UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

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White Supremacy

- A Study of Racial Representation in Brazilian Television News Media

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Master Thesis in Media and Communication Studies
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Abstract

Title   *White Supremacy – A study of Racial Representation in Brazilian Television News Media*

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Purpose   *To examine how different races are represented in the television news program Jornal Nacional*

Method   Quantitative content analysis and qualitative content analysis

Material   52 episodes (one per week) of the Brazilian television news program *Jornal Nacional,* between 05.04.2012 and 01.04.2013.

Main results   Whites are gravely overrepresented as a race, while Browns are underrepresented and Blacks are marginally underrepresented (compared to the real population). Asians and Indigenous have statistically uncertain results. Whites tend to be represented in contexts and roles associated with power. Blacks and Browns however, tend to be represented in contexts and roles not associated with power. We can also note that certain roles appear to have a stronger connection to certain races. For example, Law Offenders are associated with Browns and Blacks while Law Defenders are associated with Whites.

Key words   *Race, representation, media, Brazil, Jornal Nacional, television news*

Executive Summary

This study is executed as a master thesis at the University of Gothenburg, with the aim to *examine how different races are represented in the television news program Jornal Nacional.* The reasons for the choice of this specific aim are many. Brazil (where Jornal Nacional is produced and broadcasted) is a multicultural and multiracial society with a socially complex history. The country has a history of colonialism, slavery and civil wars and as a result, the Brazilian society suffers from extensive racism. Whether or not this racism has repercussions in the racial representation in the news media is therefore an interesting subject to study.

The study has its base in a number of different theories focusing on media, news value and post colonialism. For example, the role of the *gate keepers* and the mechanisms behind news value - *what* and *who* makes the news and why - are discussed. Furthermore, post-colonial theories such as Stuart Hall's theory on hegemony and culture production are discussed, together with Euro Centrism as possible explanatory theories to the results of this study.

Apart from a theoretical base, this thesis also has a foundation in previous empirical studies. A separate chapter summarises some of the more important findings in North American as well as Brazilian research bordering the same questions as this thesis. To sum up the findings in these studies we can say that, generally, Browns, and/or Blacks are overrepresented in negative contexts while Whites are often represented in positive contexts.

The results from the study at hand (which has been performed with a mixed methods approach, with a focus on quantitative content analysis) are supporting the findings from previous research. They show an overrepresentation of Whites and an underrepresentation of Browns and Blacks compared to the actual Brazilian population.

Executive Summary

Moreover, the results show a strong tendency for Whites to be represented in contexts and roles associated with power, such as politics, expertise and law. This while Blacks and Browns tend to be represented in contexts which are not associated with power, such as crime and law offending, and also in a sports context.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Segregation With A History

Brazil is a multicultural, highly diverse society with numerous races, ethnicities, cultures and customs. There are Africans, Germans, Poles, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Asians, Arabs, Jews and many more sharing the same nation. Brazil was colonised by the Portuguese from 1500 to 1822, when it gained its independence. During this time there were several wars in Brazil between the Portuguese and other colonisers, such as the Spanish and the Dutch. The Portuguese eventually won, however, the result was still a remaining population of Spanish and Dutch in the country. There were also millions of African slaves brought to Brazil by the Portuguese during this time. Moreover, in the 18th and 19th century, nationalities such as Germans, Poles and Italians were invited to the country to "whiten" the population. Furthermore, after the slavery was abolished in 1888, a lack of farm workers resulted in the Brazilian government inviting Japanese citizens to work in Brazil. Later, in the 20th century, refugees and exiles from the first and Second World War also settled in the country[1].

The result of this is what we see today in Brazil – a multicultural and multiracial society. Unfortunately, due to possible historical factors such as slavery, colonisation, and a strong religious power of the Catholic Church, Brazil also suffers from segregation, racism, prejudice and social- and economic inequality. The racism and segregation can, for example, be noticed when looking at the disproportionally low number of black students at the country's universities, in political - or other types of powerful positions, and in unequal economic conditions[2]. However, racism and prejudice is not only present between the black and the white population, but between all races and ethnicities and in many different shapes and forms.

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[1] Fausto 1999
[2] IBGE

1.2 …and Why Is This Interesting?

A widely accepted idea within the media- and communications field is that media reproduces the ideas that are currently dominating in society. This means that, although maybe not having the sole power to create public opinion, the media has the power to reproduce and reinforce the currently dominating opinions in society. For this reason, as Brazil is having significant problems with segregation and racism, I find it urgent to examine the images of different races projected in the media. Media representation is, in my regard, a matter of democracy and also a measure of the social climate in society. In a diverse and multicultural nation such as Brazil, there ought to be a diverse and multicultural representation in the media. If not, I consider this a serious problem, and something that needs to be cast light upon and debated. For these reasons, my aim with this study is to examine racial representation in Brazilian (news) media and, hence, contribute to the research on the matter.

The choice of studying the Brazilian society, as opposed to any other, is a conscious one. In the academic world, and even more so in the academic world focused on media- and communications studies, research is dangerously concentrated on Anglo-Saxon- and Anglo-American studies. At Swedish universities, British, American and Swedish research dominates the field almost completely. Performing this study in a South American context is an attempt to broaden the perspective and learn more than we otherwise would. Moreover, even though the Brazilian society deviates from the Anglo-Saxon- or Anglo-American mould, Brazil is, just like Sweden, UK or USA, an occidental country. This makes it possible to apply occidental media theories on the study but in a new context. Brazil makes an interesting new research ground in this sense; it mixes an occidental society with what I would like to call *"Southern roots".* These *Southern roots* differentiates Brazil from other occidental countries such as the USA or Sweden, by being a Latin country and an ex-colony of Southern Europeans, as opposed to Northern Europeans (like for example the case of the USA). This gives an opportunity to widen the dominating Anglo-American/Anglo-Saxon perspective.

2. Theoretical Framework

The subject of racial representation in television news in an ex-colony makes it interesting to include theories related to media, news and post colonialism. Hence, the theoretical basis for the study will mainly deal with these three topics.

Before discussing the theories, however, a number of definitions are necessary. In this study the following two concepts will be central: *race* and *representation*. An explanation and definition of these concepts is therefore necessary.

When I discuss *race,* I refer to groups of people which can be separated from each other by physical, and only physical, features which can be connected to racial origin. These would be features such as skin colour, hair type and facial characteristics. When discussing race in Brazil, it is common only two divide the population into two categories - Blacks and Whites. I consider this division of the Brazilian population unsatisfactory. In this study I will therefore divide the population into five different categories – Blacks, Browns, Whites, Asians and Indigenous. Here, a person who has dominatingly black features will be considered Black, a person with dominatingly white features will be considered White, a person with dominatingly Asian features will be considered Asian and a person with dominatingly Indigenous features will be considered Indigenous. Of course, it is here difficult to know exactly where to draw the line. Defining the race of a person is a difficult task as there exists a grey zone. It is precisely for this reason that I insist on including the category *Browns.* In this category a person who is a mix between different races and has a darker skin colour than Whites but lighter skin colour than Blacks will be considered Brown. However, regardless of how many categories we include, there will always exist a certain degree of uncertainty and personal judgement.

In Brazil the classification of races is, and has been, disputed for a long time which has led to many different classification systems. The system which has been chosen in this study is based on that of IBGE (The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics). In IBGE's system the following categories are included: *Brancos* (Whites), *Pretos* (Blacks)

Pardos (Mixed/Browns), *Amarelos* (Yellow), *Indígena* (Indigenous) and *Sem declaração* (Undeclared)[3] As we can see, the only difference from our system is that ours does not include the category *Undeclared.* Apart from the IBGE system, there are other systems which divide the population differently, for example that of *The Black Power Movement,* who in their system include browns and blacks in the one and same category - *Negros*. There are studies that show that this is often also how the browns and blacks classify themselves in Brazil[4]. Despite this I have chosen to divide these two into separate categories. This because I find it, in fact, unjust and racist to ignore part of the person's racial heritage and only see the one side and not the other (i.e., to only see the black side and not the white, yellow or indigenous).

Regarding the concept of *representation*, it will in this thesis be used in the context of media, and with the definition of *appearing* – to be featured in the media. The concept will not be used with any positive or negative charge, i.e., the representation can occur in negative as well as positive contexts. Regardless of which it will still be considered as *representation*.

2.1 What Do We Already Know?

When it comes to race, representation and the media, the USA, just like in many other academic fields, performs a significant amount of research. As the United States has a similar history to Brazil (yet of course, in many ways different) as a former colony and with a, racially and ethnically speaking, diverse population, it is of interest to have a good knowledge of this research. A large part of the research in the USA focuses on racial representation in news media, which is of particular interest to this study as it has the same focus. This chapter aims to sum up the most important findings in the North American racial representation research, together with the Brazilian one. The studies have been grouped and presented by theme.

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[3] IBGE
[4] Schwarzman 1999

Theme I – Race and Context

The studies in this theme have examined the relation between race and media context (i.e. what the second research question in this study is examining).

In Brazil, there have been a number of studies performed which have examined contextual racial representation. However, it is difficult to find studies of academically satisfying standards. One study which has been cited in a number of texts is a study by Muniz Sódre, a Brazilian journalist and professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Sódre performed a content analysis of the coverage of a racial conflict in one of the largest daily newspapers in Brazil – *Folha de São Paulo*. Here, the main results showed that Blacks mainly are represented in negative contexts while whites mainly are represented in positive contexts[5] Negative contexts were here, for example, crime, social problems, violence whilst positive contexts could be for example law defending.

Another Brazilian study which had received quite lot of attention in its home country, is a doctor's dissertation by Joel Zito Araújo. Araújo performed a content analysis of *telenovleas* (Brazilian soap operas) broadcasted between the years 1963-1997. What he concluded in this study, was that Blacks are mostly represented as low class, poor, often with problematic lives and in a situation where they are inferior to whites (for example as maids or servants). Only in the 80s and 90s could a slight change be detected, when a black person for the first time was represented in a role who was explicitly fighting against racial prejudice against Blacks. However, all in all, Araújo concludes that the image of Blacks in the Brazilian telenovela has not changed significantly between the 1960s and 1990s[6].

