented form of nationalism in Brazil's public scene (De Sousa & Nascimento, 2008).

Brazilian Favelas

A contested space in Brazilian society that evokes negative sentiments and stereotypes is the favela, or shantytown or slum or ghetto; although favelas have formed under different terms but with similar end results, terms associated with any impoverished area can generally be used interchangeably with "favela." Because they tend to be areas that involve drugs, crime and violence, favelas are often in the news. Yet they are taboo telenovela themes, because they are sore spots in Brazilian culture. Members of favelas are marginalized.

Some argue that the first favela formed in Brazil shortly after abolition in November 1897 when 20,000 soldiers were brought from northern Brazil to Rio de Janeiro and left without residence ("Slum Dunk," 1997). Other scholars trace their formation to quilombos, or independent settlements of fugitive African slaves with their own social organizations, complete with their own hierarchies and economic and political authorities (Mattoso, 1996; Kent, 1965). Quilombos and mocambos or forest hideouts dotted Brazil from the 16th Century onward and were never planned (Mattoso, 1996). Regardless of when they first came to be, favelas are traditionally associated with poor black Brazil, although whites also live among them (Sheriff, 2001).

Poor water, sewerage and trash conditions create bad environments, adding to the common conception that favelas are filthy (Sheriff, 2001). Favelas are also associated with hillsides. They expand city boundaries since they tend to form around main city borders. To elaborate, most of the current favelas began in the 1970s when a construction boom in Rio's richer neighborhoods initiated a rural exodus of workers from poorer states in Brazil. But the explosive era of favela growth dates from the 1940s during Dictator-President Getúlio Vargas' industrialization drive. It pulled hundreds of thousands of migrants into the Federal District. Today, roughly 20 percent of Rio's six million people live in slums (Treble, 2009). Drug traffickers dominate Rio's favelas, and along with Rio police, co-participate in the creation of a state of (in)security in the poor neighborhoods (Penglase, 2009).

Nevertheless, some people have actually moved to a favela to feel more secure. Probably the most well-known or recognized favela resident is Senator Benedita da Silva. She lives in the Chapéu Mangueira favela in Rio's south zone along with her husband, city councilman Antônio Pitanga and her stepdaughter, model and TV star Camila Pitanga. This is ironic, given that "Between 2000 and 2006 the city of Rio averaged one murder every 3½ hours, according to police statistics. One study, by the Organisation of Ibero-American States for Science and Culture, found that young men aged between 15 and 24 die each year at a rate of 101 per 100,000 in the city — [a] startling figure for a country not at war" (Maclean, 2007).

Sometimes, favelas are filmsettings. The first film to really look at the life and music of favelas was Humberto Mauro's "Favela dos Meus Amores (Favela of My Loves)," 1935. It tells the story of two men who, with the help of a mulatta-loving

Portuguese man, decide to set up a cabaret in the Morro da Favela (Hill of the Favela). The film was praised for accurately portraying the atmosphere of the favela, blending its misery along with its beauty, while not distorting the character of the favela (Stam, 1997). Dance played a key role in that portrayal. Research has found that dance is an essential element of favela life (see, for example, Vianna, 1999). In particular, funk dances in Rio's famous favela Rocinha, have, like some other cultural expressions of African diaspora communities, conjured up and sustained a morally and politically charged musical space that unites and inspires favela youth (Sneed, 2008).

For better or worse, favelas are often reported on in news, even being covered by the international press. This is largely because of the rampant crime and drug conditions in the favela. In fact, favelas are "often figured... as Brazil's worst nightmare" (Sheriff, 2001, p. 17). Favelas, though, are not typical topics of telenovelas.

Brazil is unsure of what to do with the favelas. Recent action has included building controversial walls under the guise of preserving the nature on and in which favelas are built (Treble, 2009). Real-life confusion carries over into media. While in the news generally negative stories of favela life are reported and in reality it appears that the rich-and-poor divide has increased, telenovelas that show favelas and favela life minimize conflicts between rich and poor (Ronsini, 2009). These telenovela images can be considered tactics to instigate actions resulting in upward social mobility for Brazil's materially poor, and those tactics may prove more successful than the examples of "real" people highlighted in TV newscasts (Ronsini, 2009).

"Favelados" or favela residents are often marginalized because of the conditions in which they live. "The term marginality can be defined as a social exclusion that

connotes various aspects beyond poverty and income destitution, such as irrelevancy in society, a weak sense of group membership, and being the subject of social prejudice” (Ronsini, 2009, p. 685). “Favelados” are also often stereotyped as being illiterate, unskilled immigrants from Brazil’s northeastern states (Sherriff, 2001). Interestingly, many of these typical portrayals occur in *Duas Caras*, as will be explained. Because of the culturally-accepted notions of “favelados,” the framing of the favela Portelinha is more likely to be covert yet understandable as normal and acceptable to telenovela viewers.

This chapter provides needed cultural background on racial democracy, the “myth” that all races are equal in Brazil. But Brazil(ians) continue(s) to struggle with the question, What is race? Social hierarchies appear to be gendered, generational and classed, at the very least (Ronsini, 2009). Affirmative action challenges racial democracy, forcing a discussion of at least race into national social discourse. A description of Brazilian favelas contributes to an understanding of Brazilian lifestyle as it is portrayed through national media. This information seeds this project’s research questions, which follow in the next chapter along with this study’s media and the method.

CHAPTER 5: Research Questions, Media & Methods

Following an explanation of framing theory, an overview of telenovelas as well as the Brazilian press, and an introduction to the complex notion of racial democracy, this chapter further contextualizes and presents the research questions. This is done in conjunction with the explanation of the media involved in this study as well as the method by which this study has been conducted.

To restate, this study's overarching concern is whether news issues help frame telenovela plots to explore how (alternative) news sources can influence public opinion, public attitudes and public behaviors in the social construction of a national identity. This question is timely in a diversifying media environment where lines between fact and fiction are increasingly less apparent. Brazilian (alternative) news studies, including social marketing themes in telenovelas, are critical measures of the state of media opening in Brazil (Porto, 2007) and reveal from which source(s) Brazilians receive their news information.

With this background, several questions bubble up for analysis. As each is presented, some theoretical points already brought out in the preceding chapters may seem familiar. This is because they are restated or re-associated with the appropriate question or hypothesis to theoretically entrench this study.

RQ1: Does Duas Caras take framing cues from Brazilian print media?

Telenovelas are uniquely constructed in that television producers decide whether or not to produce each one based upon a sketchy, incomplete storyline; producers plan for news events and additional sources of input — actors' comments, audience ratings and

feedback — to conglomerate during the course of the telenovela, channeling how the story and its characters will develop and end (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990; Hamburger, 1999). Hence, telenovelas are initially broadcast with only a few weeks of planned or prepared episodes to allow for this dynamic, living conversation-production to occur.

Pre-constructed main characters and themes are based upon the senior telenovela author's ideas as well as events and telenovela senior author's interpretations of events several months prior to the telenovela launch date.

As telenovelas begin airing, the public engages with the telenovela author through fan (e)mail, online sites, audience ratings, and so forth. Telenovela audiences become telenovela co-authors (Cantrell, 2008). As De Melo (1988) quoted Sánchez, "The public knows more about the telenovela than the author, the director and the actors, combined" (p. 263, my translation). News and current social issues and happenings are also folded into the storyline's development. It seems likely that

H1A: Initial Duas Caras episodes will be more likely to reflect news and events of the previous nine months than contemporary issues current when the telenovela debuts.

As noted in Chapter 3, the American model of journalism has greatly influenced Brazilian press (Alves, 2003; Herscovitz, 2004). With regard to election coverage, three frames are of particular interest in this investigation. Those include the campaign game, campaign and political issues and candidate coverage.

Campaign Game

Regarding the campaign game, Patterson (1994) argues that media attention surrounding political campaigns follows a "game" schema. "In the game schema, the focus is on a few individuals — the candidates — rather than on the larger interests they

represent and the broader political forces that shape the campaign” (p. 63). Viewing election coverage as a horse race is one kind of application of Patterson’s term (Trimble & Sampert, 2004). The horse race addresses who is ahead, who is behind, and how the election game is being played, as in if someone is doing better than expected and, hence, rising in the polls (Steger, 1999). Among other political communication scholars, Benoit, Stein and Hansen (2005) found horse race to be the most common topic of campaign coverage from their almost 50-year content analysis of *New York Times* coverage of presidential campaigns. Horse race coverage is also the trend in U.S. local political coverage (Kaniss, 1991; Boyle, 2001). Horse race coverage occurs in Brazil election coverage, although the amount of horse race coverage appears to be decreasing in national election coverage as Brazil enjoys more democratic opening (Porto, 2007).

Does this the campaign game news frame appear in *Duas Caras*? Does it do so within two to four weeks of the story appearing in the Brazilian national press? Please note that this analysis process is neither solely linear nor unidirectional. As was mentioned earlier, themes will arise in the telenovela that will force this researcher to go back to news reports and photos and look for other-media relationships. This analysis should be reciprocal, as will be further defined later on in this chapter.

Campaign & Political Issues

Media scholars have bemoaned the lack of attention given to issues in U.S. elections as well as the absence of particular issues in the coverage of candidates for electoral office. At least at the presidential level, this lacuna is well documented (Graber, 1972; Patterson, 1980; Robinson and Sheehan, 1983; Russonello and Wolf, 1979; Kern,

2001). That issue voting occurs in Senate elections at least when voters are given information regarding the stands of opposing candidates indicates that issue information can be consequential (Kahn & Goldenberg, 1991; Abramowitz, 1981; Wright and Berkman, 1986). U.S. election issues range, but most recently included foreign policy and national security, economics, health care and family planning, education, and energy and the environment (“Campaign Issues,” 2008).

Since the 2002 Brazilian presidential election, campaign news coverage has shifted through the media in general and TV Globo in particular; news coverage has increasingly focused on a discussion of issues, departing from the American model of horse race predominance. This shift to more substantive reporting has occurred “...through live interviews with the candidates and thematic reports” (Porto, 2007, p. 16). Election issues have included economy, education, health and infrastructure (Porto, 2007, p. 23).

Brazilian news reports will be analyzed to see when and how issues coverage occurs. Similarly, *Duas Caras* will be investigated to see if the main issue item(s) surface(s) in its treatment of the local election within two to four weeks. Again, this process should be reciprocal.

Candidate Coverage

Not only has U.S. election coverage shifted from less substantive topics to the horse race, but candidate character and scandal are also popular in U.S. election news coverage (Gilens, Vavreck & Cohen, 2007). And although candidates address policy more than character in their messages, discussion of their character has been more

common in presidential candidate news election coverage than that of their policy positions (Benoit, Stein & Hansen, 2005). News reports that are candidate-centric address a candidate's character or attributes, his — in this case — personal life, and his campaign, as pointed out in Chapter 3.

Brazilian news reports and images will be analyzed to see when and how candidate coverage occurs. Elements of candidate coverage to look for include attributes (hard working, leadership, assertiveness, competence, efficiency), personal ethics (commitment to one's spouse), professional ethics (scandal and corruption), campaign management (fundraising, use of one's own funds, overall management) and campaign agenda. *Duas Caras* will also be investigated to see if similar candidate coverage surfaces in its treatment of the local election within two to four weeks.

H1B: Following the initial broadcast of telenovela chapters, political frames from the print press, including those of (a) the campaign game, (b) campaign and political issues, (c) candidate coverage, and (d) main local campaign themes, will be adopted into Duas Caras within two to four weeks of appearing in the Brazilian national press.

It is also important to note that Brazilian telenovelas are personal and conflict driven; their narrative structure focuses on character development plus topical conflicts along with personal struggles. While conflict is a common theme among news reports, Brazilian electoral news, as previously noted, has tended to become more issue driven. It seems likely then, that

H1C: Duas Caras will be more likely to focus on issues of candidate personality than Brazilian print news will.

Other than the campaign game, issues and candidate coverage, is there another main theme of coverage surrounding the candidate? This categorization will allow for

additional dimensions or topics to surface. For example, a candidate's race may be specifically noted, particularly when minority candidates are running for office. News coverage analysis of the 2004 election cycle, including five U.S. Senate and four U.S. House contests, found that biracial and all-Black election coverage is more likely to contain a racial frame than all-White race stories (Caliendo & McIlwain, 2006). However, recent Barack Obama phenomenon studies have noted White voters' and investors' attraction to him with his "perceived ability to transcend race — that is, not to be a Black candidate but simply an American one" (Mazama, 2007, p. 3). Further, a late-1980s mail-survey study of 314 U.S. cities with populations of at least 50,000 plus a minimum composition of 5 percent Hispanics or Blacks revealed advancements in black at-large election representation compared to the decade prior (Welch, 1990).

Also, a candidate's socio-economic level may be addressed. In an analysis of three bi-racial 1982 New Orleans municipal run-off elections for mayor, civil sheriff and district judge, a candidate's class was found relevant only in locating white support for black candidates (Sheffield & Hadley, 1984).

More on Race and Class

RQ2: When addressing the election, does Duas Caras take race and class framing cues from Brazilian print media?

As noted, telenovelas studies indicate that these prime-time forums tend to address issues of racism, homosexuality, abortion, anti-smoking and drug abuse, as well as specific diseases such as HIV/AIDS, leukemia and breast cancer (La Pastina, Patel & Schiavo, 2004). Issues of race and class are particularly prominent, although Brazilian telenovelas have excluded black actors and misrepresented black Brazilians over the

years (Araújo, 2000); white actors dominate character portrayal and, perhaps in tandem, achieve success. Da Silva (1987) also argues that when black Brazilians are represented in telenovelas, they play one of three roles: servant/maid, slave or an outlaw/bandit; they tend to be from a lesser socio-economic position, demonstrating the reality of the black Brazilian (p. 21). Further, in her comparison of the *The Cosby Show* and the telenovela *Água Viva (Living Water)*, Segato (1996) argues that black Brazilian social mobility is willingly limited through how black actors fulfill black roles; “Blacks in Brazil seems to stage for themselves the act of serving, yielding and conceding as an act of ‘giving’: a joyful and voluntary act..., disavow[ing] the act of forcible exaction to which they were and continue to be subjected” (p. 21). Based on historical precedence, then,

H2A: Duas Caras will be more likely to assign black characters to working class roles than will be reported in the Brazilian national press.

It should be noted that regarding Brazilian print news studies, relatively few if any address race and class issues. This limitation makes it difficult to argue that the telenovela will explicitly include race and class issues more so than news. However, considering the racial democracy myth and its centrality in TV Globo’s programming, as discussed in Chapter 4, it seems likely. Racial democracy’s centrality in TV Globo’s programming gives rise to some additional considerations:

H2B: Duas Caras will give more attention to the non-white candidate than the Brazilian national press will.

H2C: Non-white candidates’ behavior will be portrayed more positively in Duas Caras than in the Brazilian national press.

Vital to the successful telenovela storyline is class ascension; telenovela stars rise in various ways from economically underprivileged positions to ones of economic

advantage. Overcoming social inequality speaks to the growing “new” middle class in Brazil — salaried liberal and technical professionals who invest in home and car ownerships, enroll their children in private schools, visit Disney World, stage elaborate debutante balls, and so forth (Blint & Quintero, 2003). Advertisers continually target them for their increasing buying power (De Oliveira, 2005; De Almeida, 2003; La Pastina, 2001), although market researchers give little credence to the items many of the “new middle class” purchase (Abep, 2007, p. 14). Because class ascension is such a common telenovela theme,

H2D: Duas Caras will give more explicit attention to class than the print press.

In regard to the Brazilian print press, the determination of class will be based on whether education, household comforts such as a refrigerator and/or washer, and/or occupation are pictured in story-related photos and/or noted in the news report. Likewise, a similar assessment of telenovela characters will be made. A character’s education level, how many household comforts s/he enjoys, and what occupation(s) s/he occupies will be noted through the entirety of *Duas Caras*. Of course, a character’s socio-economic status may change over the course of the novela, and this transition will be noted, even if these specifics are not counted scene to scene.

One could expect that the telenovela *Duas Caras* will incorporate elements of race and class into its framing of the local candidates to a greater extent than the national press. Research like Arias’ (2004) represents a rich body of work that notes the subtler and more nuanced model of racialized interactions portrayed through telenovelas that better describe Afro-Brazilian social life in Brazil and the Americas.

H2E: Less-affluent candidates will be portrayed more positively in Duas Caras than in the Brazilian national press.

To reiterate, relatively few if any Brazilian print news studies address race and class issues. Considering this lack of news media coverage attention, one of this study's major contributions will be how Brazilian print news media frame race and class issues. Another will be how that coverage compares with telenovelas' portrayal of the same issues.

To address these research questions and guiding hypotheses, this analysis merges Brazilian print and broadcast media. Samples from the leading Brazilian newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil*, the world-class newsmagazine *Veja* and its supplement *Veja-Rio*, and the TV Globo 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras* form the basis for this study. Here, each media is defined in its cultural context and significance and the reasons surrounding its inclusion are explained. Comparative narrative analysis, the method for this approach, is also discussed. This study also delineates how the media have been approached. This chapter is the recipe for understanding news and telenovela thematic nuances; news media text has been comparatively analyzed according to framing theory to highlight main news themes and factual political themes to get at news frames, and this composite has been compared with the political themes treated in *Duas Caras* to uncover its frames. The comparison is found in Chapters 11 and 12.

This process of comparative narrative analysis among *O Jornal*, *Veja/Veja-Rio* and *Duas Caras* indicates news and telenovela intertextuality, as discussed in Chapter 2, suggesting interactive decision-making from narrative framers regarding contemporary social topics. The decision-making is interactive in that the telenovela author pays

attention to audience research, ratings and other forms of audience feedback, plus telenovela actor suggestions and current news topics in formulating the story trajectory and telenovela conclusion (Hamburger, 1999; Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990; Straubhaar, 2007). As informed by framing theory, comparing news and telenovela content intertextuality indicates one powerful representation of the contemporary topics Brazilians appear to be interested in and how they are making sense of current issues (La Pastina, 2004, 2001; Porto, 2005; Porto, 2001; La Pastina & Straubhaar, 2005), constructing an idealized national identity (Hamburger, 1999; Straubhaar, 2007).

The Media

Jornal do Brasil, widely known as *JB* or *O Jornal*, is a leading daily newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, the cultural capitol of Brazil. Founded in 1891 by former supporters of the recently-deposed monarchy, *O Jornal* is Brazil's third oldest and existing paper, after *Diário de Pernambuco* and *O Estado de São Paulo*, and it is Brazil's first online newspaper. Although *Folha de São Paulo* trumped it around the turn of the century in terms of readership, *O Jornal* has been known for setting the standard for Brazilian journalism.

O Jornal initially espoused conservative views, but it became a center-left middle-class newspaper after a deep editorial and design restructuring headed by Amílcar de Castro in the 1950s ("A Notícia e o Diagrama," 2007). It became one of the most important media groups during the 1950s and 1960s with significant political influence (Fadul, 1998). During Brazil's military dictatorship era (1964-1985), *Jornal do Brasil* was an important resister of the dictatorship, frequently challenging censorship by

replacing censored news with cake recipes, lawsuit-bordering photos, blatant lies or decades-old articles. Although it maintained a high quality of reporting and degree of news independence despite the sporadic government censorship and control, *O Jornal*'s opposition to the government almost forced it into bankruptcy in the 1980s and 1990s. Additional restructurings in 2002 by businessman Nelson Tanure and again in 2007 by diplomat and businessman Marcos Prado Troyjo resulted in newsstand sales skyrocketing; overall circulation went up 27 percent in 2007, the most remarkable increase among quality papers in Brazil.

O Jornal's content and style are directed at an educated and elite readership. Editora JB publishes it out of Rio. With a 2008 daily circulation totaling upwards of 96,000, and a Sunday readership of about 160,000²⁷, *O Jornal* is Brazil's 12th largest of about 300 Brazilian dailies. *O Jornal* has a large editorial staff, with bureaus and correspondents in many world capitals. Its major print rival is *O Globo*.

Veja (Portuguese for *See* or *Look*) is the world's fourth largest weekly newsmagazine, following *Time*, *Newsweek* and *U.S. News & World Report*. Founded in September 1968, it is published in São Paulo, Brazil's industrial capitol, and distributed nationally. *Veja* is the flagship newsmagazine of Editora Abril, Brazil's third largest publishing house, which was created in 1950 (Fadul, 1998). *Veja* charted a 2008 circulation of more than one million copies per issue (Severo, 2008, p. 3)²⁸.

²⁷ Although this data is from 1997, *O Jornal*'s readership has seen ups and downs that would have it around this mark today. See "Brazil: Transportation and Communications," retrieved Oct. 29, 2008, from <http://www.country-data.com/cgi-bin/query/r-1685.html>.

²⁸ Special thanks to Rosental Alves for this presentation from iG's Caique Severo, as noted in the reference section. iG is the acronym for Internet Group, Brazil Telecom's Internet branch. Also, see "Tabela Geral de Circulação." (2006). *PubliAbril*. Information

As was the case for most if not all of the Brazilian press, *Veja* endured Brazilian military regime censorship from 1969 to 1976. Because of its lead among Brazilian magazines as *the* periodical for Brazilian information and politics, it was prevented from entering the television market during the military dictatorship, which ended 1985 (Fadul, 1998). Nonetheless, *Veja* has maintained its reputation as a main national news medium, demonstrating aggressive investigative journalism and constantly scooping newspapers, forcing them to refer to its stories as well as publish the repercussions (Alves, 2003).

Veja is a liberal and very well-produced magazine, containing a variety of reports which analyze events or special subjects including politics, economics, culture, behavior, world events, entertainment and wars. It regularly addresses subjects such as education, technology, ecology and religion. It has recurring sections on cinema, television, practical literature, music and guides on diverse subjects. *Veja*'s top Brazilian competitors are newsmagazines *Época* with a reported 2008 circulation of about 418,000 and *IstoÉ* with, similarly, 344,000.

Veja-Rio is a special edition of *Veja*. Published weekly by Editora Abril S/A and distributed throughout Brazil, *Veja-Rio* circulates for free in the city of Rio. This weekly supplement is lifestyle-oriented and highlights cultural events and topics in Rio, specifically, and Brazil in, general. It reports on the trendy social issues within Brazil.

It is important to note one basic difference between *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio*: photojournalism. Given the immediacy and focus of the newspaper, *O Jornal*'s photos tend to be less photo-essay centric than those of the newsmagazine. In other words, the newspaper photos are less descriptive than those of the newsmagazine. This difference in

retrieved June 29, 2009, from
http://publicidade.abril.com.br/geral_circulacao_revista.php.

purpose, which is a traditional distinction between newspaper and newsmagazine media, may lead to important discrepancies in theoretical interpretation of these two media's visual storytelling later on.

Photojournalism, or access to photos, is a key reason for why *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* have been chosen for study; The University of Texas at Austin's Benson Latin American Collection Library has hard copies of these two Brazilian print publications, enabling page-by-page searching for key articles and photos that comprise the body of the print portion of this investigation. The page-by-page search is necessary for at least two reasons. One is that *O Jornal* archives do not pull up photos that accompany stories. A second is that this study is not "search term" based, as will be further explained later in this chapter.

Separate from convenience, *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* are prime media candidates for inclusion in this investigation. They are frontrunners of and historically prominent in Brazilian journalism, as pointed out, largely because of their documented commitment to (inter)national democratic press standards. This is a key point in regard to Latin American media; media in Brazil differ from and lead many Latin American presses in that they have transitioned from family ownership and inheritance to privatization; primarily between 1990 and 1997, the Brazilian economic and political transformations greatly influenced Brazil's economy and media, inspiring the internationalization and regionalization processes of Brazil's major media groups (Fadul, 1998).

Additionally, *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* are from different publishers. This is a critical component of comparative research because it decreases the likelihood that

findings could echo because of normalized and routinized journalistic practices (Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008a; Cantrell & Bachmann, 2008b; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996; Blumler & Gurevitch, 1995). These print national media are also chief media representatives from the São Paulo-Rio area, the real nexus of change for Brazilian journalism. “No one can contest that for more than a century, the Carioca [or Rio] newspapers fit the principle point in the formation and representation of national public opinion. Since 1960, the processes of innovation and the points of irradiation or broadcast of the influence over the Brazilian press moved themselves to São Paulo” (Rüdiger, 2008, p. 233).

With 53 percent of the broadcast audience, TV Globo or Rede Globo commands the lion’s share of TV viewers in Brazil (Severo, 2008). Internationally, TV Globo is the fourth largest network in the world. TV Globo’s sophisticated, Hollywoodesque or cinematic-quality production of telenovelas along with its successful exportation of them to more than 140 nations has earned Brazil the nickname “O país de televisão” (“the land of television”) for decades. A telenovela is a mini-series, or a six-day-per-week, one-hour program lasting anywhere from six to about eight months with a pronounced beginning, plot development throughout, and definitive end. More specifics regarding telenovelas along with how and why Brazilian audiences of all ages, genders, educational and socio-economic backgrounds continually tune in to TV Globo’s 8 p.m. telenovela are discussed in Chapter 3.

The importance of the 8 p.m. telenovela along with the central role TV Globo has played in Brazilian media history root why TV Globo’s 8 p.m. *Duas Caras* has been purposively selected for this study. In an unprecedented fashion, TV Globo and its telenovelas have revolutionized a nation, helping to form and stamp Brazilian national

identity. TV Globo has mastered the creation of what was a new television genre, the telenovela, and it impressively continues to innovatively secure market share in an increasing competitive industry. Additional grounds for why *Duas Caras* has been purposively selected as a media text case was addressed in Chapter 1. More information concerning *Duas Caras*, including a plot summary, is found in Chapter 8.

What from these print and broadcast sources has been included in this examination? How have they been analyzed?

The Sample

Research has shown constructed week samples to be more efficient than other forms of sampling for newspaper studies (Hester & Dougall, 2007; Riffe, 1993). While a single constructed week allows reliable estimates of content in a population of six months of newspaper editions, at least two and as many as five constructed weeks are needed to accurately represent online news content gathered during the same period, depending on the type of variables being analyzed (Hester & Dougall, 2007). Since this study is not an online news study, a single constructed week of coverage satisfies the requirements for a reliable newspaper study. Also, the constructed week approach allows for a holistic, somewhat objective snapshot of important issues and events in Brazilian newspaper coverage to be systematically captured for comparison with newsmagazine news themes and telenovela themes.

The constructed week for *O Jornal* has been designed based on two criteria. One is the recognition that *Veja* has a Wednesday publication date, but an editorial closing of a day or two prior to publication. To consider possible news coverage similarities and

differences, a constructed news week for the newspaper was based on a start date of Sunday, Jan. 7, 2007. However, this technique, which spanned Jan. 7, 2007 — May 6, 2008, produced nine constructed weeks of coverage, which is outside the recommended and proven parameters of constructed week studies. Therefore, a second method for developing a constructed week sample was employed. The nine-week constructed week sample was used as the secondary sampling frame, and a single constructed week was systematically, but randomly pulled from it. In other words, a Sunday was pulled from the first constructed week, a Monday from the second, and so forth. Chart 1 details *O Jornal*'s final constructed week included in this analysis:

CHART 1: Newspaper Constructed Week

<i>Weekday</i>	<i>Date</i>
Sunday	Jan. 7, 2007
Monday	March 12, 2007
Tuesday	May 15, 2007
Wednesday	July 18, 2007
Thursday	Sept. 20, 2007
Friday	Nov. 23, 2007
Saturday	Jan. 26, 2008
Sunday	March 30, 2008

An additional Sunday was included in the newspaper constructed week sample. While this is not a typical practice, the final Sunday was included for three reasons. One was as a type of closure to the newspaper constructed week, a Sunday-to-Sunday form. Another was to stretch the news sample to more closely match the duration of *Duas Caras*. Here it is important to note that an additional day in the constructed week, which would have been a “Monday,” fell outside the timeframe for possible news inclusion in the telenovela production. That final date for this study was May 6, 2008. May 6, 2008, was decided upon based on telenovela production research studies signaling the projected

final date for a current news event to be able to be worked into final telenovela production stages (Mattelart & Mattelart, 1990; Hamburger, 1999; M. I. Vassallo de Lopes, personal communication, October 17, 2008). The projected final date is about three weeks prior to the telenovela finale, which is when scripting is finished and the last influences from journalistic framing are possible. A third reason was to more closely match the *Veja* constructed week sample.

In regard to *Veja*'s sample, a type of constructed week was based upon a census of its Wednesday publication dates, beginning Wednesday, Jan. 10, 2007, through Wednesday, May 6, 2008. Again, the May 6, 2008, date was based upon an educated but hypothetically-set deadline of when current events could be worked into *Duas Caras* prior to its finale. Weighing weekly newsmagazine production, a six-week interval became a six-day interval equivalent. The resulting slightly-more-than-a single *Veja/Veja-Rio* constructed week, which spans the sample time frame of January 2007 to May 2008, follows in Chart 2.

CHART 2: Newsmagazine Constructed Week

<i>“Weekday”</i>	<i>Date</i>
Sunday	Jan. 10, 2007
Monday	Feb. 28, 2007
Tuesday	April 18, 2007
Wednesday	June 6, 2007
Thursday	July 25, 2007
Friday	Sept. 12, 2007
Saturday	Oct. 31, 2007
Sunday	Dec. 19, 2007
Monday	Feb. 13, 2008
Tuesday	April 2, 2008

With issue dates decided, front-page stories, political coverage and the opinion section from *O Jornal* have been pulled to form a single constructed week body of representative news coverage. The coverage spans nine months prior to and eight months during the broadcast of *Duas Caras*. Similarly, cover stories, introductory letters to the reader, special interviews, political coverage and relevant final opinion pieces from the constructed week sample of *Veja* newsmagazine have been pooled. Corresponding profiles from *Veja*’s insert city magazine *Veja-Rio* have been included in the *Veja* sample. News photographs corresponding with both newspaper and newsmagazine stories are also captured for inclusion. Cover stories and front-page articles and photographs are considered for several reasons. One is because these are the reports and images newsmagazine and newspaper decision-makers find most important to communicate with their audiences. Another is because these are the stories and photos readers will understand to be most important through their placement (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1998). A third is because these are also the stories and images of which

nonreaders who see either the newsmagazine cover or newspaper front-page will take note. A total of 218 *O Jornal* and 95 *Veja/Veja-Rio* articles are included.

A composite week is similar to a constructed week, yet it serves broadcast medium study purposes rather than print media. This means a Monday episode from one week, a Tuesday episode from another, a Wednesday from yet another, and so forth, are capture to form a more general “week” of the program over time. As in the case of constructed week sampling, research demonstrates a sample of two to five composite weeks of broadcast materials are sufficient for a broadcast television program under study, like *Duas Caras* (Stern & Mastro, 2004; Kunkel, Cope & Biely, 1999). *Duas Caras* aired Monday through Saturday, Oct. 1, 2007, through May 31, 2008. Given the importance of the initial episode or telenovela premiere, which lays out initial characters, themes and frames, the start date for the composite week was Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, thereby including the telenovela launch episode. Creating the telenovela sample resulted in five six-day-per-week composite weeks, or a total of 30 episodes, ending on Saturday, May 24, 2008. The final composite week excluded the all-important telenovela finale, which was broadcast one week later on May 31, 2008. That finale episode was then also included in the sample, resulting in 31 overall episodes of a possible 209.

Definitions and Basic Rationale

This investigation of print news and a Brazilian telenovela encapsulates analysis of items including news stories, photos and telenovela scenes. A “news story” is defined as an entire article, be it a hard news cover story, a letter to the editor, or a profiled special interview, as in *Veja*’s case. In other words, a “news story” is a complete article,

from byline to the article's last printed word. A "photo" is defined as a news photograph appearing in conjunction with a news story's text. This excludes photos that are in the masthead of the newspaper, for instance. A "scene" is defined as an exchange involving dialogue between or among telenovela actors on a given topic. This can include what I term "flashbacks" in my notes to each episode. A "flashback" is when a character remembers something from a different time than the present that usually has some relevance to the current scene. It is usually and clearly signified in *Duas Caras* by a flash-of-light cut to that past moment, then another flash-of-light cut back to the present, as if telenovela viewers are guests of the telenovela character's memory.

This exploration is much more qualitative than quantitative in nature; an inductive rather than a deductive process is used to arrive at an understanding of news frames in the print media and how those compare and contrast with telenovela themes. That said, some quantitative measures are useful to help give this project trustworthiness, or "'credibility' (in place of internal validity), 'transferability' (in place of external validity), 'dependability' (in place of reliability), and 'confirmability' (in place of objectivity)" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 219). For example, using constructed and composite week samples has made the data set manageable as well as reproducible. It also allows for a systematic processing of the information. In addition, as will be presented in Chapter 7, counting visual representations of Afro-Brazilian men and women delivers powerful evidence debunking the notion of racial democracy within Brazil's press.

It should be noted that as the researcher I am a U.S. female citizen who is fluent in Portuguese. Having lived in Brazil and visited the country on several occasions, I consider myself familiar enough with Brazilian culture to understand the environment,

but not so native that I might be blinded to important cultural assumptions necessary for a framing analysis. Considering this is a qualitative, bi-lingual study, it is nearly impossible to develop any kind of an inter-coder reliability that would enhance the credibility and/or reliability of this study. However, multi-methods have been deployed to achieve crystallization of results, or an idealized form of triangulation.

Multiple methods — often referred to as triangulation — is important, not as “...a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation” (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2). In fact, *crystallization* should be considered in place of triangulation.

“Crystallization, without losing structure, deconstructs the traditional idea of ‘validity’ [and]... provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial, understanding of the topic” (Richardson, 1994, p. 522). Comparative narrative analysis allows for inductive, theoretical, crystallized interpretation of these various media components.

The Method: Comparative Narrative Analysis

Narrative analysis is, simply, a technique that allows for various texts to be interpreted theoretically (Berger, 1997). Its underlying premise is that all human beings are storytelling creatures (Fisher, 1987). It blends verbal and nonverbal representations or symbols (Berger, 2005). Through narratives, storytellers organize everyday lived experiences and provide situated accounts of these experiences (Bardhan, 2002).

Journalists and telenovela writers are all storytellers, and storytellers are framers of narrative (Nossek & Berkowitz, 2006; Etheridge, 2008; Berger, 2005). Ultimately, framers of narrative shape perceptions of self and others “...and how they have affected and continue to have impacts upon our lives, our culture and society in general” (Berger,

2005, p. xi). It is important to overview how this comparative narrative analysis comprising texts and visuals has been performed.

All 31 sampled *Duas Caras* episodes have been narratively analyzed. This process has occurred through several stages. First, I performed background research on the telenovela, reading materials regarding the overall plot and characters to inform my understanding of who was doing what. This background reading was not indepth; I did not spend a great deal of time going over the telenovela's site to learn the latest character developments and TV Globo hype regarding the telenovela. This was simply an introduction to help me familiarize myself with actor and character names and faces. Also, I wanted to be careful to not do too much that could bias my understanding of the telenovela and its significance.

Second, I watched every sample episode of the telenovela, taking detailed ethnographic field notes (Fetterman, 1998). At first, this was almost an exercise in transcription; I wanted to have a record of proceedings to reflect back on as I moved into later stages of analysis. That map became a non-visual text for me to refer to, allowing me to interpret the basic telenovela narrative. In addition to script or plot notes, I also took notes on settings and general impressions I had, which is important for qualitative field notes. For example, I noted specific indications of class, such as the washing machine the Afro-Brazilian character Evilásio pointed out to his white wife Julia when he brought her and their baby home to their new house in Favela Portelinha (*Duas Caras*, Episode 134, Block 1). To contextualize this event, their ownership of this household good, among others, is a strong indication within Brazilian society of their middle-class socio-economic status, as discussed in Chapter 4. Further, such note taking permitted me

to create a type of scene classification, so I could provide concrete evidence of findings with a consistent unit of analysis. For example, most scenes conclude with a cut to a TV Globo emblem and a count down to when the next scene will begin. This way, I could dissect the telenovela into and make sense of scenes incorporating political themes, parallel to the way I could dissect news by the unit of stories.

For the purposes of this research, I define political themes similarly to Porto (2005) as “topics that explicit political connotations, particularly in relation to the sphere of the state and to conventional definitions of politics” (pp. 344-345). Recognizing that the term politics is a contested concept, I define it broadly to include institutional politics within the sphere of the state (government, parties, elections), social issues (poverty, inequality), and conflicts in the realm of civil society (labor disputes, social movements). Unlike Porto (2005), I also identify issues of race and class as relevant political themes. As occurs with qualitative studies, these themes evolve to become more defined during the study’s enactment (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Notetaking resulted in 140 single-spaced pages of observed and interpretative comments or telenovela text.

