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**Echoing political ideologies? A Critical
Discourse Analysis of the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’
Coverage during the 2022 Brazilian
Elections**

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Abstract

The importance of ideology and political discourse in driving voting behavior in democratic societies has become a central concern in research. In this context, journalism plays a critical role in how electoral information and ideological positions are disseminated and shape public opinion. Given polarization tendencies in countries like Brazil which undermine the legitimacy of the electoral process, the role of journalism in democratic societies has been increasingly put into question. Especially during political elections, where people rely on information to make informed decisions, the discursive power of journalistic content holds the potential to affect people's voting choices. This thesis, therefore, aims to investigate the ideological positions conveyed in Jovem Pan's show 'Os Pingos nos Is' during Brazil's 2022 presidential runoff campaign. The research adopts a qualitative approach and uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze five selected videos from the show on YouTube, focusing on the dominant discourses and themes. The study reveals that the show took a pro-Bolsonaro stance, displaying strong ideological polarization. The discourse featured beliefs in electoral fraud and attempted to undermine the legitimacy of the electoral process by verbally attacking Brazilian institutions while legitimizing the possibility of violence.

Keywords

Political Journalism; Critical Discourse Analysis; Media Ideology; Brazilian Presidential elections; Opinion-based Shows; Disinformation

Abstrakt

Vliv ideologie a politického diskurzu na chování voličů v demokratických společnostech se stal jednou z ústředních témat politologického výzkumu. V souvislosti s chováním voličů hraje žurnalistika zásadní roli, a to konkrétně její vliv na šíření informací o volbách, na ideologické postoje, a na formování veřejného mínění. Vzhledem k polarizačním tendencím v zemích, jako je Brazílie, které podkopávají legitimitu volebního procesu, je role žurnalistiky v demokratických společnostech stále více zpochybňována. Zejména během politických voleb, kdy se lidé spoléhají na informace, aby se mohli informovaně rozhodovat, má diskurzivní síla novinářského obsahu potenciál ovlivnit volební rozhodnutí lidí. Tato práce si proto klade za cíl prozkoumat ideologické postoje sdělované v pořadu Jovem Pan 'Os Pingos nos Is' během kampaně před druhým kolem prezidentských voleb v Brazílii v roce 2022. Výzkum využívá kvalitativní přístup a pomocí kritické diskurzní analýzy (CDA) analyzuje pět vybraných videí z pořadu na YouTube se zaměřením na dominantní diskurzy a témata. Studie odhaluje, že pořad zaujímal pro-Bolsonarovský postoj a vykazoval silnou ideologickou polarizaci. Diskurz obsahoval přesvědčení o volebních podvodech a snažil se podkopat legitimitu volebního procesu verbálním napadáním bazilišských institucí a zároveň legitimizoval možnost násilí.

Klíčová slova

Politická žurnalistika; Kritická analýza diskurzu; Mediální ideologie; Brazilské prezidentské volby; Názorové pořady; Dezinformace

Range of thesis: 55 pages and 122837 characters

Declaration of Authorship

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- 2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.**
- 3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.**
- 4. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.**

Prague 01/08/2023

Daniela Guerrero

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I would like to first thank my mum, for her endless love and support, and for giving me the chance to live this experience. None of this would be possible without you. I am grateful to my family in Brazil, for the thousands of kisses, hugs, and long-distance calls. They taught me the true meaning of the word *saudade*. Thank you to my supervisor, Anna Shavit, who guided me through this process. To all those who were part of this program, thank you for making these years unforgettable. Especially, my new South American family, who brought happiness and *carinho* to all moments. And thank you, Enolino, my partner whom the Mundus Program brought into my life, for your daily dose of *felicidade* and *amor* into my life.