In the USA, the research field is more prevalent and it is easier to find studies of good quality. One of the more prominent American names in the field of racial representation and the media is Travis Dixon. Dixon is a media- effects researcher who has performed numerous studies on race, stereotypes, the media and what effects this

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[5] Sódre 1999
[6] Araújo 2000

might have on the viewers[7]. One example is his study (together with Linz) *'Overrepresentation and Underrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as Lawbreakers on Television News'.* They here performed a content analysis of a random selection of television news in Los Angeles and Orange County, where they examined the representation of Blacks, Latinos and Whites as law offenders and law defenders. The results were then compared to crime statistics obtained from the California Department of Justice for Los Angeles and Orange counties. Through this comparison they concluded that Blacks are overrepresented in crime reporting, and that Whites are more likely to be portrayed as law defenders than law offenders. Furthermore, they also concluded that Blacks were underrepresented as victims in the television news[8].

Another example of a study which examines the relationship between race and media context is an American study by Robert Entman. Entman is a PhD in Political Science and has, just like Dixon, performed a number of studies on media and racial representation. For example, he executed a study in which he performed a content analysis of the evening news on four different Chicago TV channels. In this study he found that Blacks are more often than other races presented in news reporting as nameless, menacing, and in a situation where they are in trouble with the law[9]. In another study of American television news, he found that when it comes to black people's participation in the news, the focus lies to a large extent on negative issues such as poverty and crime. Furthermore, he discovered that while there is participation of Blacks as experts in the television news, they are often only interviewed for 'black-themed news'. The same goes for black politicians who participate in the news – they are often presented in 'black contexts', such as issues with racism towards blacks and civil rights movements[10].

Chiricos and Eschholz, two American professors, in 2002 examined the crime related content of local news programs on three different TV channels in Florida. Their study,

[7] E.g. Dixon 2007, Dixon et Linz 2000a, 2000b
[8] Dixon et Linz 2000a
[9] Entman 1994
[10] Entman et Rojecki 2000

contrary to that of Entman, showed that Blacks are *not* overrepresented as law offenders (this compared to actual crime statistics) and that Hispanics were only slightly overrepresented as law offenders. However, they also concluded that Blacks and Hispanics more often than Whites appear in more violent and threatening contexts. Moreover, Blacks are more often represented as criminals or suspects than as law defenders or victims. For Hispanics the results are the same, albeit in amplified proportions[11].

Moreover, there have been a number of American studies treating racial representation in advertising. One example is a study by Lawrence Bowen and Jill Schmidt, (professors at University of Washington), which examines inclusion, portrayal and integration of minorities in magazine advertising. In this study the contents of nine magazines and nearly 1000 advertisements were analysed. Comparing the material to that of previous studies, the conclusion was drawn that the number of Black models had increased while the number of Asian and Hispanic models was still very low. Moreover, Blacks were often portrayed in the roles of athletes or musicians and in ads with several races, Whites more often than not outnumbered the other races.

Theme II - Race and Perception

In 2005, together with Keith Maddox (Associate Professor at Psychology at Tufts University), Dixon performed an experimental study where they examined the relation between news viewers' perception of criminals and the criminals' race and skin colour. The experiment studied the emotional discomfort of the viewer watching a crime reporting and the viewer's perceptions and memory of the perpetrator and victim. The aim was to examine whether the viewer could be influenced by the race and skin tone of the perpetrator portrayed in the newscast. Apart from finding that Blacks are often presented as aggressive, they also found that heavy television viewers are more likely to have a favourable perception of the victim if the perpetrator was Black[12].

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[11] Chiricos et Eschholz 2002
[12] Dixon et Maddox 2005

Apart from Dixon and Maddox, there have also been other American studies regarding the same theme. One example is a study by James D. Johnson (together with a number of other researchers)[13], where an experiment was performed to examine whether effects of exposure to violent media material would vary as a function of the race of the perpetrator in question. The participants of the study were shown non-violent and violent material and were thereafter asked to make judgments of a violent act committed by a Black, White, or "unspecified" man. The main results of the study indicated that when the perpetrator was White or "unspecified" the perception of the perpetrator did not depend on the race of the perpetrator. However, when the perpetrator was Black the viewer was prone to connect the violent act to the perpetrator's race.

In the Brazilian study by Sódre, mentioned in theme I above, we also find results that can be related to race and perception. Whites are often "the common citizens" and the Blacks "the exception". This means that Black people are portrayed as "the others", "them", "the abnormal", while Whites are portrayed as "us", the "normal".[14]

Theme III – Race and Media Space

As mentioned earlier, it is somewhat of a challenge finding Brazilian research on media and racial representation of higher academic standards. When it comes to the theme of race and media space, yet again, a number of studies have been performed, many of them focusing on *Telenovelas* (soap operas). However, most of these studies have not necessarily been executed on a high academic level. One of the more academically interesting studies is that of *Ser Negro à Vista,* a doctor's dissertation by Kátia Costa. Costa here examined, through content analysis, the racial representation in advertisement in two of the largest Brazilian print magazines - *Veja* and *Época* during the year of 2009. The results showed that Blacks (here including both Blacks and Browns) were underrepresented in this material, with a presence of only 14%. (This

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[13] Johnson et al 1997
[14] e.g. Sódre 1999

compared to the actual population which in the study was considered being constituted to 52% by blacks and browns[15].)

Regarding research on this theme from the United States, I chose not to include any results due to the fact that the American research appears to be more focused on the contextual representation of race rather than the general media space given to each of the races. This does not mean that there is a large gap in the American research, but that the performed studies have a higher grade of complexity and do therefore not study the media space as an isolated issue. For example, we can see in theme I (*Race and Context)* that space is included as one of the examined issues, but it is not the only component – the focus lies on space in *different contexts.* Not space in general.

2.1.1 Filling the Gaps

As we can see, there are a number of studies made on racial representation in Brazilian media. However, the academic standards are at times low, and most of, if not all, of these studies have seemingly focused on the representation of only *two* races in the Brazilian society – Blacks and Whites. This problematic in this simplifying of the Brazilian racial diversity has, for example, been discussed by Schwartzman[16] Dividing the Brazilian population into these two categories is to me bafflingly simplifying. By reducing the diversity of the population to only two races, one ignores the fact that there are large groups of people who will be either excluded from the research *or* included and wrongly classified – Asians, Indigenous and mixed race people, for example. I therefore aim to base my study on a more specific division of the population.

Moreover, many studies of representation of race in Brazilian media have been based on content analysis of soap operas, printed press or TV-commercials[17]. Unlike North American research, few Brazilian studies have focused on television news reporting. This genre, I believe, is particularly interesting as it supposedly represents reality and not fiction. The idea by which news are sold, be it printed or recorded such, is that it is

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[15] Costa 2010
[16] Schwartzman 1999
[17] E.g. Caniello 2012; Araújo 2000

real, it is facts. Hence, you can assume that the audience would expect that also the representation in the news media reflects reality to some extent.

2.2 News, Media and Post Colonialism

As mentioned earlier, the theoretical pillars for this thesis are theories on news, media and post colonialism. Regarding the theories on news and media, I will primarily focus on theories on news value and media power - What or who decides what images are projected in the media? What stories make the news and why? How is society reflected in the media? Furthermore, theories on post colonialism are important as they will help us understand the Brazilian society of today - Has Brazil's colonial history an impact on its current society? If so – how? What part does Europe and European culture play in Brazil today? These questions are all important to keep in mind when we later analyse the results of this study.

2.2.1 News Value – What Makes The News And Why?

What is news value? Or, rather, what HAS news value? Amongst media- and communication researchers there are plentiful theories on this subject (for example theories by Henk Prakke, Jesper Strömbäck and Gudmund Hernes as will be discussed below). The most common and accepted ones argue that media focuses on news stories which are:

1. *Close in time*
2. *Close in space*
3. *Close in culture*

Henk Prakke, a German researcher, was the one to launch his theory of closeness in the 1960s. He there claimed that what decides whether or not we as readers find a piece of news interesting is decided by how recent the incident is, how geographically close it occurred and how much we can identify with it in terms of culture. The result of thinking that the readers select what they find interesting according these criteria is that it is very possible that a dramatic incident on the other side of the globe in a country that is very different to ours, culture wise, will be ignored for the sake of giving

space to a less dramatic incident in our own country, in our own culture[18]. Important to note here, is that culture in this context does not necessarily refer to the culture of a nation or a people. It can also refer to subcultures and lifestyles.

Apart from Prakke, Galtung and Ruge have also made a significant contribution to the theories on news value. According to them, there are twelve factors which together decide the 'newsworthiness' of a story:

1. *Frequency* (immediate and occasional events such as murders are preferred over long-term developments such as, for example, environmental changes).

2. *Threshold* (the size of an event affects its importance).

3. *Unambiguity* (if an event is complex, it needs to be simplified by the media to be accessible to the audience).

4. *Meaningfulness* (the event needs to be close, either culturally speaking, or by having a direct impact on the audience).

5. *Consonance* (familiarity with the event).

6. *Unexpectedness* (the event is surprising).

7. *Continuity* (if an event has become important, it will need to be covered continuously over time).

8. *Composition* (a certain balance between good and bad, foreign and domestic etcetera, is desired in the news).

9. *Reference to elite nations* (events in elite nations, i.e. developed nations, are more likely to be reported than events in the third world).

10. *Reference to elite persons* (famous and/or powerful people are more likely to be featured in the news than ordinary people).

11. *Personalisation* (events are often reported referring to individuals rather than to faceless institutions or organisations).

12. *Negativity* (bad news have a higher chance of being published than good news).

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[18] Prakke, 1969

Their theory argues that the higher number of these factors that a story possesses, the higher the probability that it becomes news[19]. The news value theory of Swedish media researcher Håkan Hvitfelt also evolves around the same themes and he claims that a story is more likely to become first page news of it is about politics, economy or accidents, if the geographic and/or cultural distance is short, it is related to events and conditions which are sensational, is about elite people, the story is told straight forward and simple, the event occurs under a limited time and as part of a theme, has negative components and elite people as a source[20].

Apart from the three factors mentioned above, there is yet another factor that sparks the news audience interests - the way stories are told in the media. Just like in fictional novels or plays, dramaturgy in news telling is important in order to catch the audience's interest, and this therefore affects the way news organizations tell news[21]. Media dramaturgy has been researched by, for example, Gudmund Hernes (1978) and Jesper Strömbäck (2000). They have defined five different techniques that media dramaturgy consists of; *polarization, intensifying, personifying*, *concretization and stereotyping. Polarization,* in this context means that news stories are told as conflicts with two different sides fighting each other in one way or another. This makes the whole situation more interesting to the audience and generates more attention. *Intensifying* refers to the choice of words that are used. Between the choice of two words, where one of them is more extreme or maybe even controversial, the latter has a greater chance of being used when it comes to telling news stories. *Personifying* in its turn is used to make people relate to the news easier and therefore generate more interest among the audience. In practice, this means that news stories are often related to individuals, and even more so to celebrities. The two last techniques, *concretization* and *stereotyping*, both aim to simplify the content to make it more accessible to the audience*. Concretization* makes abstract and complex issues more tangible and easier to understand, while *stereotyping* simplifies the world and makes it easier to relate to, as the audience recognizes these stereotypes. All in all, this means that news stories are told as conflicts, intensified through choice of words, related to

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[19] Galtung et Ruge 1973
[20] Hvitfelt 1985
[21] Asp, 1990; Altheide et Snow 1979

individuals (especially known such), simplified and generalized[22].