Third, I began an in-depth scrutiny, reading over the notes I had taken several times. In addition to looking for answers to the research questions and hypotheses, as outlined in Chapter 5, I questioned, What ideas are emerging from this narrative? What is being told? What is being shown? Aligning with framing theory, what are the manifest themes of this telenovela, and what are the latent themes?

Examples of manifest themes, or more superficial themes, in *Duas Caras* include the types of family that emerge through the story. It seems obvious that a traditional family — a mother, a father, a child(ren) — as well as a nontraditional family — a

single-parent household — are exemplified. The latent meaning of this manifest content ties into a deeper ideological concept within Brazil, that being the culturally-embedded notion that family is first. This telenovela frame will be further explained in Chapter 9.

Likewise, news media have been narratively analyzed, with themes in the telenovela hinting at what should be particularly investigated. This means that this study is not an isolated investigation of themes in media, where each medium is studied to learn what manifest and latent topics emerge from narrative. Rather, a complex, fluid search of the narrative themes that arise in each medium in tandem has occurred. As will be addressed in the discussion sections, Chapters 11 and 12, important similarities and differences arise from this type of comparison. Of course, themes arise in the news media that are absent from the telenovela and vice versa. These become more apparent as the analysis progresses. But themes noted as arising in the telenovela have served as important and primary triggers of what to look for in news.

News examination, hence, has transpired in three stages. First, all newspaper and newsmagazine sampled articles were read through several times to understand what topics had been judged pertinent to news readers at publication time by editors. This was a type of manifest content framing analysis. Since all news narrative is hard copy, a type of indexing system was created, so I could reference where to find what. For example, I took general notes on articles in a Word document according to date and headline, so I could quickly reflect back to specific articles.

Second, relying on the telenovela triggers, I again combed through the articles to get an overall sense of overlapping themes. In going back over articles, I simultaneously noted additional news frames emerging from news narrative. Familiarity with the news

narrative and Brazilian culture led to an understanding of the latent content, or the deeper, more ideologically rooted news messages. Evidence of a news frame in news included absence of words identifying race when news photographs seemed to reveal race as a large part of the story of crime in Rio, for example. This news frame is chiefly embedded in the Brazilian concept of racial democracy, which was explained in Chapter 4.

Third, in an additional sweep of news narrative, I began to analyze news photos. Who was featured in the press, and how was s/he portrayed? What of the group photos? Excluding text, what story was being told visually? How are news photograph messages being (latently) framed?

As has been explained in the preceding chapter, additional, more theory-directed questions guided each stage of *Duas Caras* and *O Jornal* plus *Veja-Veja-Rio* examination. What are the answers to those questions? The next section offers a brief overview of the salient latent news frames that have emerged from this study.

CHAPTER 6: News Frames Models & News Frame I: Government is the family

Four chapters explicate salient latent frames arising from a comparative narrative analysis of Brazilian media. This and the next chapter specify two news frames emerging from the framing interpretation of *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio*. Two chapters following the news frame chapters, Chapters 11 and 12, explain and evidence two frames apparent from a framing interpretation of *Duas Caras*. Sandwiched in between the explication of emergent news and telenovela frames is a chapter summarizing *Duas Caras*.

Prior to becoming familiar with these findings, it is important to note that certain elements of news frames have been specifically highlighted because of their intertextuality across media. For example, in investigating news reports after becoming familiar with *Duas Caras*, the notion of business with China arose more prominently from *O Jornal* reports; *Duas Caras*' Marconi Ferraço enlists his lawyer Barreto to inspect his contract pending a real-estate deal of sorts with China. Coincidence? Not likely, given the deliberate social merchandising for which telenovelas are famous.

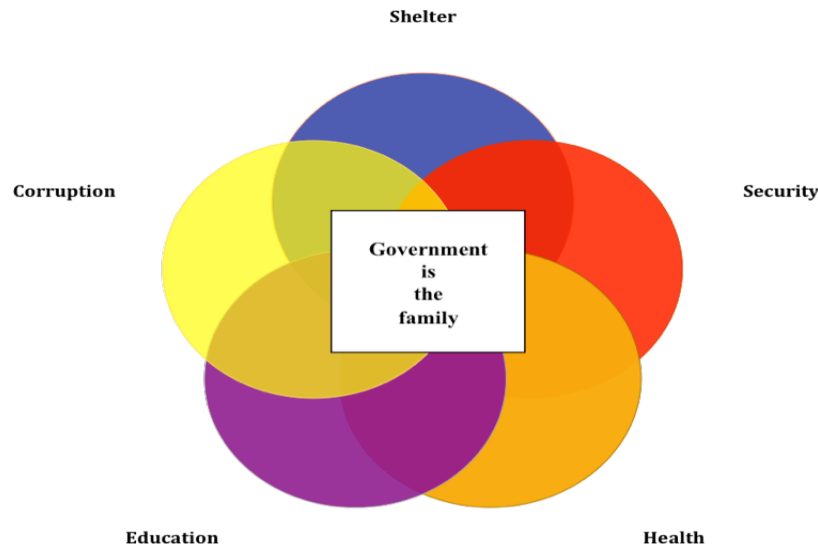
In brief, elements of the following news frames — those that emerge from the framing approach to news and the telenovela — may hint at each other. The discussion chapter that follows these findings will more thoroughly and decidedly point out these overlaps and explain their media and cultural significance.

Also, in this section, I introduce two news frames models that have arisen through the qualitative framing analysis of news text and photos. Each model is presented along with its definition and the outline of its themes. While they may suggest a more manifest content level of framing, the themes enable the larger news frames, the latent content, to become organizing principles that can be shared and persistent over time.

MODEL 1.1:

News Frame I: The government is the family

This frame signifies that government is paternalistic. Brazilians look to the government to claim the rights to shelter, security, health and education, as children depend upon parents or guardians to provide basic life necessities. The corruption that occurs is evidence of governmental failure and imperfection. As is generally the case in families, children struggle through the painful process of maturation and endure parental weaknesses and flaws, even in best-case scenarios.



Shelter: No place like home

Security: Keep us safe and deliver us

Health: If you haven't got your health, you haven't got anything

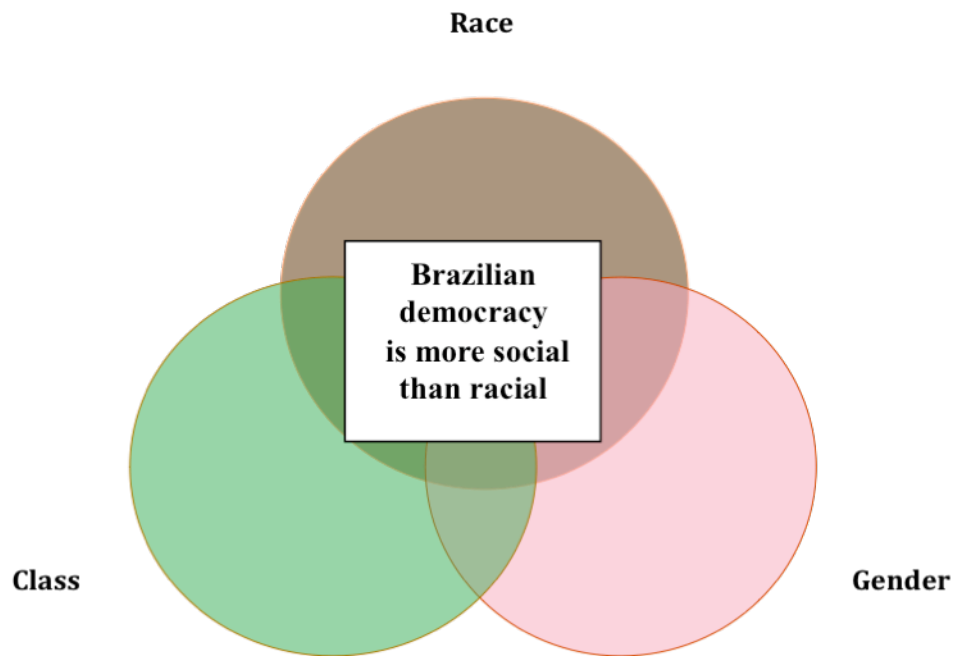
Education: Please teach us

Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government

MODEL 1.2:

News Frame II: Brazilian democracy is more social than racial

This frame indicates that while class and gender may make upward social mobility and social inclusion possibilities, race can stymie progression.



Race in Brazil: It matters if you're black or white

Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up

Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning

Does *Duas Caras* take framing cues from Brazilian print media? Or, perhaps more specifically, what salient latent news frames arise from Brazilian print media coverage nine months prior to and during the telenovela? This chapter fleshes out one of two news frames emerging from a comparative narrative analysis of news prior to and during TV Globo's hit telenovela *Duas Caras*: "The government is the family."

This salient latent frame signifies that government is paternalistic. It is a culturally embedded frame that emerges from interpretation of Brazilian newspaper *O Jornal do Brasil*, or *O Jornal*, and *Veja/Veja-Rio* reports. Brazilians look to the government to claim the rights to shelter, security, health and education, much as children depend upon parents or guardians to provide basic life necessities. The corruption that occurs is evidence of governmental failure and imperfection. As is generally the case in families, children struggle through the painful process of maturation and endure parental weaknesses and flaws, even in best-case scenarios.

The government is the family

Although manifest content can mislead, manifest content in these news reports sustain the overarching news frame "The government is the family." Those include "Shelter: No place like home;" "Security: Keep us safe and deliver us;" "Health: If you haven't got your health, you haven't got anything;" "Education: Please teach us;" and "Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government." Each theme will be explained as it is addressed and evidenced. Certainly, analysis of *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* reports indicates that Brazilians look to the government to claim the rights to shelter, security, health, and education. The corruption that is reported is evidence of

governmental failure and imperfection. Concern for shelter is a top priority of the people for their government.

Shelter: No place like home

“Shelter: No place like home” emerges from news reports as a chief concern for Brazilians on at least two levels. One regards the need for electricity. Another addresses housing.

Pertaining to the first, newspaper and newsmagazine accounts tell the story that Brazilians want government to be responsive to what has become a basic life necessity: electricity. About 12 million Brazilians live without it. This means no lights, no power to heat their homes in the winter, no means for cooking other than with gas, which is common, and so forth. Federal funding has been set aside since at least 2004, though, to satisfy this need through the program Luz Para Todos, or Lights for All. One of Pres. Lula’s popular re-election campaign promises in 2006, it ambitiously guaranteed basic electricity services to all Brazilians living without in the poorest of rural communities by 2008 (see *Veja*, June 6, 2007, p. 70). Brazilians are counting on government to deliver.

News reports indicate housing concerns split about two ways. One concerns a more privileged group of homeowners who guard their right to property or place along with opportunity to improve it. *O Jornal*’s Jan. 26, 2008, front-page article speaks directly to this. Without consulting its members — residents of one of Rio’s most affluent neighborhoods, the São Conrado district — a community association decided not to boycott an increase in an already large real estate tax (the Imposto Predial e Territorial Urbano, or IPTU). Inhabitants, who have been fighting against the increasing

depreciation of their neighborhood, echoed complaints as well as threatened action against government for the tax. It may not only be time to dismiss the local government they elected, but, as another source said, also raise state and federal attention “against all the ridiculous things that are happening in our nation (contra todas as coisas absurdas que estão acontecendo em nosso país).”

A second housing dilemma, according to news reports, is Brazilian favelas, or slum quarters, which remain contested areas. Favelas usually consist of decrepit shelter; they are poor-quality, crowded housing where shacks share walls, even roofs as floors and vice versa, power outlets — provided they have them. Favelas are often located on hillsides and can form when residents from the countryside come to cities in search of work or when large populations are displaced. Generally speaking, favelados or favela dwellers are among Brazil’s poorest people. They sometimes seem lucky to have shelter, compared with Brazil’s homeless population. People who live in or come from favelas are often looked down upon for their lowly station in life.

That doesn’t seem to justify Rio Governor Sérgio Cabral’s comments. One *Veja* article from the Oct. 31, 2007, issue quoted the governor as saying that favelas are marginalizing factories (fábricas de marginais). The reporter on the story points out that Gov. Cabral fails to separate the people from the poverty; it’s not that favelados are inherently bad, but the miserable conditions in which they tend to live that are bad. Those conditions include lack of reproductive counsel or assistance and can encourage crime and violence, including drug and gang warfare.

“Shelter: No place like home” is a manifest content theme that emerges from Brazilian press reports. It links the necessity for life’s basics, such as electricity and

housing, to a dependency on government to listen to that need and to provide, whether government officials want to or think kindly to. The warning cry sounding from news reports of a requirement for shelter protection connects news accounts with demands to the government for security.

Security: Keep us safe and deliver us

The second of five supports to the general news frame “The government is family” is “Security: Keep us safe and deliver us.” This dimension stemming from news reports advocates Brazilian entitlement to the government-protected right of security, regardless of where they live. Even tenants of temporary residencies, such as hotel guests, claim this privilege, as a front-page, *O Jornal* investigative piece from March 30, 2008, spotlights. This means Brazilians require elected officials — including Rio Governor Cabral — to guarantee freedom from crime and violence, drugs, even death.

Newspaper reports, like those found in the Jan. 7, 2007, issue, and newsmagazine special reports, like *Veja*’s Jan. 10, 2007, cover story, label and show evidence that crime and violence as “emergencies.” After three months researching, *Veja* reporters delivered “...41 pages [explaining] the largest facet of vassalage in urban Brazilian reality, the territorial dominion of vast city portions and the superiority of weaponry that gangsters have over the police”²⁹ (Jan. 10, 2007, p. 7). The largest part of the problem is the impunity criminals enjoy for several reasons. One is the system is flawed; murderers can turn themselves in hours after a kill and go home free, but shoplifters who are

²⁹ In the Portuguese: “...VEJA traz 41 páginas sobre a mais avassaladora faceta da realidade urbana brasileira, o domínio territorial de vastas porções das cidades e a superioridade de fogo dos bandidos sobre os policiais.”

immediately apprehended can spend months, even years in jail waiting to be tried (*Veja*, p. 48). Another is a corrupt police service described as “lenient” at best with cocaine dealers and other law offenders. A third is the formation of paramilitaries or drug gangs within favelas who run their own law systems not necessarily parallel with existing order.

Additional newspaper investigative reporting from May 15, 2007, muddies the morals of crime and violence; the cover story announces Pres. Lula’s administration’s efforts to again search for and uncover the bodies of 58 Araguaia guerrillas murdered in the early 1970s, which occurred during Brazil’s military dictatorship. The Araguaia guerrillas, from a branch of PCB, one of Brazil’s communist parties, participated in the Prolonged Popular War (Guerra Popular Prolongada) with the intent of pushing the military dictatorship out of and communism into power.

One of the largest issues the press notes in regard to crime and violence is drug-related. *O Jornal*, in its May 15, 2007, cover story highlights how drug dealers use the online social networking site Orkut to exhibit their arms, including machine guns, pistols, grenades, even hand-held weapons that can shoot down helicopters. However, *Veja* reports that the well-trained Batalhão de Operações Policiais Especiais, or Bope, for short, are equipped to help; the Brazilian SWAT team enters favelas to fight drug lords and protect innocent favelados (see *Veja-Rio*’s June 6, 2007, expose).

The seriousness of the drug problem is underscored by the press’ deliberation on various angles of the topic. Stories surround the people involved in the drug exchanges, drug operatives still being able to supervise and run their organizations from prison, and the various processes in place to annihilate perpetrators and the problem. In addition, the press tells the calmer, albeit more dramatic, personalized and impact-oriented, story. For

example, *Veja-Rio*'s Dec. 19, 2007, cover story tells the pain of middle-class parents whose children get into drugs. It highlights one 67-year-old mother's experience, how the group Narcotics Anonymous has helped her and her husband work through their three children's drug struggles. Another feature also points out signs to look for in children/teenagers to know if they're involved, further highlighting the growing problem that is repressed within the Rio community.

In addition to government demands from the people regarding safety from crime and violence plus drugs, is the explicit request for protection from death associated with public transportation. Vehicle safety, as *O Jornal*'s Sept. 20, 2007, issue points out, and railroads/commuter tracks or lack thereof, according to several July 18, 2007, *O Jornal* reports, are major concerns. But air safety is critical.

The Brazilian press had hotly followed the "crisis in Brazil's system of air transportation," as *Veja* termed it, since September 2006, when a Boeing GOL flight collided into a jet, killing all 154 onboard. For the next 10 months media called out, among other stories, unsuitable conditions of the São Paulo Congonhas airport, including poor organization that had resulted in chaotic layovers and dangerous construction conditions (see, for example, *O Jornal*'s May 15, 2007, issue). The press' foreshadows realized July 2007.

On July 17, 2007, TAM flight JJ3064 flying from the southern Brazilian city Porto Alegre to São Paulo made international headlines when it skidded on unfinished Congonhas tarmac, crashed into a building and exploded. All 176 passengers died. As the July 25, 2007, *Veja* letter to the reader, or editorial introduction to the issue, stated, "To the contrary of what idealists think, to fly with security, speed and comfort is not a luxury

reserved solely for elites. It is part of the right of all citizens to go and to come” (p. 9). Strong investigative reporting accompanied Pres. Lula’s accelerated efforts to overhaul ANAC, Brazil’s National Aviation Agency, and the process his ultimately-approved appointee Solange Vieira went through to replace then-president Milton Zuanazzi (see, for example, *O Jornal*’s Sept. 20, 2007, issue).

Amid the dismal stories regarding crime and violence, drugs and death, hope lives in proposed press solutions. Within one week of Cabral assuming his new position as governor of Rio, *O Jornal* reported his stated plan for decreasing Rio crime and violence. The news judged Cabral’s measures as necessary for the city, since residents and visitors have twice the risk of being shot by a stray bullet than of winning the federal lottery (*Veja-Rio*, April 18, 2007, cover story). Cabral’s action plan included direction to create a new security force for state schools and merging reassigned police beats with experienced forces to double protection effectiveness. This is one example of many. Almost every special feature Brazilian journalists produce ends with bulleted, plausible solutions to the problem on which they’re reporting. The press appears to prescribe remedies to the nation’s problems.

Health: If you haven’t got your health, you haven’t got anything

Another prioritized issue upon which the Brazilian people call on their government via the press for aid is health. Regarding health, the third element of the larger news frame “The government is family,” the press promotes the notion that “If you haven’t got your health, you haven’t got anything.” Three areas materializing from close

inspection of news reports amplify this theme. Those include concerns with medical facilities, a status report on dengue fever, and physical appearance.

When one is sick, having a person to turn to and a place to go to for aid are essential. After only one week in office, Rio Gov. Cabral was called on to report his immediate plans for two emergency issues, namely security, as discussed, and health. *O Jornal* wrote in its Jan. 7, 2007, issue that Cabral had been visiting Rio hospitals and offered a plan for renovating the system. The plan included re-locating hospitals from old, dilapidated buildings and unsafe areas to better locations, as in the case of Instituto São Sebastião, and specializing them, like turning Anchieta Hospital into a physical therapy center. Cabral also planned to increase staff availability in certain hospitals to 24 hours. In these ways, although access is “complicated,” Cabral is quoted as promising that the “area of infection would diminish” (“O acesso é complicado... A área de infectologia vai sair de lá”).

Brazilian news reports also address other health matters. One of the most serious is dengue fever, a mosquito-born disease with no prescribable treatment. News reports detailing the status of the disease, where there are increases of it, what areas are successfully containing it, how individuals have survived it, dot the news sample (see, for example, the May 15, 2007, and March 30, 2008, *O Jornal* issues). Reports of dengue far outweigh other large health issues, such as diabetes. For instance, *Veja* dedicates a special report to it, suggesting the cure for diabetes is surgical (see their Oct. 31, 2007, edition).

In addition to public apprehension regarding medical facilities and dengue containment, news reports highlight obsession with beauty. This topic surfaces through repeat stories on fitness, fitness tips, fitness products and people being arrested for selling

illegal medications to lose weight (see *O Jornal*'s Sept. 20, 2007, p. A7 article). Plastic surgery articles are also abundant. Physical appearance seems a common press topic.

Underlying all health reports is the Brazilians' insistence on government producing a satisfactory law protecting their right to good-quality of life. An additional component for the good life is education. The Brazilian press is extremely concerned with the national status of education.

Education: Please teach us

News reports indicate that the people need education. This is the fourth leg of the larger news frame, "The government is the family." It is also one of the most crucial. According to *Veja*'s Feb. 13, 2008, edition, education is Brazil's worst enemy.

Repeat articles in both *O Jornal* and *Veja* signify education is a red-flag issue, with *Veja* emphasizing it has called attention to this issue for 40 years. Many solutions are offered, dismissed, reconsidered, analyzed, such as what to do with teachers' salaries (see, for example, *Veja*'s Feb. 13, 2008, report on their interview with São Paulo's Education Secretary Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro). Lack of education regulation is blamed for much of Rio's crime and violence (see, for example, *O Jornal*'s May 15, 2007, issue).

Among the gloomy reports, two positive points rise. One is the media's opinion and attitude that Brazil has never had so many tools to reverse the crisis. For instance, old buildings in Rio, a university city with an academic tradition and already home to 50,000 students, have been renovated and converted into new college campuses (see *Veja-Rio*'s

Feb. 28, 2007, feature). Another is the school Instituto Dom Barreto de Teresina³⁰ taking first place in the national exam of medicine teaching, setting the standard for how universities can improve. Its success stems from its professors being constantly trained, receiving incentives and being accountable (see *Veja*'s Feb. 28, 2007, edition). As the press points out, it seems all Brazilians would hope that their leaders were transparent and responsible for their public actions and responsibilities.

Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government

As Brazilians look to their government to claim rights to shelter, security, health and education, government failures and imperfections scream out. Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government is the fifth facet of the larger news frame "The government is the family." Like a stain-glassed window, corruption the press details has many colors.

The Brazilian press reports in *Veja*'s April 2, 2008, edition that secrecy in government dealings doesn't last very long. Reports of dishonesty, bribery, fraud³¹ and distortion Brazilian leaders perform blotch every media piece of this sample. Getting Brazilians into and maintaining power is a jaded process, since many politicians benefit from illegal donations to their campaigns (*O Jornal*, May 15, 2007).

O Jornal says in its Sept. 20, 2007, issue that 77 percent of all federal government transactions have some kind of irregularity. That high degree of malfunction annually costs Brazil upward of R5 billion. Concerns surrounding extravagant, unaccounted for

³⁰ This institution is a private school. That means limited access. For more information, see, for example, the article found at <http://educacao.terra.com.br/interna/0,,OI1432875-EI3588,00.html>. Retrieved Aug. 10, 2009.

³¹ April 18, 2007, edition: Justiça: Fraude em obra do Ministério Público.

and misdirected government spending shout from news pages. They contrast calls for more fund allocation to needed social programs in Rio (see in particular *O Jornal*, March 12, 2007, p. A5) as well as federal programs including Bolsa Família, or Family Grant Program, Pres. Lula's flagship social program in support of his "Zero Hunger" initiative (same citation, p. A4). A heralded cash-transfer program, Family Grant Program has been accredited with significantly helping to reduce poverty through providing financial aid to poor and indigent families on the condition that children must attend school and be vaccinated.

The largest element of government corruption touted in news reports is misuse of government credit cards. *Veja's* Feb. 13, 2008, exposé on the political shopping spree indicates that bureaucrats spend public funds on personal pleasures without limits and without rules; they spend 14 times more than even corporate executives using corporate accounts, which is also suspect. The top ten spenders are members of Pres. Lula's administration and are on record as having enjoyed R11.6 million since Pres. Lula took office in 2003. Purchases include family hotel bills in Rio during Carnaval, Brazilian precious stones, fine chocolates and meals. The top ten are among 7,000 public figures having a good time on the public's dime; in 2007, their bills totaled R180 million (*Veja*, April 2, 2008).

In theory, public funds accountability exists, since at least two regulatory bodies perform audits on government spending: the Secretary of Internal Control of the President of the Republic along with the Tribunal of Union Accounts. When these bodies perform their functions, corrupt officials can suffer the consequences of being removed from office (*Veja*, Feb. 28, 2007, edition) or even incarcerated (*O Jornal*, Nov. 23, 2007).

Corruption: No ones' perfect, especially not the government, is the final aspect of the larger news frame "The government is the family." Although children can't typically choose their relatives, electorates have the opportunity to vote officials in and out of office. Those who are in office are constantly under the media's scrutiny, as *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* reports notify. Just as children hope their parents will make the best decisions to guide them, Brazilians desire their leaders to make responsible choices. This hope for the Brazilian family to constantly improve rises from reports. For example, *Veja* editors write, situations better and solutions develop "...as authorities act with intelligence, courage and persistence" (Jan. 10, 2007, p. 7).

This chapter has explained one salient latent news frame that emerges from a framing interpretation of Brazilian news reports, "The government is the new family." Five themes hold up the overarching concept, empowering it to be an organizing principle that is shared and persistent over time although it may not be directly observable or explicitly stated in news reports. Those include Shelter: No place like home; Security: Keep us safe and deliver us; Health: If you haven't got your health, you haven't got anything; Education: Please teach us; and Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government. Brazilian newspaper and newsmagazine reports tell the story of how Brazilians claim rights to shelter, security, health and education through their government. While enough evidence exists to flame hope in leaders taking care of their people, dependents complain about the good that fails to be done when a few benefit from the many; government corruption lassos Brazilian growth and development, stalling

and sometimes canceling program effectiveness or the “family”’s ability to deliver on basic rights.

Of what importance is the news frame “The government is the family”? In addition to playing into political theory of government being paternalistic, this notion is culturally entrenched. Brazil has a long history of patron-client relationships stemming from colonial days and Brazil’s political formation, spilling into current affairs, events and relationships (Valença, 1999). Patron-client relationships tie also into Brazilian notions of national identity. The manufacturing of Brazilian identity is an intricate process in which the press plays a prominent part. As will later be more fully-addressed, identity development is also an (inter)national industry. National identity is a commodity Brazilian media moguls have capitalized on. They call it social merchandising.

What does this Brazilian “family” look like? What is a “typical Brazilian family?” The second news frame, “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial,” speaks directly to this.

CHAPTER 7: News Frame II: Brazilian Democracy is More Social than Racial

Veja's June 6, 2007, cover story features identical twin brothers categorized as racially different; although no physical distinction seems discernible from the photo, one was said to be black, and his brother was said to be white. The article details the educational doors that "race judges" at the University of Brasília who made this subjective distinction based on their interpretation of the twins' skin color have opened and closed for each brother. The twins' story backdrops a national interminable ferment regarding race in Brazil. This story references the national affirmative action debate noted in Chapter 4.

As press reports indicate, the discussion about race in Brazil is not so much textual or verbalized as it is missing, silent or visually represented. Issues of gender and class are much more prominent in the printed national discourse. In other words, at the most basic framing level, class and/or gender are more emphasized than race³². This has to do with the national ideology of racial democracy discussed in Chapter 4. This chapter addresses the second of two salient latent news frames that surface from a framing analysis of news coverage prior to and during TV Globo's broadcast of *Duas Caras*: "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial." This frame is deeply embedded in Brazilian culture; it intertwines race, gender and class in a complex and dynamic consideration within Brazilian social mobility and social inclusion.

The frame "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial" is defined to mean that while class and gender may make upward social mobility and social inclusion

³² I owe this insight to Dr. Steve Reese.

possibilities, race can stymie progression. As in the case of the preceding news frame, this is also a salient, latent news frame. Press reports and photos evidence this.

A Brief Note on Social Democracy

In its most rudimentary sense, social democracy is a democratic welfare state that incorporates both capitalist and socialist practices³³. While a complete analysis of the social tenets of Brazilian democracy might be helpful in fleshing out this frame, it is a digression from this study's purpose. It may also seem improper, since Brazil classifies itself as a federal republic. But this allusion must be made for reasons of fact and fiction.

Regarding fact, two points bubble up. One is that through the election process, Brazilians have chosen a socialist president. And not once, but twice; as popularity rankings evidence, Brazilians are unprecedentedly pleased with President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva³⁴, although his party, Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers' Party) or PT, has been beset by corruption charges. Pres. Lula is the founder of Brazil's PT, a politically leftist party he formed during Brazil's military dictatorship years. The success of his party and ideals is in fact ironic, given Brazil's coup against former-Pres. Goulart and his administration's suspected move to communism. It should also be noted that Pres. Lula's predecessor, former-Pres. Cardoso, was also a social democrat. Cardoso served two terms, and Pres. Lula has, unlike other Brazilian politicians, carried over and augmented

³³ Retrieved June 8, 2009, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/social+democracy>.

³⁴ See, for example, a Reuters article citing his popularity at 70 percent (retrieved June 18, 2009, from <http://www.reuters.com/article/JackDaniels/idUSN0534620081205>). Also, *O Jornal* reported his popularity at 73 percent March 30, 2008, p. A10. These rankings are the highest any president has been favored since the military dictatorship ended in 1985.

many of the programs Cardoso put into action. This is unique, given the common practice of newly instated Brazilian leaders of at least attempting to re-invent if not erase the previous system once in power³⁵.

Another factual point needing consideration is that while in power, Pres. Lula has enacted social policies. Some, like Bolsa Família, or Family Grant Program, which was briefly addressed in the preceding chapter, have been extremely successful (inter)nationally. The Family Grant Program has been flagged in news reports as an international model of how to transition the poor from poverty in less than a generation. Others, like Luz Para Todos, or Lights for All, as discussed in the previous chapter, are ablaze with fraud allegations of where the funding has really gone.

As will be further analyzed in forthcoming chapters regarding *Duas Caras*' frames and the intertextuality the telenovela demonstrates with news frames, social democracy is foundational; it underlies the establishment of the model favela Portelinha in *Duas Caras* and how Juvenal Antena, its founder and leader, governs the fictitious establishment.

As fundamental as social democracy may be to this discussion, it clouds the century-plus-old and perhaps one of the most important social conflicts within Brazil: the ongoing battle for equality among races.

Again, how press reports visually and textually frame this subject indicates that while class and gender may make upward social mobility and social inclusion possibilities, race stymies progression. It is important to keep in mind that race in Brazil is strongly associated with one's skin pigmentation. Three themes comprise the

³⁵ This insight stems from a conversation with Dr. Joseph Straubhaar on July 12, 2009, in Austin, Texas.

overarching news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” Those themes are “Race in Brazil: It matters if you’re black or white,” “Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up” and “Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning.”

Race in Brazil: It matters if you’re black or white

The salient latent news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial” is strongly inferred from three manifest content themes. The first regards race. News analysis shows that skin color is a societal key to possibilities for at least social progression; it matters in Brazil if one is black or white or brown³⁶. This finding surfaces from a merged cultural understanding of news text and news photos. As will be explained, it is questionable whether or not the absence of (reference to) race in the news is to be praised or not. Additionally, deeper news photos analysis whispers that unless Afro-Brazilians are contributing to Brazilian culture in their traditional ways of music, sports, dance and other normalized black Brazilian behavior, they are not responsible elected officials. Much of the detail that follows has been back dropped by the discussion of racial democracy found in Chapter 4.

The Eerie Absence of Race: To be praised, or not to be praised

Excluding Nigeria, Brazil is home to the largest black population in the world. This fact would lead one to assume that persons of African descent would have a direct, leading voice in a nation where their presence is seemingly so prevalent. However, if one

³⁶ In Brazil, the actual term is “pardo.” I use “brown,” which is the understanding associated with “pardo,” in an effort to keep the color metaphor clear. Both refer to mixtures of black and brown.

were to define “directly” to mean attribution in some degree to or acknowledgement of one’s race, this is not the case in Brazil. Any reference to race is stripped from news reports. Texts are race-less; save one article, no press report in this sample directly addresses race.

Lack of journalistic reference to race could be positively understood as evidence that Brazil is advanced in its notion of racial democracy, as discussed in Chapter 4. Race is in no way associated with any events reported in the written news. All races seem equal; Brazilians, regardless of color, experience life with its ups and downs. However, critics note that race *does* matter in Brazil and race-blind reporting just masks that.

Text and photo messages clash. Removing text from newspaper and newsmagazine, observers see a Brazil different from what is reported; colorless stories become colorful. Photos of groups — I will come back to individual photos — seem to largely show people of color in bad situations, in working conditions and as crime committers. For example, the lead story on the cover of *O Jornal*’s Jan. 7, 2007, paper shows a boat of brown men and women in knee-deep water. The caption below the photo states, “In Campos, the river South Paraiba overflowed and residents were rescued by boats.” Similarly, *O Jornal*’s July 18, 2007, cover story on Rio de Janeiro’s Santos Dumont Airport fire has a revealing accompanying photo; the workers waiting outside to clean up the mess — as indicated by the logos on the backs of their uniforms — are brown. Again, Brazilians working to unearth and collect guerrillas’ corpses — a story touched upon in the previous chapter — are brown and black (*O Jornal*, May 15, 2007, p. A3). In *Veja*’s Jan. 10, 2007, special on crime, prison convicts are photographed. Dramatic hands and feet reaching from overfilled jail cells are brown and black (see same issue, pp. 48-

49). Militia operatives fighting crime in the favelas are brown and black (see same issue, p. 53). In a sea of seated, bare-backed, backs-to-the-camera shot of Febem prison inmates, only one man's skin is lighter than all the others, but it is questionable if he's white or light-brown (see same issue, pp. 80-81). Not even the statistics associated with the crimes mention race. The news is saturated with additional examples of visual references to black or brown people in negative situations.

Non-white people do, however, appear in happier photos, although these are few. Cover stories announcing triumphant soccer victories feature brown- and black-skinned legends, like Romário (see *O Jornal*, March 12, 2007, cover). Coverage of Carnival — Brazil's largest annual internationally acclaimed party — shows brown-skinned women gearing up for festivities (*O Jornal*, Jan. 26, 2007, cover). And one *Veja-Rio* cover spotlights Rio as a university city, with brown- and white-skinned students photographed studying and smiling together (Feb. 28, 2007).

Perhaps this is noteworthy journalism, where hard reporting has moved beyond reference to race. But the absence of spoken or noted race seems unnatural, given it occurs in a nation so proud of its mixed and continually mixing heritage; inter-racial marriage is increasing in Brazil, adding to its process of "whitening," as noted in Chapter 4. The question rises, Where *are* the whites? How is their story visually told? Further, what is learned when photos of individuals are observed? Are black Brazilians individually represented? If so, how?

Doing their thing, or making trouble

Summarily, in individual news photos, Brazil's white population is over represented, its mixed or mulatto population is underrepresented, and its black population is arguably about-equally represented. The visual representation of persons appearing in the news is extremely informative. Differences exist between media, with the newsmagazine delivering a more realistic imagery than the newspaper. Taken together, the individual representation of Brazil through news photos of persons powerfully reinforces the myth of racial democracy and undermines what should be assumed to be objective news text. Even worse, Afro-Brazilians contribute to culture in traditional ways, or they seem to make political trouble. This challenges the seriousness of their contribution to Brazilian society, marginalizing how they can effectively give.

When considering *O Jornal's* photo coverage, white men and women dominate. Males comprise 83 percent of the individual newspaper photos, and females trail with 16 percent. White persons horde 96 percent of total newspaper coverage. Chart 3 below details a general count of men and women photographed from about their waists up³⁷.

CHART 3: Newspaper Photo Composition

O Jornal Visual Racial & Gender Representation

	<i>White (%)</i>	<i>Unsure/Brown (%)</i>	<i>Black (%)</i>	TOTAL (%)
<i>Men</i>	75 (95)	1 (1)	3 (4)	79 (83)
<i>Women</i>	16 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	16 (16)
TOTAL	91 (96)	1 (1)	3 (3)	95

** Photos of men and women from about their waists up — not full body — are counted.*

³⁷ This was done to broaden the definition of a headshot, resulting in a larger sample of photos.

Taking *Veja/Veja-Rio*'s photography into account, the numbers are slightly more revealing; the newsmagazine gives more attention to persons of color, gender aside. Whereas *O Jornal* gave 1 percent of its photo coverage to individuals of mixed color, *Veja/Veja-Rio* focused on them 6 percent of the time. *Veja/Veja-Rio* also gave more attention to black individuals than *O Jornal*, conferring 10 percent of its overall coverage to black Brazilians compared with *O Jornal*'s 3 percent. However, white individuals maintain their majority in *Veja/Veja-Rio*'s photo coverage, monopolizing 84 percent of photo space. Chart 4 follows with the specifics.