However, it is not only the reader who decides what is interesting. Before news even reach the reader they have passed several, so called, *gate keepers*. These gate keepers filter what information gets through to the next instance and what does not. Naturally, these gate keepers also keep in mind the interest of the final reader as he or she is the one who in fact pays for the news. However, there might also be other factors affecting the gate keeper's choices such as politics, competitors or practical reasons. For example, the 'colour 'of a newspaper, i.e. its political preferences, might very well influence what becomes news and, even more likely, how it is *presented.* Ownership might also influence this. Many newspapers, TV channels etcetera, are owned by the same media conglomerates. This is becoming more and more common and a good example of this in Scandinavia is the Norwegian company *Schibstedt*. Schibstedt owns, for example, two of the largest newspapers in Sweden – *Aftonbladet* and *Svenska Dagbladet* as well as the equivalent in Norway - *Verdens Gang* and *Aftenposten.* They also own several websites such as *Blocket.se* (Sweden), *Hitta.se* (Sweden) and *prisjakt.no* (Norway)[23]. In Brazil, *Globo* is the equivalent of Schibstedt and it is also the owner and producer of Jornal Nacional, the news program which will be analysed in this thesis. Globo owns numerous TV channels (both open TV and cable TV), newspapers, magazines and websites. They also own parts in companies in the food industry and the real estate market.[24] Globo is, without anyone to compete with them on this title, the most powerful media institution in Brazil, and in all South America.

Now, let us take a closer look at who these so called gatekeepers can be. Depending on the scale of the news, i.e. if they are international, national, regional or local, there will be a varying number of gatekeepers. In an international example, this number can be rather extensive and in every transition there is a filtering of information:

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[22] Strömbäck 2000; Hernes 1978
[23] Hadeinius et Weibull, 2005
[24] Rede Globo Institucional http://redeglobo.globo.com/TVG/0,,9648,00.html retrieved 04.05.3013 01.56 pm

Event → Reporter A reporter notes down what has happened and films/takes pictures

Reporter → News agency The reporter produces a text/clip and sends it to a news agency

News agency → News agency The news agency buys the material, edits it and sells it to another news agency (E.g. Reuters to AP[25])

News agency → News program The news agency sells the material to a news program. Here the news program itself makes yet another selection of what will be broadcast

News program → Viewers The viewer makes the final selection and decides what he or she watches and doesn't watch

In Brazil, the vast majority (64%) of all journalists, editors and other media workers are white[26] . Consequently, this also means that a majority of the gatekeepers are white too. It is possible that this, together with all the factors mentioned above, has an effect on what stories and, more importantly, *whose* stories make the news. If we apply the c*loseness in culture* factor to this issue, it is possible that a journalist feels closer to an event that involves people of his own race, with his own religion, own social class, and so on and so forth, and therefore also reports on it to a larger extent than on an event that involves people of a different race. This despite the fact that the viewers or listeners of the news might belong to another culture or sub-culture than the producing journalist.

2.2.2 Media Power– Centre of Attention

The power of the media has been debated and discussed ever since the birth of mass media. How much does it affect public opinion? *Does* it affect public opinion? Over the decades the dominating ideas have changed from seeing media as *almighty* to seeing it only as *agenda setters.* Today the dominating idea, which is largely accepted among media researchers, is that media has an agenda setting power. This means that the media does not have the power to decide what the public thinks of a certain issue, but it has the power to decide what this issue will be[27]. I.e. the media sets the opinion

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[25] Reuters= British news agency   AP= Associated Press, American news agency   AFP= Agence France Press, French news agency   UPI= United Press International, American news agency
[26] Media Magazine, 2001, Issue 165
[27] McCombs, 2004

agenda. For example, if media talks about the swine flu, the public will also talk about the swine flu. If the media talks about the American presidential election, the public will also talk about the American presidential election. However, whether the public vaccinates themselves against the swine flu or not, or whether they vote Obama or McCain is not entirely up to the media to decide. Other factors, such as friends, colleagues, family, and other possible opinion formers will also have an influence in on people's opinion on the matter.

One of the names that frequently appear in media- and communications research today is Nick Couldry. His book *Media Rituals* gives a modern perspective on the power of the media. Couldry here discusses an *invented centre* to which media supposedly can provide access. The m*edia rituals* are a crucial part of the creation of this idea of a mediated centre. Couldry describes media rituals as actions that reproduce the 'myth' of the media as privileged access points to the centre of society – the 'myth of the mediated centre'. Examples of media rituals can be the behaviour of a fan when meeting a celebrity (which will, obviously be different from when the person meets any other 'ordinary' person) or a soap opera viewer going on a pilgrimage to visit the famous places of his favourite TV-series. According to Couldry, these rituals all help to sustain the myth of the mediated centre. In other words, Couldry means that media power can be seen through ritual actions which create strict boundaries between what appears in the media and what doesn't appear in the media (compare with *media logic* and *gate keeping*). Media, says Couldry, has a sort of exclusive privilege to represent a culturally constructed social centre. This privilege is not only exclusive, but also highly centralized – it is given to a defined "clique" and follows specific rules from which it does not stray:[28]

> *"Modern societies exhibit very intense concentrations of all forms of resources – economic, political, symbolic – and these generally need to be legitimated if people are to live comfortably with them. One of the main things media institutions do, as the principal beneficiaries of society's concentration of its symbolic resources, is to legitimate that very concentration."*

Nick Couldry, Media Rituals (2003) p. 46

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[28] Couldry 2003

Although Couldry's ideas are not part of the agenda setting theory, I believe there are similarities. Couldry claims that what appears in the media becomes what is real to us (the audience, the readers), what is important. In a way, this is also what the agenda setting theory suggests – the media sets the agenda for what we believe is significant, what we should care about. In the context of this study, such theories can be seen as factors which emphasize the importance of knowing how different races are represented in the media, and in what context. If, for example, one race is overrepresented in a negative context such as crime, it is possible that the public will view crime committed by this particular race as more problematic than others. To summarize - *What is in the media is real to us. What the media talks about is high on the agenda.*

2.2.3 Post Colonial Aftermath – Hegemony and Euro Centrism

As mentioned in the introduction, Brazil has a long history as a colony. This has left many marks in the Brazilian society – slave descendants (of which many still are poor today), a very rich upper class whose top is dominated by only a handful of families, an indigenous population which is almost extinct and the dominance of European culture in everything from arts, literature and fashion to religion and beauty ideals. In this chapter we will take a closer look at some of the theories explaining these post-colonial repercussions.

When discussing post colonialism it is hard to do so without discussing Stuart Hall, one of the most influential cultural theorists of modern times. Hall was born in Jamaica, ex colony of Great Britain, and as a young adult he moved to England to study at university. Hall's work evolved around theories on hegemony, its nature and consequences.

Hall is most famous for creating what is called *Hall's Theory of Encoding and Decoding.* According to this theory, language (which is here used in the wider definition of symbols used to represent concepts and real things) consists of two parts: One, the creation of a concept and two, the interpretation of the image which represents it.

Hence, Hall claims that language is far from being a linear phenomenon. On the contrary, language is manipulated, censored and interpreted. As an example Hall uses moral panics; crime statistics are often manipulated to serve as defence for precautions and actions taken by *the power*. Statistics of mugging could be manipulated and used as a tool to convince the public that a more elaborated police control is needed. In these situations, says Hall, the media plays a vital role as mediator and "*social producer*" of the news.[29]

Albeit not being the focus in the theoretical basis for this study, Hall's theory on communication, language and power has a connection to his theories on hegemony, the African Diaspora and racial identity, for which he is also renowned. In these theories, he claims that the media as a *social producer* is partly responsible for racial prejudice in society. Hall believes that history, media and culture (including language) are factors which have a large impact on racial identity. Language, its codes, use and practice, hence becomes a tool which can be utilized to execute hegemonic power. Culture and racial identity for Hall is not a finished product. It is not something static but an on-going process which is in constant change and constant development. As an example he discusses the "Africanism" in the Americas (which would include South America and, hence, Brazil), where large parts of the population consists of slave descendants. Due to the Diaspora of these Africans, a new cultural identity has formed among them. The longing for "the motherland" can be seen in clothes, music, food, etcetera, but it has transformed itself from its origin. He makes the comparison of a journey from Africa to Jamaica, from Ethiopia and Rastafarianism to reggae and *Redemption Song*[30]. Culture and identity is not static, it is dynamic. This change is fuelled by, among other things, the media and the power.

And what is this power? According to Hall, the power is constituted by institutions, politics and economics. Culture therefore becomes somewhat of a battlefield where people produce and consume culture at the same time. I.e. the ones in control of the language use – the ones in power – are the producers and the others are the

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[29] Hall 1973
[30] Song by the Jamaican reggae artist Bob Marley

consumers. In a post-colonial, hegemonic context, this means that the colonizers, or-ex colonizers, are the ones representing the power and therefore producing the culture. The colonized or the enslaved are merely the consumers. This even if they, technically, are not colonised or enslaved any longer. In other words – hegemony rules the culture and cultural development in society[31]. In a Brazilian context, we could say that the history of European colonization is "europifying" Brazil and its citizens, including the Indigenous and the African descendants.

When discussing hegemony, it is almost necessary to also discuss the concept of *Euro Centrism*. Euro centrism basically means viewing the world whilst putting Europe in its centre. Its roots origin in the colonial times when European countries such as England, Portugal, Spain and The Netherlands were colonising Africa, The Americas, parts of Asia and Oceania. Characteristic for Euro Centrism is attempting to define Europe as one unit, regardless of differences in culture, religion and languages. Through this, Euro centrism seeks to show the supremacy of *European culture* and thus neglecting the influence which other cultures have had on Europe. During the colonial times, Europe, in Euro Centrism, was seen as a more developed and sophisticated continent, whose culture and customs were to be introduced also in the rest of the world[32].

Today, we see the traces of this Euro Centrism in large parts of the world. For example, Australia and New Zeeland are basically European nations, only geographically separated from the continent. Large parts of Africa have English, French or Portuguese as their official languages. South America has Spanish or Portuguese as their official languages and the Latin American societies bear significant traces of European cultures.

 One of the more prevalent traces of Euro Centrism is what we can see today as an underlying presumption of an existing superior white Western society that is considered a reference. I.e. the white, European society is the norm, and anything else can be referred to as *"the others".* For example, it is still taught in many schools that

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[31] Hall 1997
[32] Amin 1988; Brohman 1995

Christopher Columbus discovered America, while in fact it was the Indigenous people who did so. Or, as a more hands on example - if you look at the world map, which hemisphere is considered the top one? And where is the zero meridian? As we all know, the northern hemisphere is at the top, and the zero meridian cuts right through London, England.

2.2.4 All in All…

To sum up, we can say that there are three important theoretical corner stones that will help us understand the racial representation in Brazilian news media – Media logic and news value, media power and post colonialism. The ways of the media are following a certain logic, a certain set of rules which affects what news reaches the audience and not. Practical reasons, gate keepers, and news value all work to select what will be told to the reader or viewer. What, in its turn, is told to the audience and how it is told has a certain impact on the audience. Lastly, the fact that a country has a history as a colony, affects its society in rather complex ways. Culture, culture production, racial identity and power relations are all influenced by the power of the ex-coloniser – hegemony keeps a grip on society with a dominatingly European world view, which affects everything from fashion and food to economy and media.

3. Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this thesis is to *examine how different races are represented in the news program Jornal Nacional.* This purpose can be divided into several smaller parts, which in themselves make up the three research questions:

1. *What amount of space is given to each of the races?*
   and is this space in accordance with the real population?
2. *In what contexts are the different races represented?*
3. *In which roles are the different races represented?*

Below these three research questions are explained in more detail:

1. What amount of space is given to each of the races and is this space in accordance with the real population?

Here, the aim is to examine the quantity of space given to each race in the media. How much do we see of Black people in the news? How much do we see of Asian people? Of White people? Of Indigenous? These results can then be compared with statistics of the actual population. This way, we will be able to assess whether or not the media is giving disproportional attention to the different racial groups.

2. In what contexts are the different races represented?

This question aims to assess whether there is a connection between the contexts of the news and the race being represented in it. E.g., do Whites tend to be represented in news reporting on crime? Or do Blacks? Do Asians tend to be represented in news reporting on sports? Or do Whites? And so on and so forth. This question borders on question number three, and can be seen as an initiation of that question.

3. In which roles are the different races represented?

Through this question I aim to discover if there are any particular roles that are assigned to particular races. For example, are Asians depicted in certain roles or positions and Blacks in others? This is important to know as there is the risk that media reproduces prejudicial ideas which might difficult attempts to of diminish prejudice

and racism in the Brazilian society. As mentioned above, this question will be a continuation of question number two; first we examine the *contexts* in which the different races appear.   We then move on to examining if there is a connection between specific *roles* and the different races.

4. Method

4.1 Choice of Method

To answer the research questions explained in the previous chapter, I have chosen a mixed methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative methods. The question of *how* something is represented is a rather complex one. A mixed methods approach is often necessary when dealing with complex research questions as it can generate more reliable results[33]. However, although a mixed methods approach has been chosen, the main method in this study is still *quantitative content analysis,* as the nature of the research questions is by and large focused on space and proportion. To be able to assess whether the racial representation is 'representative' or not, it is necessary to acquire quantitatively oriented information.

The mixed methods approach was achieved by first executing a smaller qualitative analysis, on which results the main quantitative study was built. Often when performing a quantitative study, the initial inclusion of certain qualitative elements is necessary. This in order to be able to identify *what* it is in fact that needs to be counted in the quantitative study[34]. In the study at hand, this was exactly the case. A smaller quantity of the material was selected as material for a qualitative pre-analysis. This qualitative analysis was performed in order to identify the existing contexts and roles (see research question number two and three) in the material. This was necessary in order to create a solid ground on which to base the code books for the quantitative study. In other words, this was done in order to know what contexts and what roles to count. The qualitative analysis was designed as an ECA (*Ethnographic Content Analysis*), where the content was grouped into themes. ECA enables a systematic and accurate analysis at the same time as it allows a deeper analysis and an opportunity to discover new variables (in our case contexts and roles)[35] which is why I considered it a suitable method for the study.

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[33] Bryman 2012
[34] Kippendorf 2004
[35] Altheide 1996

The subsequent quantitative study was, as mentioned above, chosen as the main method as the nature of the quantitative content analysis is highly numeric, and based on counting and measuring. It is therefore a suitable tool to use when what you are interested in is assessing are countable factors such as proportion and space, which is exactly the case of this study. Quantitative content analysis allows for accurate analysis and statistically measurable results when the amount of material is ample[36]. Furthermore, depending on factors such as the selection of material, it allows a certain degree of generalization of the results, which is desirable in this study, considering its aim.

4.2 Selection of Material

The material which has been chosen for the analysis in this study is a Brazilian television news program called *Jornal Nacional.* The reasons for choosing this specific program are several: Firstly, the Brazilian population is a TV oriented people. Brazilians watch a significant amount of television: 66% of the Brazilian population watches three hours or more of TV per day. 42% watches 7 hours or more per day[37]. On average, this means that a Brazilian spends 50% more time watching television than reading. The choice of analysing TV news instead of print news was based on these circumstances. Secondly, the choice of the specific program of *Jornal Nacional* is based on the fact that it is the news program in Brazil with the largest audience, with an average daily audience of 40 million people.[38] Thirdly, *Jornal Nacional* is considered one of the more serious and respected news programmes in Brazil. There are several other news programs which also have large audiences, however many of these are very much oriented on sensationalism and scandals, which is why I chose not to base the study on any of these. I base this on the assumption that a more serious news program might also be expected to present a material which is more closely connected to reality than a news program which is focusing on sensationalism.

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[36] Kippendorf 2004
[37] Hábitos de Consumo de Mídia 2012
[38] http://www2.uol.com.br/debate/1222/cadd/cadernod05.htm

As mentioned earlier, before performing the main analysis – the quantitative content analysis – a smaller qualitative analysis was performed to identity the existing contexts and roles in the material. For this qualitative pre-analysis a selection of six programmes was made; one for every day of the week and spread evenly along the chosen period of time (see Appendix I for the full list of the material).

The material for the main analysis was chosen on a similar basis as the material for the qualitative analysis, but in a larger proportion. A number of 52 programs over the period of 05.04.2012-01.04.2013 (one year) were chosen. The reason for choosing this particular period of time was that I wanted a period which was long enough to be able present patterns. I also wanted a period of time which would present an as current result as possible. Consequently, it is necessary that the material is as newly produced as possible. One program from each week was selected, alternating the weekdays. i.e. the first program was broadcast on a Thursday, the second on a Friday, the third on a Saturday and so on and so forth. (A full list of the programs included in the study is available in Appendix II.) This in order to eliminate any risk of the material not being statistically representative due to the possibility of one weekday focusing on a certain type of news, e.g. sports or arts. Important to note is that Sundays are not part of the material as the program is only broadcast Monday- Saturday. The duration of the program is 40 minutes (excluding two commercial breaks) and the air time is from 8.30 pm to 9.15 pm. Each program is divided into three blocks, with one commercial break separating each block. All the blocks were included in the analysis. i.e. no section of the program was excluded, apart from commercial breaks or previews of other television shows. However, international news material was not included. This due to the fact that including non-Brazilians in the analysis would make a comparison of the racial representation in the material to the racial representation in the actual Brazilian population difficult. The extent of international news material was rather limited in Jornal Nacional, which meant that only a small part of the material needed to be excluded (ca 5%).

4.3 Defining, measuring, counting

As mentioned above, it was necessary to initially perform a qualitative pre-analysis to be able to define the categories for *Context* and *Role.* This qualitative analysis was performed on a selection of six programmes. These six programmes were watched carefully in order to be able to identify the different contexts and roles. Each context and role was noted down together with comments and descriptions of the role. When all the material was gathered, the different contexts and roles were grouped into larger, more tangible categories. Through this ECA the following categories of contexts were identified*: Crime, Accident, Politics, Sports, Expertise and Street context.* The defined Roles were as follows: *Law Offender, Law Defender, Crime Victim, Politician/Official Representative, Sports Personality, Expert, Victim of Accident* and *Regular Person.* The categories are of course to some extent a simplification of the content. For example, a role such as 'Expert' entails a large variety of experts, within many different fields. And a role such as 'Sports Personality' includes both athletes, ex-athletes and trainers. Moreover, important to note is that one category has been excluded from the analysis – the journalists. This means that no reporters or news presenters are part of the analysed material. The reason for this is that what I am interested in in this study is the people *featured* in the news, not the ones *producing* the news. Below follows a short description of each one of the contexts and roles:

Contexts:

Crime – Material treating criminal acts such as for example violence, robbery, fraud, murder

Accident – Traffic accidents, natural disasters, other accidents

Politics – Material treating politicians, laws and regulations, the government, official representatives

Sports – Matches, results, sports competitions, interviews with sports personalities

Expertise – Interviews with people participating as experts of some kind

Street context – Material showing 'regular people' in their everyday, often asking citizens of their opinion in a certain matter

Roles:

Law Offender – criminal or crime suspect

Law Defender –lawyer, attorney, police officer

Crime Victim – Person who has been victim of a criminal act

Politician/Official Representative – self explanatory

Sports Personality – athletes, ex-athletes, trainers

Expert – Person participating in the material in the role of expert on a subject (e.g. physician)

Victim of Accident – Person who has fallen victim of any type of accident

Regular Person – Person participation in the material in no specific role. E.g. person stopped on the street to answer a question or give their opinion

Once the contexts and roles had been defined, the main analysis was performed. In order to perform this quantitative analysis it was necessary to create an analytical tool – a   codebook. This book was based on the four content variables: *Race, Time, Context and Role*. These content variables are necessary to classify the internal qualities of the material[39]. The contexts and roles had been predefined through the qualitative analysis described above. Hence, when analysing and categorising the content quantitatively, this was simply done by choosing the most appropriate context (one of the six mentioned above) for the material and the most appropriate role (one of the eight mentioned above). This information was noted in the code book, together with information on the race of the participating person and the amount of time that the material was exposed. In the cases where the person was part of two contexts and/or roles, the so called *main part principle* was applied. This means that the dominating context and/or role was chosen[40]. This was not a frequently occurring problem, however, on a few occasions it happened that the person in focus had what can be considered a 'double role' or participated in a "double context". This could for example be a police officer who is victim of a crime. It then needs to be decided whether the person in question is part if the reportage as a victim or as a police officer.