CHART 4: Newsmagazine Photo Composition

Veja/Veja-Rio Visual Racial & Gender Representation

	<i>White (%)</i>	<i>Unsure/Brown (%)</i>	<i>Black (%)</i>	TOTAL (%)
<i>Men</i>	120 (88)	4 (3)	13 (9)	137 (70)
<i>Women</i>	44 (75)	8 (14)	7 (12)	59 (30)
TOTAL	164 (84)	12 (6)	20 (10)	196

- *Photos of men and women of about their waists up — not full body — are counted.*

Mingling newspaper and newsmagazine photo space together allows for a more holistic consideration of race in individuals' news photographs. More precisely, the numbers in Chart 5 below show that while only 54 percent of Brazil's population is white³⁸, 88 percent of people in the news is white. While 39 percent of Brazil's population is mulatto or mixed white and black, 4 percent of persons appearing in the

³⁸ These numbers are according the Brazil's 2000 census, IBGE. CIA World Factbook: white 53.7 percent, mulatto (mixed white and black) 38.5 percent, black 6.2 percent, other (includes Japanese, Arab, Amerindian) 0.9 percent, unspecified 0.7 percent. Again, these numbers are contestable, given the lack of definition for "blackness," blacks underreporting or dually-reporting, as noted in Chapter 4.

joint news sample is. And while 6 percent of Brazil's population is black, 8 percent of featured persons is black. To restate, the news photos of men and women taken from about their waists up are heavily skewed toward a white male majority.

CHART 5: Overall News Photo Composition

Total News Visual Racial & Gender Representation

	<i>White (%)</i>	<i>Unsure/Brown (%)</i>	<i>Black (%)</i>	TOTAL (%)
<i>Men</i>	195 (90)	5 (2)	16 (7)	216 (74)
<i>Women</i>	60 (80)	8 (11)	7 (9)	75 (26)
TOTAL	255 (88)	13 (4)	23 (8)	291

- *Photos of men and women of about their waists up — not full body — are counted.*

Perhaps one could argue that the news sample is more heavily geared toward political news coverage, considering the *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* sample set. This being the case, the findings are even more supportive of the myth of racial democracy; white persons *and* Brazilian males dominate the majority of governing positions.

What kinds of people comprise the photos of blacks in the news sample?

Subtracting international figures like Barack Obama and Oprah Winfrey, the photos are culturally significant. Sports figures like soccer striker Obina, minor actors and actresses, and featured star musicians like Milton Nascimento and Sandra de Sá jazz up the news. Sports, TV/film and music are gigantic industries within Brazil, giving the nation its own unique flair and flavor. Promotion of these individuals has, as previously explained, helped stay the tide of American culturalism within Brazil and added to Brazil's successful creation and propagation of its own (inter)national Brazilianization.

A shady current also flows through the coverage. A black captured drug lord along with a black cocaine harvester is featured. This finding is particularly striking,

since no white persons are individually associated in the visual photography with drug production or apprehension.³⁹ This further cements white rule over black. The two black female politicians spotlighted are being accused of or investigated for fraud. Matilde Ribeiro, the former Special Secretary for the Promotion of Racial Equality, reportedly spent R171,500 of personal funds on her federal credit card (see *Veja*, Feb. 13, 2008, p. 55). And Erenice Guerra, executive secretary to Dilma Rousseff, Brazil's first female Chief of Staff and the leading PT candidate to run as Pres. Lula's 2010 replacement, was entangled in 13 pages of suspicious expenses for Ms. Rousseff (see *Veja*, April 2, 2008, pp. 56-60). And the single black male politician shown — Orlando Silva, the Minister of Sports — is divulged as the third largest spender of public funds in the federal government credit card scandal (see *Veja*, Feb. 13, 2008, p. 55). The message appears clear: Unless blacks are culturally contributing to Brazil, they're making trouble.

However, straddling the Afro-Brazilian contributions and cultural costs individual photographs represent is Gilberto Gil. When his white wife-of-almost-30-years, Flora Gil, is profiled in *Veja*'s Sept. 12, 2007, issue, Gil is noted for his historic musical and political contribution to Brazil. A famous singer, lyricist and guitarist, Gil served in Pres. Lula's administration as Brazil's Minister of Culture from 2003-2008. Gil is noted to have matured past his crazy younger days, during which he was jailed for incidents like marijuana possession. Given at least his unmatched success, Gil seems outside the boundaries of normalized negative Afro-Brazilian behavior.

³⁹ However, three gentlemen — two white, namely Cristiano Girão and Josinaldo da Cruz, and one brown, namely Geiso Turques — oversee the military groups that “increasingly lack virtue” in their attempts to clean out Rio's favelas (see *Veja*, Jan. 10, 2007, p. 54).

This explanation has attended to the first of the three legs of the larger latent news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” It addresses the cloak of Brazil, as suggested in Chapter 4: race. News analysis concretely demonstrates that skin color is a societal influencer; it matters particularly in Brazil if one is black or white. This finding is embedded in combined interpretation of news text and news photos. Its tenets are important and interesting. While news text may not call out sentiment that Afro-Brazilians are marginalized into particular kinds of societal contributions, news photos do. They also say (fe)male Afro-Brazilians who are in power cannot be trusted elected officials. The inference is that race hampers one’s opportunity for progression. It is an entirely different case, however, for gender.

Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up

According to the 2008 CIA World Factbook, Brazil’s population is about 51 percent female⁴⁰ and women have a slighter higher life expectancy than men (76 years compared with 68)⁴¹. Women have been legally equal to men since Brazil’s 1988 Constitution, and legislation has been enacted to force gender equity in politics. Currently, women comprise 56 percent of college students in Brazil⁴². However, as noted in the topic specific literature review appearing earlier in this study, Brazilian women continue to experience disadvantaged pay and career options, although they lead Latin America in feminist movements.

⁴⁰ Information retrieved June 22, 2009, from http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/brazil/brazil_people.html.

⁴¹ Information retrieved June 22, 2009, from <http://worldfacts.us/Brazil.htm>.

⁴² Information retrieved June 22, 2009, from <http://www.brazzilmag.com/content/view/5380/>.

This section explains the second of the three legs supporting the news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” It blends the textual and visual representation of females in Brazilian news reports. Generally speaking, Brazilian women appearing in the news have power through their beauty or their position, and sometimes both. The three tenets of this dimension of the general news frame are “Rewards of Brazilian beauty,” “Brazilian power’s feminine side,” and “Best of all worlds.”

Rewards of Brazilian beauty

As previously noted, Brazil is a nation where beauty is worshipped. Plastic surgery is often discussed and praised in news reports. Working out and workout tips are often profiled even in newsmagazines. Sheik and hip clothing styles and prices are advertised regularly in two-page weekly *Veja-Rio* spreads. Many of the women taking space in news do so because they are beauties. This holds true for both the newspaper and newsmagazine sample.

Cases of beautiful Brazilian women accenting news abound. *Veja-Rio*’s Oct. 31, 2007, cover features the former Brazilian Miss Universe Natália Guimarães and her story, including her rise to Miss Universe and her daily workout routine. *Veja-Rio*’s Jan. 10, 2007, cover highlights two lovely actresses for their upcoming roles in “Macbeth” and “The Little Prince.” *O Jornal*’s Jan. 7, 2007, Sunday paper has a special insert dedicated to female fashion and beauty, as does its March 30, 2008, issue. It might be interesting to note that the first insert precedes one with a not-so-attractive older white male — Willian Andrade — profiled for his powerful role with Brazil’s TV Globo. Additional *Veja* (Sept. 12, 2007) and *Veja-Rio* (April 2, 2008) covers draw attention to women advancing in the

career force; the former cover shows a woman in a business suit walking up a ladder, and the latter features 26-year-old Flavia Elias, who is preparing to enter the growing real-estate industry. In fact, of three *Veja* and six *Veja-Rio* covers with humans (several are graphics), a total of six of the nine, or 67 percent, spotlight women.

It is arguable whether or not beautiful Brazilian women claiming news space via text or photo is any indication of power, even in beauty-centric Brazil. This is particularly questionable since hard news stories either in the newspaper or the newsmagazine do not feature women for their beauty; they are add-ons, appendages, or second-thoughts. Generally, the women found in photographs accompanying hard-news are columnists, societal leaders or women of international repute, like Hillary Rodham Clinton. Their presence indicates Brazilian politics has a strong feminine side.

Brazilian power's feminine side

Although female representation in Brazilian power lags compared to population and other Latin American countries, news reports detail the participation of women in society and politics. Women are entering professions traditionally reserved for men, like those of real-estate and civil engineering (*Veja*, April 2, 2008). The tapping of Solange Viera as Pres. Milton Zuanazzi's replacement in ANAC, Brazil's federal aviation agency held responsible for the TAM flight tragedy of July 2007, is well documented (see, for example, *O Jornal*'s Sept. 20, 2007, issue). Marta Suplicy, a member of Pres. Lula's party, the PT, received attention for her role as the Brazilian Minister of Tourism and rumors-turned-truths regarding her candidacy and election as mayor of São Paulo. Although Dilma Rousseff has suspicious accounts, as noted earlier, the economist and

politician receives much media attention given her political prominence as Brazil's first female Chief of Staff.

Occasionally, female politicians enter the limelight for their creativity and strength as well as their femininity. Kátia Abreu, Brazil's first female vice president of Brazil's Confederation of Agriculture and Cattle Breeding and senator from the Brazilian state Tocantins, is such a woman. Among key political victories, she is known for her efforts to secure better health care for women and do away with the Contribuição Provisória Sobre Movimentação Financeira, or the CPMF, a highly controversial excise tax. Senator Abreu is also known for her six-inch red heels, fishnet hose, large hoop earrings and trendy fashion, as the three additional photos to her *Veja* Dec. 19, 2007, story accentuate (see pp. 84-85).

Senator Abreu is an interesting lady. Her presence in politics shows that beautiful Brazilian women can attain power and make significant contributions to Brazil's governance and progress. They can have the best of all worlds.

Best of all worlds

While both *O Jornal* and *Veja/Veja-Rio* stories feature women for their beauty and in their power, *Veja/Veja-Rio* allocates more space to women who combine both beauty and position. For instance, *Veja* has a unique June 2007 publication devoted solely to women. It focuses, among other topics, on the ten most powerful women in the world: Hillary Rodham Clinton, J.K. Rowling, Anna Wintour, Oprah Winfrey, Madonna, Condoleezza Rice, Angela Merkel, Melinda Gates, Angelina Jolie and Brazilian international super model Gisele Bündchen.

Another element of women in power is that of place, like the great ladies of Rio de Janeiro culture. As one news example, *Veja-Rio* profiles Carmen Mayrink Veiga, “the symbol of Carioca [or Rio] high society” in its July 25, 2007, publication. Distinctively, Ms. Veiga represents a cultural standard, a certain style of etiquette, a pomp-and-circumstance decorum for Brazil’s elite. This diva is portrayed through text and luxurious photos as a living guide for how to live life correctly and glamorously.

This section’s intent has been to delineate the news’ exemplification of women’s recent progressive steps forward within Brazil. News text and photos show women have prominence because of their beauty, politics and position; women enjoy “Rewards of Brazilian beauty,” demonstrate “Brazilian power’s feminine side,” and some have the “Best of all worlds.” These manifest content components are obvious. When considered within Brazil’s cultural, social and political context, they infer the larger latent salient news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.”

Two points require mentioning. One is that other women are also present in the news. Mothers are interviewed, talked about and shown because they have lost children to drugs as well as to stray Rio de Janeiro bullets. Hard news stories single out and post pictures of female gang members who participate in Orkut, the social networking site Brazilian drug gangs use as a show of force prison (see *O Jornal*, May 15, 2007). Additional stories call attention to female inmates claiming rights of freedom from sexual abuse in prison (see *O Jornal*, Nov. 23, 2007, p. A12).

Another point from this news sample reflects back to the racial democracy ideology. In this news sample, more photos of minority women in power exist than of

Afro-Brazilian men. This visual representation indicates that gender trumps race; more Afro-Brazilian women are shown as being in power than Afro-Brazilian men, even if they are all newsworthy for suspicious behavior. This may also indicate a greater marginalization of black men than black women.

The final beam of the news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial” is that of class, or socio-economic status. Particularly within Brazil, money means more.

Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning

An interview with Harvard Professor and psychologist Howard Gardner in *Veja*’s July 25, 2007, issue points out everyone has natural intelligence. Granted, the world’s Pablo Picassos and Albert Einsteins explore more areas of their brains and are gifted; genius is rare. But every human being has a certain degree or amount of talent. Intelligence can be harvested, and the human condition can be improved.

The underlying message from *Veja*’s article profoundly addresses another foundational principle of Brazilian culture — class ascension. Dr. Gardner’s interview normalizes the basic person, making possible an ideal Brazilian who can seek to do and have better than s/he currently enjoys. It just takes effort and access. Supposedly anyone can achieve it.

This section addresses the third and more prevalent support of the larger news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” That component is “Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning.” As discussed in Chapter 4, class in Brazil is measured based on a combination of household goods, occupation and highest education

level achieved. News reports tell and photos underscore that “Education opens doors,” “Careers provide impetus” and “The new middle class is the place to be,” since “Treasures and treats are abundant.”

Education opens doors

The previous chapter addressed the crisis situation of Brazilian education and some ambitions to correct it. As noted, this is a basic right Brazilians call on their government for, since it is one of the largest keys to providing a better future for individuals. Additional news reports and photos yell at Brazilians telling them that regardless of the system’s flaws, getting their education opens doors.

Veja-Rio’s Feb. 28, 2007, issue is all about how Rio’s youth are taking advantage of buildings newly renovated for the explicit purpose of providing more educational opportunities for Brazilians. The corresponding photos show young men and women sitting at desks with pen and paper ready to study and learn (cover); other young adults sitting in a computer lab classroom setting all looking in the same direction (pp. 14-15), that likely being some form of instruction; (fe)male students of various ages with backpacks staying after class (pp. 16-17) and on their way to class (p. 18, p. 20). These pictures reinforce that getting your education is the thing to do; everyone’s doing it.

In addition to the classroom, students of all ages must deliver indicators other than a graduation certificate that they are educated. For instance, one needs to write and speak Portuguese “certo,” or correctly. The Portuguese language is transitioning. *Veja*’s Sept. 12, 2007, focus lists “Ten Language Sins” (p. 91), the current buzz words and phrases with their wrong old and correct new connotations and denotations. The article

categorizes success levels based upon language mastery; executives own 50,000 words or more, managers and superintendents possess 5,000 to 50,000 vocabularies, and supervisors and sector chiefs can muster up to 5,000 words (p. 89). How words are written in Brazilian Portuguese — which accents used when — is also a discussion point (p. 94). Computer skills are a must. These are all criteria of a strong, individual social and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1994) needed to survive and thrive.

Education opens doors. The more command of the Portuguese language one possesses, the greater one's potential salary. Brazilian Portuguese is at once political and generational. Securing these skills now is necessary for personal leadership and advancement opportunities. Classroom education and continued professional development underlie one's career. These ideas resonate through press reports.

Careers provide impetus

News reports and photos indicate this is an exciting time to be Brazilian. With the recent downturn in the American economy, the Brazilian real or monetary unit is having a chance, arguably, to flex its own (inter)national muscles. The news reports and photos evidence economic benefits in at least three ways.

One way is increase in professional opportunity. *Veja-Rio*'s April 2, 2008, issue details the real estate boom. It lauds 36 job openings per day, with the demand for real-estate agents and civil engineers having exploded 400 percent in two years and salaries increasing an average of 30 percent the last three years (pp. 16-24). Buildings look new, innovative and classy. *Veja*'s Dec. 19, 2007, issue also points out that the economy is

calling for all engineers (p. 144). And as *Veja*'s Oct. 31, 2007, letter to the readers heralds, the car industry is also on the upswing.

Discussion surrounding entrepreneurship also substantiates news reports confirming positive career opportunities along with economic growth. *Veja*'s Sept. 12, 2007, interview with lawyer João Geraldo Piquet Carneiro demonstrates his action toward diminishing red tape for citizens' benefit; one of his law firm's goals it to rewrite legislation that will simplify the paper surrounding and allow Brazils to open a business in one day (pp. 11, 14-15).

A third notion associated with career that is debated in the press is negotiations with China. This topic is important to mention in this news findings chapter, since it is a theme that pops up during *Duas Caras*, as will be further noted in Chapter 11. Two sides are presented. One, such as *Veja*'s Jan. 10, 2007, interview with Renault and Nissan President and CEO Carlos Ghosn, indicates Brazil has a lot to gain from how China conducts its business. A second steers Brazilian business away from any negotiations with China. In *O Jornal*'s March 12, 2007, main editorial, the one in four Brazilian businessmen who do business directly with China are encouraged to walk away and re-invest in Brazilian-made products. Reasons include the frightening expansion of China into the U.S., Middle Eastern, African and Latin American markets, resulting in Brazil's loss of ground on the international trading floor. Doing business with China in the short and long terms could prove more harmful than helpful to Brazil.

Career decisions, be they choices in which profession to enter, opening a business or with whom to conduct business, are a strong thread of Brazil's class tapestry as woven by the press. They provide personal as well as national impetus, forcing social mobility.

As businessman Antônio Ermírio de Moraes writes in his *O Jornal* opinion piece: “No doubt, Brazil will be one of the nations with the largest future of our planet” (Jan. 7, 2007, p. A9). Wherever an individual may be in the pecking order, it appears that the new middle class is the hot seat.

The new middle class is the place to be

Education and career choices appear to have paid positive dividends to individual Brazilians. In two years, 20 million Brazilians left poverty and joined 66 million other hard-working Brazilians in a new station of life (*Veja*, April 2, 2008, p. 83). With 86 million Brazilians forming “Class C,” the new middle class has become Brazil’s largest socio-economic group in the nation. Brazil’s class demarcation was addressed in Chapter 4. The press dedicates a significant amount of space to Brazil’s “dominant” class and forecasts the market phenomenon is the power that will revolutionize the Brazilian market, if it hasn’t already.

The middle class’ establishment and stabilization stems from increased job opportunity in Brazil. Unemployment in Brazil is down to the lowest it has been in 22 years (cover story, *O Jornal*, Nov. 23, 2007). The government benefits from increased revenue through new middle class taxes and a larger paying populace. And although the middle class is required to pay upward of four months of an annual salary in taxes (see the cover story, *O Jornal*, March 30, 2008), life is good.

Members of Brazilian Class C are turning their good fortune around and re-investing in the Brazilian economy, changing it and Brazilian society. They have purchased 40 percent of the computers sold and mobile phones owned in Brazil along

with 70 percent of the apartments and financed houses (*Veja*, April 2, 2008). At the lower ends of the Class C spectrum, many are benefiting from Pres. Lula's Family Grant Program. More equipped to live with federal funds, families have purchased from 2004 to 2006 about 4 percent more refrigerators, 3 percent more washing machines, five percent more televisions and 2 percent more home computers. The amplified access to computers alone has boosted Internet usage, leading, ultimately, to a more informed populace (*Veja*, April 2, 2008).

Brazil's new middle class has developed, expanded and seemingly steadied in a remarkably short amount of time. New consumer power permits Brazilians to engage more in society; they are more socially flexible and agile. This means they enjoy additional treasures and treats than traditional signs of station, such as washing machines, TVs, and refrigerators.

Treasures and treats abound

Theatre. Decadent foods. Travel. These are the main treasures and treats to which the press repeatedly gives attention. Photos of actors and actresses and write-ups of their performances (*Veja-Rio*, Jan. 10, 2007) indicate a once-elitist activity is welcoming more commoners. Although Rio restaurants and cafes are catalogued in about every *Veja-Rio* issue, the Feb. 13, 2008, photo shoot of Rio's Centre of Delicacies cuisine plus its rave reviews would make any model envious and/or chef drool. The food focus also demonstrates a mainstreaming of eats once out of reach for the average Brazilian pocketbook. Because this news theme is so prevalent in *Duas Caras*, as will be explained

in Chapter 11, it becomes more salient in the news analysis. In other words, this element of manifest content rises in importance through this study's reciprocal process.

Although noted for the danger surrounding it in the preceding chapter, (inter)national travel is increasing for Brazilians, since more are able to afford this luxury. Hence, the press has alerted and warned repeatedly that this form of public transportation demands attention; it requires Brazilian airports comply with minimum safety standards. This is so that all persons — not only public figures, like Rio Governor Sérgio Cabral and his wife Adriana Ancelmo who were photographed at the Vatican meeting Pope Benedict XVI (*O Jornal*, Sept. 20, 2007, p. A6) — can travel safely. The governor and his wife presented the pope with a replica of the Christ the Redeemer statue, which was recently elected as one the world's seven wonders.

That so much bounty is available and enjoyed by so many Brazilians, as press reports show and tell, attests to the class expansion currently occurring in Brazil. This is to be celebrated for many reasons. But it cannot be fully savored because of one sharp reality: lack of Afro-Brazilian entrée. They do not have equal access to opportunity.⁴³ Perhaps coincidental, although unlikely, the theatre photos are of whites. The majority of the people photographed at the restaurants appear to be white. The stranded and upset travelers photographed at the airport are white (see, for example, *O Jornal*, May 15, 2007, p. A7). Therefore, the likelihood of blacks randomly being included in public photos is decreased. But the chances of Afro-Brazilians being so *entirely* absent from these activities — particularly when it can be argued that Afro-Brazilians comprise almost half the Brazilian population, as clarified in Chapter 4 — seem highly unlikely

⁴³ I owe this insight to Dr. Steve Reese from his thoughtful review of this dissertation.

and suspect. Privilege and race remain closely correlated within Brazil; racial democracy is a misnomer.

This segment sums up manifest and latent content from press reports and photos to clarify an organizing principle that is being shared and persistent over time. Regarding “Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning,” manifest news content seems to say that “Education opens doors,” “Careers provide impetus,” “The new middle class is the place to be,” and “Treasures and treats are abundant.” This is most definitely the case for the 86 million Brazilians who now comprise Brazil’s largest social class, based on Brazil’s definition of class. Again, Brazil assesses socio-economic status according to the criteria of a combination of household goods, occupation and highest education level achieved.

“Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning” is one of three bases cementing a larger latent and salient news frame. As another, the manifest content theme “Race in Brazil: It matters if you’re black or white” misleads Brazilians to think that Brazil is a racial democracy, since race is never specifically talked about. But when race is shown through news photographs, Afro-Brazilians are reported as making trouble. This manifest content theme is important, because it raises suspicions regarding absence. It leads to the inference of the larger latent frame, “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.”

A third kind of manifest content, “Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up,” also helps to verify the larger salient latent news frame that “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” Whether Brazilian women are featured in news reports because of their beauty or their power or a combination, they seem to be advancing. This means that

summarily, while class and gender may make upward social mobility and social inclusion possibilities, race can stymie progression.

Social mobility and social inclusion are additional facets to these dimensions of the larger news frame so culturally intertwined. Brazilians are socially mobile through their education, marriage, and sometimes receiving or losing inheritances. In other words, Brazilians can move up or down the social ladder through membership in any one or combination of the listed life events. Some are earned, such as education. Some are fortuitous, like (arguably) marriage. Some are designed, like coming into money. Some can be just downright luck, like winning the lottery. But any event like this can over time or over night transition a materially poor Brazilian to better opportunity.

This hope engenders survival among the Brazilian people. It also carves generosity into their beings. As businessman Antônio Ermírio de Moraes writes in his *O Jornal* opinion piece, “Brazilians who have little are always willing to help those who have even less. The many who suffer always trust in better days” (Jan. 7, 2007, p. A9)⁴⁴. This kind of optimism also promotes a normalization of social inclusion, or a type of social integration manifested in societal norms permitting factions or persons access to group resources, participation or rights (Telles, 2004). It fosters a type of belonging and codes a national identity.

⁴⁴ My personal experiences in Brazil and with Brazilians echo De Moraes’ words.

CHAPTER 8: Telenovela *Duas Caras* and Telenovela Frames Models

It is important to understand the basic storyline along with the main characters prior to discussing the frames that emerge from a qualitative framing analysis of TV Globo's 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras*. This chapter provides a basic plot summary, a familial pedigree chart as well as a character summary chart. Models of the telenovela frames are also introduced. Finally, an explanation toward how vital telenovela clues are folded into the telenovela framing analysis is offered.

Duas Caras Basic Storyline

Duas Caras' initial episode opens with Adalberto Rangel driving his convertible Ford Escort along scenic red cliffs in the southern Brazilian state Santa Catarina. Adalberto, an attractive male brunette with scruff wearing jeans, a leather jacket and sunglasses, is on his way to make a shady business deal involving money counterfeiting. Illegal activities among both materially poor and elite will be a major theme, as it is in many telenovelas.

Meanwhile, Maria Paula, a lovely young college-aged woman, and her best friend Luciana are attending what appears to be a May-Day parade honoring the German holiday and German immigration to southern Brazil. After the parade, Maria Paula returns home to her mansion with Luciana, the daughter of her governess Jandira. Waiting outside for her is Claudius, the kind, sophisticated family lawyer who's in love with Maria Paula.

Concurrently, in Rio de Janeiro, a riot is breaking out at a construction site. Displaced workers from Northeastern Brazil who have sold everything they own and moved to the area to work the land contracted to them are being threatened by rich land owners flown to the site via helicopter. Gabriel, the lead construction engineer of the owners, argues with two lawyers about the property. The lawyers tell him the northerners have to leave on the buses waiting outside. Gabriel calls Juvenal Antena, leader of his security guard, to come and remove the people.

Juvenal's first impression is to obey his orders. Then he is approached on behalf of the northerners by his childhood friend Misael Caó, a trained carpenter who has been contracted to assist. Misael explains the people have no homes to return to, that they left everything under the legal pretense that they were coming to work, and asks Juvenal to negotiate the situation with Gabriel, since he knows him. After a heated debate and the choice of his lifetime, Juvenal refuses to send the northerners to the buses and away from their land. He assumes his new role as leader of the group of northerners. He also works with Congressman Narciso Tellerman among others to secure the legal rights to the land and to lawfully form the favela Portelinha. This is a key theme since most favelas are built by squatters on land whose ownership is contested, which does come back into the plot later.

Following friendly conversation and loving embraces, Maria Paula bids farewell to her beloved parents who are leaving together on a business trip. The couple drives off in a rush to the airport. They suffer a serious car accident en route. Trying to avoid a head-on collision with Adalberto, who is escaping from his counterfeiting hoax, they swerve and drive off a cliff.

Adalberto hurries to see if the couple is okay and learns they have died on impact. He begins to search their car as sirens arrive. He quickly discovers a suitcase containing full access to business accounts, money and personal effects of a young girl. He heads to town to meet the now-orphaned and attractive heiress Maria Paula and to conduct his greatest heist. According to Adalberto, Maria Paula's mother asked, before dying, that he take care of her daughter.

Luciana, Jandira and Claudius try to warn Maria Paula, but Adalberto is convincing and suave. He sweeps the mourning girl off her feet. Within a short matter of time, he weds her then leaves her, taking everything and leaving her penniless.

The conman moves to Rio de Janeiro, changes his name to Dr. Marconi Ferrão and undergoes plastic surgery on his face. Only Bárbara, a former prostitute who becomes his closest ally and governess to his household, knows his secret. With Maria Paula's inheritance, Ferrão makes his name as a respectable entrepreneur of construction and real estate. He employs Gabriel, who was fired after the construction site mayhem, as his chief civil engineer.

About 10 years pass. Maria Paula, who relocated to São Paulo, had a son Renato from her relationship with Ferrão and built up a life for herself there, moves to Rio. One evening while watching the news she sees a news report about a riot at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães, which will later also receive attention in the telenovela for a lawsuit involving allegations of racism. This is not a common theme in previous TV Globo novelas, but rather an area in which this telenovela breaks ground. She recognizes images of Ferrão, who at that time is about to be engaged to the president of the university's beautiful daughter Sílvia. Maria Paula visits the university and speaks with Dona Branca,

the president of the university, to track Adalberto down. But no one knows of whom she speaks. Eventually, through news reports, she learns of the upcoming engagement party. Maria Paula crashes it, causing a huge scene when she says she wants her money back from Adalberto/Ferraço.

Dona Branca assumed the presidency of the Universidade Pessoa de Morães after her husband's death and helps it to become an institution of absolute excellence. Shortly after taking the reins of the university, however, she learns she will be sharing her power with Célia Mara, the mother of the daughter from a 20-year extra-marital affair her husband had.

Gioconda, Dona Branca's sister-in-law, had tried to alert Dona Branca to her husband's infidelity. Gioconda is a great lady of the Carioca (Rio) society who is very elegant, gentle and, at the first of the telenovela, known to greatly enjoy gossip. Her husband and Dona Branca's brother is the lawyer Barreto. Barreto is Ferraço's lawyer. Barreto and Gioconda are parents of Júlia, a very intelligent, well-educated and active filmmaker. Júlia falls in love with Evilásio Caó, a black man from Portelinha who is Misael's son. She meets Evilásio when she tries to get the rights from Juvenal to film in the favela. Barreto and Gioconda are also Barretinho's parents. Like his father, Barretinho is a lawyer. He pursues and ultimately succeeds in marrying their family maid, the strong-willed Afro-Brazilian Sabrina. These inter-racial marriages are another new theme for TV Globo telenovelas, part of the competitive strategy to broaden their audience.

Sílvia and Maria Paula dispute for Marconi Ferraço's love. It remains a mystery until the telenovela's conclusion whether Maria Paula is interested in Ferraço's love or in

revenge upon him. But Sílvia surely loves him, perhaps too much. She reveals her true identity hidden behind her stunning beauty: a psychopath willing to go to extremes such as murdering Renato to stay with Ferraço.

One of Marconi Ferraço's business transactions was the purchase of the contested land of the favela Portelinha, of which Juvenal is the recognized leader. With the help of others including Misael, the mother-of-saint Lady Setembrina, the evangelical pastor Inácio Lisboa, and Congressman Narcisso Tellerman, Juvenal has helped the residents to fight for and secure their right to the land. They have also created a strong community, a place where people will never go without and where there are neither drugs nor violence, which stands perhaps too idealistically in contrast to the reality of most favelas, but may serve to open the minds of many viewers who may see favelas in the news only in terms of drugs, gangs and violence.

As part of his business ventures, Ferraço enters into a judicial and moral battle against Juvenal Antena. But toward the end of the story, an alliance between Ferraço and Juvenal forms; Ferraco aids Juvenal in his plight against his Godson Evilásio. In return, Juvenal changes his opinion of Ferraço, but advises Maria Paula to marry Ferraço to recover her money and for the sake of her and Ferraço's son Renato, who idolizes his father.

Renato does not know the dark past of his father. Sílvia reveals Ferraço's secret to him and to the authorities in her attempts to permanently sever any ties between Ferraço and Maria Paula. Renato is often protected from Sílvia by the young Afro-Brazilian minister Ezequiel, who is also Ferraço's driver and has had visions of Ferraço's past.

Ezequiel also actively proselytes for charity in Portelinha. He warns residents to

neither beat up the alcoholic Zê de Feira on several occasions after he accidentally starts fires in their community nor to kill Dália, Herarldo and Bernardinho for their odd threesome. He often says, “Let he who is without sin throw the first stone.” He is also supportive of community activities, like the municipal campaign that occurs with Juvenal and Evilásio running against each other for vereador, or, basically, city councilman.

As part of the pre-nuptial agreement Barreto writes for Ferraço to sign in order to get Maria Paula to marry him again, Ferraço confesses his crimes at the risk of going to prison for two years. The sentence is mandated. Ferraço tells Maria Paula that the only thing he hopes in exchange for his change of heart is to have her and their son waiting for him when he gets out.

Two years later, he finds that Maria Paula stole all his money and went away with Renato. He visits his former lawyer Barreto to learn what he can do. Barreto explains Maria Paula ceased communication with him after she sold all Ferraço’s assets and moved away, leaving no forwarding address. Barreto also tells Ferraço that is inconsequential, seeing as he can no longer afford Barreto’s services. In addition, Barreto is no longer practicing law since he accompanies his wife Gioconda, a federal senator, in her responsibilities.

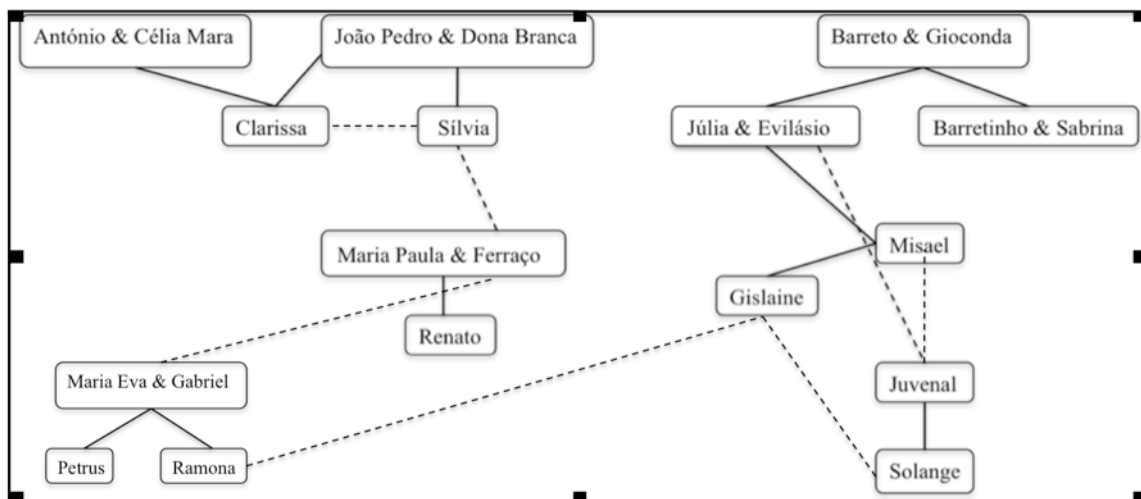
While sitting on a beach asking himself why would she do this to him after all he did to prove his love for her, Ferraço receives a phone call from Maria Paula. She asks him what it feels like to be betrayed. He answers that he never would have believed that of her. She interrupts him and says: “Go to your old office building. There is a plane ticket in your name there. Take the first plane and hurry, because our son and I are waiting for you.”

Ferraço arrives on a beautiful island and finds Renato walking on the beach. They run to each other and hug. Then, he sees Maria Paula who has been watching their reunion and asks her what will happen now between them. She answers, "Now we are even. Stop wasting time and kiss me, you idiot." The words "The End" appear as he kisses her, the scene fades and the telenovela ends.

Duas Caras Character Connections & Explanations

In keeping with the TV Globo telenovela tendency, *Duas Caras* has an intricate, dynamic storyline, with numerous themes and sub-plots, as well as a large cast. To help keep track of the relationships among the main *Duas Caras* characters, a general family pedigree follows:

CHART 6: DUAS CARAS Main Family Relationships



What might also be helpful in explaining who is related to whom, lives where, comes from which racial and socio-economic background, and does what in the plot is a character text box. Chart 7 below alphabetically provides such basic information. While reading through the telenovela frame findings, please refer to this chart to keep track of

characters. To find photos of the characters, please visit

<http://duascaras.globo.com/Novela/Duascaras/Personagens/0,,9178,00.html>.