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[39] Esaiasson et al 2007
[40] Esaiasson et al 2007

For each person who appeared in any of the 52 selected episodes and who could be considered to be in focus (here *in focus* is defined as being mentioned or interviewed *and* having image material shown (either picture or video material) the information on the persons race, the time the person appeared in the material, the context in which (s)he appeared and what role (s)he played was noted. Each person who appeared in focus was identified as *Black, Brown, White, Asian* or *Indigenous* (see page 8 for criteria). The defined race was then noted in the column for *Race* and the amount of seconds in focus was noted in the column for *Time.* Furthermore, the context of the person was noted. *Context* is here defined as the situation in which the person appears in. The role which the person was presented in was noted in the column for *Role*.

4.4 Analysis of the Material

When all the data had been gathered, it was manually transferred to the statistics program SPSS for analysis. The reason for the manual insertion was that the coding of the material had been performed by hand, wherefore there was no digital file containing the data. The manual insertion, of course, brings with it a certain risk of errors in the data. However, I consider this risk relatively small as the correctness of the data being transferred was double checked.

5. The Significance of Colour

In the following chapter, the results of the study will be analysed and presented. The chapter is structured in the same order as the research questions, i.e., the results concerning question number one will be presented first, the results concerning question number two second and the results concerning question number three last.

5.1 What amount of space is given to each of the races and is this space in accordance with the real population?

As a very brief answer to this question, we can say that Whites are overrepresented, Browns are underrepresented and Blacks are possibly underrepresented and Asians and Indigenous are not represented at all. This all compared to the actual racial constitution of the Brazilian population. However, this statement is of course a simplification of reality. As the research question in itself is twofold, the results will be presented in two parts:

Regarding the first part of the question – *What amount of space is given to each of the races* – the results are quite clear. As we can see in the diagram below, the race which gets the vast majority (71%) of the space in the selected material in *Jornal Nacional,* is *Whites*. The race which gets the second most space is the *Browns*, with 24% of the space. Thereafter comes the *Blacks* (5%). Neither Asians nor Indigenous receive any space at all.

Figure 1.

Racial Representation in Jornal Nacional

5%

24%

71%

■Blacks
■Browns
■Whites
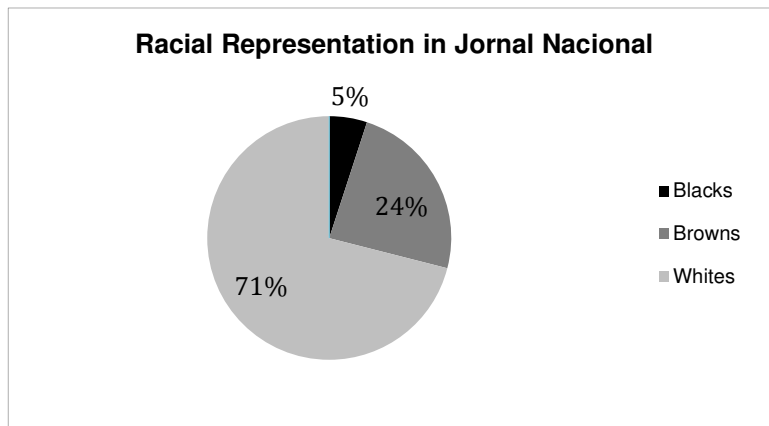
The diagram above shows percentage of space (measured in time) which is given to each of the races Whites, Blacks and Browns in the news program *Jornal Nacional.* Total time included in the analysis: 1976 minutes. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

Regarding the latter part of the question - *is this space in accordance with reality?* – the results from the first part of the question have been compared to statistics of the Brazilian population retrieved from the *Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics* (IBGE)[41]. Below we can see a diagram which demonstrates the racial constitution of the real population, compared with the results in the analysed material from *Jornal Nacional*. Comparing these figures*,* we can see that the two do not confer. In reality, the portion of Whites is 48%. In the selected material in *Jornal Nacional*, whites are given as much as 71% of the space. Looking at the representation of Browns, the relationship is the contrary - the actual proportion of Browns is 44% while in the analysed material they are given a mere 24% of the space. For Blacks the difference is smaller. In reality they constitute 7% of the Brazilian population and in the selected material they are given 5%. Asians make up 0, 6% and Indigenous make up 0, 3% of the population and both are given no space in the analysed material. The results for the two latter races are however not statistically significant as the difference is too small to be reliable, and the results are therefore not included in the diagram.

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[41] IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatistica

Figure 2.

Racial representation in *Jornal Nacional* compared to the actual racial constitution of the Brazilian population
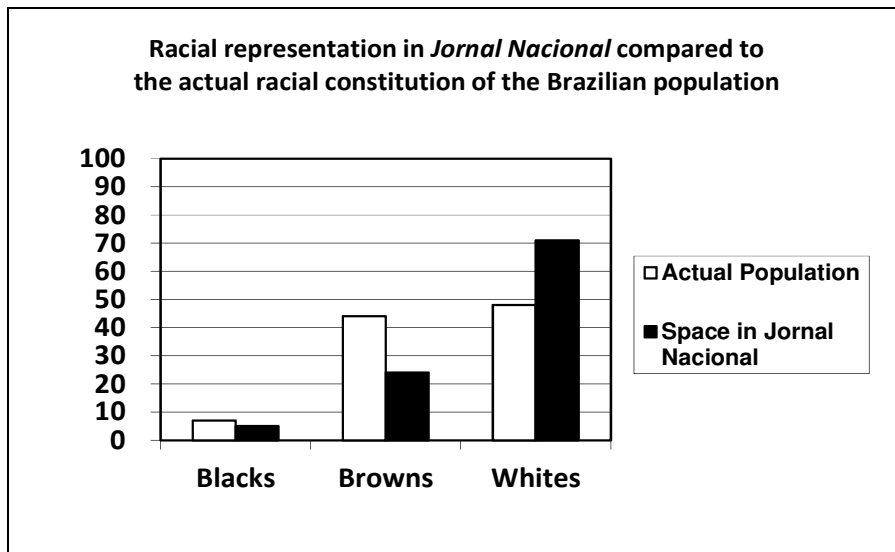
The above diagram shows the percentage of the three different races Blacks, Browns and Whites in the actual Brazilian population compared to the space (in minutes) given to each race in the analysed material of Jornal Nacional. Total Brazilian population: 197 million. Total number of minutes included in the analysed material of Jornal Nacional: 1976.

The most striking and surprising about these results is perhaps not that Whites are overrepresented and Browns and Blacks underrepresented, as we have seen the same results in several previous studies. However, what is remarkable is the extent to which this misrepresentation appears to happen. A difference of (+) 23% units for Whites and a difference of (-) 20% units for Browns, are very large discrepancies. The reasons for this incoherence might, of course, be many. However, two possible factors were discussed in the theory chapter - *News value* and *Gate keeping*. As we could read there, the Brazilian journalists, news editors and other media staff are to 64% constituted of white people. It is possible that the fact that the majority of the media staff is white impacts on what races are being featured in the broadcasted news material. This as the journalists and the editors are *gate keepers* in the news production and therefore also take part in the selection of what pieces of news - *what* story and *whose* story - makes the screen. If the gate keepers are White, it is possible that they are more likely to choose a larger proportion of Whites to feature in the news material. Not necessarily for consciously racist reasons or racist policies, but for reasons connected to practicality as well as to what was discussed in the theory

chapter as the *closeness principle*. Practical reasons might here be the professional and social network which the journalist has. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that a white journalist has a larger network of white people, and therefore has easier access to material and contacts involving white people.

Regarding the *closeness principle*, I here refer to what we discussed in chapter 2.2.1 about news value. As discussed in this chapter, a series of factors affect what we as news consumers find interesting and eye catching – what has *news value* to us. If these factors are boiled down, we are left with *Closeness in time, space and culture* (see page 15). This closeness theory is a possible explanatory factor to the racial misrepresentation that we see in this study - A sense of belonging, connection and similarities with the people involved in a news story might make the journalist (or news editor) more prone to choose that particular story for publishing. It might appear a bit farfetched applying the closeness principle to the journalist instead of the reader/viewer, however, it is thinkable that the principle is applicable also to the gate keepers and could therefore be a possible explanation to the racial misrepresentation in the material.

Furthermore, it is possible that, since the majority of the Brazilian media work force is white, the gate keepers not only for practical reasons (as were discussed in the previous paragraph) but also in a news value assessment, judge a piece on a white person as more sellable than a piece on a brown or black person. Perhaps due to difficulties of thinking outside their own "social box". For, if they considered the *real* racial constitution of the Brazilian population, they would see that whites constitute *less* than half of the potential viewers (i.e. of the population). However, it is also possible that this is a conscious choice – maybe the majority of the viewers of Jornal Nacional are White. In that case, the fact that Whites are overrepresented in *Jornal Nacional* could be a strategic choice. However, I do not have access to race statistics on the viewers, which makes it impossible to draw any conclusions.

## 5.2 In what contexts are the different races represented?

Now that we know the *proportions* of space given to each race in the material, it is time to examine in what contexts they appear. As explained in the method chapter, the execution of a smaller qualitative analysis was necessary in order to be able to, firstly, identify the existing contexts. Through this analysis the following contexts were identified: *Crime Context, Accident Context, Street Context, Expertise Context, Political Context, and Sports Context* (see the explanations of each of these contexts on page 28-29). In the following analysis the different contexts will be presented per race.

Browns

When we examine the different contexts in which Browns appear, what is most striking is the large proportion which appears in the Crime context (48%). However, when analysing this number we need to keep in mind that the crime context is rather wide and includes law defenders, law offenders and victims, which may be one reason why the number is so high. The exact roles which are taken by each race will be analysed in research question number three.

 The remaining five contexts do not show any surprisingly large variations. Below we can graphically see the proportions of the contexts in which Browns appear:
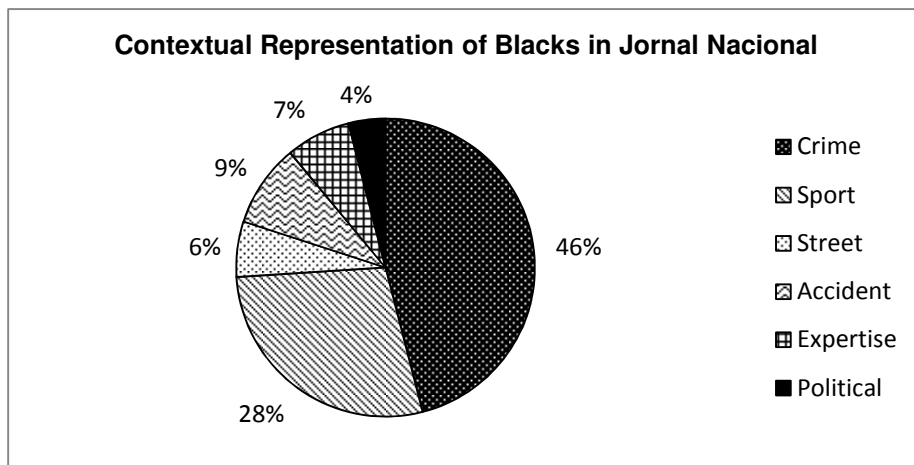
Figure 3.
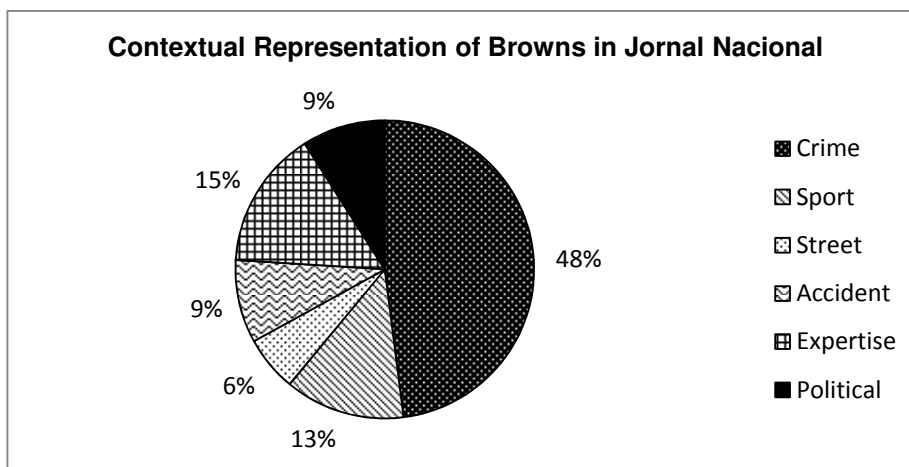
The diagram above shows the distribution of the representation of *Browns* in the contexts *Crime, Sport, Accidents, Street, Expert and Political* in Jornal Nacional. The percentage is based on the total amount of minutes in which Browns are featured. Total time included in the analysis: 474 minutes. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

Blacks

The proportions in the contextual representation of Blacks, is similar to that of Browns. However, there is one number which differentiates them – the *Sports Context*. Here, the percentage is significantly higher for Blacks than for Browns; 28% of the Blacks are represented in the Sports Context, while the same number for Browns is 13%. The higher proportion of the Sports Context has seemingly eaten away on the proportion of *Expertise Context and Political Context*, where the numbers for Blacks are very low: The number for the *Expertise Context* is 7% and for the *Political Context* 4%.
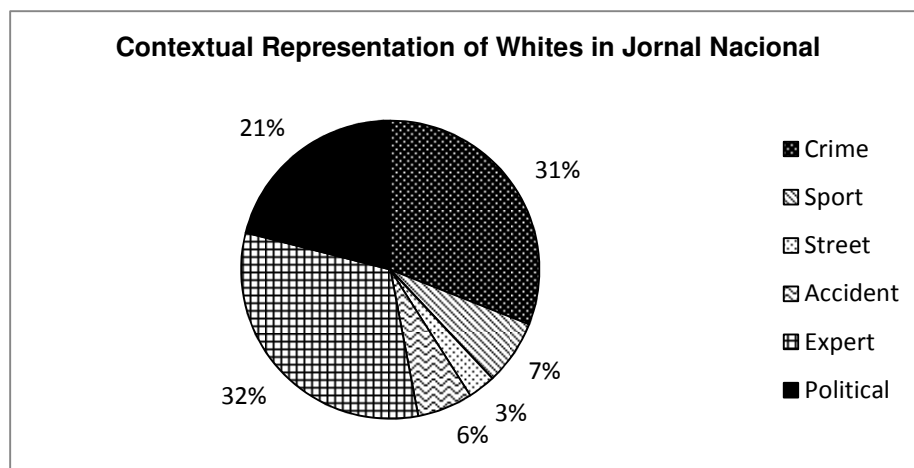
Figure 4.

The diagram above shows the distribution of the representation of Blacks in the contexts *Crime, Sport, Accident, Street, Expert and Political* in Jornal Nacional. The percentage is based on the total amount of minutes in which Blacks are featured. Total time included in the analysis: 99 minutes. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

Whites

When we look at the distribution of contexts where Whites appear, we can identify a clear difference between these numbers and the corresponding numbers for Browns and Blacks. Most remarkable is the difference in the results for the contexts *Political* and *Expertise*. Contrary to the results for Browns and Blacks, the proportions of Whites who appear in the contexts of *Expertise* and *Political* are high. 32% of the Whites appear in the *Expertise context*, and 21% appear in the *Political Context*. This while the number for the *Crime Context* is lower than the same one for Blacks and Browns.

However, the *Crime Context* for Whites still constitutes almost a third of the total material - 31%. Although, as mentioned earlier, to really draw any conclusions from this we need to examine the specific roles that the different races play within the Crime context. Simply looking at the space which the context itself receives does not tell us whether the people in this context are positively or negatively portrayed. In other words, we do not know if they are law offenders, law defenders or victims of crime. Below we can graphically see the contextual representation of Whites in the analysed material from *Jornal Nacional*:

Figure 5.

The diagram above shows the distribution of the representation of *Whites* in the contexts *Crime, Sport, Accident, Street, Expert and Political* in Jornal Nacional. The percentage is based on the total amount of minutes in which Whites are featured. Total time included in the analysis: 1403 minutes. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

Asians and Indigenous

When it comes to the two races Asians and Indigenous, the numbers in this study are, unfortunately, too low to be able to present statistically certain results (significance < 95). Therefore I have chosen not to include them in the results. As we saw in the presentation of the actual statistics for the racial constitution of the Brazilian population, the portion of Indigenous and Asians is comparatively small. This might be an explanatory factor to the uncertain results.

All in all, regarding the contexts in which the different races appear, what we can see is that the proportion of Whites who appear in contexts connected to power (such as *Expertise* and *Politics)* is larger than the equivalent one for Blacks or Browns. This can possibly be related to what we in the theory chapter discussed as *Hegemony* and *Culture Production.* According to Stuart Hall (see chapter 2.2.3), the people in power are the same ones who are in control of the language use. This group of people are therefore also the same ones who produce culture. A possible interpretation of this is that in the case of our study, this means that the culture production is the news material. What we see – white people in 'power contexts' – could, according to Halls theory, be interpreted as a result of the power being the producer, and therefore being in control of, the 'power contexts'. In modern Brazilian society, the previous colonising power of the Europeans could, according to this view, be said to still exist today only masked in a different costume. In our example this costume would be the *power contexts* in the news media.

5.3   In what roles are the different races represented?

To better understand the contexts which were analysed in the previous research question, question number three will break these contexts down further by looking at the specific *roles* in which the different races are represented. Just as for the contexts, an ECA was first performed to identify the existing roles. The following roles were thereby identified: *Law Offender, Law Defender, Crime Victim, Politician/Official Representative, Sports Personality, Expert, Victim of Accident* and *Regular Person*. (See pages 28-29 for explanation of the different roles.)
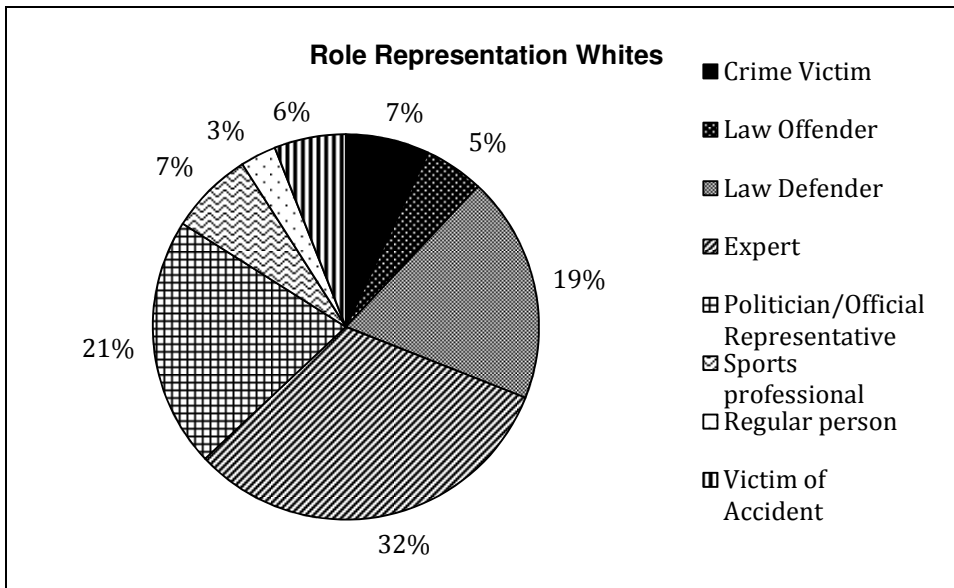
These roles can all be connected to the contexts which we studied in the previous research question. The three roles *Law Offender, Law Defender and Crime Victim* all make part of the context *Crime*. The rest of the roles have a rather simple and straightforward connection to the remaining contexts: The role of *Politician/Official Representative* makes part of the *Political Context. Sports Personality* makes part of the *Sports Context*, *Expert* makes part of the *Expertise Context, Regular Person* makes part of the *Street Context* and *Victim of Accident* makes part of the *Accident Context.*

The quantitative analysis based on these roles showed that there exists a rather clear connection between certain races and certain roles. In general, we can say that Whites are mainly represented in roles associated with power, while Browns and Blacks are connected to roles which are not associated with power. Asians and Indigenous, once again, present statistically unreliable results. The definition of certain roles as associated with power or not associated to power is of course somewhat subjective. One can always have different perceptions of whether a role is 'powerful' or 'powerless'. A role could perhaps even be perceived as both potentially powerful as well as potentially powerless, depending on the context. However, in general I believe that a certain distinction is possible to make. In this analysis the roles which can be associated with power are the following: *Law Defender, Politician/Official Representative* and *Expert.* This because these roles present some kind of authority, be it through law, politics or knowledge.