CHART 7: DUAS CARAS Main Character Identifications & Descriptions

<i>Character</i>	<i>Race</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Key Relationships</i>
Adalberto Rangel	White	Poor, then rich	Santa Catarina	*Marries Maria Paula & steals from her *Becomes Marconi Ferraço
Alzira	White	Middle	Portelinha	*Juvenal's love of his life *Married to Dorgival, who has a heart condition *Mother to two children *Pole dancer & pole dancer instructor
Antônio	White	Middle	Portelinha	*Married initially to Célia Mara *Owner of autoshop *Thought he was Clarissa's father
Bárbara	White	Middle	Outside Portelinha	*Governs Ferraço's household *Mother to Fernanda & Herarldo
Barreto	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Married to Gioconda *Brother of Dona Branca *Father of Barretinho & Júlia *Lawyer of Ferraço
Barretinho	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Son of Barreto & Gioconda *Marries Sabrina
Bernardinho	White	Lower middle class	Portelinha	*Partner to Dália *Owner & chef of the highly-acclaimed The Castle restaurant *Has a union with Carlão
Benoliel	White	Lower middle class	Portelinha	*Fiancé to Fernanda *Brother to Bernardinho
Célia Mara	White	Advances to be rich	Portelinha	*Lover to João Pedro *Married to Antônio *Mother to Clariss *Co-president of Universidade de Pessoa Morães *Arch enemy of Dona Branca
Clarissa	White	Advances to be rich	Portelinha	*Dyslexic *Daughter of Célia Mara & João Pedro *Half-sister to Sílvia
Claudius	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Maria Paula's family lawyer *Engaged at one point to Maria Paula *Marries Solange
Dália	White	Poor	Portelinha	*Recovered drug addict *In a threesome with Bernardinho & Herarldo *Mother of Ana Rosa Maria
Dona Branca	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Widow of João Pedro *Mother of Sílvia *Arch enemy of Célia Branca *Sister of Barreto *President of Universidade de Pessoa Morães

Evilásio	Black	Poor	Portelinha	*Son of Misael *Godson and right-arm man of Juvenal *Husband of Júlia *Elected “vereador”
Ezequiel	Black	Poor	Portelinha	*Son on Lady Setembrina *Pastor of his own church *On divine mission to protect Renato
Fernanda	Brown	Middle class	Outside Portelinha	*Daughter of Bárbara *Sister of Heraldo *Fiancé of Benoliel
Gabriel	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Ferraço’s chief engineer *Husband of Maria Eva *Father of Ramona
Gioconda	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Great lady of Carioca society *Married to Barreto *Sister-in-law to Dona Branca *Mother of Júlia & Barretinho
Gislaine	Black	Poor	Portelinha	*Sister to Evilásio *Best friend to Solange *Student at Universidade Pessoa de Morães
Guigui	White	Poor	Portelinha	*Juvenal’s chief assistant *Evilásio’s lover for a time
Herarldo	White	Poor	Portelinha	*Bárbara’s son *In a threesom with Dália *Works in Bernardinho’s restaurant
Heriberto	White	Middle	Outside Portelinha	*Professor of Universidad Pessoa de Morães
João Pedro	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Married to Dona Branca *Lover to Célia Mara *Father of Sílvia & Clarissa *Founder of Universidade Pessoa de Morães
Júlia	White	Rich	Portelinha	*Daughter of Barreto *Very well educated *Wife of Evilásio
Juvenal Antena	White	Middle	Portelinha	*Father of Portelinha *Father of Solange *Godfather of Evilásio *Arch enemy of Ferraço
Macieira	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Director of Universidade Pessoa de Morães *Lover of Dona Branca
(Marconi) Ferraço	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Respected real-estate businessmen *Engaged to Sílvia *Father of Renato *Marries Maria Paula *Arch enemy of Juvenal
Maria Eva	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Married to Gabriel *Leads tours to Portelinha *Mother of Ramona & Petrus
Maria Paula	White	Poor	Outside Portelinha	*Married to Adalberto Rangel *Engaged to Claudius *Mother of Renato *Marries Ferraço
Morena, or condessa Finzi-Contini	Black	Becomes rich	Portelinha	*Special relationship to Juvenal *Founder & president of NGO against sexual violence & trafficking of women

Narciso Tellerman	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Congressman who helps Juvenal *Congressman who is Evilásio's campaign manager *Romantically involved with Maria Paula *Suggests Gioconda run for senator
Ramona	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Daughter of Gabriel & Maria Eva *Student at Universidade Pessoa de Morães *Friend of Gislaine *Enemy of Rudolf
Renato	White	Becomes rich	Outside Portelinha	*Son of Maria Paula & Ferraço *Protected by Ezequiel
Rudolf	Black	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Student & activist at Universidade Pessoa de Morães *Claims he's poor, but is rich *Files a law suit against the university for racism
Sabrina	Black	Poor	Outside Portelinha	*Maid to Barreto & Gioconda *Finally relents to Barretinho's advances *Marries Barretinho
Sílvia	White	Rich	Outside Portelinha	*Daughter of João Pedro & Dona Branca *Half-sister to Clarissa *Engaged to Ferraço
Solange	Brown	Middle	Portelinha	*Daughter of Juvenal *Best friend of Gislaine *Fiancé of Claudius
Zê da Feira	Brown	Becomes rich	Portelinha	*Alcoholic almost forced from Portelinha *Talented musician who finally gets discovered

The next two chapters, Chapter 9 and 10, explicate two telenovela frames that emerge from a qualitative framing analysis of *Duas Caras*. The two frames, “Family first, family forever” and “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” tap into larger macro themes culturally embedded in the Brazilian telenovela tradition as well as historical Brazilian societal concerns. For example, as noted in Chapter 3, themes of marriage and family are hugely popular within Brazilian telenovelas. It is not surprising, then, that one of the strongest *Duas Caras* frames is family-oriented. The significance of this frame, however, is in its timely portrayal of and alignment with news frames, as will be explained. In addition, it is a unique portrayal of an idealized favela, Portelinha, as a Potemkin-style village, which indicates not only a very paternalistic and idealized

orientation, but also a normalized “favelado” existence⁴⁵. This is not, generally, a topic typical of Brazilian telenovelas, nor is it one of TV Globo telenovelas, in particular.

The frame “Family first, family forever” pushes telenovela boundaries on at least two levels. In one sense, it is obvious that TV Globo is competing with TV Record for audience share through its inclusion of a more diverse middle class and even working class market. TV Record has gained competitive advantage against TV Globo over time through its more realistic sites for telenovela production as well as more “normal” casting, with more racial and social class diversity. It appears that TV Globo may be attempting to gain ground lost to TV Record through *Duas Caras*. Audience rankings show that TV Globo was marginally successful in its attempt, with *Duas Caras* captivating an average nightly audience share of 40 percent.

A second point regarding the need to flesh out the frame “Family first, family forever” is its controversial normalization of favela life. As also noted in Chapter 4 and brought out as being in current news reports in Chapter 6, favelas as places and “favelados” as people are negatively stereotyped. They are not well-received in day-to-day Brazilian living. They are viewed as outcasts. This occurs even when parts of favelas are becoming considered more middle class, as is occurring in Rio de Janeiro. Author Aguinaldo Silva’s positive portrayal of the model favela Portelinha turns the uncomfortable favela stereotype inside out, as will be elaborated.

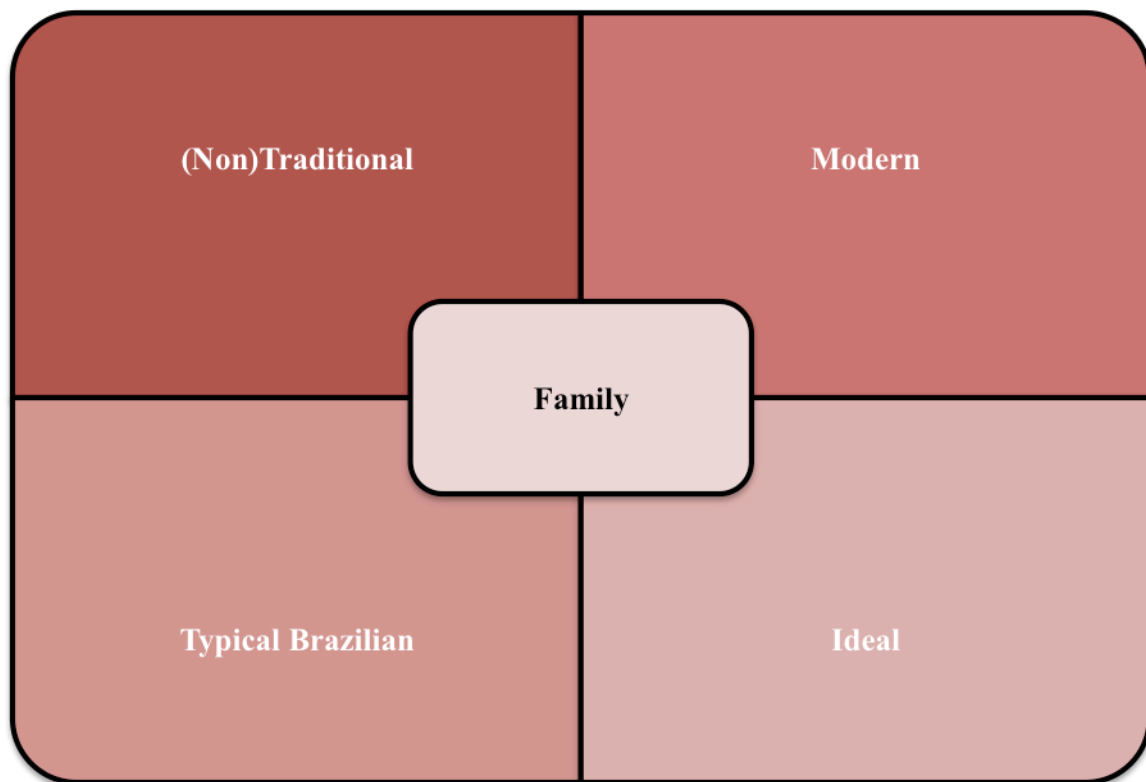
The following model diagrams the salient latent telenovela frame “Family first, family forever,” which will be explained in the next chapter, Chapter 9:

⁴⁵ I gratefully owe the rationale for this idea to Dr. Joseph Straubhaar, who has recounted some of his interviews with favela dwellers who wanted nothing more than to be considered normal, not marginal, in Brazilian society.

MODEL 2.1:

Telenovela Frame I: Family first, family forever

The frame “Family first, family forever” is defined to mean that Brazilians compose a family, regardless of its exact composition. And it’s to this family that they must give their allegiance, regardless of the cost.



The *(non)traditional* family allows freedom and inculcates leadership.

The *modern* family redefines group love.

The *ideal* family is a safe and supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities.

The *typical Brazilian* family overcomes prejudice and redefines the nation-state Brazil.

Another salient latent telenovela frame, “It’s not the position that rules, it’s the influence,” likewise ties into larger, culturally-embedded macro themes. As discussed in Chapters 3, 5 and 6, Brazil is experiencing an ongoing media opening. A transitioning democracy from 1985, questions of who is really in charge whisper through all levels of society. In a culture deeply confused about issues including race and class, as discussed in Chapter 4, where does true power lie? Some attempts to answer this concern are more vocalized through social movements. For example, as discussed in Chapter 4, affirmative action is a policy the Brazilian government is trying to employ. Afro-Brazilian and feminist movements have pushed for affirmative action. Yet as Chapter 4 pointed out, affirmative action policies especially within education are very controversial.

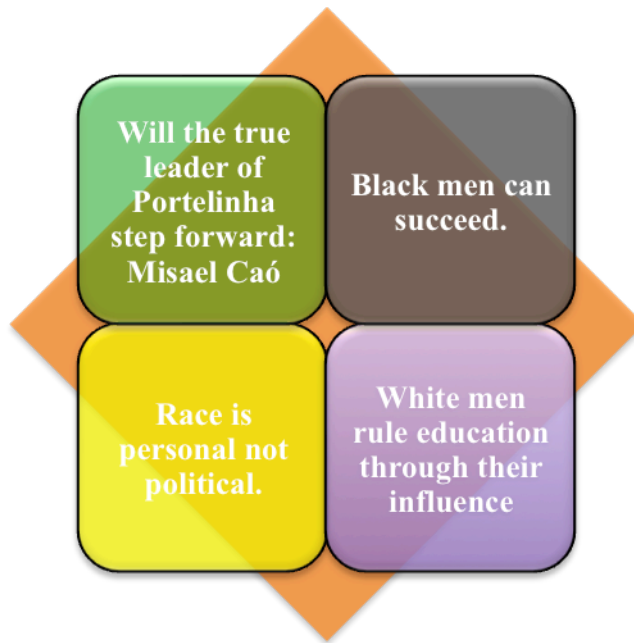
The telenovela frame “It’s not the position that rules, it’s the influence” pushes boundaries within Brazilian society on a number of levels, as will be discussed particularly in Chapters 10, 12 and 13. For example, the portrayal of Afro-Brazilian Evilásio Caó as the first TV Globo 8 p.m. telenovela hero is novel. His role along signifies that Afro-Brazilian men can succeed within Brazilian society, among other points. In addition, the controversial notion of affirmative action, which is beginning to introduce race into national social discourse, as has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, is negatively portrayed in the novela. This will be further addressed in Chapter 12.

Chapter 10 will visit four *Duas Caras* themes within the overarching frame “It’s not the position that rules, it’s the influence” to investigate how some questions of power including the arena of affirmative action in education are fictionalized in this instance. Model 4 below puts forward a representation of the salient latent frame “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” and its themes:

MODEL 2:2

Telenovela Frame II: It's not the position that rules, but the influence

The frame “It's not the position that rules, but the influence” is defined to mean that although certain people may absorb the spotlight and appear in power, others behind the scenes actually rule.



Will the true leader of Portelinha step forward: Misael Caó.
While it appears that Juvenal Antena governs Portelinha, he's not truly the one in charge.

Black men can succeed.
Evilásio Caó is the true winner of the local election, not the benefactor of a hollow victory.

White men rule education through their influence.
Dona Branca nor Célia Mara, the owners and functioning presidents of the Universidade Pessoa de Morães, are puppets to two white men.

Race is personal not political.
An Afro-Brazilian student's crusade for greater diversity at least at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães is snuffed out through other portrayals of race, gender and class.

Please note: Given the dynamism and intricacy of the evolving *Duas Caras* plot, additional frames surface from a qualitative telenovela framing analysis. For example, one concerns the culturally-embedded Brazilian hope for a better tomorrow. Often, various characters will toast to a brighter future. For example, soon after arriving in São Paulo, Maria Paula lifts her wine glass along with Luciana's and Jandira's to celebrate their new lives that lie ahead (Tuesday, Oct. 9, 2007, Episode 8, Block 4). Another begging consideration is the unique blend of Candomblé (a mixture of Catholic and African saints and traditions), Christian and psychic-related religions and religious connections portrayed. Both of these frames track with concurrent news reports. However, so as not to digress from, and to appropriately address the research questions, as will occur in Chapters 11 and 12, only two of the most salient latent telenovela frames are navigated. Further, only the most representative themes and examples are selected for inclusion.

Also, to substantiate themes and provide evidence for the telenovela frames that will be discussed, I will pull direct quotes as well as plot summaries from my observations and notes on the telenovela chapters. My method for taking notes is found in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 9: Telenovela Frame I: Family First, Family Forever

In a TV Globo 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras* concluding scene, one of the lead families poses for a group photo. Júlia, Evilásio and their baby boy along with Júlia's brother Barretinho, his wife Sabrina and their baby, plus Júlia's parents Barreto and Gioconda smile in "this picture of a typical Brazilian family," as Barreto says (Friday, 31 May 2008, Episode 209, Block 4). What does this "typical Brazilian family" look like? Barreto and Gioconda, the parents, are white. Their children Júlia and Barretinho are also white. However, the children's spouses, Evilásio and Sabrina, are black. Consequently, the grandchildren are brown. This photo is a metaphor of Brazilian society.

The notion of "the typical Brazilian family" is one of four themes that surfaces during a qualitative framing analysis of *Duas Caras* to support the larger telenovela frame "Family first, family forever." As noted in the preceding chapter, it should come as no surprise that *Duas Caras* includes a family frame, since family and marriage are deep, culturally-embedded principles and essential telenovela ingredients. In *Duas Caras*, the portrayal of the frame "Family first, family forever" signifies that Brazilians belong to families, regardless of their exact compositions. And it is to the family to which they belong that they give their allegiance, their unconditional love, regardless of the cost.

As mentioned earlier, the *Duas Caras* frame "Family first, family forever" evokes four family themes. The first is the (non)traditional family. This family includes a mother and father, who may or may not have been divorced. It is through the (non)traditional family, as will be explained, that familial members experience a form of emancipation and demonstrate leadership. The second is the modern family. This family is

controversial. It includes homosexual unions as well as a unique parental threesome introduced in the telenovela, as will be discussed. It is through this modern family that group love is redefined. The third is the ideal family, as represented by the model favela Portelinha. With a strong father-head type of leadership, Portelinha is a community where residents enjoy safety, peace, shelter, food and camaraderie — all the basics of a happy home life, along with a few familial quirks. The fourth is the typical Brazilian family, a politicized caricature of who certain Brazilians mythologize Brazilians to be, as will be explained below. Ultimately, the typical Brazilian family is politically and socially involved, overcomes prejudice and redefines the nation-state Brazil. This theme is given a significant amount of attention because of the societal implications it has regarding race relations in Brazil.

The (non)traditional family allows freedom and inculcates leadership

It is through the (non)traditional family that individuals achieve redemption, according to the telenovela *Duas Caras*. Whether this occurs through a traditional family — a family of one married couple with children — or any one of several nontraditional families represented, the end is the same: Individuals are emancipated and leaders rise.

With respect to traditional families, several are portrayed in the telenovela, as the familial pedigree chart in the preceding chapter begins to show. Of the traditional families, Maria Paula and her husband Ferraço's journey lead by their son Renato to form a traditional family best exemplifies this theme.

Maria Paula's circumstances of being tragically robbed by her husband Adalberto and learning to provide for herself and her son help her to mature from a delicate, well-

provided-for girl to a strong, independent, feisty woman. After her decade of struggles, Maria Paula exclaims to her son Renato and dear friends Luciana and Jandira, “We did it! We made a life for ourselves!” (Tuesday, Nov. 27, 2007, Episode 50, Block 1). Maria Paula’s comment signifies she has worked diligently to advance in social status, having climbed from poverty to the middle class. This example is important in the telenovela for two reasons. One is because it highlights the common telenovela theme of social mobility, as brought up in Chapter 4; characters are able to move up, preferably, and down the socio-economic ladder. The example also indicates the importance of making one’s own way rather than waiting to win money or discover one has an inheritance — other common “wishful thinking” telenovela themes regarding social mobility. In other words, work actualizes social ascension. It also empowers an individual’s development of leadership capabilities and characteristics.

For Maria Paula, she further demonstrates her individual strength and leadership when she moves with her son Renato to Rio de Janeiro. In a sense, she matures from her “family” with Jandira and Luciana and sets off on her own. In Rio, she recognizes and searches for her estranged husband, whom she had recognized on TV although he has undergone plastic surgery on his face. As explained in the plot summary found in the previous chapter, it remains a mystery until the telenovela’s conclusion if Maria Paula search is completely revengeful. Complicating her pursuit of Adalberto-turned-Ferraço is their son Renato. Ultimately, it is mutual, nurtured love for Renato that brings his parents and their family back together.

Maria Paula reunites with Ferraço, who has stolen his socio-economic status from her and maintained his economic position and stability. But Ferraço has no idea he has a

son with her. He is intrigued by the idea and investigates. For a time, Ferraço sneaks Renato out of school to go have lunch and play video games at an arcade under the guise of learning if Renato is truly his son and gaining the boy's affections (see, for example, Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4). However, an unexpected twist occurs; Renato's genuine affection for his father resonates within Ferraço. Additionally, he discovers at the birthday party he throws for his son that chemistry is still strong between him and Maria Paula (Episode 148). Ferraço's intentions with and feelings for Renato deepen on a trip Maria Paula permits; Renato almost drowns in a lake (Episode 162). Following the intervention of Sílvia⁴⁶, Ferraço's psychopathic fiancé, Renato wants nothing to do with Ferraço. In an emotionally charged scene toward the end of the telenovela, Ferraço confesses all and tells Renato that through him he discovered new feelings – feelings of love, caring, the desire to have a family:

At the beginning I was false with you and with Maria Paula. But after time, I discovered that I really wanted to be your true father. I had always wanted a father... I never had a father or a mother ... When I was younger than you, my father sold me for food. I learned and lived a life of crime. Later, I met Maria Paula and robbed her too, and then I changed my name, my face... If you give me the chance to prove that I really want to be your father, I can. And you can even be proud of me. (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 1)

Renato gives his father that chance and strongly and consistently encourages his mother to overcome her fear of his insincerity and trust him as well. Renato directs his family's relationship, coercing his parents to trust each other and make whatever sacrifice necessary so they can be a family. For Maria Paula, this is largely an emotional sacrifice. For Ferraço, this is physical as well as emotional; his reiterated commitment to his son and to Maria Paula forces him to relinquish all he owns and trust them (see Episode 204),

⁴⁶ I am assuming that this was the case, given Sílvia's growing hatred of Renato, although exactly what happened to upset Renato was not a scene included in my sample.

plus serve his two-year prison sentence (Episode 209). In giving up everything, he gains everything; he redeems himself from his dastardly deed of robbing young orphaned Maria Paula and obtains his most prized possession: his family.

Through their experiences, Maria Paula becomes a leader, Renato transforms into a bonding agent for his parents and family, and Ferraço is redeemed from his life of crime. Although Maria Paula and Ferraço's romance is the chief relationship of the telenovela, other nontraditional *Duas Caras* families also experience liberation.

Nontraditional families result from divorce, single-person households, dual-work and dual-career families. Additional forms of nontraditional families include couples from different class and/or race backgrounds living together. Social mobility in telenovelas is often associated with marriage; characters, most often women, climb or descend the socio-economic ladder through a legal relationship, like what occurred for both Maria Paula and Adalberto at the beginning of *Duas Caras*. Other characters in the telenovela also experienced social mobility *for* marriage. For example, Benoliel had to prove his love to Fernanda by securing "real work," nothing "jokey" before she would agree to marry him. "And when you get your first salary, you can call me for ice cream. That is just such a good feeling – having earned money with your own sweat," Fernanda tells Benoliel (Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2007, Episode 57, Block 5). His character progressed through the telenovela by first obtaining his education then securing a career. In this way, Benoliel advanced from poverty to the middle class. His character's progression demonstrated a normalized way of bettering his situation. Through education, he was able to get a career. This is important in the telenovela, because it demonstrates specific rewards for work. Not only was he able to better his situation and ascend the social ladder

to a higher socio-economic level, but he was also able to “earn” Fernanda. She did not move down, but rather he moved up to claim her. “He moved his life to be with her... he has proven his love” (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 2). This example will also be referenced in Chapter 11, where its relevance to current news themes will be more fully expanded upon.

Although in Brazil, as pointed out in Chapter 4, interracial marriages have been common historically and are on the rise, these unions are still considered nontraditional. That this real-life scenario is occurring more frequently, or at least being more recognized, is echoed in *Duas Caras*. The telenovela features several inter-racial connections. Misael dates a white woman, Juvenal goes out with a black woman, and Juvenal’s daughter Solange marries Claudius, who is white *and* better off than she.

Marriages that merge social classes *as well as* races include those of Evilásio and Júlia plus Barretinho and Sabrina. While it is Barretinho and Sabrina’s relationship that most benefits from Barreto’s negative perspective, as will be explained later in this section, it is Evilásio and Júlia’s romance that is most central to the *Duas Caras* storyline. This is largely because it is traditionally less likely that a rich white Brazilian woman would marry a poor black Brazilian man; their progressive relationship pushes traditional boundaries on a number of levels. Since nontraditional family lifestyles can reflect acceptance of growing freedom from traditional roles and expectations as well as greater equality between men and women; members have to be more open-minded to nontraditional ways of thinking and being in normalized society. Hence, leadership is not uncommon. Again, societal implications from nontraditional marriage merging race and class will be amplified later in this section in the “typical family” theme.

(Non)traditional families are one kind of family portrayed in *Duas Caras*. The relationships of Maria Paula, Ferraço and Renato, Benoliel and Fernanda, and Evilásio and Júlia exemplify how *Duas Caras* individuals are emancipated. As indicated, leaders develop. Leaders also rise from another atypical unit, the modern family.

The modern family redefines group love

The chief author of *Duas Caras*, Aguinaldo Silva, is known not only for his interjection of politics and controversy into his telenovelas, as brought up in Chapters 1 and 3, but also for his outspoken views in support of his relationship preferences: same-sex interludes. This preference surfaces in his storytelling within *Duas Caras*, and it emerges another unique kind of family: that of the threesome Dália, Heraldo and Bernadinho. This threesome merges heterosexual and homosexual feelings. Like in the (non)traditional family theme of the frame “Family first, family forever,” members of this threesome are bonded to each other and push the boundaries of what that love will exact.

Early on in *Duas Caras* viewers are introduced to Dália, a beautiful girl with Rastafarian braids and a unique talent as a Samba artist (see Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2007, Episode 57, Block 1). Her friend Bernardinho seems oblivious to the fact that the reason why she dances and acts the way she does around him is not only because she’s interested in him, but also because she is high from drugs (see, for example, Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 1). Dália, and Bernardinho’s friendship grows as they spend more time together, move into a Portelinha apartment together, and encourage each others’ special talents; in addition to Dália’s notoriety, Bernardinho becomes known for “the best Bacalão [fish] in Rio” (see for example, Wednesday, 30 April 2008, Episode

183, Block 1). At a dinner party during which Bernardinho cooks his infamous fish for his family, residents of the favela Portelinha, and Juvenal, the leader of Portelinha, Dália's secret for not eating festively with the guests is revealed; Bernardinho's mother sees the needle scars and accuses Dália of being a druggie, calling everyone's attention to the marks on her arms. A few moments later, they find her in the bathroom passed out on the floor from a drug overdose (Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Blocks 4, 5).

This sequence of scenes is important for a number of reasons. One is the reality of Dália's condition; drugs are an enormous problem in Brazil's favelas, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 6. Another is how Juvenal, as leader of the favela in *Duas Caras*, controls the situation. His ability to maintain order within his community and the ways in which he does it will be further discussed in "the ideal family" theme of this section. A third reason is the severity of Dália's addiction; given her portrayed need for drugs, and how bottomed-out she is at the end of the scene sequence, it is heartening to watch her successfully go through a drug rehabilitation program (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 3). Further, she becomes a leader in her family. Dália is the lynchpin of *Duas Caras*' "modern" family, as benchmarked through three specific experiences.

The first experience is Dália's reaction to Bernardinho's confession that he wishes she were a man, so they could date (Thursday, 31 January 2008, Episode 106, Block 1). Bernardinho's outing came after he had been together with Dália already for some time, and after Dália admitted to sleeping with Heraldo, Bernardinho's new restaurant waiter, out of jealousy from Bernardinho's restaurant success. Dália loves Bernardinho, and although Heraldo, at first, was a fling, she comes to care deeply for him as well. Partially from libido run wild, and partially from circumstances (Heraldo has no place to live), the

three end up living and working together at Bernardino's restaurant as well as sleeping in the same bed (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 1). What is initially a temporary solution with concern for neighborhood gossip transitions into a cemented familial relationship with Dália at its center (see, for instance, Monday, 25 February 2008, Episode 127, Block 1).

The second experience develops through Dália's pregnancy, during which two quintessential events occur. First is Dália's pronouncement and her determination in that decision that she won't claim either Heraldo or Barnardinho as the father of her daughter Ana Rosa Maria, because the last thing she wants to do is hurt one of them (Saturday, April 5, 2008, Episode 162, Block 5). Dália also argues, with Heraldo and Bernardino's support, that she will never register the baby with only one father; that is against their principles as a family (Saturday, 24 May 2008, Episode 204, Block 4). Although a long legal battle ensues, they are successful in having two fathers listed on Ana Rosa Maria's birth certificate (Friday, 31 May 2008, Episode 209, Block 3). Second is Dália's strength throughout the persecution Christian fundamentalists in Portelinha incite against their threesome. Shortly after Dália expresses her love for Portelinha, "the best place in the world" where she found herself and her family, she hears a tap at their bedroom window. Stepping outside to welcome a supposed guest, she takes a hard blow to her forehead from a stone that a fundamentalist yelling about Satan and sin has thrown (Wednesday, March 12, 2008, Episode 141, Block 3). A riot breaks out. Heraldo, who runs outside the apartment to defend Dália after the stone throw, and Bernardino, who arrives from the restaurant after being warned, are pummeled as they ward off attackers so eight-month pregnant Dália can flee. Although curious himself regarding the threesome and the

morals surrounding their relationship (see, for instance, his conversation with Bernardinho Tuesday, March 4, 2008, Episode 134, Block 3), Juvenal Antena arrives and dispels the uprising with a gunshot. In brief, Dália had feared public retribution for their progressive family, yet she and her mates remained stalwart in their choice to stay together at life-threatening peril.

The third experience that marks Dália's leadership in her family is Dália's attitude when Bernardinho's love affair with Carlão jeopardizes the restaurant. To Dália's and Heraldo's disdain, Bernardinho admits to supporting and giving large amounts of their hard-earned funds to Carlão (see Monday, April 14, 2008, Episode 169, Block 2). Dália and Heraldo think Carlão is lazy and do not approve of him for Bernardinho. At the brink of bankruptcy, and to satisfy Dália's petitions, Bernardinho meets with Juvenal to discuss his restaurant business' finances. Juvenal tells Bernardinho, "Mixing business money and personal money is the worst error a man can commit" (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 1). His demands in offering assistance are high and seemingly unachievable by the deadline he gives Bernardinho. Yet Dália unites and motivates her mates. Undaunted, she tells them they are not going to get depressed; they are going to pray for a miracle. She calls Bernardinho and Heraldo together and they all three hold hands in a circle to pray. "Let's ask with faith," she says. Within moments, several restaurant guests enter (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 1). Dália is not only the adhesive that holds their threesome together, but a positive force that inspires both Bernardinho and Heraldo to work hard and well.

Dália is the leader of her family. She, along with Bernadinho and Heraldo, form a modern Brazilian family, a family with three parents. Their modern family takes an

interesting turn at the very end of the telenovela, when, a few days after catching a wedding bouquet at a friend's wedding, Bernardinho marries Carlão in a civil ceremony. Whether the modern family includes a threesome or a foursome, the link of love and of paying a cost to be a family first is clear. Another *Duas Caras* family form in which allegiance is non-negotiable is the ideal family theme.

The ideal family is a safe and supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities

In complete contrast to real Brazilian favelas, as explained in Chapters 4 and 6, Portelinha is an ideal community where residents enjoy shelter, security, health, education and even some scandal — all the basics of an interesting and happy home life. Portelinha's formation for and by displaced workers appears authentic because of historical precedents, in which many are started through land disputes or seizures. However, the likelihood of it being is extremely improbable because of how Juvenal Antena comes to power, as mentioned in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the favela's perfection seems too far stretched. However, it is necessary to address the telenovela portrayal of the favela because of how it compares with news reports, as will be addressed in Chapter 11.

Portelinha is known in *Duas Caras* as “a model favela” (Barreto speaking to Evilásio, Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 2) where (fe)male visitors “can feel at ease; where they're at is one of the safest places of the city [of Rio de Janeiro]” (Gioconda's testimonial given Saturday, 24 May 2008, Episode 204, Block 4). Portelinha represents a best-case scenario, an ideal “band of brothers” (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007,

Episode 1, Block 1) with a “father who’s willing to make whatever sacrifice” (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 2).

Juvenal runs the favela as a strong father runs his household. This is in line with his expressed initial goals, as noted. It is also echoed through residents’ comments, like those of Geraldo, one of Juvenal’s friends; Geraldo declares Juvenal “the father of the favela” (Friday, 21 December 2007, Episode 71, Block 3). Juvenal lays down strict law and order with no wiggle room within the first 24 hours of the favela’s formation. For example, the first night everyone is in the land that will become the favela, a fight breaks out. When Juvenal arrives on the scene, he slaps one of the two men involved and motions for the knife to be handed over. He says he doesn’t care who lied. The law is clear. Misael, who has also come on the scene, asks, “What law?” Juvenal responds,

“The law I just create now! Keep the order. Those who don’t are expelled!... It’s important for everyone to know, in our camp now and in our community in the future, I won’t allow any messing around. Law and order will preside” (notes from Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 3).

Juvenal forces the two perpetrators to leave the campsite. His actions moving forward are consistent; those who disobey, those who cause insurrections to disrupt the peace, are, in one form or another, forced to leave Portelinha. He makes only one exception because of a huge community intervention. He permits Zé da Feira, an alcoholic and musician, to remain in Portelinha after Zé destroys a large part of it through a fire he accidentally sets, on the condition that he faithfully attends Alcoholics Anonymous (see Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 1).

In addition to maintaining law and order, Juvenal sits in judgment in his “throne room.” On a regular basis, community members with any questions and/or grievances enter the throne room to speak with Juvenal on a first come, first served basis.

Repeatedly, Juvenal demonstrates that he is “in the know” regarding all aspects of his people. He knows their issues, who they are and how they are connected, and he knows how to solve their problems. He does so quickly, easily and surprisingly successfully. Juvenal’s position and actions seem to represent a type of strongman or paternalistic politics, a tradition that Brazil has struggled through since colonial times, as highlighted in Chapter 6. It is possible that author Aguinaldo Silva is juxtaposing this older, traditional leadership style with that of Evilásio Caó, as will be further highlighted in the next chapter. In brief reference, the styles of these two men conflict; Evilásio prefers a more modern, more democratic approach to governing residents of Portelinha.

A prime example of Juvenal’s paternalistic approach is his first encounter with Célia Mara and Duda. Célia Mara downsizes from the house her father left her and moves to Portelinha with her daughter Clarissa to economize. Duda, the young filmmaker who will direct the Oscar-winning “Battle of Portelinha,” wants to move to Portelinha to begin his documentary on the favela. When at a neighbor’s recommendation Célia Mara visits Juvenal’s throne room to familiarize herself with the association, she is called up and introduced to both Juvenal and Duda. Neither Célia Mara nor Duda have opportunity to say anything to Juvenal; he already knows who each is, even that Célia Mara is of Portuguese descent, although neither has ever even seen him before. Swiftly, he welcomes them, arranges that Duda will rent from Célia Mara and dismisses them. Amazed and somewhat charmed, Célia Mara tells Duda she’s never seen anything like him (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 1). This is an example of how an older, more traditionalist governing style can be romanticized. It also reflects how Juvenal, like a father, understands his family and anticipates its needs and solutions to those needs.

Juvenal sees to it that members of the ideal family also enjoy shelter. All residents work together to help neighbors have homes. When Portelinha is first created, it is only land, but through group efforts, housing goes up. When Zé da Feira's fire breaks out and destroys a large part of the favela, refuge is provided in the Samba School until housing can be rebuilt; Juvenal promises his people that no one will stay out on the street (see Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 2). Workers are seen rebuilding houses, like when Maria Eva brings her tours of foreigners to show off Portelinha (see Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 4).

Juvenal also ensures members of his "ideal" Portelinha benefit from security. As noted in Chapters 4 and 6, security is a huge issue in favelas. Within "ideal" Portelinha, members enjoy peace, feel free to use the pooled transportation, have access to plentiful supplies of food and take pleasure in camaraderie. To elaborate, Juvenal asks Dália what she wants in one of his earliest conversations with her. She says she's passed through a lot in life, and all she wants is peace. Juvenal tells her that's what everyone wants, and that's – basically – why they are in Portelinha, the favela (notes from Wednesday, Dec. 5, 2007, Episode 57, Block 1). In fact, often as panoramic shots of Portelinha are shown, telenovela viewers see the banner, "Aqui se vive in Paz [Here, you live in peace]" (see, for example, Saturday, Nov. 10, 2007, Episode 36, Block 2). Sometimes, the serenity Portelinha people savor also comes from financial security; in a few instances Juvenal offers to lend money to those seriously in need and "be your bank" (see, for instance, Tuesday, Nov. 27, 2007, Episode 50, Block 5). It can also stem from Juvenal's paid protection, like when he gives Ezequiel money to support him in his personal mission to protect Renato (see Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 2).

Residents also benefit from pooled transportation; for a small fee, they often take the mini-vans from central points to wherever it is people need to go. In one such incident, Juvenal's daughter Solange hops on without small change. When the driver refuses to take her without payment, Gislaine, who is Misael's daughter, speaks up in her defense: "Hmph! Like the daughter of Juvenal even needs to pay!" she says. Although law-enforcer Juvenal would probably have been upset had he known, the driver apologizes and takes Solange where she wants to go (see Saturday, Nov. 10, 2007, Episode 36, Block 4).

In addition to Bernardino's famous restaurant, Castle of Saint George, which constantly receives fantastic reviews from Rio magazines in the telenovela (see, for example, Wednesday, April 30, 2008, Episode 183, Block 2), food seems abundant throughout Portelinha. Many street vendors sell snacks, and Solange is *constantly* eating lots of appetizing-looking foods. At least once, a boy jokes that at the rate she's going/eating, she will end up like a whale. Solange is not impressed (see Friday, March 28, 2008, Episode 155, Block 4).

Finally, camaraderie among residents makes for very friendly living arrangements. Lots of parties and dances occur (see, for example, Monday, April 14, 2008, Episode 169, Block 2), residents jointly view the Oscar-winning documentary "Battle of Portelinha" (see Wednesday, Jan. 23, 2008, Episode 99, Block 3), neighbors socialize (see, for instance, Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 4), and familial disputes become community entertainment (see, for instance, Bernardino's family's argument drawing an impressive crowd Saturday, Nov. 10, 2007, Episode 36, Block 2).