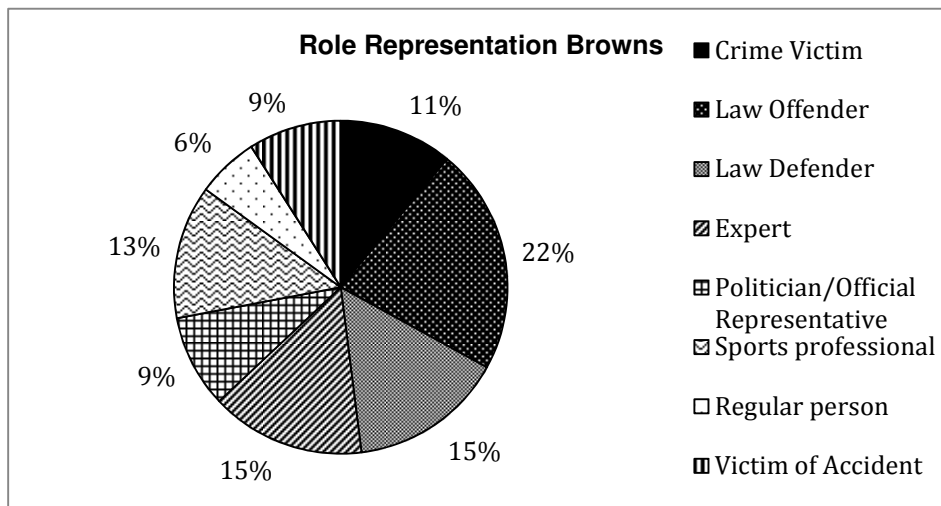With the above definition of roles associated with power, we can see that Whites are to 72% represented by power associated roles. This while Browns are only represented to 39% by the same roles. Lastly, Blacks are represented to only 18% by power associated roles. In the diagrams below we can see the proportion of roles for each of the three races (Asians and Indigenous were excluded due to statistically insignificant results).

Figure 2.

Role Representation Whites

- ■ Crime Victim
- ▥ Law Offender
- ▨ Law Defender
- ▨ Expert
- ⊞ Politician/Official Representative
- ☑ Sports professional
- ☐ Regular person
- ▥ Victim of Accident
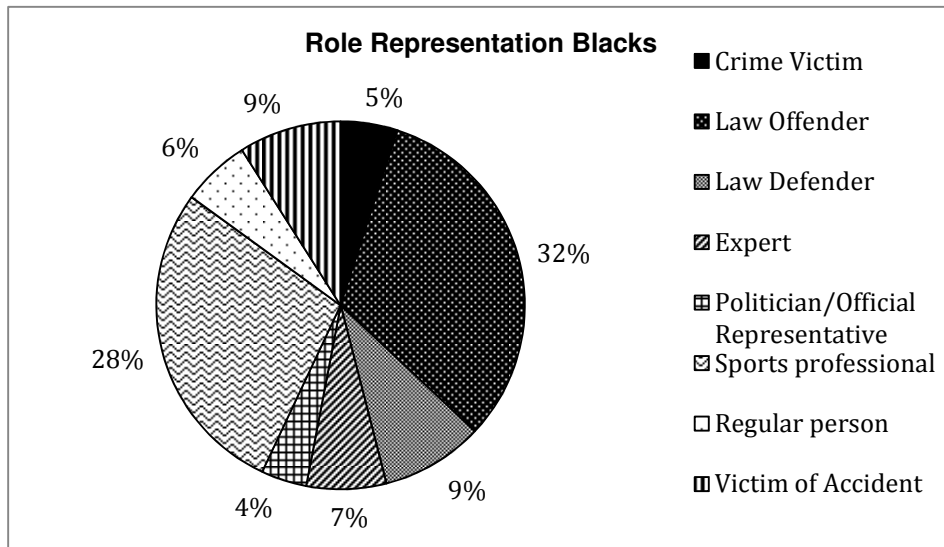
7%
5%
19%
32%
21%
7%
3%
6%

The diagram above shows (in %) the role representation of the race *Whites* in the news program *Jornal Nacional*. Number of minutes analysed: 1403. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

Figure 3.

Role Representation Browns

- ■ Crime Victim
- ▥ Law Offender
- ▨ Law Defender
- ▨ Expert
- ⊞ Politician/Official Representative
- ☑ Sports professional
- ☐ Regular person
- ▥ Victim of Accident

11%
22%
15%
15%
9%
13%
6%
9%

The diagram above shows (in %) the role representation of the race *Browns* in the news program *Jornal Nacional*. Number of minutes analysed: 474. The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

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Figure 4.

The diagram above shows (in *%*) the role representation of the race *Blacks* in the news program *Jornal Nacional*. Number of minutes analysed: 99 The numbers are rounded to the closest whole number.

These results are not very surprising as they are a reflection of what has already been shown in the results from the previous research question. Although, what is interesting is looking at the roles which constitutes the *Crime Context – Law Offender, Law Defender* and *Victim.* Here we can see that the percentage of Whites who are represented in the *Crime Context* is 31%, while the percentage of Whites who are represented in the power associated role of *Law Defender* is as high as 19%. The remaining 12% in the Crime Context are *Victims* or *Law Offenders* (non-power associated roles). The corresponding figures for Browns and Blacks show quite the opposite result. The total percentage for Browns in the Crime Context is 48% and for Blacks 46%. The *Law Defender role* makes up merely 9% for Blacks and 15% for Browns. In other words – for Blacks and Browns the crime contexts to a large extent means being represented in a negative role.

To get a good understanding of these results, we would need to compare them to statistics of the actual (real) population. i.e. ideally we should compare the statistics of the racial role representation with statistics of profession- and crime statistics per race in Brazil. That way the assessment of whether or not the racial role representation in

the analysed material is reflecting reality or not could be made. Unfortunately a reliable material on the statistics of this matter could not be found, wherefore this analysis cannot be made.

However, regardless of whether the differences between Whites and Blacks/Browns are reflecting reality or not, the noticeable "favouring" of Whites in power associated roles can be seen as a sign of misrepresentation, whether it being only in the analysed material or in real life (or both). As discussed in the analysis of the results of the contextual representation, a possible explanation to the results can be related to hegemony and the production of culture by the power. The ex-colonisers, who are white, still appear to possess a certain power over the ex-colony. The official language (in Brazil's case Portuguese) is a European such, as well as beauty ideals, political systems and work processes of authorities. Hegemony is a visible mark from the country's history and, looking at our results, appears to also possibly influence the media and news reporting. Whites are producing the culture, including the news.

Apart from hegemony, we can also relate the results to *Euro Centrism,* which was also discussed in the theory chapter. In Euro Centrism it is assumed that, somehow, there exists a superior, white, western society which is to be considered a reference. Anything and anybody else who is not part of this society, is instead part of "the others". With this in mind, an explanation to the representation of different races in different roles in the news material in this study could be that the Whites are considered the norm, the "us" and is therefore presented in roles which are favourable. This while "the others" (the Browns and Blacks) are presented in less favourable roles. The apparent othering of Browns and Blacks can be compared to the results of Sódre's study where Whites were found to often be represented as the norm, the desirable, whilst Blacks were found to often be represented as the abnormal and non-desirable[42].

Furthermore, we can also relate the othering of Browns and Black to the discussed theories on story telling (see page 44) of the news where polarization and stereotyping

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[42] Sódre 1999

are two components. The fact that Browns and Blacks, for example, appear to be largely represented as law offenders while Whites often are seen as law defenders, can be interpreted as a way of polarizing and stereotyping in the news story telling, thus generating more news value and, hopefully, a larger audience. Moreover, it is possible to relate these results to the theories of Galtung et Ruge and Hvitfelt (chapter 2.2.1) where it is argued that, for example, culturally short distances, elite people and elite sources for news stories adds to the news value. In our case, this could be an explanation for the results which shows that Whites are often represented in power associated roles – elite roles. The White journalist might feel culturally closer to the 'white news story' and furthermore, with the segregated Brazilian society, the elite are mostly found represented as Whites. Hence – the White elite makes good news stories in *Jornal Nacional*.

5.4 To Sum Up…

All in all, when we look at the results together, what we can see is that Whites are gravely overrepresented as a race, while Browns are underrepresented and Blacks are marginally underrepresented (compared to the real population), in the analysed material. Furthermore, we can conclude that Whites tend to be represented in contexts and roles associated with power. Blacks and Browns however, tend to be represented in contexts and roles not associated with power. We can also note that certain roles appear to have a stronger connection to certain races. For example, Law Offenders are associated with Browns and Blacks while Law Defenders are associated with Whites.

If we compare our results to the results from previous studies in the same field (see chapter 2.1) it must be said that the results are not very surprising. The tendency for Browns and Blacks to be presented in negative contexts and in roles such as Law Offenders has been presented in studies by, for example, Dixon et Maddox[43] and Entman[44]. However, considering that most of these studies are a few years old, a certain improvement could maybe have been expected, although this does not seem

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[43] Dixon et Maddox 2005
[44] Entman 2000

to be the case. On the other hand, if we consider that the American studies represent the American society and that this society in many ways are several years ahead of Brazil in its social development (for example, slavery was abolished in Brazil 23 years later than in the USA, and Brazil was a dictatorship until as late as in the 1980s)[45]. Considering the comparatively retarded societal development of Brazil, perhaps the fact that the results are similar to those of studies performed in the USA decades ago, are not so surprising.

In chapter 2.2.3 a number of theories on post colonialism were discussed, and it is possible that the ideas which were brought up there could explain part of the results of this study. In other words, hegemony, euro centrism and a white majority of the gate keepers who are the news evaluators (i.e. Brazilian journalists and other media staff) could be possible explanatory factors to this seemingly *White Supremacy* in the analysed material.

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[45] Fausto 1999

6. Discussion

6.1 So, What Does It Mean?

The aim of this study was to *examine how different races are represented in the television news program Jornal Nacional.* The question is – has the study managed to do just this? As a whole – yes, I believe it has. When we sum up the results of the three research questions, we can conclude the following: different races are misrepresented in the news program Jornal Nacional. This misrepresentation takes different forms depending on the race; whites are overrepresented as a whole and are often represented in roles and contexts associated with power. Browns and blacks are underrepresented as a whole and are often represented in non-power associated contexts and roles, particularly such connected to crime. However, as for the two races Asian and Indigenous, the results are very uncertain, and therefore this part of the aim remains unfulfilled.

Now, more importantly, what do these results really mean? Is Jornal Nacional a racist news program which deliberately focuses on Whites and projects a negative image of Browns and Blacks? Although this might be a tempting and populist conclusion to draw, I believe that the truth is far more complex than this. As discussed in the analysis, there are many possible explanations for the results. The fact that the majority of Brazilian journalists and other media workers are White, is one of them. I believe that when considering this a possible explanatory factor, it is important not to fall into the 'racist trap'. By this I mean that we should be cautious not to draw the conclusion that this means that those white journalists, editors and producers are racists and that it's why they choose to feature more Whites in the news than any other race. Of course, this is probably the case *sometimes.* Although, I believe that it is more likely that the choice of featuring white people is more often than not a matter of network- and social connections. The White middle class journalist has probably a larger network of White middle class people than he has of Blacks or Browns.

And what about the race representation regarding contexts and roles? The unfortunate fact that I did not find any reliable source of statistics on race and profession and race and crime in Brazil, makes it impossible to discuss whether or not the context- and role representation is coherent with reality or not. I, for example, cannot say that the results which show that Browns and Blacks are more often than Whites represented as law offenders in Jornal Nacional is an incorrect reflection of reality. However, neither can I say that it is a correct reflexion of society. It is possible that the seemingly skew context- and role representation of race in Jornal Nacional actually reflects the Brazilian society.

Regardless of the reasons for the misrepresentation of the different races compared to the actual population and regardless of whether part of the seemingly exaggerated representation of Browns and Blacks in non-power connected roles and contexts have a grain of truth in them or not, the large gaps between the races should not be ignored. The possibility that Whites are overrepresented due to the gate keepers' networks should not be simply accepted and seen only as a 'social mishap'. Quite the contrary. The journalists, editors and producers ought to be made aware of the misrepresentation to which they are contributing. Regardless of what is (if there is) the hen and the egg in this problem, i.e. whether the racism is producing the misrepresentation in the media or whether the misrepresentation in the media produces the racism, it is necessary to start in both ends. A fair representation of all races in the media will not solve the problem of racism in the Brazilian society, but it might reduce it, or at least cease to feed it.

Remembering Couldry and his idea of the invented centre[46], it is feasible to make a connection between the segregated Brazilian society and the apparent misrepresentation in Jornal Nacional. If Jornal Nacional projects an image of Whites as powerful, good and a sort of 'social bench mark' it is possible that in the mind of the public, this invented centre turns into a White Centre. This White Centre represents what is desirable, important - what the public will perform their media rituals around. As Couldry says, the concentration of political, economic and symbolic resources in

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[46] Couldry 2003

society needs to be legitimated to the public. According to Couldry, this is exactly what media does through its invented centre. In our case – the representation of Whites as numerous, powerful and knowledgeable (the opposite to the representation of Browns and Blacks) in the news, can be interpreted as a way of legitimating the existing segregation in society.

6.2 Can We Trust The Results?

The eternal question when performing a quantitative study, just as with this one, is *are the results reliable and valid,* and *is the study replicable?* In other words, are the results trustworthy, are they possible to generalise and can the study be reproduced with the same results? The answer to all of the above questions is – I don't know. No matter how accurate, precise and transparent you try to be in performing academic research, you can never be sure that your results are telling the truth one hundred per cent. However, executing this study, I have aimed at achieving valid, reliable and replicable results, and I do believe that, by and large, I have succeeded.

Validity, in short, can be said to mean that you measure what you have the aim to measure[47]. This study had the aim to *examine how different races are represented in the television news program Jornal Nacional.* Through the three research questions, which were designed with this purpose in mind, and the quantitative content analysis (together with the smaller qualitative content analysis) I do believe that the study succeeded in measuring what it aimed to measure. The research questions together created a solid base which 'attacked' the purpose from three different angles – including both numerical representation of the different races as such and also in what contexts and roles they are represented. However, as we could see in the results, we did not manage to gather reliable data on the two races Asians and Indigenous, which is why these results were also excluded from the study. This means that, in fact, partially we did not measure what we intended to measure. Furthermore, I had the desire (albeit this was not explicitly expressed in aim or the research questions) to be able to compare the results, not only from question number one but also from

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[47] Edling et Hedström 2003

question two and three, with reality. As I only found statistics on the racial constitution of the actual population, and no statistics on crime and race or profession and race, this part of the mapping of the racial representation in Jornal Nacional remains unanswered. Moreover, something that is important to remember when analysing the results of this study is that the material included in the study is only 52 episodes of the news program in question. It would be rather bold to say that these 52 episodes represent the news programme as a whole. However, I do believe that the conclusion that the results represent *Jornal Nacional* during the period of time included in the study (i.e. 05.04/2012-01.04.2013) is safe to make. In other words, we can generalise the results when talking about this specific period of time, but I believe we should be careful when generalising the results for the program as a whole.

Reliability means whether or not you can trust the results. In this case, I am inclined to say that, yes, we can. The gathering of the material was all done manually and personally, meaning that I alone watched the 52 episodes noting down the observations in the code book. The episodes were all watched streamed (online), with the possibility to stop and repeat parts if necessary. This way, no information was lost. However, one possible source of distortion of the data could have occurred when the gathered material was transferred to the program where the statistical analysis was made (SPSS). This due to the fact that the codebooks were all written by hand and the data therefore also had to be transferred manually, entering the numbers one by one in SPSS. Although, I consider the risk of errors in the data very small, as the correctness of the data was double checked before any analysis was done. Furthermore, reliability tests of the data were performed in SPSS with the results of a significance of > 95 which is considered an acceptable level and a sign of good reliability[48].

And what about the material itself? Can we be sure that the selection was a representative one? No, we can't. However, when selecting the material, I was careful to make an as representative and as large a selection as possible. The time frame of the thesis allowed for a study of around 50 episodes of the program. For this reason I chose to spread the selection evenly over the past year (to get an as current result as

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[48] Edling et Hedström 2003

possible), which resulted in 52 episodes – one per week. The fact that the episodes were spread over the whole year, and that they were also distributed over the different weekdays makes the risk of errors due to a skew material selection small.

6.3 And Now What?

With the results in mind, which to a large extent confirmed previous empirical studies, I believe we can say that the academic research community is on its way to mapping question of racial representation in the media. However, particularly considering the level of the research in Brazil, I also believe that there is room, and need, for much more research. The research on racial representation in the media, and especially in television news material, is in need of more exploration. This study was an attempt to focus on exactly television news, as this is little explored in the Brazilian research. Moreover, it was also an attempt to broaden the academic perspective of *race* in Brazil. The intention was to not divide the population into only Whites and Blacks, which often is done, but to also include mixed raced people, Asians and Indigenous as they too make part of the population. Unfortunately, as we could see above, we did not manage to reach statistically reliable results on the two groups Asians and Indigenous. For this reason, I strongly urge that future research concentrate on creating studies which also can capture the representation of these two races in Brazil. Also, it would be desirable to construct studies which can compare the results to the actual population. In other words, to do what this study did not manage – to compare the represented races and the contexts and roles in which they appear to actual statistics on race and profession and race and crime.

Furthermore, I believe it to be important to continue to design studies which examine the television news in particular, as television is an incredibly strong media in Brazil. *Telenovelas* (soap operas) have already received an extensive amount of research, wherefore I consider it of more importance to examine other genres and channels such as, for example, news. Particularly as news claim to reflect the real world and be a non-fictional forum.

In other words, I would find it pleasing to see an attempt to re-do this study, but with a stronger focus on capturing also the images of the Asians and Indigenous which were missing in this study, and with a comparison to actual statistics of the population, profession and crime. And perhaps also it would be of interest to analyse another news program, or create a comparative study of two different news programmes.

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Appendix I

Episodes of *Jornal Nacional* included in the qualitative content analysis (ECA):

1. 05/04/2012 (Thursday)
2. 15/06/2012 (Friday)
3. 25/08/2012 (Saturday)
4. 29/10/2012 (Monday)
5. 04/12/2012 (Tuesday)
6. 13/02/2012 (Wednesday)

Appendix II

Episodes of *Jornal Nacional* included in the quantitative content analysis:

1. 05/04/2012 (Thursday)
2. 13/04/2012 (Friday)
3. 21/04/2012 (Saturday)
4. 23/04/2012 (Monday)
5. 01/05/2012 (Tuesday)
6. 09/05/2012 (Wednesday)
7. 17/05/2012 (Thursday)
8. 25/05/2012 (Friday)
9. 02/06/2012 (Saturday)
10. 04/06/2012 (Monday)
11. 12/06/2012 (Tuesday)
12. 20/06/2012 (Wednesday)
13. 28/06/2012 (Thursday)
14. 06/07/2012 (Friday)
15. 14/07/2012 (Saturday)
16. 16/07/2012 (Monday)
17. 24/07/2012 (Tuesday)
18. 01/08/2012 (Wednesday)
19. 09/08/2012 (Thursday)
20. 17/08/2012 (Friday)
21. 25/08/2012 (Saturday)
22. 27/08/2012 (Monday)
23. 04/09/2012 (Tuesday)
24. 12/09/2012 (Wednesday)
25. 20/09/2012 (Thursday)
26. 28/09/2012 (Friday)
27. 06/10/2012 (Saturday)
28. 08/10/2012 (Monday)
29. 16/10/2012 (Tuesday)
30. 24/10/2012 (Wednesday)
31. 01/11/2012 (Thursday)
32. 09/11/2012 (Friday)
33. 17/11/2012 (Saturday)
34. 19/11/2012 (Monday)
35. 27/11/2012 (Tuesday)
36. 05/12/2012 (Wednesday)
37. 13/12/2012 (Thursday)
38. 21/12/2012 (Friday)
39. 29/12/2012 (Saturday)
40. 07/01/2013 (Monday)
41. 15/01/2013 (Tuesday)
42. 23/01/2013 (Wednesday)
43. 31/01/2013 (Thursday)

44. 08/02/2013 (Friday)
45. 16/02/2013 (Saturday)
46. 18/02/2013 (Monday)
47. 26/02/2013 (Tuesday)
48. 06/03/2013 (Wednesday)
49. 14/03/2013 (Thursday)
50. 22/03/2013 (Friday)
51. 30/03/2013 (Saturday)
52. 01/04/2013 (Monday)