Juvenal also cares for his people as a father would in regard to their health or physical well-being, as at least three examples evidence. One is the funding he provides Alzira so her husband can undergo his life-saving heart surgery (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4). Another is his response to the alcoholic Zé da Feira, as noted. A third is his treatment of Dália during Bernardinho's dinner and the tense situation that arose when Bernardinho's mother called Dália out on her drug addiction. Juvenal had also seen the needle marks on Dália's arms, yet — sensitive to his role as a dinner guest rather than head of their Portelinha — he said nothing until a ruckus was raised. He recommended that they resume eating and leave Dália “in peace” for the evening. Juvenal's quiet dignity yet stern resolve soothed the party's and Dália's ruffled nerves as well as commanded order during a chaotic occasion (see Friday, Nov. 2, 2007, Episode 29, Block 4). Again, this is similar to how a family in a difficult situation would have reacted to a persuasive and authoritative father figure.

Education in the “ideal” family of Portelinha is likewise given attention. Many residents are able to attend the Universidade Pessoa de Morães through the scholarship opportunities Dona Branca creates at her university specifically to help her poor neighbors empower themselves to achieve a higher socio-economic status (see Tuesday, Oct. 9, 2007, Episode 8, Block 4). Although in the telenovela the scholarship seems simple to obtain, school funding is not so easily come by in the real Brazilian world, as noted in the affirmative action discussion in Chapter 4. In *Duas Caras*, students from Portelinha perform so well that Célia Mara, co-head of the university, suggests to Dona Branca that they host a celebration to honor the students' excellent achievement (Friday, May 31, 2008, Episode 209, Block 4).

Perhaps because Portelinha represents the “ideal” family, it is not without scandal; it also has its quirks or oddities. One is the cabaret that operates in the favela. The sensuous pole dancing performances not only draw a large male Portelinha audience within the telenovela, but also an impressive share of and controversy among the real TV Globo viewership. TV Globo was forced to raise its rating for the 8 p.m. telenovela to TV 14 (not suitable for children under the age of 14). In its defense, TV Globo argued pole dancing is an international physical fitness rage (Lettiere, 2007). In addition, the various assassination attempts on Juvenal’s life created a lot of buzz. While the first one almost succeeds in killing him (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 1), the second is manipulated into an event to secure him more votes in the municipal election, as will be discussed in the next chapter (see Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 3). Implications from Juvenal’s absence during his recuperation from the first assassination attempt will also be addressed in the following chapter.

Stretching the notion of family to community, and emphasizing Juvenal’s culturally-familiar and -rooted in paternalism governance, Portelinha in fact represents an “ideal” family. It ties to the tradition of paternalism in Brazilian leadership threaded throughout this dissertation, which is most notably emphasized in Chapter 6 to this point. In the telenovela portrayal of Portelinha, there is no want. It has law and order, offering security and many valued freedoms to its members. Residents live in peace, have access to transportation, and have certain health conditions looked after. They also can benefit from education, some by receiving a scholarship to the nearby highly-reputed Universidade Pessoa de Morães. And although the community has some questionable locations and events, it becomes what Juvenal foresaw as a favela that “will be special,

because it's being built by their sweat" (Tuesday, Oct. 9, 2007, Episode 8, Block 4).

Juvenal also feels Portelinha "...is a slum that I control with my antennas" (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 3). Perhaps this is because of his level of commitment and sacrifice, Juvenal claims his work in Portelinha is his marriage, his life (Friday, May 31, 2008, Episode 209, Block 4).

The typical Brazilian family overcomes prejudice and redefines the nation-state Brazil

What is a "typical Brazilian family?" The answer to this question is constantly in flux, and it changes depending on the location in Brazil in which one lives. As interpreted and presented in *Duas Caras*, the typical family portrayed merges fictive and factual definitions in a way such that a generally accepted model is pliable. Family size, family customs and family behaviors, as this section will more fully address, indicate that the variety of Brazilian family represented in the telenovela can overcome deeply rooted prejudice and, degree by degree, ultimately redefine the nation-state Brazil.

Regarding family size and lifestyle, telenovelas have had a profound influence on the lives of Brazilians, as discussed in Chapter 3. For instance, real-life families have decreased how many children they have, becoming smaller over time, mirroring fictive telenovela family sizes ("Telenovela and Socio-Cultural Impacts," 1992). In line with this portrayal, all *Duas Caras* families are fairly small, averaging one to three children.

In addition, Brazilian divorce rates have increased. In a recent study of TV Globo telenovelas performed by the InterAmerican Development Bank, it was reported that over the two decades that were studied, an estimated 800,000 more couples separated or divorced. The numbers are expected to increase, at least because of emancipated

women's roles and the critique of traditional values (Downie, 2009). Célia Mara's character in *Duas Caras* is one example of a TV Globo woman portraying an emancipated role. Miserable in her marriage, she divorces her husband Antônio and seeks after an education, something he had consistently denied her.

While family size has perhaps come to imitate telenovela portrayal, telenovelas reflect other elements of traditional, normalized Brazilian life. One example is how even grown children live at home in *Duas Caras*. This propensity in actual Brazilian life cuts across gender and classes; male or female, rich or poor, children tend to live with their parents generally until they marry⁴⁷. For instance, to a U.S. native viewing *Duas Caras*, it might appear odd to see *Silvia*, the telenovela villainess and a Parisian-educated professional, living with her mother Dona Branca, or *Júlia*, also a well-educated woman and professional, staying at home with her mother and father. Even Barretinho, *Júlia*'s brother and a young lawyer, remains at home with Barreto and Gioconda. Evilásio and his sister Gislaine⁴⁸ also live with their father Misael. Additional examples include Fernanda residing with her mother Barbara, who is Ferraço's chief confidant and the administrator of his household, and Benoliel, who is Fernanda's fiancé, staying with his parents Dona Amara and Bernardo. These examples, however, are part of the status quo; the notion of children living at home is culturally accepted and appropriate. This normalized behavior helps mask other boundary-pushing notions that might not be so easily acceptable were they not to be associated with hegemonic, accepted traditions.

⁴⁷ And although this is not the case in *Duas Caras*, sometimes married children continue to live at home until other arrangements can be made.

⁴⁸ By American standards, it might seem more appropriate for Gislaine to live at home, since she is a college student attending the local university Universidade Pessoa de Morães.

Miscegenation is one such risky notion, one that, accepted or not, is powerfully portrayed in *Duas Caras*. Although miscegenation, or the mixing of races, as discussed in Chapter 4, is such a fundamental criterion of the Brazilian way of life, racial prejudice surrounding it remains strong and controversial in Brazil. The mythic notion of racial democracy proposed and touted as a unifying mantra in Brazil since the 1930s cannot disguise how insupportable race differences continue to be within the Brazilian system. In *Duas Caras*, this struggle for racial acceptance is both blatant and indirect.

The outstanding example of the blatant Brazilian struggle with racial acceptance, especially of inter-racial marriage, is Barreto and his reaction in *Duas Caras* to the miscegenation occurring in his own posterity. His first great reality check that literally shatters his world occurs within the safety of his own home when he hosts a dinner party. Because of the important this scene has in *Duas Caras* and the degree of relevant social commentary it portrays, I will go into great depth about it.

Barreto's wife Gioconda, as a great lady of Carioca or Rio society, is excited to participate in this event. Her table place setting is immaculate and elaborate, and she sets out her wedding china for guests as her indication of the specialness of the evening and party. Promptly, at 9 p.m., the doorbell rings. Gioconda is surprised that guests would actually arrive on time, seeing that being fashionably late is another element of Brazilian culture; tardiness is understood and accepted, and the later one is, the more important s/he is. Gioconda herself attends the door and finds Evilásio. She freezes, unsure of what to do with a black man at her entryway. Her dear friend who has been helping her in her party preparations rescues her by introducing Evilásio to her and welcoming him in. Rather than address Gioconda's shock that an Afro-Brazilian is at her door, the friend steers the

conversation to the surprise of Evilásio's punctuality. Gioconda picks up on the subtle social cue and gracefully interacts.

Barreto, however, is not so polite. From the first moment he encounters Evilásio, his comments grow more demeaning and he continually offers Evilásio drink after drink with the obvious intent of getting them both drunk. Júlia asks her mother to intercede, since she and all the dinner guests are made uncomfortable by the interaction. Gioconda's solution is to call everyone to the table for dinner.

As they sit down to eat, Barreto pointedly asks Evilásio what he thinks of the wine. A pregnant pause ensues as Evilásio surprisingly and pleasingly sips, swishes and intelligently describes it. All guests smile and appreciate Evilásio's critique, except for Barreto. Since his attempt to have Evilásio humiliate himself failed, he verbally lashes out at Evilásio in a barrage of racial slurs, calling Evilásio filth, a slum dweller, a beast, the reason for Brazil's problems. Júlia demands that her father apologize. He refuses in front of his guests, who defend Evilásio. The following interaction ensues:

Congressman Narciso Tellerman: "As a lawyer, Barreto, you should know it's criminal what you're saying."

Barreto: "As a congressman, you only care about their vote."

As a summary of the sequence:

Narciso says Barreto is demonstrating a huge ignorance of their [Brazilian] history, their culture, their sport, their music, all done by Afro immigrants! He bangs on the table, saying he loves this land, and its soul is black! Barreto says he only says that because he's a politician. If his daughter were to get involved with a black man... Gioconda says but that's not the case here. Júlia and Evilásio are just... Júlia interrupts screaming. Narciso says if he had children, he would be proud if they had the character and dignity that Evilásio does. Barreto says you need to have a daughter. Afterward, come and chat.

Silent to this point, Evilásio finally tells Barreto he will leave the same way he came in, with his head held high. With dignity. With manners. The way his father, a black carpenter, taught him. The only person humiliated is Barreto in front of

his guests. Such nonsense. Such ignorance. And he excuses himself (notes from Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 5).

Later that evening, Barreto collapses mumbling about how his daughter, who he raised with so much love, is after the likes of them (Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 5).

Barreto demonstrates his bigotry throughout *Duas Caras*. Once he realizes his prayers for Júlia to walk away from Evilásio are not enough (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 1), he justifies the deliberate actions he takes to force Júlia away from Evilásio as “anything to protect my family” (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 5). Barreto has his apartment security people alert him to Júlia’s and Evilásio’s comings and goings (see, for example, (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 1). He spies on them from his balcony (Tuesday, Nov. 27, 2007, Episode 50, Block 5). He arranges a police blockade for Evilásio’s arrest (see Tuesday, Nov. 27, 2007, Episode 50, Block 5, and Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 4). He interferes with and tries to ruin Evilásio’s credit/finances (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 5). He also becomes physically ill and chokes when he learns Júlia and Evilásio have kissed (Friday, Nov. 2, 2007, Episode 29, Block 2). Later, although Júlia has a high-risk pregnancy, is confined to bed, and requests that her husband stay at her family’s house with her, Barreto ensures Evilásio does not; his “You can’t be serious?!” response makes Evilásio feel so unwelcomed he refuses to stay (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 1).

Meanwhile, three separate reactions to racial interactions are occurring. Barreto is aware that his son, Barretinho, also favors Afro-Brazilian women. Yet he ignores his son’s interludes, even the ones under his own roof in which Barretinho makes refused advances to their maid (Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 2). In another scene, a young woman who Barretinho has been after comes crying to their apartment to

complain that Barretinho's incessant pursuit, which she has denied, has ruined her marriage. "You have no shame. Just because you're a rich boy you think you can do what you want with a black girl from the hill and there won't be consequences" (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4).

One of the possible reasons for Barreto's overlooking of his son's interests in Afro-Brazilian women is the historic root miscegenation has in the mulatta myth, as discussed in Chapter 4. Deeply embedded in Brazilian culture and even current European touristic interest in Brazil is the alluring beauty of Brazilian black and mulatto women. This implies that white male pursuit of black women is acceptable, since it is part of Brazil's history. It is part of the "slight of hand" or less visible representations of dominant male behavior in Brazil. Perhaps a double standard excusing male behavior, white male with black female miscegenation continues to be framed in *Duas Caras* as culturally tolerable and exotic, in comparison to white women being with black men.

Another response to racial interactions is Gioconda's progressive attitude and open-minded behavior. As noted earlier, Gioconda is initially hesitant to welcome an Afro-Brazilian into her home. She also joins her husband in prayer for Júlia to desist from her relationship with Evilásio. Yet Gioconda is curious and takes risks; on her own she ventures into Portelinha and finds herself in what later will be known as "The Battle of Portelinha." When her daughter questions her about her visit to the favela, especially during what became a dangerous situation with the first assassination attempt on Juvenal, Gioconda gives a nonchalant response: "You asked me to become familiar with the favela so I could understand why you like Evilásio, so I went" (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 2). Because of how well Evilásio treated Gioconda during her visit,

especially with the “Battle” conditions, she changes her opinion toward him. She, her friend and her sister-in-law Dona Branca encourage Júlia’s relationship with Evilásio, telling her he must care a great deal for her because of how he treated Gioconda. Júlia is further amazed as her mother gives her dating advice, telling her to “act civil” with Evilásio (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 2).

Gioconda continues to support her daughter’s relationship and her son-in-law. She compliments Evilásio on his manners, calling him a gentleman (Wednesday, April 30, 2008, Episode 2008, Block 2). While attending one of Evilásio’s electoral speeches, which will be discussed in the next chapter, Gioconda whispers to Júlia that “this is a true man” (notes to Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 5). She often will visit Júlia and Evilásio in their home in Portelinha to take care of her grandson (see, for example, Tuesday, March 4, 2008, Episode 134, Blocks 2, 3). She invites friends, who are all prominent women in Carioca society, to take tea with her in Portelinha, calling their tea parties “Shock of Reality” gatherings (Saturday, May 24, 2008, Episode 204, Block 1).

Gioconda’s resulting familiarity with the favela introduces her to various social programs, like the nongovernmental agency that is formed to help stop sexual violence and the trafficking of women, and her service in public affairs increases (see, for example, Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 4, and Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Blocks 3, 4). Eventually, Congressman Narciso Tellerman suggests she run for and helps her successfully become elected as a federal senator, largely based on her involvement and notoriety (Friday, May 31, 2008, Episode 209, Blocks 4, 5).

Different from her traditional white male husband, Gioconda is forward thinking; she is accepting of racial diversity and an agent of change who simultaneously maintains

her strong relationships with her husband and her children who hold opposing sentiments. Gioconda is like many Brazilian feminists who have led various movements to help better women's conditions and opportunities in Brazil, as noted in Chapter 4. Aligning with this historical trajectory, Gioconda is framed as an elegant, gentle, sophisticated woman who is able to win hearts and minds through her charm during tense times. She also persuades public advancement, what she terms "acting civilly," on controversial topics. For instance, Gioconda's role in helping to fight the sex trafficking of women, an issue highlighted in Chapter 4, is a definite political statement in support of this movement. *Duas Caras* clearly frames this societal issue as a negative problem and calls on all Brazilians to be aware of and act against it⁴⁹.

A third type of racial interactions portrayed in *Duas Caras* within the theme of the "typical Brazilian family" is Barreto's transition from bigot to being generally prejudiced. His increased tolerance for Afro-Brazilians occurs through the hospitalization and near loss of Barretinho. Realizing he may lose his son once he and Gioconda decide to pull the life-support system plug is the turning point for Barreto. He observes Sabrina, their maid who had initially refused Barretinho's advances but who has realized she loves him, constantly by Barretinho's side. Comatose Barretinho is responsive through eye twitches to Sabrina's touch (Friday, March 28, 2008, Episode 155, Block 4).

Barreto's concern for his son's well being almost drives him crazy. After crying with his wife and revealing he is afraid of losing all hope (Friday, March 28, 2008,

⁴⁹ *Duas Caras*' Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113 dedicates a substantial amount of airtime to this topic with the story of how Gioconda and others prevent Gislaine's cousin and other girls from leaving Brazil unbeknownst to them in a sex trafficking scandal.

Episode 155, Block 4), Barreto responds to an urgent call from his client Ferraço. The following sequence summary explains:

Ferraço, in his garden room, speaks with Barreto about his arrangement with Juvenal [to rebuild houses destroyed during Portelinha's fire].

Barreto says his priority is still his son; he only came so immediately because Ferraço said it was an urgent matter.

Ferraço says he can't be inconvenienced with the details of his son. Barreto grabs Ferraço by the gown and yells at him.

Ferraço tells him to calm down. How would he, Ferraço, like it if Barreto spoke that way about his son? How can he, Ferraço, be inconvenienced, when it is not his son who is in the hospital and his wife is there, too, both needing him!? How can he demand that Barreto take care of Ferraço's business in these circumstances?!

Ferraço says he's taken care of Barreto's family all these years, including paying for the hospital bill. Barreto tells him not to worry about it; Barreto won't waste Ferraço's time. Barreto leaves.

Bárbara enters. She tells Ferraço that Barreto is stressed because of his son. (Friday, March 28, 2008, Episode 155, Block 5)

As this *Duas Caras* excerpt exemplifies, Barreto is a concerned parent. He was worried for Júlia. He thought his behavior to steer his little girl away from a *black* member of a lesser social class was warranted; how could Evilásio provide for her? For his son, though, he could not do anything. All the money in the world may not have been able to save Barretinho. As a result, Barreto's love for his son in particular spurs his ability to reconsider the important elements of life and to generally overcome his hatred toward Afro-Brazilians. He becomes more accepting of Evilásio as his son-in-law and of his grandson through Júlia and Evilásio (see, for example, Wednesday, April 30, 2008, Episode 2008, Block 2). Later, when picking up Barretinho and Sabrina from the airport along with their little baby, Barreto involves himself in a huge fistfight with a taxi driver

who makes a racial comment about his black daughter-in-law. With a neck brace on and slurred speech, Barreto says to his family, “I taught that *#! to respect my family and to not have racial prejudice!” (Friday, 31 May 2008, Episode 209, Block 4).

Although Barreto comes to accept his children’s black spouses and love his brown grandchildren, he is not necessarily tolerant toward all Afro-Brazilians. For example, when an Afro-Brazilian joins Barreto and several white colleagues in an elevator at his law offices, Barreto exits. He says the Afro-Brazilian is crazy to think he, Barreto, would ride the elevator with him (Saturday, April 5, 2008, Episode 162, Block 1).

Within the theme of “the typical Brazilian family,” Barreto demonstrates two conflicting natures. On one hand, he’s actively against his daughter marrying a black man and chooses to ignore his son’s similar interests. On the other, once he almost loses his son and realizes how precious his children are to him, he confronts his own attitude. His resolve is to at least behave tolerably toward the historically fundamental basis of Brazilian society: miscegenation, or the mixing of blood. But his behavior is conditional, limited to his own family, as his outburst at his office elevator, noted earlier, demonstrates. The indirect implications of Barreto’s behavior clearly frame miscegenation as being okay in the typical Brazilian family, if it’s all in the family. However, familial toleration may not extend to the larger society.

As portrayed in *Duas Caras*, the typical Brazilian family is small, is more likely over time to have divorced parents, and includes grown children living at home. Through the framing of Gioconda’s character, the “typical” family is encouraged to be socially and politically active. Women, at the least, from these examples, should be aware of and work to fight social ills such as violence against and the sexual trafficking of women. While

miscegenation has occurred over time, rich white male interests in poor colored women are framed in culturally-accepted terms as acceptable, in the example of Barreto. However, rich white women's interests in poor black men is traditionally taboo. But both can be acceptable if white children of a privileged family choose strong black spouses. Another way to read this in traditional Brazilian cultural terms is that acceptance into a higher social class can minimize racial prejudice — class trumps race. The typical Brazilian family represented in *Duas Caras* is a metaphor for Brazilian society. It sends an ambitious message. It is possible to overcome negativity and even stupidity toward a historical practice within one generation. This *should* and needs to happen. As individuals and familial decision makers overcome prejudice, sphere of influence by extended sphere of influence, the nation-state of Brazil can be redefined. It can and should be tolerant.

“Family first, family forever” is a salient latent TV Globo 8 p.m. telenovela frame. Given the historical predominance of family themes in telenovelas, as previously highlighted, it can almost be expected that *Duas Caras* would, somehow, present this frame. What is unique, however, is how the frame “Family first, family forever” is defined and what themes it comprises. In this case, it evokes four family themes. As has been evidenced, “The (non)traditional family allows freedom and inculcates leadership.” Maria Paula, Ferraço and Renato's very non-traditional relationship best exemplifies this theme. In regard to the second theme, “The modern family redefines group love,” Dália demonstrates she is a dedicated leader in her contemporary family of three parents to one little girl. In the third theme, “The ideal family is a safe and supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities,” Portelinha is pedestalled as a model community within a culturally-

heavy paternalism context. In the fourth, “The typical Brazilian family overcomes prejudice and redefines the nation-state Brazil,” Barreto typifies the embodiment of ups and downs of the current-day struggle for racial equality in Brazil.

In each “Family first, family forever” frame theme, regardless of the type of family to which each character belongs, another tenet is evident: family members are dedicated to their families. Maria Paula’s love for her son Renato empowers her to again trust Ferraço and remarry him. Ferraço’s newly developed love for Renato and rekindled love of Maria Paula helps him to endure the cost of reuniting their family. Dália, Heraldo and Bernardinho are persecuted in their community for their decision to be a threesome and have three parents legally declared for “their” daughter Ana Rosa Maria.

Juvenal almost dies “twice” in his service to his Portelinha people. As a strong father figure, or paternalistic leader, he ensures his people are safe, have shelter, transportation and food, keep and enjoy the peace, and have access to health and education. Like any family, Portelinha is not without its quirks, like the cabaret. This aside, the fictive favela attempts to say free from drugs including alcohol and crime; it is a model favela well maintained by Juvenal. Further, Barreto and Gioconda, in varying degrees, demonstrate non-normalized behavior and accept Brazilianized miscegenation. In each case, family members give their allegiances to their families, regardless of cost.

Within this “Family first, family forever” frame, threads of power or authority are hinted at but not discussed. For example, what is it about Juvenal that permits him to remain in power in Portelinha? How and why is Evilásio a strong character? The next chapter answers these questions as well as others. Its intent is to argue the second major frame that emerges from *Duas Caras*, “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence.”

CHAPTER 10: Telenovela Frame II: It's Not the Position that Rules, But the Influence

Lázaro Ramos is the actor who portrays TV Globo's first black hero in an 8 p.m. telenovela: *Evilásio Caó*. Débora Falabella stars as Evilásio's love interest and wife Júlia. In a commentary⁵⁰ between the two stars and the *Duas Caras* author, Aguinaldo Silva says he believes their romance was a victory and the greatest of the telenovela. He also says he's very happy with the two characters and the two actors. In response, Lázaro tells Aguinaldo he's very happy with the courage Aguinaldo has to create a character like his, and that Aguinaldo "has a story to tell... This is a democracy with opportunity for all. I feel privileged... There were moments, principally in the beginning of the telenovela, that were benchmarks... You were provoking society the entire time to reflect upon various topics... Thank you very much and congratulations."

Mr. Ramos' tone of voice as he speaks in response to Aguinaldo Silva's message is one of respect and sincerity. His manner is indicative of the power a telenovela author has over his current telenovela plot and the actors who represent his characters. It also tips off his recognition of and subservience to the author's power to pick and choose the actors with whom he will work in the future. For example, press reports surrounding *Duas Caras*' creation highlight how the role of Dona Branca was specifically written so the actress Suzana Vieira could portray her and work with Silva (Redação Terra, 2006).

⁵⁰ This interview, "Grande romance da novela foi de Evilásio e Júlia [The great romance of the novela was between Evilásio and Júlia]," can be read about and viewed at <http://duascaras.globo.com/Novela/Duascaras/Bastidores/0,,AA1681948-9154,00.html>. Retrieved July 11, 2009.

Like the influence telenovela authors have over their characters and the stars who play them, main telenovela characters have a certain momentum or dynamic within the storyline. In *Duas Caras*, the influence of several characters indicates another salient latent telenovela frame, “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence.” As referenced in Chapter 8, this frame is deeply embedded in Brazilian culture. As noted in Chapter 6, Brazil has a history of patron-client relationships that are very paternalistic as well as position oriented. Part of this tradition stems from its turbulent history, with democratic periods following imperial Portuguese rule in colonial times and sandwiching (military) dictatorships. In a sense, this is similar to a “good ol’ boys” system; people in positions of power invite their friends to join them, or, as in this very case, telenovela authors create roles for favored actors/actresses to play. In the United States, this idea is similar to what we term nepotism or networking. In Brazil, this concept is understood as social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), as touched upon in Chapter 3.

For the intents and purposes of this frame, “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence,” it is necessary to briefly distinguish between position and influence. “Position” denotes a recognized space or arrangement of rank or power. It is a post that someone occupies in a structured environment, like a president of an organization. For example, according to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, position can be defined as a “relative place, situation, or standing... social or official rank or status; an employment for which one has been hired ...; a situation that confers advantage or preference”⁵¹. “Influence,” however, is arbitrary and fluid. It is not necessarily associated with structure. It connotes the ability to persuade or sway. For example, according to the

⁵¹ Information retrieved Aug. 10, 2009, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/position>.

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, influence can be defined as “an emanation of spiritual or moral force; the act or power of producing an effect without apparent exertion of force or direct exercise of command; corrupt interference with authority for personal gain; the power or capacity of causing an effect in indirect or intangible ways”⁵². With this basic conceptualization, the frame “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” is defined to mean that although certain people may absorb the spotlight and appear in power, others behind the scenes actually rule.

Four themes support this frame: first is “Will the true leader of Portelinha step forward: Misael Caó;” second is “Black men can succeed;” third is “White men rule education through their influence;” and fourth is “Race is personal, not political.”

Will the true leader of Portelinha step forward: Misael Caó

From the first *Duas Caras* episode, Juvenal Antena is shown to be a uniquely talented leader, one who Congressman Narciso Tellerman suspects has political intentions (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 2). Juvenal is undeniably charismatic, astonishingly well networked and knowledgeable about his people and surroundings and enjoys a type of “divine right” in his ability to govern; he survives two assassination attempts and likes to joke “that God and he are like this [fingers crossed]” (Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 2). It seems that Juvenal’s influence coats and bonds the favela. Whenever a Portelinha resident has a question or a dispute, as noted in the previous chapter, s/he visits Juvenal’s throne room to discuss the matter with him

⁵² Information retrieved Aug. 10, 2009, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/influence>.

and seek his advice. Yet Juvenal, in his position as “father of Portelinha,” is not the individual who actually rules the favela. Behind the scenes is a quiet chief who steers the affairs of the community. The rightful leader of Portelinha is Misael Caó, Juvenal’s boyhood friend. Three instances evidence his true control of the model favela.

The first instance of Misael’s true governance was highlighted in the previous chapter. When Juvenal is called in his position as security leader to disband the group of northerners from their contracted land, Misael approaches and coaches Juvenal as to what to do. Misael has been selected by the northerners to speak with Juvenal, since they are aware they have known each other since their youth (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 1). Juvenal faces an ethical quandary; does he, as a pledged law enforcer, obey his orders and get the people onto the buses to return to nothing in the North, or does he take their side and abide by the contracted promise given to the people that they could come and work the land they were standing on? Referring to the former option, Misael says he never would have thought the boy Juvenal capable of such a thing (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 1). As Juvenal paces wrestling with the goose bumps he said he felt when Misael shared his lesson of brotherhood from the northerners with him, Misael tips Juvenal’s decision in the northerners’ favor: “The hour has arrived... Time for Juvenal to be king!” (Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1, Block 1). With this final encouragement, Juvenal refuses to do as he was ordered and fights for the northerners. In brief, Misael positions and guides Juvenal to his role as leader of the Portelinha people.

Misael emphasizes his role in Juvenal’s position later in the telenovela. Juvenal has banished Misael’s son Evilásio from Portelinha for no apparent reason; Evilásio was just about to get a business up and running and had not transgressed any laws nor upset

anyone⁵³. Misael feels Juvenal's act exceeds his authority in Portelinha and, hence, is completely out of line. Chastising Juvenal and reminding him of his place, Misael asks, "Do you not remember that many years ago it was I who made it so that you could be the leader of Portelinha?" Please do not forget that, nor that Evilásio is my son and your godson (Saturday, April 5, 2008, Episode 162, Block 1).

A second example of how Misael is the true leader of Portelinha is his delicate management of Juvenal in Juvenal's position as Portelinha head. Juvenal is involved with Alzira, the beautiful nurse who has a dual identity as a star pole dancer. His romance and pending obsession with Alzira distracts from his leadership of the favela; his throne room focus and judgment wane. He seems less in touch with and aware of his community's ongoings. Delicately, Misael asks Juvenal which Juvenal he likes better — the one before, or the one now. Juvenal tells Misael his love for Alzira will not interrupt who he is. He makes an announcement from his balcony — there is only one Juvenal, and he is back! People walking below clap (see Monday, Feb. 25, 2008, Episode 127, Block 4). Misael's influence empowers Juvenal in his position to govern properly or in a way that is more focused and less selfish.

A third hint of Misael's influence behind Juvenal's position as head of Portelina is his sublime steadying of power between Juvenal and his son Evilásio in Evilásio's responsibility as right-hand man to Juvenal. He does this primarily through tactful supervision of his son. Misael is often observed at Evilásio's side, working with him and helping people out (see, for example, Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 1). He also

⁵³ My information here may be lacking because I only saw the sample episodes; more information may have been relayed in other *Duas Caras* scenes. But from what I can surmise, and based upon my understanding of both Juvenal's and Evilásio's characters, this is accurate.

counsels his son at a time when tensions between Juvenal and Evilásio are on the rise; it is becoming more public that the two do not always see eye-to-eye, that their leadership philosophies clash (see, for example, Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 2).

Misael's guidance is nonchalant and opportune but forthright, as this summary points out:

Evilásio arrives home. Misael tells Evilásio if he had arrived a few moments earlier, he would have had dinner with him.

Evilásio says he's not hungry; just took Júlia home and they had pizza.

Misael says he wants to talk with Evilásio about Juvenal.

Evilásio says there are certain things he does not agree with. For example, if two people are fighting, Juvenal makes a decision on who will have the better deal without considering either one's needs.

But this worries Misael. Evilásio is Juvenal's right arm; Misael doesn't want to see the two of them fighting.

Evilásio says this won't happen. (Notes from Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 1)

Misael operates quietly and with stealth to maintain power equilibrium in Portelinha.

A fourth clue to Misael's management of Portelinha is his foundational support of Evilásio, particularly during Evilásio's campaign against Juvenal for the position of city councilman of Portelinha. Evilásio's campaign and its implications will be further discussed in the next theme. But it is important to note here Misael's vision of Portelinha leadership. Through the tender preparation of and support toward his son to become a community leader, Misael exhibits a more progressive attitude of leadership and its transfer; local elections seem an appropriate avenue for that transfer to occur peacefully and naturally. Relating this to larger historical themes noted in Chapter 3, Misael is thus also guiding Portelinha as a community from a mostly benevolent, but paternalistic and

unelected leader toward a democratically elected one, albeit still the son of the unelected background leader of major influence.

Through the theme that Misael is the true leader of Portelinha, the salient latent telenovela frame “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” is clearer. Misael Caó, Juvenal’s friend from childhood, is the force behind the man, the one truly leading the favela. In that Misael is also the strongest support to his son, Evilásio, who represents the next generation of Portelinha’s leadership and progression, Misael’s influence also matters more over time than Juvenal’s formal position. His leadership crosses boundaries of space and time. In addition, Misael’s persuasions factor into Evilásio being the hero of *Duas Caras*.

This has essential implications for Brazilian society. One might wonder, Why can’t Misael step forward? If he’s truly the one in charge, why not take the position? Part of the reason is the people of Portelinha, as Brazilians, are not yet ready. They have been used to the tradition of white men like Juvenal in power. Again, Juvenal’s portrayal is historically accurate and culturally understandable, making it a “taken for granted” and seemingly appropriate or grounded assumption. Therefore, the people of Portelinha, like Brazilians, in general, have to be prepared for a transfer of power involving race.

Misael’s role in influencing Juvenal and being the one truly in power sets the screen, so to speak, for his son Evilásio to come to power in an acceptable “by the rules” fashion. This scenario positively pushes boundaries for black telenovela actors and, through the recognized power of telenovelas in Brazilian culture, black males in Brazilian society.

Black men can succeed

Author Aguinaldo Silva has said that not only is Evilásio the hero of his telenovela *Duas Caras*, but he is also TV Globo's first 8 p.m. telenovela *black* hero. Evilásio is portrayed as the hero through two interwoven perspectives. One is his leadership role in the favela Portelinha and his rise to an elected position. Another is his personal struggle to overcome Afro-Brazilian stereotypes and familial prejudice and bigotry. Both occurrences are culturally rooted in the notion of racial democracy, as addressed in Chapter 4.

Evilásio's election to "vereador" pits him against traditional white leadership, as portrayed in *Duas Caras*. Juvenal is a deft politician; he uses events to his favor to secure votes. He knew, for example, that someone would try to assassinate him at one of his campaign rallies. He prepared by wearing a bullet-proof vest and placing a Bible in his chest pocket over his heart, so that when he was shot, it would appear the Bible saved him, that divine intervention had occurred (Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 5). This kind of event as well as Juvenal's general popularity in the favela seemed to be the reason why Juvenal appeared ahead in the polls, having "twice as many votes as Evilásio" (Wednesday, April 30, 2008, Episode 183, Block 1). Yet Juvenal recognized Evilásio's reputation, the large 17 percent undecided vote and Evilásio's attractiveness as a city councilman to the people. He also reflected that he had personally groomed Evilásio, preparing him since his youth for leadership, having taught him everything he knows (see Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 1).

In a supposed power play, Juvenal proposed ending his candidacy and urging his supporters to vote for Evilásio (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 3). Juvenal's

relinquishing of his campaign could signify a hollow win for Evilásio, considering the two candidates' positions in the polls; it appeared that Juvenal was guaranteed to win. At least two points counter this perception. One is Evilásio's strength through his own status within the community as a strong, wise and "democratic" leader, one who is "on the people's side" (see, for example, Tuesday, Jan. 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 2). As just noted, Evilásio's reputation for governing Portelinha was established when he temporarily assumed Juvenal's position while Juvenal recovered from his first failed assassination attempt (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 1). Juvenal saw Evilásio's growing favor within the community and wondered if his time as leader of Portelinha was passing (Tuesday, Jan. 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 4). A second is the fact that Juvenal was never in command in the first place, as argued in the former telenovela theme; he has no power to transfer. In this sense, Juvenal is a non-candidate, and Evilásio is truly the only candidate running.

There is another level to the power play between Juvenal and Evilásio. Juvenal is white, and Evilásio is black. In the telenovela, Evilásio is framed as many black characters of telenovelas are. For example, he belongs to a lesser social class. This is evident by the possessions the two men own. Juvenal has a car, while Evilásio rides a motorcycle that isn't actually his. Juvenal has a nice and spacious two-story house in Portelinha, with a large two-door fridge. As noted in Chapter 4, refrigerators are a class indicator. Evilásio has a fridge in the small house he will come to live in with Júlia, but it is neither as large nor as nice. However, Evilásio does show his wife that they have a washing machine — another class indicator — when he brings her and their baby home from the hospital to Portelinha (Tuesday, March 4, 2008, Episode 134, Block 1). Their

forms of transportation, the sizes of their houses and the household items they own indicate Juvenal and Evilásio — were they “real” — are at different ends of the lower middle class, or Class C social stratum. (Chapter 4 provides more class structure detail.)

Also typical of how black men have been portrayed in telenovelas, Evilásio is subjugated to Juvenal. He is Juvenal’s right-hand man for most of the telenovela. His secondary role is traditional in Brazil, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. For example, while Evilásio is temporarily ruling Portelinha, Guigui reports to Juvenal, “Portelinha is in good hands... He’s following your instructions and taking care of it just as you would” (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 1). Reinforcing this, on TV Globo black actors do not typically play lead characters. Evilásio’s secondary position to Juvenal is also representative of the current dominant status of white men in power in Brazil, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7; very few Afro-Brazilians are in positions of power, and fewer black men than women appear to be in leadership positions.

A third way that Evilásio, as a black character, is stereotypically portrayed is his initial framing as a sex slave, or gigolo. This stereotypical role for Afro-Brazilian actors was also noted in Chapter 4. For example, even while Evilásio is dating Júlia, he maintains two relationships on the side. One is a pre-existing passion for Guigui, an older white woman who is Juvenal’s office assistant and one of Juvenal’s closest confidants (see, for example, Saturday, Nov. 10, 2007, Episode 36, Block 5). For instance, one evening following an office meeting with Juvenal, Guigui propositions Evilásio: “Can it be tonight?” (Wednesday, Oct. 17, 2008, Episode 15, Block 4). Another is with Solange, Juvenal’s college-aged daughter who is brown. In a flashback, as defined in Chapter 5, Solange remembers kissing Evilásio. She also remembers Júlia walking in on them (see

Friday, Dec. 21, 2007, Episode 71, Block 1). In his gigolo role, Evilásio demonstrates no preference for either his love interest's race or her age.

Over the course of the telenovela, Evilásio overcomes his previous infidelity and proves himself to be a dedicated family man and good father; he loves his wife and son and is proud of being able to provide for them. As was brought up in Chapter 3 and will be further explicated in the following chapter, this is an essential characteristic of a winning Brazilian politician.

Evilásio delivers a powerful acceptance speech at his campaign conclusion. After being carried onto the Samba School stage amid flying campaign posters, falling confetti, cheering supporters and drums being beat to a Samba rhythm, Evilásio emotionally says,

Before I say anything, I want to thank all of you for your support and trust you have placed in me. If I leave victorious, it is because of you all. I will fight with everything in me for the good of this community. I won't stand here repeating messages from the campaign. From this moment forward, these promises will become reality. I only promise, that I commit body and soul to this marvelous community that I will never leave! ... [M]y heart is for my people! (Friday, May 31, 2008, Episode 209, Block 4)

What is also new and different for Evilásio as a black telenovela character is his framing as the hero of *Duas Caras*. As noted earlier in the previous chapter, and as the second main point of this section, he is not only elected a leader of the people, but he also overcomes discrimination inflicted on him through Barreto, his father-in-law. This cannot be understated. Barreto purposively banters, baits, and batters him through trying to humiliate him in public, working to destroy his credit, arranging to have him arrested, and so forth. Yet Evilásio responds with dignity rather than retaliate when under intense pressure and scrutiny from racial and social prejudice. One example that was already highlighted in the last chapter occurred at Barreto and Gioconda's dinner party, where

Barreto throws racial insults at him. In addition, Evilásio attempts to be respectful and work “within the system” to get ahead. To elaborate, as he prepared to run for “vereador,” he bravely approaches Barreto regarding the arrest, asking for Barreto’s help. If it hadn’t been for Barreto, he wouldn’t have been arrested, and he would have a clean record. With Júlia’s intervention, Barreto says he will try to fix the situation, and for her to please stay calm (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 4).

Evilásio’s relationship with Júlia is key. Like many telenovela heroes, Evilásio, in a sense, ascends class strata through his marriage to rich, white Júlia. His sister Gislaine, however, initially wonders “why a girl of rank and status would have anything to do with a slum dweller” (Friday, Nov. 2, 2007, Episode 29, Block 2). Through his wife — who he nicknames “little whitey” (see Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 4) — Evilásio has access to whiteness. Although, as noted in the previous chapter, it is less popular for white women to marry black men, Evilásio is able to break this racial barrier ultimately to be accepted by Barreto.

Evilásio is the hero of *Duas Caras*, pushing boundaries for black telenovela actors as well as blacks in Brazilian society. He matures his leadership skills and is elected “vereador” of Portelinha. His character turns traditional black telenovela character stereotypes inside out by proving he is a loyal family man and marrying “up.” He overcomes significant familial prejudice and bigotry. And he does all this generally by playing along with the rules of the system; Evilásio constantly recognizes Juvenal’s and

Barreto's authority and seems to request power "by their leave"⁵⁴. Black men *can* come to power and succeed.

White men rule education through their influence

Dona Branca is a powerful and alluring woman. She is known as being a "visionary" (Friday, Nov. 2, 2007, Episode 29, Block 3). She is admired and recognized for her personal strength in facing opposition from the press once her husband dies and news of his life-long affair with another woman, Célia Mara, comes out (see Wednesday, Oct. 17, 2007, Episode 15, Block 2). Her charm, beauty (see Friday, Dec. 21, 2007, Episode 71, Block 1), intelligence, strength and positions as owner of the university and president of its board are all reasons for why Dona Branca appears, at first glance, to be the one in control of her Universidade Pessoa de Morães. She definitely dominates the spotlight, and she often calls the important shots. Yet, like Juvenal in Portelinha, Dona Branca is a puppet president; two white men and their influence rule her university. They are Francisco Macieira, the director of the university, and his sidekick Professor Heriberto, the chair of the Physics Department. Three specific incidents evidence Dona Branca's symbolic role.

One of the chief reasons for Dona Branca's non-power is Macieira's front-man status during the lawsuit brought against the university for racial discrimination. This lawsuit is raised when Rudolf, an angry student who is the son of a German father and black mother, cries "racism!" after learning he has been called a zombie. Macieira, whose

⁵⁴ This is the literal translation for the common Portuguese phrase "com licença." This phrase is heavily entrenched in Brazilian culture. It is a common form of etiquette and behavior. In this sense, Evilásio's framing as the *Duas Caras* hero is normalized.

never met the student, asks one day while assigning presentations on an upcoming assignment, “Who is this one student who never shows up? Is he a zombie?” (Tuesday, Jan. 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 4). Rudolf, who has been raising questions of diversity regarding their institution, feels Macieira’s label is the final straw. Rudolf’s accusations and their implications will be further discussed later on in this chapter.

Because of Dona Branca’s positions, it can be assumed that she would be the one to defend her institution as well as the actions of its director. Yet she is absent — insofar as this sample’s episodes go. Macieira responds to press questions (see Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4, and Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 2), meets with the lawyer leading the investigation (see Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4, and Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 2), and navigates the delicate situation with the student body (see Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 3). Macieira’s presence and influence are what guide the university through troubled legal waters.

As a second example, Macieira is also a gifted mediator within the bureaucracy of the university. He alone is able to keep the peace and power balance between Dona Branca and Célia Mara (see, for example, Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 4); through an interesting twist involving Dona Branca’s dead husband João Pedro, Dona Branca and Célia Mara are co-owners of the university (see, for example, Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 4). Originally, Célia Mara was a student at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães who won a scholarship there despite her age because of her determination to study (Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43, Block 2). However, following a DNA test Dona Branca’s daughter Sílvia demanded, Célia Mara learned that her daughter Clarissa and Sílvia are sisters; João Pedro fathered both girls (Friday, Feb. 8,

2008, Episode 113, Block 1). Sílvia signs over her inheritance of the university — half — to her sister, Clarissa (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 4). Clarissa asks her mother to stand in for her, while she completes her education. Yet Célia Mara has not finished her education, lacks experience and battles feelings of inadequacy and inferiority compared with Dona Branca (see Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 5).

Perceptive to Célia Mara's sentiments and situation, Macieira also wisely counsels Célia Mara at crucial moments of her university leadership. He encourages her, asking if she has hope (Saturday, May 24, 2008, Episode 204, Block 2) and gently persuades her, as the following sequence summary shows:

Macieira meets with Célia Mara. He's not there to inform, he's there to ask her what she will do.

Célia Mara says she can't do anything; she has no money. What money they had, she paid the faculty and staff.

Macieira says there's only one thing to do; to ask Dona Branca what to do.

Célia Mara says no; he's not to humiliate her before Dona Branca.

Macieira says that is enough. This is not a game and this is not her pride. She needs to put aside her personal difficulties for the university. (Notes from Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 2)

Macieira's comments reference the time Dona Branca was forced to resign from her positions at the university and on the board for using university funds for personal expenses over 15 months, as an investigation proved (see Friday, March 28, 2008, Episode 155, Blocks 1, 2, 3). Conditional to Dona Branca's resignation, and following Célia Mara's recommendation to the board, Macieira was asked to remain as director of the university. Once again, although Dona Branca should rule her university, Macieira is the one with power and influence to direct university affairs.

Third, prior to and following the change in female university leadership, Macieira (in)directly united with his sidekick, Professor Heriberto, to employ controversial changes in university policy. Initially, the changes were not well received. One of the professors recommended they strike in protest. But Heriberto, although also not impressed with the “large changes that will affect the professors,” suggested they “...wait and see what the radical changes are. It isn’t worth it to fight against the wind, meaning the lack of certainty of what for sure is to come. The changes could be positive...” (Friday, Dec. 21, 2007, Episode 71, Block 1). Through his support to Macieira, Heriberto cemented his sidekick role to Macieira, with his influence also guiding the university’s direction.

Heriberto’s influence was not limited to steering the professors’ support of Macieira. He also stealthily channeled Célia Mara in her role leading up to and as president of the university board during Dona Branca’s removal from office. He worked with Célia Mara to prove Dona Branca was embezzling university funds (see, for example, Tuesday, March 4, 2008, Episode 134, Block 2). He also would visit and call Célia Mara to offer counsel and assistance with university transactions (see, for example, Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 1).

Eventually, it is Macieira and Heriberto’s efforts that propel the university forward so it achieves the rank of being “one of the top five private universities in Brazil” (Friday, May 31, 2008, Episode 209, Block 5). Universidade Pessoa de Morães is Dona Branca’s and Célia Mara’s university. Although Dona Branca dominates the press⁵⁵ and

⁵⁵ Another incident in which Dona Branca receives a great deal of media attention is when riots break out at the university and she is nicknamed “Dama de Titânio [Lady of

limelight regarding her university, it is not her position that guarantees her power to govern. Rather, it is the influence of two white men that rules. That white men rule in the telenovela is a reinforcement of the hegemonic conditions of leadership currently in real-life Brazil, as stipulated in Chapters 4 and 7. This will also be further discussed in the next chapter.

Race is personal, not political

As noted earlier in this chapter, Rudolf is an angry black student who raises a lawsuit against the Universidade Pessoa de Morães, arguing that it is a racist institution. He is also politically active on campus, campaigning to be president of a student association. Yet for as much as Rudolf seeks attention as a martyr for poor Afro-Brazilians in college, his position is not one of power. Rather, two young women achieve what he cannot; their influence unites race and class issues for their gain at the university. Their exchanges typify the affirmative action controversy in Brazil. Three key incidents demonstrate their influence over his position in the telenovela, and exemplify that “Race is personal, not political.”

Regarding the first example, it is important to restate that Rudolf presents himself as a poor Afro-Brazilian who is fighting for the advancement of his people. He carries a tape recorder around campus to capture any racial term he hears, and he often misses classes as he speaks to groups of students about how non-diverse their institution is. For example, one of the days he misses Macieira’s class, he is alerting students to the lack of

the Titanic]” for her bravery amidst the chaos (see Saturday, Nov. 10, 2007, Episode 36, Block 3).

black professors at Universidade Pessoa de Morães (Tuesday, Jan. 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 4).

After missing class and learning that Macieira has called him “a zombie,” Rudolf invites the media to campus and goes public, saying that the university is racist (see Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4). A legal investigation results. During Rudolf and Macieira’s meeting with the lawyer in which Rudolf vehemently claimed that Macieira’s comment was in fact intentional and racist, two students interrupt. One is Gislaine, a poor Afro-Brazilian female, the other is her friend Ramona, a brilliant and rich white female. After hearing the girls’ testimony of Macieira’s unintentional comment, which they witnessed in class, the lawyer decides to suspend the investigation (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4); Rudolf’s effort to bring greater attention to race issues is undermined through Gislaine and Ramona’s persuasion; they convincingly argue that Rudolf’s offense is personal, not political.

In the second example, Rudolf tries to use his failure as evidence that white supremacy again dominates, that the black voice has been silenced. To media waiting outside a meeting with the lawyer, Rudolf says, “As always in this land, the upper hand has been dealt to the whites” (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 3). Gislaine counters Rudolf’s argument in the following sequence summary:

You are an embarrassment to the people who are black.

Rudolf says that from a slum dweller like herself, she is the embarrassment. Gislaine says she is proud to be a slum dweller, and she’s there to get an education, NOT like him... “I am a black girl...” (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 3)

Gislaine’s blend of her gender, race and class trumps Rudolf’s argument that the Universidade Pessoa de Morães is a racist institution and his use of race to substantiate

his claim. Again, although Rudolf has hogged media attention through his position as a poor Afro-Brazilian male, his influence is not what channels the outcome. Further, it is publicly thrown in his face that his fight is personal, not political.

In a third example, Ramona upsets Rudolf's campaign trajectory to become president of the OPM⁵⁶ student government; her influence via Gislaine's urging undermines his efforts for recognized leadership among the student body. Part of Rudolf's platform is his concern that the university is getting worse in its diversity. Rudolf relies on his own example as a poor Afro-Brazilian male to evidence his argument. But Rudolf is far from poor, as Ramona, who has been spying on him, discovers; he's actually extremely rich (see Tuesday, March 4, 2008, Episode 134, Block 3). She had let Gislaine know her finding, and at the electoral speeches, Gislaine pushes for Ramona to out Rudolf. Ramona does so. Humiliated, Rudolf concedes his wealth and his lies and effectively and publicly rescinds his campaign (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 2, 3). Although Ramona feels shame for her actions, Heriberto and other professors say of her involvement in the event that she is a woman in power with a huge future (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 5) Again, the person grabbing the attention, Rudolf, is not the one with the power; an Afro-Brazilian male's influence is shattered by united poor Afro-Brazilian and rich white females' expressed truths. Rudolf is shown to be someone throwing a temper tantrum. He has no real argument, since his anger is personal, not political.

These three instances of Rudolf's debunking in *Duas Caras* are indicative of the Afro-Brazilian male struggles within the Brazilian education system, as noted in Chapter

⁵⁶ It is not clear from the sampled episodes what this acronym stands for.

4. They also seem to be a political attack within the telenovela on real-life affirmative action. This sequence of events seems to feed on a common fear that non-poor blacks will benefit⁵⁷. The underlying assumption is that affirmative action should not be about race, but rather about class. Current examples, as discussed in Chapter 4, seem to legitimize and ground this *Duas Caras* portrayal. Under the current system, deciding race is subjective, and women seem to have more opportunity within the Brazilian system, in general, although other discriminations — such as wage — continue. Rudolf's downturned countenance after three failed attempts at power and position mirror many of the struggles real Afro-Brazilian males continue to experience in mythic Brazilian racial democracy, as discussed in Chapter 4. More attention to this follows in the next chapter.

This chapter has evidenced the salient latent *Duas Caras* frame, “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” through three specific telenovela themes. One is the revelation behind true power in Portelinha. While Juvenal appears the frontman, it is Misael who rules the roost. In so doing, he uniquely sets his son Evilásio up for success. Not only is Evilásio the hero of *Duas Caras*, but he is a progressive force in *Duas Caras* to show that black men are prepared and can be elected to positions of power. Through telenovelas’ influence on Brazilian society, as discussed in Chapter 3, a real-life ramification can include the election of more black men to positions of leadership. This is juxtaposed against the third theme of this frame, that “White men rule education through their influence.” Although Dona Branca appears to be in charge of her own university, she is a puppet president. Whereas Evilásio pulls his “puppet strings” in playing by the

⁵⁷ I owe this insight to Dr. Straubhaar.

system rules to obtain power within the structures that exist, Dona Branca has no strings to pull. She and Célia Mara truly fill a symbolic role. Lastly, Rudolf's "crying wolf" that the Universidade Pessoa de Morães is a racist institution are silenced; two women, one black and poor, the other rich and white, make his argument out to be personal, not political.

While these points may not be completely true to life, as reflections of actual Brazilian society, they are powerful messages from the telenovela author. In addition, given how culturally embedded these concepts are in Brazilian culture and how closely they appear to represent concurrent conditions in Brazil, they raise important societal commentary worth discussing, even if it is uncomfortable.

This notion aligns with the in-between-the-lines message Mr. Ramos' comments recorded at this beginning of this chapter seem to be indicating: While we Brazilians may pretend we live in a racial democracy, we do not; prejudice remains strong, and thanks to Mr. Silva for calling attention to this difficult and tender topic.

The next chapter revisits the initial research questions and hypotheses of this investigation. Now that the salient latent news and telenovela frames have been explicated, it is necessary and important to address intertextuality among the frames to critically explore this study's main purposes in their full and proper context.

CHAPTER 11: Comparison & Discussion of Research Question 1 & Hypotheses

As organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time working symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world, frames can be tricky to understand, but they are fundamental media components. In a way, frames make communication possible, because they rely on common, understood ways of being to transmit ideas through media and, often, influence society.

Frames rarely act alone. What follows summarizes and explains intertextuality among the salient latent news and telenovela frames emerging from 313 Brazilian newspaper and newsmagazine sampled articles spanning Jan. 7, 2007, to April 2, 2008, along with 1,051 telenovela scenes. To restate, intertextuality is the “interpenetration of journalistic discourses in the telenovela and the telenovela as a reference to news and political discourse” (La Pastina, 2004, p. 304).

This chapter also responds to this dissertation’s first research question and its guiding hypotheses, which posit whether or not *Duas Caras* takes framing cues from Brazilian print media. Although a definite pattern for media framing cues is illusive, it is clear that news issues help frame *Duas Caras*’ plot. Education, health and corruption are news cues framed in news and adopted (dis)similarly in *Duas Caras*. Manifest and latent content frames from (alternative) news sources work in tandem to influence public opinion, public attitudes and public behaviors in the social construction of at least a Brazilian national identity.

Salient Latent Frames Revisited

Of the latent news frames that emerge from analysis of 218 *O Jornal* and 95 *Veja/Veja-Rio* print national press articles, two are salient to this exploration of whether news issues help frame *Duas Caras*' plot. One, "The government is the family," signifies government is paternalistic. Brazilians look to the government to claim their rights to shelter, security, health and education, similar to how children depend upon parents or guardians to provide basic life necessities. The corruption that occurs is evidence of governmental failure and imperfection. As is generally the case in families, children struggle through the painful process of maturation and endure parental weaknesses and flaws, even in the best of circumstances. "The government is the family" salient latent news frame houses five manifest content themes. They include "Shelter: No place like home," "Security: Keep us safe and deliver us," "Health: If you haven't got your health, you haven't got anything;" "Education: Please teach us" and "Corruption: No one is perfect, especially not the government."

A second salient latent news frame that emerges from this qualitative framing analysis of selected parts of the Brazilian print national press is "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial." This refers to the Brazilian ideology or widespread belief that it is a racial democracy, as discussed in Chapter 4. This frame indicates that while issues of class and gender may be addressed in ways that make upward social mobility and social inclusion possibilities, racial issues are unaddressed and tend to stymie any such chance for progress. Three manifest content frames or themes comprise this news frame.

The first, "Race in Brazil: It matters if you're black or white," has two components. The first addresses the eerie absence of race. It is decidedly odd that race is

completely absent from news reports. Yet when news photographs are considered alongside news reports, it becomes evident that Afro-Brazilians not portrayed in the Brazilian stereotypical roles of sports, music and other cultural contributions are shown making trouble. For example, the headshots of Afro-Brazilians included in the sample are generally male and female politicians under investigation for fraud.

The second news theme of the frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial” is “Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up.” This theme highlights how women dotting news pages are, generally, shown as beautiful, concerned with beauty or, somewhat paradoxically, in powerful positions. Attention is given to how to better one’s appearance, with different exercise tips and plastic surgery options being included. In some instances, women in the news have the best of all worlds; they have beauty and power. Some “divas” are born into wealth, and some inherit it one way or another.

The third theme of the second news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial” is “Class in Brazil: Money is only the beginning.” Newspaper and newsmagazine reports substantiate that education opens doors and careers provide impetus for class ascension, the ability to progress and better one’s socio-economic position. In the last three years, Brazil’s middle class, Class C, has expanded substantially and is stable, unlike other growth spurts the Brazilian economy has experienced in its history. More Brazilians are able to enjoy not only household basics like TVs and washing machines, but treasures and treats ranging from travel and food to theatre and other luxuries out of reach in the not-so-distant past.

TV Globo’s 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras* has two salient latent frames that emerge from a qualitative analysis of 31 of its episodes ranging from the first episode

through five composite weeks plus the finale. The finale must be included to see what themes last the duration of the telenovela, how themes may change during the novela, and/or how themes are concluded.

One salient latent telenovela frame is “Family first, family forever.” While family frames are common among Brazilian telenovelas, this frame is unique in how it is enacted in *Duas Caras*. It signifies that Brazilians can be grouped into a variety of kinds of family units to which they give their allegiance at some sacrifice. Four manifest content frames or themes infer the salient latent frame regarding family first-ness.

The first theme is that of the (non)traditional family and how members of it experience some kind of liberation and/or mature into leaders. The second theme stretches the notion of the nontraditional family to that of the very modern family, as presented in *Duas Caras* through the unique threesome of Dália, Heraldo and Bernardinho. Their special situation redefines group love.

The third theme of the telenovela frame “Family first, family forever” is “The ideal family is a safe and well-supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities.” The model favela Portelinha is the community best exemplifying this type of familial environment, since its leader Juvenal ensures no resident suffers from want. The fourth theme is “The typical Brazilian family overcomes prejudice and redefines the nation-state Brazil.” Barreto and Gioconda’s union, along with the inter-racial and inter-class marriages of their daughter Júlia and son Barretinho, typifies this metaphor of Brazilian society. Their brown grandchildren result from naturalized miscegenation, which has occurred throughout Brazil’s history, as noted in Chapter 4.

Another salient latent telenovela theme is “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence.” This frame is defined to mean that although certain people may absorb the spotlight and appear in positions of power, others behind the scenes actually rule. Four manifest content frames or themes comprise this frame. The first is “Will the true leader of Portelinha step forward: Misael Caó.” It is through Misael’s behind-the-scenes influence that not only does Juvenal Antena appear to govern Portelinha, but Misael's son Evilásio rises to be the hero of *Duas Caras*. The second theme is “Black men can succeed.” Evilásio’s progressive portrayal as a successful local election candidate and as one who overcomes severe stereotypes and social prejudice in *Duas Caras* has strong implications for Afro-Brazilian men. This is particularly important, given the strong tendency telenovelas have to influence society and public opinion, as noted in Chapter 3.

The third theme of the salient latent telenovela frame “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” is “White men rule education through their influence.” Although rich and beautiful Dona Branca and later, through inheritance, lovely Célia Mara share leadership of the Universidade Pessoa de Morães, they are puppet co-presidents to two white men. The white men’s influence indicates that white male power is needed to guide a university to achievement, as occurs with their school in *Duas Caras*; the women are too emotional and hence incapable. This fictional situation sends a powerful message regarding the current crisis of education in Brazil and how female leadership is not a solution; let the *normal* (white male) leadership handle it. This theme balances and also contradicts the theme of the seeming emergence of Black men and women as powerful in *Duas Caras*. This theme complements the fourth theme of the larger telenovela frame “It’s not the position that governs, but the influence:” “Race is personal, not political.”

A poor Afro-Brazilian female student and a rich white female student use their race and class to debunk and out a rich crusading Afro-Brazilian male student, shouting out that his temper tantrum regarding racial discrimination is *personal* offense, not a valid political statement. This is a direct statement about affirmative action in Brazil, playing on fears that black men may benefit. It also ridicules the idea of affirmative action, suggesting race is an inappropriate or limited qualifier by which to use singly as a ticket for progression or progressive opportunities in education.

Turning now to the first research question,

RQ1: Does Duas Caras take framing cues from Brazilian print media?

A qualitative framing analysis of news reports and photos has been juxtaposed against emergent *Duas Caras* frames to note the intertextuality between frames and frame themes. This exercise has been reflexive and complex, with news reports frames hinting toward what to look for in the telenovela, and the telenovela tipping off ways to make sense of news, current events and social issues. Although differences occur, similarities are abundant. It should be noted prior to fleshing out examples of framing intertextuality that a point-by-point comparison is not feasible; the incidents of intertextuality are fluid and complicated, with frames sometimes overlapping on several levels.

Strong intertextuality and overlap occurs, for example, between the news frame “Government is the family” and the telenovela theme “The ideal family is a safe and well-supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities” in the larger telenovela frame “Family first, family forever.” This is primarily found in the telenovela portrayal of the favela Portelinha. A reason for this overlap between fact and fiction is the culturally-

embedded Brazilian notion of family; family themes run through the press, and family themes have a history of appearing in telenovelas. On another level, this overlap reflects a normalization of favela life, which is typically marginalized in news reports and culturally in societal opinion, through framing it in a way that seems common, familiar, even ideal, as will be explained.

The portrayal of the favela Portelinha in *Duas Caras* demonstrates a nuanced and complex level of intertextuality with favelas framed in news reports. Regarding the news frame themes of shelter and security, news reports and photographs remark on and show the dilapidated conditions of Brazilian favelas: Favelas are crowded, with houses built on top of each other along hillsides; drugs are rampant; crime seems out of control, with people living around favelas having a much better chance of being shot by a random bullet than winning the lottery; and about 12 million “favelados” across Brazil are without the means to meet the basic need of electricity. Meanwhile, in *Duas Caras*’ Portelinha, residents have new houses, even after a fire destroys many of their homes. Panoramic camera shots of the model favela show clean streets and children outside playing in the safe environment. One drug user, Dália, is discovered and sent to the hospital to rehabilitate. An alcoholic is only permitted to stay in the favela when he commits to and attends his Alcoholic Anonymous meetings. Under Juvenal’s tight fist, law and order preside, and dissenters are forced to leave the community. The news reality is bleak; the telenovela fiction represents the same components ideally or hopefully. The components are the same, but the message is different, almost contradictory.

It is the nuanced framing of the situations that makes the message so different and compelling. The framing of favelas in the news reports indicates Brazilians must look to

government for a solution to these various problems. In *Duas Caras*, the governing head is individually paternalistic through Juvenal Antena. Residents look to a person rather than to a governing body for solutions. This ties in with culturally-embedded practices of patron-client relationships, as highlighted in Chapter 6. Further, the negative framing of favelas and favela life found in news reports is reversed in *Duas Caras*. Whereas in real-life “favelados” are marginalized and often looked down upon, residents of Portelinha appear to live safe, fairly normal, even desirable lives in the favela, given its security and abundance. This framing *could* be true, seeing as Senator Benedita Silva and her family are known to live in a favela in Rio and do well. Parts of many favelas have significantly upgraded housing that appears to be part of the growing lower middle class. This fictional “slight of hand” pushes society’s accepted boundaries, normalizing the favela and favela life. It opens space at least for contemplation of a difficult societal issue, providing a “cultural forum” (Newcomb, 1974; Newcomb & Hirsch, 1994; Straubhaar, 2007) for the reconsideration of favelas and favela residents as something other than objects of prejudice. Normalization of favela life in *Duas Caras* invites a different consideration of how things truly are in favelas and proposes how favelas and favela life can be.

Additional news reports within the news theme of security also call on the government for better commuter transportation and decry federal agencies and regulations for the TAM air-flight tragedy of July 2007, among other aviation concerns. In *Duas Caras*, a community shuttle is offered to residents. And although not given attention in this study's telenovela frame analysis because of its isolated occurrences in the sampled episodes, it is shown how one *Duas Caras* character is absolutely terrified of flying. He begs Ezequiel and his congregation to pray for him. While the camera shows

the plane taking off from one of Rio's airports, viewers hear the voice-over of him on the plane screaming that he wants to get off.

This airport-similar intertextual application of the news security theme within the *Duas Caras* plot is comedic. However, the overlap between real parents' pain associated with children and drugs⁵⁸ profiled in news reports juxtaposed with Guigui's heartache over her drug-dealing robber son is serious. Again, the inclusion of Guigui's struggle with her son's problem is not paramount compared to the other telenovela frames nor themes. Yet it is evidence of how author Aguinaldo Silva looks to the press and its reports and weaves cues from it into his telenovela plot, albeit to a lesser extent given other paramount culturalisms. For instance, the telenovela author seems more apt to weaving in larger culturally-embedded notions like family over time giving them more prominence over recent news events that appear to be episodic snapshots of reality. Stated perhaps another way, the author fleshes out notions that are broader and more consistent over time within Brazilian society, giving them more prominence in his telenovela, while peppering his work with current events.

The news frame theme of health is also widely found in *Duas Caras*. This is done two ways in the telenovela through one character: Alzira. On one hand, news reports highlight Rio Gov. Sérgio Cabral's plans to revamp hospitals and staffs. Meanwhile, *Duas Caras*' Alzira is portrayed as a nurse with a dual identity. When she is followed to the hospital she works at in her nurse uniform at night, telenovela viewers are shown the internal crowded conditions of a hospital. This is crafty framing on TV Globo's and Mr. Silva's parts. Alzira could have any "daytime" profession to disguise her scandalous

⁵⁸ *Veja-Rio*'s Dec. 19, 2007, profile on this is discussed in Chapter 8.

second-job, being a pole-dancer. Yet as a way to comment on Rio hospitals, their overcrowding, their need for better conditions and more staff, Alzira is portrayed as a nurse “on a secretive mission” who just so happens to be giving society a hospital tour.

On the other hand, Alzira’s secretive mission is her second job. As previously discussed, Alzira goes to the hospital at night to rendezvous with her ride to the cabaret where she is the star pole dancer. *Duas Caras* viewers should be alerted to what the telenovela author and producer are signaling through the awkwardness of the framing. Alzira leaves the favela, where she lives, to return to the favela, where she works her second job. The oddity of Alzira’s behavior could signal the telenovela author’s calling attention to or making a statement about something her character embodies or points to.

That second job later transfers from pole dancing on stage to pole dancing in gyms as she becomes an instructor. This connects the same news theme of health with the telenovela on several other levels. One is the cue Mr. Silva takes from news reports addressing beauty secrets such as fitness routines. While the rage of pole dancing being a trendy exercise routine is not addressed in this sample’s news reports, the idea of beauty through fitness routines is.

Another minor taken-from-news cue in the framing of themes relating specifically to health and health concept intertextuality is that of plastic surgery. This is one of the main reasons for the telenovela title, *Duas Caras*. What is interesting in this intertextuality is how the framing occurs. In news reports, plastic surgery is strongly associated with women, as noted in Chapters 4 and 7. In the telenovela, one of the lead male characters — Ferraço — chooses to undergo plastic surgery to change his identity.

In this sense, gender boundaries are pushed; what is normally associated with a female operation is applied successfully and uniquely to a man.

The news theme of “health” is one example of how complex news and telenovela framing is. It follows a pendulum kind of flow. The telenovela author looks to the news to extract certain elements to mold for inclusion in the telenovela. Viewers can look to the telenovela, sense the inconvenience of certain inclusions, and look to the news to try to decipher what aspect of the news or society the telenovela author is commenting about. In this case, this back-and-forth framing comments on health and health conditions within Brazilian or Rio hospitals. However, the framing is not neatly nor linearly orchestrated. Many threads of themes are woven into the story tapestry. In other words, telenovela framing pulls in several related news topics — hospital care and reform, physical fitness, plastic surgery — plus cultural dynamics — scandal regarding pole dancing, gendered understanding or boundaries typically tied to plastic surgery — to produce an intricately woven presentation of one concept that the character Alzira embodies. This reflects a classic difference in news versus telenovela issue framing. News works in standard story form, and telenovelas tend to include issues as part of character development.

Although news frame and telenovela frame intertextuality is strong, many differences occur. For example, one of the health issues the news reports extensively on is dengue fever. This notion is completely absent from *Duas Caras*; no one, for instance, travels to an infected area and needs to be nursed back to health from this mosquito-born disease. This *could* have been the case, for instance, when Ferraço took Renato on one of his two trips. Rather, Mr. Silva chose for Renato to almost drown at the hands of villainess Sílvia or for him to remain healthy.

One element brought out in the novela but absent from this sample of news reports is mental illness. For instance, Sílvia is shown to be rich, well-educated and stunningly beautiful, but she is also a psychopath willing to do whatever it takes to win Ferraço's love. While this theme runs through *Duas Caras*, it does not seem to be based upon any current news event or topic.

Up to this point in this discussion, the news frame and telenovela intertextuality primarily discussed has evidenced in particular the overlap between the news frame of "Government is the family" with the news theme of "The ideal family" which is part of the larger telenovela frame of "Family first, family forever." Along with the strong similarities, interesting differences, as noted, surface. The following chart has been designed to show news and telenovela frame and theme intertextuality:

CHART 8: “The Government is the Family” News Frame Comparison

<i>Frame Themes</i>	<i>News Reality</i>	<i>Telenovela Fiction</i>
Shelter	Favela conditions are horrible; no light, filth, poverty	Portelinha has new houses, streets are shown in panoramic shots as being clean
Security	Drugs, gangs, crime	Drugs, even alcohol, controlled; no gangs; known for its safety and peace (Aqui se vive em paz); law and order preside
	Parental pain of drugs	Guigui and her son
	Commuter transportation needed	Community shuttle works well
	TAM air-flight tragedy	Absolute fear of flying resolved through prayer
Health	Hospitals need revamping	Inside camera shots of crowded hospitals
	Dengue fever & diabetes	Psychopathic Silvia, alcoholism
	Beauty & plastic surgery	Alzira teaches pole dancing, Ferraço has plastic surgery
Education	Moderate improvement in a few institutions	After a regulation, Universidade Pessoa de Morães one of top five private universities in Brazil, and within one year
	Affirmative action murky	Affirmative action laughed at
Corruption	Federal employees using government credit cards for personal expenses	Dona Branca’s similar actions
	Various types of punishment, including removal from office	Dona Branca forced to resign, although invited back

Please note: One of the points listed above in Chart 8 requiring attention is that of the news frame theme “Corruption.” That point will be discussed later on in this section because of how it evidences HI, which addresses the timing associated with news events being covered in the news compared to similar events surfacing in the telenovela. As will be discussed, this is but one example of how complex the telenovela author’s framing is, as he selectively chooses news cues to fold concurrently into *Duas Caras*. The news frame “Government is family” has one theme in particular that is also refracted by other

elements of the novela in a very intricate way. It bridges the news frame “Government is the family” with the second macro news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” This concept is affirmative action.

The notion of affirmative action is framed differently in the news compared with how it appears in the telenovela. Affirmative action first surfaces in the news frame “Government is the family” through the education theme. As discussed in Chapter 6, *Veja* points out that education has been covered constantly for 40 years. At first glance, newspaper and news magazine reports cover education from a systemic perspective. The main question seems to be: What can be done to improve the educational system at large to deliver a better college education in general to all Brazilians? News reports sashay between teacher salaries and benefits as solutions and curriculum changes. One of the key news examples is that of the Instituto Dom Barreto de Teresina⁵⁹ taking first place in the national exam of medicine teaching, as discussed in Chapter 6. These basic ideas also surface in *Duas Caras*. Viewers watch Dona Branca and Célia Mara, in general, and Macieira, in particular, effectuate new controversial standards for the professors. For instance, Célia Mara, at one point, argues that although the university is in financial duress from Dona Branca’s spending habits, at least she has paid the professors’ salaries (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 2). Macieira’s initial purpose is to overhaul the curriculum and standard of teaching at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães (Friday, Dec. 21, 2007, Episode 71, Block 1). After his regulation, substantial improvement is achieved, converting the university into one of Brazil’s top five private institutions.

⁵⁹ As noted earlier in this dissertation, this is a private school. That means limited access. For more information, see, for example, the article found at <http://educacao.terra.com.br/interna/0,,OI1432875-EI3588,00.html>. Retrieved Aug. 10, 2009.

Results are so positive that Célia Mara proposes a university-hosted celebration for the students, many of whom are there from the favela Portelinha on scholarship.

But as both news reports and the telenovela indicate, the issues of race and affirmative action within education is not so simple as setting standards. The notion of race complicates the educational system because it affects who has access to education. One news demonstration was the lead example into Chapter 7. To exemplify the news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial,” one news story showed identical twins being judged as different races for education purposes. This was done to show how news reports that race is extremely subjective; no definitive answer exists to qualify or classify one as being black. Hence, race is a cloudy component upon which to base affirmative action. Nonetheless, as brought out particularly in Chapter 7, the only area in which race is discussed in news report *text* surfaces through affirmative action reports. Otherwise, race is absent from news reports, except in the use of photos, which disproportionately show Blacks as criminal or non-mainstream.

Race in education is primarily addressed in *Duas Caras* through the angry black student Rudolf’s example. Rudolf is marginalized for trying to raise awareness of hegemonic university conditions. His concerns with lack of diversity in the staff of the university and among students, Afro-Brazilian students receiving fair chances, are portrayed as personal temper tantrums. The framing of Rudolf in the telenovela is social commentary regarding affirmative action, indicating that race is personal, not political, and seemingly downplaying the significance of the struggle many Afro-Brazilian students encounter. Additionally, this plays into the larger societal myth of racial democracy on two counts. For one, it seems to propose that matters in Brazil—in education, in society,

in general — would be more tangible were they to focus on class. For another, it seems Mr. Silva and other telenovela decision makers are suggesting that racial democracy does exist in Brazil, seeing as class trumps race, when Rudolf's wealth is portrayed as negating any disadvantage he has in being black.

Outside the conversation of affirmative action, race only emerges through news photographs, as fleshed out in Chapter 7. In *Duas Caras*, however, race is passionately argued, and gender evokes differences in how the topic is broached. For instance, poor, black Evilásio is dismissed from white, rich Barreto's dinner party for being black after insults are heatedly thrown at him, as noted in Chapter 9. The situation escalates as his interest in and romantic interludes with white, rich Júlia increase, as also discussed in Chapter 9. Yet it seems “natural” for and is overlooked when rich, white Barretinho goes after poor black women, as also brought out in Chapter 9.

One scene in particular evidences that race can be spoken of politely, even proudly, when women talk. Gislaine is in the nursery in Portelinha holding her nephew. Her father's girlfriend, who is white and works at the nursery, asks Gislaine if she knows that the majority of babies in the favela are black. Morena⁶⁰, the owner of the nursery as well as the NGO against sexual trafficking of women, enters the conversation. She asks,

...in Portelinha? Not only [is the majority of babies black in this favela, but...]. It's that way in all of Brazil. Only a few people in Brazil can say they are white. But most of Brazil claims to have a foot in Africa. As for me, I'll have to be excused; I'm not at all part of a mix; I am completely black. [She tosses her hair in a very sensual way.] But it's a democracy, even a racial democracy! (Saturday, April 5, 2008, Episode 162, Block 3)

⁶⁰ This character experiences a name change over the course of the novela. She becomes condessa Finzi-Contini, but because her new name is so long, I will continue to refer to her by her original name.

This quote shows that while men — primarily those who are poor and interested in white rich women — publicly contest race, at least in the telenovela black women can speak about race in a much more lenient manner. It appears that through the hint of female beauty that Morena's race talk can be proud. Relating female blackness with beauty signifies the mulatta myth, as discussed in Chapter 4. The mulatta myth undercuts racial democracy, evidencing it does not exist, that race-mixing undercuts and absolves any lingering racism.

Additional news text and telenovela framing intertextuality occurs regarding the notion of female beauty, as discussed in Chapter 6. As a second macro point requiring discussion, the *Duas Caras* character Gioconda reflects the news theme “Best of all worlds” within the news theme “Gender in Brazil: Women are on the way up” as part of the larger macro frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial.” Her character reflects news cues in two ways, which are her position as a great lady of Carioca society and her later position as a federal senator. As is typically the case with telenovelas, her portrayal is able to give greater attention to those news cues. In other words, there is greater character portrayal through the telenovela than what occurs through news reports, which enables certain themes like race, beauty, and their connection to be developed far more than is common in news.

One way her character reflects a news cue is through her portrayal of a “great lady” of Carioca society in the telenovela, like that of Carmen Mayrink Veiga, who is featured in *Veja-Rio*. While Mrs. Veiga's appearance in the news in this sample is minimal and, hence, her opportunity to be deeply profiled is limited, the attention Gioconda receives in the telenovela is substantial, as iterated. This allows for a greater

depth of what it means to be a “great lady of Carioca society” to be explored. One way in which Gioconda reflects behavior as a “great lady” includes her elaborate table setting at Barreto’s dinner party, as previously discussed in Chapter 9. In addition, Gioconda encourages “civilized” behavior throughout the telenovela. For example, she often speaks of people being civil to each other, like when she encourages Júlia’s relationship with Evilásio. She also encourages “civil” actions through her loyal friendship to her sister-in-law Dona Branca and personal visits to Portelinha in her own effort to become familiar with new territory. Further, she calls out people on their infidelity, even when those people are family members and the costs of doing so are high. This happens at the beginning of the telenovela when she alerts Dona Branca to her husband’s affair, and in doing so, handicaps their relationship for a time.

Another way the novela character Gioconda embodies the news theme of “Best of all worlds” is through her alluded-to victorious campaign as a federal senator. Gioconda is set up in many ways to fictionally portray the real Senator Kátia Abreu, a state senator spoken of in Chapter 7. For example, both women are heavily involved in women’s issues. Not only is Gioconda involved with preventing the sexual trafficking of women, but she also forbids her son from putting down or making fools out of women (see Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106, Block 4). Additionally, Gioconda, like Sen. Abreu, is a fashionista. Both exemplify a kind of benign female personalism by upper class women that parallels the paternalism of powerful men that is portrayed by Juvenal and by the two men who really run the university.

Regarding class or socio-economic status in the news frame “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial,” the telenovela also echoes each theme that surfaces in news

reports. For example, news reports give a lot of attention to education. One of the ways this is done is through highlighting how Rio is a university city, which is frequent in the news. This notion is reflected in *Duas Caras* through scenes of college-aged students in Portelinha — Gislaine and Solange being two of many — attending classes. The theme “Careers provide impetus” is heavily echoed in *Duas Caras*. As has been discussed in Chapter 9, Benoliel obtains his college education so that he can secure a “serious” job and prove his love for and loyalty to Fernanda. Benoliel is one of several *Duas Caras* characters who goes through this societal “rite of passage” into a better future or a more solid socio-economic level through education.

Real estate is also given a significant amount of press coverage because of the increasing market demand for it. Likewise, of all the careers *Duas Caras* characters Gabriel and Ferraço could be involved with, they are shown to be in lucrative real estate. Similarly, news reports also detail how legislators are trying to decrease the current amount of red tape small business owners must hop through to open their businesses. Bernardinho’s efforts to open his business, having to go through the local authority, Juvenal in Portelinha, portray this situation. Not only is Bernardinho able to better his socio-economic position through opening and maintaining his respected restaurant, but so are his employees Dália and Herarldo. Their successful examples show that building small businesses can help one’s social mobility for the better.

Another similar theme running through *Duas Caras* that reflects this same idea but is not discussed in the telenovela frame chapters is that of Antônio and his mechanic shop. As the story thread goes, Antônio’s shop receives a lot of attention through his new wife Débora’s efforts to get his shop boys photographed for local and national press. The

media attention his shop receives increases his customer base. Débora prepares him for his new role and takes him clothes shopping; as a business owner, Antônio needs to dress better (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 4). The inclusion of Antônio and his mechanic shop in *Duas Caras* is important because of the glamorization that occurs to the working middle class. This is another deliberate TV Globo step to increase its audience share by reaching out to the middle class niche and showing the themes that appeal to them, particularly related to social mobility, as noted in Chapters 4 and 7, among others.

Other evidences of social class and social mobility issues as highlighted in news reports are also presented in *Duas Caras*. Refrigerators and washing machines are shown as signs of social mobility and achievement, as discussed in Chapter 10, among others. In addition, Juvenal's office computer is often shown when he's at his desk. And in at least one scene, Barreto encourages Júlia and Evilásio to not go out, but to stay at his house and make good use of their home entertainment system (see Saturday, Dec. 29, 2007, Episode 78, Block 4). Again, washing machines, refrigerators, computers and colored TVs are class status indicators, as discussed in Chapter 4.

An additional socio-economic news report division that is largely replicated in the telenovela is that of "Treasures and treats are abundant." Regarding foods, Bernardinho's fish is highly-reputed, and no one goes hungry in Portelinha, especially not Solange, as brought out in Chapter 9. Breakfasts are also given a lot of attention in *Duas Caras*. Whether characters are Solange and Juvenal in Portelinha having their first meal of the day or Dona Branca enjoying brunch with Sílvia, table spreads are plentiful. China accompanying meals as well as having someone else who prepares them — the richer folk have *black* maids who wait on them, another stereotypical telenovela portrayal —

differentiate the social classes (and races, drawing connections between class and race). But all the meals at all socio-economic levels are bountiful.

Slight differences among similar class-centric news and telenovela intertextuality includes theatre and travel. While in print news reports these two types of high-class enjoyment seem to have become more commonplace, playing to the better educated and more upper middle class audience of the elite print media, they continue to be framed as luxuries in *Duas Caras*. For example, it is Gioconda who speaks of attending operas like Carmen while abroad in the United States (Friday, Nov. 2, 2007, Episode 29, Block 1). It is also Gioconda who speaks of traveling to Europe, and it is her son Barretinho and his wife Sabrina who Barreto picks up from the airport. They are dressed quite nicely for travelers, with Sabrina, a young mother with her baby, wearing a white suit. In contrast, Maria Paula's son Renato only travels by air when his wealthy father Ferraço takes him on vacation. Otherwise, they take the bus, like when they move from São Paulo to Rio. Even Júlia's conversation with Evilásio regarding travel evidences this is a budget stretcher. She explains to him that travel is something that remains important to her and asks permission to continue with this lifestyle. He consents (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 1). From these examples, it seems evident that air travel remains framed a *fictional* extravagance, reflecting the commonplace observation in Brazil that those in the upper middle class or above fly, while others take the bus.

Chart 9 below summarizes evidences of the intertextuality between the news frame "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial" and *Duas Caras*, as highlighted:

**CHART 9: “Brazilian Democracy is More Social Than Racial”
News Frame Comparison**

<i>Frame Themes</i>	<i>News Reality</i>	<i>Telenovela Fiction</i>
Race	Absence of Race in <i>text</i>	Discussion of Race is common
Gender	Carmen Mayrink Veiga, “the symbol of Carioca [or Rio] high society”	Gioconda as “the last” great lady of Carioca society
	Senator Kátia Abreu	Gioconda becomes a senator
Class — Education opens doors	Rio is a university city	Portelinha – many college-aged persons head to the Universidade
Class — Careers provide impetus	Need an education to get a better career	Benoliel advances social classes through education
	Real Estate is a lucrative career	Gabriel and Ferraço are in real estate
	Small businesses are another means of social mobility	Bernardinho with his restaurant; Antônio and his mechanic shop
Class — New middle class is place to be	Refrigerators	Juvenal and Evilásio
	Washing machines	Evilásio and Barreto
	Computer	Juvenal’s office
Class — Treasures and treats are abundant	TV	Barreto and home theatre recommendation to Evilásio and Júlia
	Theatre	Gioconda speaks of Carmen and travel
	Foods	Bernardinho’s fish; food in favela and Solange eating; elaborate breakfasts
	Travel	Gioconda speaks of Europe; Barretinho and Sabrina Ferraço and Renato Júlia’s request to travel

In summary, a qualitative framing analysis of newspaper and newsmagazine reports along with concurrent *Duas Caras* episodes shows striking similarity among true and fictional accounts of similar frames and themes. The method of drawing connections drawn in this study is not linear, but rather reflexive, with news accounts signaling ideas to look for in the telenovela and telenovela story elements appearing familiar because of

their root in reality. Similarly, telenovela viewers can make sense of certain real-life scenarios by questioning awkward or unusual occurrences in the telenovela storyline. While telenovela occurrences do not necessarily generate real-life events, they can influence opinions and critical societal decisions, as has occurred over time in Brazil. (See, for example, the earlier example of how birth rate seems to have been affected by long-term exposure to the example of prosperous families being small in telenovelas, as pointed out in Chapter 3.)

What is perhaps more interesting to note is when real-life events prompt telenovela story trajectory inclusions and/or changes in *Duas Caras*. Hypothesis I addresses this question.

H1A: Initial Duas Caras episodes will be more likely to reflect news and events of the previous nine months than contemporary issues current when the telenovela debuts.

A qualitative framing analysis of news reports leading up to the telenovela's premiere and juxtaposing those events with the first few episodes of the telenovela indicates noteworthy news and telenovela intertextuality. However, in relation to the timing of what news event surfaces when in the telenovela, it is more difficult to show a correlation between the two. A number of reasons can account for this. One is the dynamic and reflexive process involved in the co-authorship of the telenovela, as explained in Chapter 3. It is also possible that the author just noted the interesting news event for later inclusion to add to the verisimilitude of the events in the telenovela. As examples that follow indicate, some news cues — like credit card fraud — surface more quickly in *Duas Caras* than others, and some news cues transition into larger frames while others do not last the course of the telenovela.

Of particular importance when considering news and events prior to the telenovela's premiere are the fact and fiction versions of Rio life. In reality, news reports call attention to the blue-flame social issues of security, health and crime in Rio. Portelinha's creation in *Duas Caras* directly reflects this concern. As noted in this study, Portelinha is the "ideal" situation of a troubled-history surrounding Brazilian favela creation and existence. In a sense, the issues of security, health and crime emphasized in the news are timeless, since these news items are always newsworthy based on their conflict and other news values. Yet they are also current for the same reasons. Finding these same elements, or rather, reversed portrayals of them, in Portelinha's formation indicates the telenovela author looks to news to cue his writing, as indicated earlier in this section. It also suggests the author uses the telenovela to deploy solutions in a fictive setting to chastise authorities for not providing the solutions he provides in fiction and/or suggest there is hope — hope for better conditions as well as for a plausible resolution.

When looking to the news coverage of the nine months prior to *Duas Caras*' premiere, another news cue apparent in early news accounts that also surfaces in *Duas Caras* is honest business practices. This is noteworthy, because it exemplifies a news-prompted telenovela theme that does not survive the course of the telenovela. In other words, this notion is evident early on in the telenovela, but not present by its conclusion. For example, Maria Paula's father is only shown in the first episode before his untimely death in an automobile accident. In his few screen moments, he is established as a strong and honest businessman who is also a loving father. His affairs are in order, which Maria Paula enjoys until her thief husband Adalberto robs her of everything, including the house she inherited upon her father's death. As Adalberto becomes Dr. Marconi Ferraço,

he employs Barreto as his lawyer and seems to push the edges of honesty with his business negotiations. As can occur in telenovelas, an issue — in this case business ethics — seems to become absorbed into a character and personalized through the personal story of how Ferraço changes over the course of the telenovela. In this instance, the news cue is absorbed into the telenovela's characterization.

Two news-cued inclusions in *Duas Caras* that survive the duration of the telenovela — meaning they are present from the first episodes of the telenovela until its finale — are education and great ladies of Rio society. It is in the second telenovela episode of this sample that both notions are introduced through Dona Branca's husband and his work in education as well as Gioconda's character. As the story progresses, Dona Branca's husband dies from a stray bullet in Rio, reflecting in a powerful way the theme of spillover violence featured in the news frames. He bequeaths the university initially to Dona Branca. As discussed earlier in this study, Dona Branca later shares the university with her archenemy Célia Mara, the woman with whom her husband had fathered a daughter during his about 20-year-long extra-marital affair. Célia Mara, then, inherits her rank and status with the university. The tug-of-war between the women for leadership is but one aspect of the education news frame that unfolds over the course of the novela. As has been discussed, the actual leadership of the university is a point of discussion. Affirmative action surfaces through this inclusion. The kinds of standards universities should create, maintain and uphold for success are addressed. Based on the news sample and telenovela sample of this study, *Duas Caras'* inclusion of the education news cues that surface through the framing analysis is strong. It is also consistent over the course of the telenovela.

Gioconda's character rises in importance in the telenovela. In the earlier episodes, she is clearly portrayed as a great lady of Carioca society, reflecting *Veja-Rio*'s profile of Carmen Mayrink Veiga. In the telenovela fashion of fleshing out characters, Gioconda is given more "life" in *Duas Caras* than Ms. Veiga is in news reports. Gioconda's initial portrayal is as a great lady with impeccable taste and etiquette, especially when it comes to through "high society" parties. She is also initially shown to be a woman who seems either naïve or impartial or uninformed regarding race relations, particularly in her own family. For example, she does not interfere at Barreto's dinner party when Barreto racially and rudely insults Evilásio. Over the course of the novela, however, it is Gioconda who begins to build relationships between her husband and her children, discovering and bringing to Barreto's attention, for example, that Barretinho is attracted to Afro-Brazilian women. She is the parent who is forward thinking and acting, venturing into Portelinha to get to know it and Evilásio better to understand her daughter's expressed attraction to him. Her personal attempts to help her daughter expand into public actions of sincere involvement with various public affairs, including the NGO against the sexual trafficking of women. Over the course of the novela, she becomes a strong female leader, ultimately being elected a federal senator by *Duas Caras*' conclusion. In her maturation, she reflects the news theme "Best of all worlds" in the larger news frame "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial."

Talk of business with China is one example of a news-rooted telenovela incident having a large gap between the time when the reference surfaces in the telenovela compared with when the news topic appeared. News reports from the news sample first pinpoint this as an element of discussion in March 2007. However, it is not until a month

and a half into the telenovela (November 2007) that Ferraço requires Barreto put together the legal documentation for him to proceed with his international negotiation with China. One of the reasons for this delay in the telenovela could be the needed time progression for Ferraço to assume his role as Dr. Marconi Ferraço and be in position to create international business deals.

One of the most concurrent examples of intertextuality between news and telenovela frames from the sample in this study is the incidence of credit card fraud. As addressed in the news frame “Government is the family,” credit card fraud was one clue of how government, like family, is not perfect; corruption occurs. As discussed in Chapter 6, magazine and news reports windowed public officials’ government credit card accounts and expenditures, making public how much had been spent, over what time frame, on what, by whom. *Veja*’s exposé on the political shopping spree, indicating that bureaucrats spend public funds on personal pleasures without limits and without rules appears in print Feb. 13, 2008.

About six weeks later, at least insofar as this sample frame is concerned, *Duas Caras* mirrors this type of fraudulent behavior by a person of power, and the telenovela perpetrator suffers immediate legal consequences. During the Friday, 28 March 2008, Episode 155, Célia Mara outs Dona Branca for improper use of her university funds during a board meeting and calls for her resignation based on a report. While exact figures are not divulged within the sample episodes, Célia Mara claims that Dona Branca has spent so much that the staff of the university is underpaid for about 15 months. It is also interesting to note that the news report’s public display of public figure abuse of public funds is more thorough and complete than that of Dona Branca. However, the

punishment is swifter than in real life. Dona Branca is forced to confess having spent university funds on private expenditures and step down. So, again, the idealized social process in the telenovela works more informally but more efficiently than in real life.

One obscure inclusion of news information in *Duas Caras* is the appearance of a front-cover news story thread regarding a suitcase found with a large amount of U.S. dollars in the São Paulo Guarulhos Airport. In the news article, a Brazilian of Chinese descent traveling from Frankfurt arrives in Brazil with US\$1.3 million in new bills hidden in special envelopes so security cameras could not see them. Somehow, authorities learned of the cash and detained the passenger on charges of using a false identity. In the novela, Carlão, Bernardinho's boyfriend who he later marries, is watching TV. Heraldo and Dália have just complained to Bernardinho again that Carlão is lazy, not helping with restaurant responsibilities. As the following sequence summary indicates,

Bernardinho walks over to Carlão and asks if he intends to watch TV all night long.

Carlão says, "Can't you see? I just want to see this news story."

Heraldo asks what's so important.

Carlão says they got the guy at the airport who has so many U.S. dollars!
(Saturday, 24 May 2008, Episode 204, Block 1)

It is unclear from either the news or the telenovela sample *why* this one scene proves so important, but the tie in is obvious. It does not happen every day that an individual with so much money is apprehended. Perhaps the news value of "oddity" was what led not only to the inclusion of the news item in the news but also in the telenovela. This raises a secondary question, though, regarding the delay. The news story printed in January 2008, whereas the reference in *Duas Caras* appeared May 2008.

In an effort to trace some of the largest news events and their influence on the telenovela's preliminary framing that have been discussed, Chart 10 below summarizes main news topics by date compared with *Duas Caras* storyline formation. It is organized according to the chronological order of when the news cue surfaced in *Duas Caras*:

CHART 10: News-Novela Timing Comparison

<i>News Medium</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Theme(s)</i>	<i>Telenovela Reflection</i>	<i>Episode & Date First Shown</i>
<i>Jornal</i>	Sunday, Jan. 7, 2007	Security, health	Portelinha formation and success on these issues	Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1
<i>Veja</i>	Jan. 10, 2007	Crime in Rio	Portelinha formation and success in providing security	Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1
<i>Veja</i>	April 18, 2007	Honest business practices	Represented by Maria Paula's father	Monday, Oct. 1, 2007, Episode 1
<i>Jornal</i>	Tuesday, May 15, 2007	Bettering Brazilian education & education opportunities	Universidade Pessoa de Morães being formed; talk of scholarships to poor in Portelinha	Tuesday, Oct. 9, 2007, Episode 8
<i>Veja-Rio</i>	July 25, 2007	Carmen Mayrink Veiga, "the symbol of Carioca high society"	Gioconda	Tuesday, Oct. 9, 2007, Episode 8
<i>Jornal</i>	Monday, March 12, 2007	Pros and cons of business with China	Ferraço and his China business deal	Monday, Nov. 19, 2007, Episode 43
<i>Veja</i>	Sept. 12, 2007	Better vocabulary should equate better job, better salary	Benoliel's struggle to enter college and get a real job to be in a better position to marry Fernanda	Concludes Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Episode 106
<i>Jornal</i>	Wednesday, July 18, 2007	TAM flight tragedy	Man's fear of flying	Thursday, March 20, 2008, Episode 148
<i>Veja</i>	Feb. 13, 2008	Political shopping spree on federal credit cards	Dona Branca spends university funds	Friday, 28 March 2008, Episode 155, Block
<i>Jornal</i>	Saturday, Jan. 26, 2008	A large sum of money is found in a suitcase at the airport	Carlão calls attention to a large sum of money being found in a suitcase	Saturday, May 24, 2008, Episode 204

H1B: Following the initial broadcast of telenovela chapters, political frames from the print press, including those of (a) the campaign game, (b) campaign and political issues, (c) candidate coverage, and (d) main local campaign themes, will be adopted into Duas Caras within two to four weeks of appearing in the Brazilian national press.

The news articles and their information included in this sample comprise little if any mention of municipal campaigns. One quote from the news sample spanning 2007-2008 indicates a need to turn attention from the 2010 presidential election to 2008 local elections. The remark came at a political convention in Brasília, the capital of Brazil, when the Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party), or PMDB, announced their presidential candidate for the 2010 election. “This is not the moment to argue about the presidential election. Let’s first see to the municipal elections and how the [current] government of Lula will be,” Rio Governor and PMDB member Sérgio Cabral said (Exman, 2007). Other than this quote, no municipal election information nor indication is given in the news stories examined. The press is fascinated over who will succeed Lula and focuses somewhat on leading candidates for 2010, including Dilma Rousseff. But the frames dominating political coverage during the sample period surround government corruption and irregularities, such as fraud and who has spent what on the public dime, as noted.

Considering what is found in the telenovela, however, in regard to this question, several points arise for discussion. Although detailed horse race type coverage in Brazilian news has been on the decrease over the last few years (Porto, 2007), the campaign game plays into the hype of candidate campaigns in *Duas Caras*. As noted in Chapter 10, the undecided vote is often mentioned and Juvenal is rumored to have a consistent lead of almost twice as many votes as Evilásio. Juvenal uses polling numbers to his advantage. Eventually, Juvenal feigns a hollow victory for Evilásio — as

scrutinized in Chapter 9 — once he ensures Evilásio knows he trails him and suggests that he, Juvenal, will step out of the running to “allow” Evilásio’s win.

Issue coverage of health, education, economy, and so forth has been on the increase in Brazilian election news coverage and is largely represented through interviews with candidates (Porto, 2007). The main “issue” in question highlighted in *Duas Caras* for the “vereador” (city council) candidates in this sample of episodes relates to leadership style. Juvenal is very paternalistic in how he maintains order in “his” favela. Juvenal claims he controls it with his antennas (Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 3). He also acts as a personal banker in several instances, lays down and enforces his own law(s), ensures no Portelinha resident experiences any form of want. Evilásio, on the other hand, is very democratic and often voices he is on the side of the people (see, for example, Tuesday, Jan. 15, 2008, Episode 92, Block 2). One of the times this leadership clash was most evident and decisive in an outcome was when the alcoholic Zê da Feira was on the verge of expulsion from Portelinha for having accidentally set fire to a significant amount of the favela. By Juvenal’s decree, he was out. Through Evilásio’s gentle persuasion and reliance on the will of the people assembled to learn what would happen, and through bringing public opinion convincingly to Juvenal’s attention, Zê was granted conditional permission to remain. This was elaborated on in Chapters 9 and 10.

Candidate coverage in Brazilian election news has broadly included the attributes of leadership and wisdom (Cantrell, 2004). Regarding candidate coverage, large differences in *Duas Caras* between Juvenal’s campaign and Evilásio’s campaign exist. For example, Juvenal’s political rallies — including the one at which the second assassination attempt on his life was made — are heavily attended. However, insofar as

episodes from this sample, Evilásio's campaign rallies are not. In one sample-episode instance, Evilásio prepares with Congressman Narciso Tellerman's speech coaching assistance for a rally only to arrive and see that a handful of voters have come to hear him. Demonstrating his heroic spirit, Evilásio says he will open his mouth to give his speech, even if it's to a half dozen people. "It's today!" Gioconda whispers to Júlia that this is a true man (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 5). Another difference is the portrayed confidence of the candidates. In particular, Evilásio is shown among friends and family to be nervous about the campaign. For example, on the morning of his large political rally, he is shown expressing his doubts to his wife Júlia over breakfast. He asks Júlia if things will come out right. Júlia says,

Of course! Don't forget you have a strong name with the electorate. Now, if you want my honest opinion, I think it may not be as strong as Juvenal's. Also, there are a lot of people who want to hear what you have to say. And many people support you. (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 1)

At the telenovela's conclusion, considerable telenovela attention is given to Evilásio's win and winning speech. This was discussed in Chapter 10.

H1C: Duas Caras will be more likely to focus on issues of candidate personality than Brazilian print news will.

As already indicated, *Duas Caras* gives greater attention to candidate personality than the Brazilian print press for at least two reasons. One is the lack of "factual" coverage regarding local election candidates, given this sample. Missing print media coverage hampers a comparison and automatically tilts this study's analysis of municipal candidate coverage in favor of the telenovela. Second, in the telenovela tradition, as indicated in Chapter 3, telenovelas are more apt to represent and comment on the most intimate areas of a character's life. Telenovela political candidates are not excluded. The

telenovela genre allows for a greater discussion of candidate attributes, like whether or not they are hard working, assertive and competent leaders. Candidates' personal and professional ethics can be made naked before the telenovela viewing audience. Viewers can also be privy to campaign management and campaign agendas. In other works, telenovelas even give insights into individual intent through flashbacks and other tools. Because they are more dramatic by their nature and purpose, telenovelas can provide day-to-day character/candidate portrayals as well as lifestyle descriptions.

Two prime examples of candidate personality and insight are Juvenal's address to the shocked crowd following the second assassination attempt on him — this occurs at his campaign rally — and his confession that he knew and took advantage of the situation. The following sequence summary tells what happened after the assassination attempt:

Juvenal is on the stage of the samba school. Confetti falls as he speaks.

Juvenal says if they think they can quiet him, they are deceived; the voice of Juvenal will never be quiet! Because the voice of Juvenal is the voice of the people of Portelinha! And God knows this. This is why He hasn't allowed Juvenal's voice to fall! His heart beats for the people. They have tried to kill him two times. Here. And two times he has gotten back up. And he will die as many times as he needs to to protect his people's voices, homes, and so forth.

A crowd member yells that Juvenal is a saint.

Juvenal says he didn't die, because he has a mission to perform. For 10 years he struggled to build up this community. He will fight to represent Portelinha in Congress. He will fight for the recognition of their community!

Zê da Feira, the alcoholic, yells, "May God bless Juvenal!"
(Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 3)

Later, Juvenal admits to a pastor he planned the event once "his antennas" knew that someone was plotting to kill him at the beginning of the rally and wore a bulletproof

vest as a precautionary measure. But he only thought to indicate divine intervention with the bible in his chest pocket once he had been shot and was lying on the stage floor. The pastor, who does not support the notion of Juvenal manipulating God-like protection, sarcastically indicates the idea will bring many votes to Juvenal's candidacy. Juvenal retorts that he couldn't afford to *not* take advantage of the situation. The pastor can't criminalize him for that! (Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 5)

Juvenal, as noted, is framed in *Duas Caras* as a deft but perhaps shady politician. His personal and professional ethics are questionable; he deliberately manipulates his voters' religious sentiments to secure an election advantage. Juvenal may not even need to do so, given his already-established lead in the polls and popularity as "father of the favela." Juvenal's Portelinha leadership was further elaborated on in Chapter 10. A discussion regarding Evilásio's framing as a candidate along with his candidate personality follows in the next chapter as race and class news cues are more closely considered.

This chapter has revisited the salient latent news and telenovela frames and explored their intertextuality with regard to the first research question and its guiding hypotheses, partially explaining that news issues help frame telenovela plots. Relying on the narrative analysis of news text, news photos and *Duas Caras*, it becomes clear that news and novela coverage are strongly related. Taking into consideration that this is a qualitative study, and that the co-authorship of the telenovela is a dynamic and reflexive process, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact timing of and triggers for news cue adaptation into *Duas Caras*. For example, some incidents, like the public expose of government

employee fraud, is quickly folded into *Duas Caras* plot through, in this case, Dona Branca spending university funds for personal expenditures. Meanwhile, events like fear of flying reminiscent of the TAM flight tragedy are delayed in their inclusion. And odd news stories that surface, like money found in a suitcase, seem to have random references in the novela.

While there seems to be no definite pattern for what is included when, it is noteworthy that so many news cues surface in the *Duas Caras* storyline. In brief, intertextuality between news events and telenovela creation and elaboration is clearly apparent. This evidences how telenovelas are in fact “a forum for the discussion of Brazilian reality” (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 155). As the next discussion chapter explains, telenovelas are also important instruments in pushing societal boundaries at least through their presentation of non-normal persons, such as Afro-Brazilians, and places, like favelas.

CHAPTER 12: Comparison & Discussion of Research Question 2 & Hypotheses

The previous chapter spoke generally to news frames that cue telenovela frames in TV Globo's 8 p.m. *Duas Caras*, or news and telenovela frame intertextuality. This chapter further unravels news and telenovela framing intertextuality, focusing more directly on race and class issues that surface through the telenovela framing. This reveals that not only do news issues help frame telenovela plots, but their inclusion in a more progressive storytelling format allows for societal boundaries to be pushed.

Again, framing occurs on at least two levels. Framing at first glance can seem obvious, even superficial. At the simplest level, framing can signify themes or categories for understanding social concepts. This is manifest framing. For example, it is not difficult to surmise the macro family frame present in *Duas Caras*. Where framing is truly powerful, however, is when cultural concepts and understandings are stealthfully intertwined at a less obvious, latent level to serve ideas, notions and concepts in agreeable and adoptable fashions to structure ways of thinking and being. This can occur such that frame receivers do not even think to question, Wait a minute... The transfer, meaning the sending and receiving of culturally contextualized, embedded and packaged information seems natural. This is latent framing.

Brazilian telenovelas can be cited for their latent framing. For example, as pointed out in Chapter 3, telenovela viewers over time seem to have smaller families, decreased levels of fertility, to the extent that over time Brazilian society has transformed to mimic common fictive (family) portrayals. Since telenovelas can uniquely weave current events and topics into this widely viewed fictional public sphere, understanding the replication

of reality in the fictive setting and the framing that occurs in the process are essential for understanding both social and political processes in contemporary Brazil.

In other words, and in a more direct application: Deciphering manifest and latent framing of themes and issues in news reports and in *Duas Caras* in regard to this study's next research question surrounding political information provides direction and insight regarding race and class issues in Brazil. In addition, telenovela framing of race and class issues not necessarily concurrent with news issues are highlighted in response to this study's hypotheses. Again, intertextual news and telenovela framing is complex and sophisticated. Making sense of the intertextual framing that occurs between news and telenovela content is not a linear process. Rather, it is reciprocal and dynamic. News issues help frame telenovela plots, with (alternative) news sources influencing public opinion, public attitudes and public behavior, socially constructing a national identity.

With regard to the second research question,

RQ2: When addressing the election, does Duas Caras take race and class framing cues from Brazilian print media?

As noted in Chapter 11, qualitative framing analysis of sampled newspaper and newsmagazine stories and photos indicates a dearth of local election news coverage. This strongly inhibits a comparison with *Duas Caras*. However, stepping back and considering political news coverage and its framing in general along with that of the telenovela episodes reveals substantial and important-to-note differences in the political race cues the telenovela absorbs from print media, and those it develops on its own.

As one example, the framing of affirmative action was spelled out in the previous chapter as differing significantly in the print media compared with *Duas Caras*. Briefly,

whereas in the print news affirmative action is shown to be a murky inclusion of race talk in media because of definitional problems, it is, nonetheless, (seriously) addressed.

Again, it is through affirmative action that questions involving race are voiced. *Duas Caras*, on the other hand, presents affirmative action as a laughable cause through Afro-Brazilian Rudolf's public temper tantrums, although it also alludes to the important role of scholarships for favela students, most of whom were probably Afro-Brazilian, at the University. Still, this positive role is implicitly framed around class not race.

One disturbing point, as brought out in Chapter 7, is the negative framing of Afro-Brazilians in print news photographs. In particular, the headshots of Afro-Brazilians in power in this sample are included because, generally speaking, they are under fire for fraudulent use of taxpayer funds. This example was used to evidence how unless Afro-Brazilians are contributing to Brazilian culture in the traditional ways of music, sports, dance, they appear in print news to be making trouble.

Meanwhile, in the telenovela, as Evilásio progresses through the *Duas Caras* storyline to later become elected city councilman for Portelinha, his framing goes through several transitions. First, he is negatively stereotyped as being second to Juvenal and as a gigolo. Both these roles evolve positively as he marries rich, white Júlia and as his father Misael influences him in preparation for his new position of power, as addressed in Chapter 11. Within the short time frame of a few years in the telenovela, Evilásio takes on the "mantel" of idealistic candidate qualities, including that of a dedicated family man to his wife and son. This is necessary for him to be a potential successful candidate, as previous Brazilian election research has shown (Cantrell, 2004). In addition, Evilásio is shown to possess other ideal candidate qualities. He is hard working; his work is 24 hours

a day (Gislaine speaking to disgruntled Júlia, Wednesday, Jan. 23, 2008, Episode 99, Block 1). Evilásio avoids scandal. Although he initially has his other relationships on the side, neither is focused on or made out to be significant. He is known as someone who listens among the Portelinha people (see, for example, Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 2). Viewers are also given insight into his campaign management to see how he works with his friend and supporter Congressman Narciso Tellerman to have the best campaign possible (see, for example, Tuesday, April 22, 2008, Episode 176, Block 3). In the end, Evilásio turns typical Afro-Brazilian media stereotypes inside out through achieving social mobility through marriage and work, plus an elected position of power.

Another important intertextual news cue straddles race, class and even gender. As delineated in Chapter 7, 88 percent of the overall news media headshot composition is white. Of that 88 percent, 90 percent is white males. This means that Brazilian news photos frame white men as being the power holders in Brazil. In regard to the telenovela, this finding is particularly important in regard to the Universidade Pessoa de Morães. While Dona Branca and later Célia Mara *think* they run their university because of their co-ownership of it and shared presidency, the university is actually run through two white males' influence. The implications from the telenovela framing reinforce the news print images: White men rule in Brazil. According to the news, race can trump gender and class, at least for white men. In the telenovela, however, power was more complex. In certain situations, power was more class- or gender-based than race-based, as in the case of Rudolf at the University.

It is also interesting to note the importance of individual wealth associated with female political candidates and figures. For example, in the last chapter Gioconda was

compared with Sen. Kátia Abreu, a state senator who is independently wealthy, because of both ladies' involvement with women's issues and their fashion sense. In addition, as the news report details, Ms. Abreu inherited a cattle farm from her husband when he passed away and expanded his 2,700 head of cattle to 10,000, among other increases (Linhares, 2007). Gioconda, as a great lady of Carioca society, is also quite wealthy, if not only through her marriage to the lawyer Barreto. Gioconda is later elected a federal senator, although details regarding her campaign are not included in *Duas Caras*. This class news cue overlap indicates that at least for female politicians wealth has its importance. In a way, this reinforces the importance of wealth and class, overall, showing that while powerful men act in a distinctly paternalistic way, powerful women, usually white, have an equivalent form of exercising power as "a great lady."

An important point regarding socio-economic position that surfaces in the telenovela but has no real reference in the news frames is the career or vocation of the white and non-white telenovela political candidates. In this way, the telenovela introduces an important news theme that the print news media avoid. Juvenal is leader of Portelinha. While he is only middle class, not elite, he is powerful through his position; he may not have riches, but he has notoriety and considerable local power. Meanwhile, Evilásio is Juvenal's second-hand man. Specifically, he works in the Associação dos Moredores e Amigos do Portelinha (Association of the Residents and Friends of Portelinha), or AMAP. In this capacity, as he explains to Barreto, Evilásio does various services for the community (Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 2). This gives him a very strong grass roots base from which to begin to gather his own political power.

The following chart helps to make sense of race and class themes and cues *Duas Caras* takes from print news:

CHART 11: Intertextual Political Race and Class Media Cues

<i>Framing</i>	<i>News Print References</i>	<i>Telenovela Indications</i>
Political Race Cues	Afro-Brazilian political figures are stereotyped negatively, in visual cues, if not text	Evilásio's framing transitions from negative stereotypes to positive position of honest, hard-working elected, local leader
	White men get the job done	Women may think they're in charge, but often men are steering
Political Class Cues	State Sen. Kátia Abreu is independently wealthy	Rich white women need money to be politicians
	(Absent)	Middle class men can advance into political power
	(Absent)	Working class black men can advance into the middle class and political power

In brief, intertextuality with regard to print election coverage race and class framing cues and telenovela framing is marginal at best. This is largely because of the general deficiency of real election information available. Nevertheless, significant overlap between political race and class news frames and telenovela frames, as noted, suggest this is an area deserving greater attention.

H2A: Duas Caras will be more likely to assign black characters to working class roles than will be reported in the Brazilian national press.

A qualitative framing analysis of news and telenovela materials with regard to black persons and working class roles demonstrates how vacant this discussion is in the Brazilian national press but how large it is in telenovela portrayal. The one example in this news sample of the portrayal of a working-class Afro-Brazilian is the full-body shot

of Joelson Máximo, 33, from Rio. *Veja* includes his photo in its feature on Class C, because Joelson has successfully begun a speedy delivery business with two friends. “It’s the first time that I see my life bettering,” he is quoted as saying (Duailibi & Borsato, 2008, p. 89). In regard to the novela, working-class Afro-Brazilians are subjugated in power to others, although a few achieve some mobility in both wealth and politics.

For example, *all* maids in *Duas Caras* are black. Barreto’s maid Sabrina is an Afro-Brazilian woman. Similarly, Ferraço’s and Dona Branca’s maids also are Afro-Brazilian. Barreto’s maid achieves some social mobility by marrying her employer’s son, but she still starts out as poor and subordinate. At the end of the telenovela when Ferraço reunites with Maria Paula and Renato, he arrives at a luxurious beach resort and is greeted by Afro-Brazilian servants.

In addition, several scenes regarding how working class black men are treated are disturbing. As described above, one key scene is how Evilásio was treated by Barreto. Another is described below. As has been the case in a few examples in the discussion portions of this study, this scene is an isolated incident that does not fit in with the general telenovela frames that arose through the qualitative framing analysis. Nonetheless, it requires mentioning in this instance because of its applicability to this hypothesis as well as its societal implications.

For a time, the visibly Afro-Brazilian preacher Ezequiel is employed as Ferraço’s personal driver. During his tenure in that job, he has visions that alert him to Ferraço’s past and his intentions regarding Renato. Ezequiel feels it is his God-given mission to protect Ferraço’s and Maria Paula’s son Renato from evil designs. When he attempts to visit Maria Paula’s apartment building to warn Maria Paula, he is violently dragged away

at gunpoint to jail by the police without any opportunity to explain himself. Maria Paula later tells Renato that Ezequiel was not a robber, he was just misunderstood (see Thursday, Dec. 13, 2007, Episode 64, Block 1). This scene in the telenovela is one peek into how working class black men “outside” their normal boundaries are treated. In this portrayal, black men are negatively framed as societal misfits of whom white women should be afraid.

This marginalization, or the normalization of blacks in working class roles, and its negative portrayal seems uncomfortably accepted:

“Black Brazilians are almost invisible on television except in menial or exotic roles and ‘the networks and ad agencies have never on their own done anything to improve this situation,’ said Joel Zito Araújo, author of ‘The Negation of Brazil,’ a study of racial attitudes in the news media.” (Rohter, 2001)

However, a few notable exceptions occur. As thoroughly discussed above, Evilásio’s character makes a transition within *Duas Caras*. Interestingly, even as his framing transitions from stereotypical black roles to empowered elected leader, he constantly fulfills one stereotypical black role: that of loyal servant. The differences are *whom* he serves, *how* he comes to that opportunity, and *why* he serves. It is also noted that Barreto’s maid Sabrina experiences the common telenovela theme of class ascension and reifies the mulatta myth of the attraction of White men to Black or mixed race women when she marries white, rich Barretinho. Gislaine is also differently portrayed. She begins her education at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães and she uses her position as a poor Afro-Brazilian girl to undercut angry black student Rudolf’s “cries of wolf” regarding university segregation and discrimination. This was discussed in Chapter 10. Further, as noted in the previous chapter, the working class auto-mechanic guys who work for Antônio are a mixture of races.

In brief, not only does the qualitative framing analysis of *Duas Caras* provide more information regarding Afro-Brazilians in a contemporary setting, but it also pushes stereotypical boundaries through the unique framing of several characters. In comparison, news coverage of affirmative action seems to be the only voice for addressing racial stereotypes in the Brazilian print press.

H2B: Duas Caras will give more attention to the non-white candidate than the Brazilian national press will.

As noted, the comparison between news coverage framing of the local election and the telenovela local election portrayal is seemingly impossible, given the sampling constraints. Nevertheless, two points are striking. One is the type of print news coverage given to Afro-Brazilian political figures, as addressed above. Again, this is unconstructive, perhaps even harmful; Afro-Brazilian leaders, generally speaking, are negatively framed as troublemakers in print coverage.

Another interesting point is a comparison within the telenovela of white/non-white candidate attention. In brief, *Duas Caras* gives more attention to the *white* candidate. A simple count of scene appearances compared with total scenes in the sample provides this fact. For example, in considering all the scenes of the telenovela sample, Juvenal appears in 13 percent (133 of 1051 scenes). Meanwhile, Evilásio is in 8 percent (84 of 1051 scenes). Of all the telenovela scenes, Juvenal and Evilásio appear together 2 percent of the sample time (26 of 1051 scenes). This means that although Evilásio is the hero of *Duas Caras* and experiences a progressive framing transition in the telenovela from negative Afro-Brazilian stereotypes to that of a potentially positive leader, he remains minimalized. He receives less screen time than Juvenal. White male candidates

still dominate in the fictive setting, although black candidates are much more visible in the telenovela than in print.

H2C: Non-white candidates' behavior will be portrayed more positively in Duas Caras than in the Brazilian national press.

Given the negative framing in the Brazilian print press of Afro-Brazilian politicians, as evidenced, it seems unlikely that Afro-Brazilian political figures in a telenovela could be portrayed much worse. The resulting progressive framing of Evilásio from subjugated Afro-Brazilian male to respected and elected Afro-Brazilian “vereador” is positive in the telenovela and suggests possible positive ramifications in Brazilian society. Since Evilásio is TV Globo’s first 8 p.m. telenovela Afro-Brazilian hero, he pushes the previous boundaries for black men in Brazilian society. Not only is it possible for black men to become esteemed political figures (a rarity it seems by print standards), but it is possible for poor black men to elevate their social status and achieve this kind of notoriety. Evilásio, then, embodies a successful framing of the possibilities of navigating a rise past existing race and class barriers, signaling hope for Brazil’s large male and poor Afro-Brazilian population, given the known influence telenovelas have on at least Brazilian society (Downie, 2009).

It is also important to note that not only is Evilásio framed positively through his own character’s behavior in the telenovela, but also positively through verbal reinforcement in what others remark about him. In other words, Evilásio’s actions and behavior in conjunction with endorsements from other powerful characters — Narciso, Gioconda — *holistically* frame him as a telenovela hero and a model for at least Brazilian society. Neither space nor opportunity exists to question Evilásio’s credibility. Any

comments made against him, like those Barreto yells at various times during *Duas Caras*, show the-originator-of-the-comments' ignorance. In fact, through Evilásio's progressive *Duas Caras* framing, it seems being positive is a more contemporary approach to thinking and talking about poor black men like Evilásio in real Brazilian society.

H2D: Duas Caras will give more explicit attention to class than the print press.

A qualitative framing analysis of press reports including photos compared with telenovela frames indicates a complex, nuanced approach on behalf of both media with respect to socio-economic position. The telenovela delivers a more holistic presentation of characters and their class, largely because of a systemic difference. Film or television drama tends to show a larger slice of characters' lives and can visually cue the kinds of things characters own or acquire, as noted in Chapter 3. Indeed, numerous evidences to this hypothesis have been presented throughout this and the previous discussion chapter. Please refer to "CHART 9: 'Brazilian Democracy is More Social Than Racial' News Frame Comparison" in the previous chapter to note specific class news cues inclusions in *Duas Caras*. Please also reference the response to Research Question 2 above to note additional intertextuality between (political) news cues and telenovela frames.

It is interesting to note in this regard that the print media not only define socio-economic middle class, but also suggest specific steps to take to better one's position in the system to attain at least that level. Newsreaders learn from the framing of news reports that "The new middle class is the place to be," since it has expanded stably and vastly over the last few years. Millions of Brazilians have advanced from poverty through economic stability and their new buying power. This was discussed in Chapter 7. Further, as was also addressed in that chapter, Brazilians are informed that they can enhance their

socio-economic position through improving their vocabularies and updating their writing to reflect current Brazilian-Portuguese language standards.

One of the ways the news' prioritization of language was refracted in *Duas Caras* was through the inclusion of English in particular social settings. In particular, English language skills are associated in the telenovela with the wealthy. For example, English phrases are spoken at Barreto's dinner parties (see Thursday, Oct. 25, 2007, Episode 22, Block 3). Also, at least once Macieira tells Dona Branca, "No news, good news" (Thursday, May 8, 2008, Episode 190, Block 5). These language inclusions can be additional evidence of TV Globo's attempts to increase their competitive market share by reaching out to more affluent audiences as well as the growing middle class.

Certain elements of class absent from print news but found in the novela include portrayals of role reversals and inheritance. Again, since these are not associated with news cues, they have been absent from the framing discussion to this point. In response to this hypothesis, though, it is important to mention several instances in *Duas Caras*.

In addition to the Afro-Brazilian role reversal already affiliated with Misael and Evilásio, which has been well documented and referenced, is the non-normal white behavior epitomized by Guigui's son. As has been pointed out in previous chapters, white people are framed in print media as the persons in power. At least twice in *Duas Caras* characters comment on how unusual it is for him to be in the downcast position he is as a white male thief and drug dealer. For example, when he robs Fernanda on the bus at gunpoint of the necklace her mother had given her, she complains tearfully to her mom of the incident. Fernanda tells her mother of the identifying and unique scar above his eye, his blond hair and blue eyes, and says, "How could such a beautiful man do something

like that?” (Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, Block 3). Additionally, Evilásio was shocked to see him robbing a white, rich lady. The following sequence summary elaborates:

Guigui’s son stops a car. It’s Gioconda’s. She asks what such a good-looking guy like himself is doing asking for her car – go get a job!

He reaches in for her purse.

She fights back, telling him he can’t have it.

Across the street, Evilásio, at a light on his motorbike, recognizes Gioconda getting robbed...[Cut to credits; end of scene and episode]
(Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 4)

Guigui’s son seems to lash out at society. He chooses to be angry and miserable after learning he had been extremely wealthy as a young boy, yet somehow lost his fortune. A “son of the street,” he feels entitled to much more (Monday, Jan. 7, 2008, Episode 85, Block 4). This notion of inheritance will be addressed further on.

Another interesting example of class role reversal is that of Sílvia. Extremely wealthy and well educated, she belittles Ferraço’s rekindling interest in Maria Paula. She tells him to go ahead and stay “with the servant, the lady employed by the supermarket” (Wednesday, March 12, 2008, Episode 141, Block 1). Her degrading comments stem not only from her fear of losing her fiancé, but her personal obsession with rank and status. Later, when Sílvia comes onto Ferraço’s new driver, she tells him he is allowed to touch her, but he must remember his place. He is a servant. He can’t kiss her on the lips because he isn’t of “pure blood” (see, for example, Friday, May 16, 2008, Episode 197, Block 5). Sílvia is a hypocrite. She is also harsh. Not only does she act as though poor people are beneath her, but also like they are dirty. In at least one scene, she feels the need to take a shower after having spoken with a poor white male (see Friday, March 28, 2008, Episode 155, Block 1).

A third point regarding class is that of inheritance. As noted in Chapters 3, 7 and 8, this is a consistent telenovela theme. A character will appear to be doomed to live in poverty until a sudden twist of fate restores him or her to his or her rightful place. The twist often comes in the form of an unexpected inheritance, which is still seen as the way to get rich in most Latin American countries (“Romancing the Globe,” 2005). Inheritance is both negatively and positively portrayed in *Duas Caras*. Guigui’s son reacts extremely negatively when he learns he had been rich but is now poor. Clarissa, however, is of course delighted when Silvia forces their DNA testing, learns they are indeed sisters, and has half the university signed over to her, which she places in her mother Célia Mara’s charge. Upon learning of Clarissa’s good fortune, her boyfriend tells her life will completely change. He asks, now that she’s rich, if she’ll trade him for a new boyfriend, or continue with the old, poor one. Clarissa tells him he’s a fool (Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 1). In addition to her new role at the university, Célia Mara also comes into money when she receives a fortune in gold coins⁶¹. However, immediately upon selling the coins, she is robbed of the duffle bag of cash. After many tears and a fruitless conversation with Barreto informing her nothing can be done to get her money or coins back, she tells her daughter that they will never see that inheritance again. “Money is easy that way... we lived well enough without them before” (Saturday, April 5, 2008, Episode 162, Block 2).

Chart 12 below summarizes some of the main instances of role reversals that emphasize class portrayal noted:

⁶¹ Exactly how she inherits the coins is unclear from the sampled episodes.

CHART 12: Non-News Based Class References in *Duas Caras*

<i>Role Reversal</i>	<i>Inheritance</i>
(Black hero)	Loss — Guigui's son
White thief	Gain — Clarissa
Hypocritical Sílvia	Gain/Loss — Célia Mara

One final point regarding the telenovela's portrayal of class requires attention. That is the touring of Portelinha (see, for instance, Saturday, Feb. 16, 2008, Episode 120, Block 4). Gabriel's wife conducts the tours, which are given to non-Brazilians. Although she coordinates her efforts with Juvenal (see, for example, Friday, Feb. 8, 2008, Episode 113, Block 4), the fact that she conducts the tours is important on two levels. One is the establishment of Portelinha as a Potemkin village, as discussed in Chapter 8. Portelinha is shown to the world to be a model favela. Another is how this portrayal undercuts the favela and marginalizes its residents. By calling attention to a way of living and setting it apart as spectacle, favela life is dangerously ridiculed and further marginalized. Were the tours given more prominence in *Duas Caras*, they could potentially debunk the frame of the ideal family, as discussed in Chapters 9 and 10.

*H2E: Less-affluent candidates will be portrayed more positively in *Duas Caras* than in the Brazilian national press.*

Again, a qualitative framing analysis of the news text and photo sample hampers a response to this question in that no local candidates surface for comparison. What is interesting, however, is the positive way in which "less-affluent" telenovela characters Juvenal Antena and, in particular, Evilásio Caó are framed as candidates from the model favela Portelinha for city council.

To reiterate briefly, Juvenal Antena is always in the know through his play on his name, Antena⁶². He rules the favela from his position as “father of the favela” with an iron first, ensuring law and order, no want for food or shelter, no drugs, and funds for those who desperately need them. As discussed in Chapter 10, however, Juvenal might *appear* the ruler of the favela, but he is really Misael’s frontman. Nonetheless, Juvenal seems to enjoy a certain “divine right” to preside over his Potemkin-style village and is not shy to use resources/events to his advantage, like masking a failed assassination attempt to secure more electoral votes.

Evilásio, again, is the hero of *Duas Caras*. His character framing transitions over the course of the telenovela from negative normal stereotypes to a positive progressive portrayal of a loyal servant willing and positioned to help others. Evilásio is strongly endorsed by others as well, including Congressman Narciso Tellerman, who is his campaign manager and influential in helping Gioconda succeed in her election as a federal senator. Minus Barreto’s cruel insults, which transition to cordiality, no one speaks ill of Evilásio.

Although Juvenal is financially better off than Evilásio, as noted in Chapter 10, neither man is rich. However, both are generally portrayed positively. Especially in regard to Evilásio’s character, societal boundaries are pushed for materially poor Afro-Brazilian men.

In brief, analysis of at least telenovela framing of less-affluent candidates shows them to be positively portrayed, generally speaking.

⁶² Thankfully, his surname “Antena” means the same in Portuguese as it does in English, although it is spelled differently.

This chapter's purpose has been to further unravel news and telenovela framing intertextuality regarding race and class issues in Brazil. This process is reciprocal and dynamic in that news and telenovela materials work in tandem to help viewers and readers make sense of societal topics and issues as Brazil experiences greater media opening. Media converge, diverge and are completely unrelated on other matters.

In regard to the election, understanding racial and class differences between print media election coverage and telenovela portrayal becomes obscure, largely because of the lack of print media local election coverage to compare telenovela representation against. Responding to the hypotheses of this study in this section allows conversations regarding telenovela framing of race and class issues not necessarily concurrent with news issues. One main point surfacing from this discussion chapter is *Duas Caras* pushes race and class boundaries through deliberate role reversals; white men are subverted, and black men are elevated in society. In this sense, *Duas Caras* suggests Afro-Brazilians are the backbone of white Brazilian leadership.

CHAPTER 13: Conclusion

At a time when the United States was considering then electing its first Afro-American president, an Afro-Brazilian has been suggested as a viable and successful local election candidate in a hit Brazilian telenovela. At least in two nations recognized for, despite many admirable qualities, their historical lack of racial acceptance, times are changing, both in real and fictive settings.

This qualitative framing analysis of the Brazilian print national press and TV Globo's 8 p.m. telenovela *Duas Caras* explores the timely and (inter)national question of how news issues help frame telenovela plots to investigate the state of media opening in Brazil (Porto, 2007). This occurs in a rich way, given systemic differences between *print* news and the *electronic* medium of telenovelas and how more orthodox or traditional news media are compared with the novela. This study's earlier literature reviews suggest print news is formal in what it considers news for a news story and is more traditional in its approach, whereas telenovelas introduce news issues as parts of larger fictional narratives with character development and conflict. So a second major question for the dissertation turned out to be how news and telenovela framing of several key issues, including race and politics, slums and slum-dwellers, gender and politics, compare.

The notion of hegemony (please see Chapter 2) helps to elucidate how even after 24 years since the move to democracy, Brazilian media are varied in their (limited) degrees of freedom. Newspapers as represented by *O Jornal do Brasil* demonstrate the least degree of freedom at least through their textual silence on some large sociological issues including race and class. This may occur because although newspaper readership and subscriptions are increasing in Brazil, newspaper content continues to be prepared by

elites for elites. Newsmagazines as represented by *Veja/Veja-Rio* show a more liberated journalism in their approach to tackling social, political and cultural issues through their proposing solutions to the covered issues. Telenovelas, at least as represented by *Duas Caras*, prove to be more progressive storytellers in their presentation of issues including race and class, particularly through the positive framing of the winning fictional Afro-Brazilian candidate Evilásio Caó. Perhaps because of their consistent audience research and response to secure large audiences, telenovelas are more in touch with Brazilian reality, or inclusive of (open) discussion surrounding the (dis)likes of and hot topics among the people. In fact, *Duas Caras*, represents a change by TV Globo toward representing Afro-Brazilian people more fully and positively, since Globo had been accused of under-representing them before (Araújo, 2000).

Media materials published around the time period leading up to municipal elections in Brazil comprise this study. Since Brazilian print news readership and subscriptions are increasing, the leading daily *O Jornal do Brasil* and the world's fourth largest newsmagazine, *Veja/Veja-Rio*, were sampled from to investigate news framing and news themes during the preliminary election phase. Print media were chosen from two different, rival publishers, with neither being related to TV Globo. Their diversity in news staffs, editorial perspectives and media genres (shorter time-sensitive stories and photos typical of newspapers vs. longer investigative pieces and lifestyle foci inherent to newsmagazines) should accomplish two goals. One is to preclude news coverage similarities that could arise from organizational news normalization (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Another is to determine salient latent frames being communicated through

various Brazilian media to produce a more complete understanding of current events deemed newsworthy or important to the (news) media's agenda.

This analysis can be considered (inter)national, if "international" is understood as meaning "between/among nations" as well as "foreign," since Brazilian telenovelas are popular *within* and *outside* Brazil, being exported to more than 140 nations. As previously noted, telenovelas, the Cinder(f)ella-like, rags-to-riches stories blending contemporary social and political issues, are "a forum for the discussion of Brazilian reality" (Straubhaar, 2007, p. 155). TV Globo enjoys the lion's share of the Brazilian audience, captivating audience members regardless of gender, age, socio-economic background, and education level through crafty marketing, fine production and engaging, provocative scripts and actors.

Duas Caras demonstrates TV Globo's deliberate outreach to various market segments. Its peppered inclusion of English phrases taps Brazil's elitist audience. Its positive portrayal and even glamorization of Antônio's mechanic shop and his calendar-pin-up shop boys pleases the working middle class. Bernardinho's homosexual character includes members of the gay community and appeals to people in nontraditional relationships. Character age ranges, from mature — like Gioconda, Guigui, Juvenal — to young — like Alzira's children — helps old and young audience members relate with someone in the telenovela. The interweaving of traditional telenovela themes, including class ascension, romance and the family archetype, sprinkles in the typical and familiar. In addition, *Duas Caras* has its own product merchandizing, including the types of cars characters drive (Aldalberto's Ford, Dona Branca's Audi, Ferraço's Chrysler), the hairstyles made popular (Sílvia is the beautiful villainess with the bangs), clothing styles

and accessories (mid-thigh dresses, large sunglasses), and character theme music (which is sold in popular soundtrack albums). And ideas are written into the *Duas Caras* script in a way that is concurrent with real-life news events and issues, blending fact with fiction. The marketing of products and ideas — elements of what Globo now calls social merchandizing — extends the successful, long-running product merchandizing it has done since the 1970s.

It is not far-stretched to assume that 90 to 95 percent of Brazilians have at some point in time tuned in to TV Globo's 8 p.m. *Duas Caras* over its nine month, six-nights-per-week run. The innovative and progressive framing of *Duas Caras*' Afro-Brazilian local election candidate Evilásio Caó in a nation struggling with its own denial, so to speak, of deeply culturally entrenched racial discrimination and segregation, responds to a need for media critique. The telenovela could pave the way not only for advancements of Afro-Brazilian men, but also "prepare" Brazilians ultimately for more Afro-Brazilian political leadership, given the telenovelas' history of significantly influencing lifestyles.

Several steps were taken to create the body of materials included in this investigation. As explained in Chapter 5, the newspaper and newsmagazine were systematically sampled according to their specified dates to correspond with the telenovela *Duas Caras*. Those dates ranged from about nine months prior to the telenovela, beginning in January 2007, through to when the telenovela author, Mr. Silva, would no longer be able to include current events in his plot. As noted, this was judged to be about April 2008. From those dates, each medium's hard copy was searched and photocopied to gather covers, political stories, photos and any possible article that might relate to this study's purposes. For *O Jornal*, almost the entire newspaper for each

sampled date was captured for analysis, excluding classifieds, comics, large advertisement and other such irrelevant content. For *Veja*, a large majority of the newsmagazine and its insert *Vejo-Rio* was also included in the sample set. In particular, the cover stories, tables of contents, letters to the reader, main interviews, final editorial and all political coverage along with photos were captured for inclusion. These news items were studied according to framing theory and comparative narrative analysis (Berger, 1997, 2005) to learn what news frames emerged.

Two key concepts of framing theory that have empowered this investigation are the notions of visual framing and latent framing. Visual framing, or analysis of news photo, in this instance, *solely* demonstrates the race conversation (or lack thereof) in the national print discourse. In other words, without the insights of visual framing, the news text analysis is lopsided at best, making it appear that Afro-Brazilians are absent from news coverage. Once photos are incorporated into the analysis, as noted in Chapter 7, a closer approximation to the story of national print news' framing of Afro-Brazilians develops. That visual framing suggests a sad story of negative framing of Afro-Brazilian leaders, in the least. News coverage of affirmative action borders race talk in news text. However, the conversation regarding race is substantially less — almost silent — unless the photo framing analysis is folded in. Visual framing theory also allows for systemic differences, straddling the print text or photo and visually-oriented telenovela, thereby empowering a comparison between two somewhat dissimilar media.

Latent framing, or the presentation of messages that are culturally-bound, unfolds deeply-rooted Brazilian notions that if left unscrutinized can become unquestioned and absorbed as normal within Brazilian society, further reinforcing the status quo, or

hegemony. It calls attention to various elements and degrees of cultural communication necessary to make sense of ideas and notions media propagate within and across societies. This requires some expertise on behalf of the researcher to be sensitive to implicit and explicit messages, in this case, *within* the media narrative under study. While certain ideas may not resonate with other cultures — just like certain words do not have exact translations between languages — many ideas do, and in differing degrees. Stated another way, possessing cultural capital permits getting under the topical search that surfaces through manifest framing analysis and peels messages to their core to get a better sense of what is truly being communicated. Indeed, considering how all-encompassing or dominant such macro frames as the family is between print news and the telenovela is but one indication of the “slight of hand” images and themes that latent framing de-mystifies.

Manifest framing proves helpful and instructive. Initially signifying basic themes or ideas that are consistent across media space and time, manifest framing is a “quick overview” approach to making sense of and categorizing media messages. In this application, manifest framing helps to decipher that themes of family are strong in both the national print discourse as well as *Duas Caras*. But understanding the implicit messaging of family — that government as family is perceived in news reports to be paternalistic, or that the family is foremost and forever in the telenovela — can only be arrived at through latent framing analysis.

Intertextuality complements framing theory. It has enabled frames emerging from a manifest and implicit approach to print news and *Duas Caras* to be compared and contrasted, surfacing similarities and differences between news and novela messaging.

For instance, print news text indicates corruption in the Brazilian government at least through fraudulent government credit card use. This is framed latently as an indication that while Brazilians may desire to be part of their governmental family, that family is not perfect. In *Duas Caras*, this news event cues Dona Branca's fatal flaw; she, to a certain extent, embezzles university funds. While framing reveals these two instances, intertextuality permits comparison of the two. Thus, intertextuality empowers framing analysis across media. It points to, for example, the racial, gender and class boundary pushing that occurs more prominently in *Duas Caras* than in news text and photos because of the more-discussed telenovela information cued from news reports.

Paramount for making sense of the news and novela frames that evolve from this analysis, two inclusions have been made in this dissertation. One is a chapter regarding the history of TV Globo, print news and telenovelas in Brazil. This information, which is found in Chapter 3, provides background necessary to understanding the media landscape in which Brazilian news and telenovelas have been produced. It also overviews the state of media opening Brazil is undergoing, given its recent transition from a military dictatorship to democracy in 1985.

Another inclusion, Chapter 4 presents the concepts racial democracy and favelas, or slums. Racial democracy is the "mythic" notion that all races are equal in Brazil. Favelas tend to be shantytowns that have developed in a variety of modes — often along hillsides — throughout Brazil, and residents tend to be marginalized from society because of their assumed poverty. Both are deeply embedded in Brazilian history. Many critical scholars consider racial democracy a myth, because racial segregation and

discrimination remain structurally rooted in Brazilian society. Gender and class discussions are also included in this section, along with affirmative action.

The investigation has not been linear, but rather dynamic and reciprocal. Some news frames have hinted at what to look for in the telenovela, while some telenovela elements have pointed to news articles needing greater attention. From the looped qualitative media analysis, two macro or salient latent news frames — “The government is the family” and “Brazilian democracy is more social than racial” — and two macro or salient latent telenovela frames — “Family first, family forever” and “It’s not the position that rules, but the influence” — have emerged.

To summarize major findings in regard to each research question and guided hypothesis:

RQ1: Does Duas Caras take framing cues from Brazilian print media?

- Strong intertextuality can be found between the news macro frame “The government is the family” and the novela frame theme “The ideal family is a safe and well-supplied haven, give or take a few peculiarities” in the larger telenovela frame “Family first, family forever.” Overlap occurs in telenovela portrayal of the favela Portelinha. While news reports indicate such issues as health, security, crime and violence are of immediate concern at least for Rio residents, these matters are portrayed as taken care of in the “ideal family” of Portelinha life.
- Of particular note: The telenovela model favela Portelinha mainstreams or sanitizes favela life. This is controversial since “favelados” (favela residents) are generally marginalized and looked down upon in Brazilian society. *Duas Caras* by contrast shows Portelinha positively, even perhaps too idealistically. Portelinha

appears to be the exact opposite of how news reality reports on favelas and how Brazilian society culturally imagines or understands favela life to be.

- News and novela frames and themes are complicated, sometimes overlapping and intertwining on several layers. One of the strongest evidences for this is how the news frame theme of health is embodied in Alzira's character in *Duas Caras*. Her day-job as a nurse allows her to give telenovela viewers a tour of Rio hospital conditions, which are known in real-life and shown on TV to require attention. Her night-job as a pole-dancer reflects the news frame theme of a Brazilian focus on beauty through physical fitness routines. These representations straddle the two news frames "Government is the family" through the news theme "Health: If you haven't got your health, you haven't got anything" and "Brazilian democracy is more social than racial" through its theme "Rewards of Brazilian beauty."
- Affirmative action is the way race talk enters Brazilian print news text — although race seems nearly impossible to define in the news stories — and is framed more seriously in the news. Meanwhile, through the framing of Rudolf's character, affirmative action is essentially laughed at as a non-sequitur in *Duas Caras*. Just because one is black does not mean s/he is materially poor or being segregated against. Class can trump race, since Rudolf is actually a wealthy Afro-Brazilian. His socio-economic position seems to delegitimize his social movement against discrimination and segregation at the Universidade Pessoa de Morães.
- In the telenovela women can speak positively about race. By relating female blackness with beauty, female *Duas Caras* characters signify the mulatta myth, of the Black or mixed race woman as most sexually desirable (Chapter 4), and

undercut the notion of racial democracy. This insinuates that racial mixing absolves racism.

- While gendered discussion of race in *Duas Caras* indicates that black is beautiful and something to be proud of for women, being black can be a difficult and negative condition for men, which may imply a gendered bias to Brazilian racial democracy. This refers to how the character Evilásio is treated in certain social circles at the beginning of *Duas Caras*, prior to his character's achievement of economic and political social mobility. His acceptance is largely a result of his father-in-law's Barreto's son marrying an Afro-Brazilian, allowing the maid Sabrina to participate in upward social mobility.
- Some themes, like race and the meaning and importance of beauty and their connection can be developed far more in telenovelas than in the news.
- A news thread regarding the importance of the great ladies of Carioca society is picked up and amplified through the *Duas Caras* character Gioconda, who becomes a Federal senator after becoming famous for good works and understanding. In other words, women are on the up in news and in the telenovela; they do and can achieve political position, as Gioconda demonstrates.
- Education empowers social advancement in real life as well as in *Duas Caras*, as portrayed through the character Benoliel's experience.
- Small businesses are another means of social mobility. Bernardino's Poretlinha restaurant and Antônio's mechanic shop reflected this news theme.
- Real estate is a lucrative position, in real life as well as in the novela. Gabriel and Ferraço were shown to reap financial rewards of this news theme in *Duas Caras*.

- The news theme of security and discussion of parental pain surrounding children who are drug users, dealers and/or addicts is reflected and amplified through *Duas Caras*’ character Guigui and her reaction to her adult son’s drug situations.

CHART 13: Truncated 1st Research Question Guiding Hypotheses & Summaries

H1A: <i>Duas Caras</i> reflects news and events of previous nine months	H1B: Political print news frames will be adopted into <i>Duas Caras</i>	H1C: <i>Duas Caras</i> more likely to focus on candidate personality
Generally supported	Difficult to support or debunk from limited municipal election coverage	Difficult to support or debunk from limited municipal election coverage
Focus on news issues such as security, health and crime through portrayal of favela Portelinha	Campaign game evidenced through Juvenal Antena’s “power play” against contender Evilásio Caó	Candidate personality given substantial attention in novela, vis-à-vis systemic difference
Government credit card fraud reflected through character Dona Branca’s noted error and dismissal	Political issue evidenced through Juvenal and Evilásio’s leadership style differences	
Business with China mentioned in news and later in novela	Candidate coverage evidenced through Evilásio’s progressive framing as Afro-Brazilian hero and ideal candidate	
Other news issues such as honest business practices arise in news but not given as much attention in the novela	Novela candidate coverage shows white candidate more popular than black through larger political rally attendance	

*RQ2: When addressing the election, does *Duas Caras* take race and class framing cues from Brazilian print media?*

- While the lack of sampled local election news coverage inhibits a complete news and novela municipal election comparison, other race and class framing cues are noticeably adopted from news into *Duas Caras*, but challenged once there.
- Afro-Brazilian political leaders are negatively framed in print media through their headshots as people making trouble. *Duas Caras*, however, shows blacks

- progressing and, hence, pushes stereotypical Afro-Brazilian boundaries. Although some black characters remain in stereotypical roles like servants (all *Duas Caras* maids are black), the black maid Sabrina experiences class ascension through her marriage to Barretinho, and Afro-Brazilian Evilásio is elected to the city council.
- News and telenovela portrayals evidence that in Brazil gender can trump, or combine with, both race and class when it comes to white men being in positions of leadership. For example, not only do white Brazilian men rule as evidenced through their capturing 88 percent of news headshots, but they also command *Duas Caras* ' Universidade Pessoa de Morães through their *influence* rather than their *position(s)*.
 - As news and telenovela intertextuality echoes, women can be politicians when they are rich and white, like State Sen. Kátia Abreu and *Duas Caras* ' Gioconda.

CHART 14: Truncated 2nd Research Question Guiding Hypotheses & Summaries

H2A: <i>Duas Caras</i> more likely to assign black characters working class roles than news	H2B: <i>Duas Caras</i> will give more attention to non-white character than news	H2C: <i>Duas Caras</i> will portray the non-white candidate's behavior more positively	H2D: <i>Duas Caras</i> will give more attention to class	H2E: <i>Duas Caras</i> will portray less-affluent candidates more positively
Difficult to support or debunk from limited news coverage	Difficult to support or debunk from limited municipal election coverage, but not supported	Difficult to support or debunk from limited municipal election coverage	Generally supported	Difficult to support or debunk from limited municipal election coverage
One Afro-Brazilian male shown positively in <i>Veja</i> , while maids and other Afro-Brazilian characters subjugated	Afro-Brazilian leaders negatively framed in news photos	In the novela, Afro-Brazilian hero Evilásio shows it is possible for black men to become esteemed political leaders, elevate their social status	News defines the new middle class and gives clues as to how to better one's socio-economic position through education, and the novela echoes this	Although neither novela character is rich, both candidates, generally, are positively portrayed
Character Misael Caó framed positively as true leader of Portelinha	In the novela, the white candidate is given almost twice as much attention as the Afro-Brazilian, although the black candidate wins	Novela framing of blacks positively pushes societal boundaries	Keeping with novela tradition, characters experience social mobility through inheritance loss or gain	Although Evilásio's character is more positively portrayed, given his hero status, he has less screen time

Problems and qualifications

No study's method is perfect. This analysis could be enhanced in a number of ways. One would be to change the news sample set in such a way as to include more municipal campaign coverage. One way to do that would be to perform a word search in an online paper to gather coverage addressing local elections. However, while this approach might increase the number of news articles addressing municipal campaigns, it could detract from the nuanced dialogue found in this study regarding the news

landscape. The news frames that have emerged in this study are the raw and rich results of that plunge into the hard news copies to capture what was on the media's agenda during this study's period of inquiry. Similarly, the word search may not have included photos. To not have included photos would have severely handicapped this study's qualitative findings regarding the visual framing of Afro-Brazilians in national press.

Framing theory is also not without its limits. A "fractured paradigm" (Entman, 1993), it is still developing and nuanced. One theoretical struggle throughout this dissertation stems from a tender theoretical issue yet to be resolved by framing scholars. That involves deciphering at what point a frame becomes a frame⁶³. But because framing is flexible in its ability to compare multi-media verbally and visually and elastic to consider both manifest and latent content, it is an appropriate theory for this analysis. In other words, framing theory permits the looped analysis and feedback across media along with cultural contexts and implications to empower this investigation, even with its glaring shortcoming.

Since individuals get their information from various sources, investigating multiple media sources and their messages grows in importance to understand what and how topics are being talked about, or not, in national social discourse. Fact and fiction lines are increasingly blurring.

This last and final chapter contextualizes the importance of this investigation. It pulls out main arguments to substantiate the intriguing connection(s) between news fact and telenovela fiction in a society continuing to experience media opening (Porto, 2007).

⁶³ I owe this insight to Dr. Reese, who helped me to verbalize this struggle.

It also presents an interesting quandary. As an alternative news source, Do telenovelas help frame news issues?⁶⁴ Or, more broadly, Does fiction help frame fact?

⁶⁴ As with many insights of this dissertation, I owe this forward-looking question to Dr. Joseph Straubhaar.

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