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Thesis title in English: Journalism in a misinformation landscape: a critical discourse analysis of the ideologies behind Jovem Pan show 'Os Pingos nos Is' in the runoff election campaign in Brazil	
Expected date of submission (SS, May 2021-2023)	
Main research question (max. 250 characters): How is the discourse reflecting and reproducing ideologies in the 'Pingo nos Is' show?	
Current state of research on the topic (max. 1800 characters): Ideology is a decidedly complicated term having different meanings and implications depending on the context in which it is used (Croteau & Hoynes, 2005, p.159). However, "when scholars examine media products to uncover their "ideology," they are interested in the underlying images of society they provide" (p. 159). Thus, in this context, it can be defined as "a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgments about that world" (p.160). To Fairclough (2001), the media is one of the places where a discourse dispute takes place and, consequently, a class struggle, ideologically based. Although these ideologies will be in the text, they are developed in a way there is not easily perceptible and explicit. They camoufflate in background assumptions considering that "ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible" (p.85). In Brazil the relationship between ideology and the media has been studied on topics such as cases of selective political persecution (Alves and Whitaker, 2019) and the naturalization of racist discourses (Trindade 2020). This study aims to carry out a more recent analysis of this relationship by analyzing Jovem Pan show 'Os Pingos nos Is'. Created 80 years ago as a radio station, today, the radio is only part of a large communication conglomerate named 'Jovem Pan Group'. The group owns a website, a streaming platform, a TV news channel, and several pages on social media. Their official YouTube channel¹ has become one of the most popular among the press with more than 6,7 million subscribers. Their most famous show 'Os Pingos nos Is'², has its own channel accumulating 5,6 mi. Between controversies among the press, Jovem Pan radio was one of the main vehicles in Brazil that contributed to the dissemination of	

¹ <https://www.youtube.com/@jovempannews>

² <https://www.youtube.com/@ospingosnosis>

misinformation about Covid-19 (Nagumo, 2022). As a consequence, had several contents removed from social media platforms³ (Martins *et al.*, 2022).

A recent study conducted in September by the Netlab UFRJ 'Recommendations on Youtube: the case of Jovem Pan'⁴ (2022) shows that 'Os Pingos nos Is' show presented Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the 2022 presidential election winner, and candidate at the time, as "a gang leader" and "mentally ill". Also in the program, one journalist said that "Lula's interview on Globo disgusted "good citizens". Bolsonaro, on the other hand, is portrayed as a YouTube audience record holder and, therefore, a much stronger candidate than Lula" (p. 10).

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

This research will make use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to investigate the hidden ideologies embedded in 'Pingos nos Is' discourse.

This approach proves to be relevant since CDA scholars are systematically concerned with investigating hidden power relations and ideologies embedded in discourse (Johnson & Ethan McLean, 2020). Thus, the ideas and concepts of 'power' and 'ideology' are a central part of this study.

Critical discourse analysis is based on studies developed by Norman Fairclough and later studied by authors such as Ruth Wodak and Teun Van Dijk. Fairclough is best known for his theories on how language works to maintain and change power relations in contemporary society. He understands language as an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other social elements (Fairclough, 1995). Hence, theories of linguistics are relevant to this approach and to this study.

CDA researchers also build on the premise that discourses both reflect and constitute ideologies. Thompson (1990) defines ideology as a meaning that serves power and establishes and maintains asymmetrical power relation. Theorists of ideologies such as Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu also connect the term with the field of linguistics in their work.

Connecting with media analysis, which is the main object of this study, Ana Carolina Temer (2011) states that the production of media content is permeated by conditions and intentions, and one of them is the knowledge that controlling information is a form of exercising power.

Finally, Widdowson (2007) assumes that CDA is also an analytical research method to discover traces of ideological bias, as well as beliefs of the ruling system that tries to legitimize their control, power, and domination (Amerian & Esmaili, 2015).

Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):

This study will adopt a Qualitative Research method and Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for Critical Discourse Analysis.

It is important to highlight that Critical Discourse Analysis does not provide a method for doing textual analysis but a framework in which more traditional tools of linguistic science can be deployed in ways

³<https://www.terra.com.br/byte/youtube-derruba-videos-desinformativos-da-jovem-pan-sobre-lula-e-marcola-com-17-mi-de-visualizacoes.6b599c21a234c5d2869f1c659c1988d11sonu5s1.html>

⁴ <http://www.netlab.eco.ufrj.br/blog/recomendacao-no-youtube-o-caso-jovem-pan>

which seek to connect micro-aspects of language use with wider sociocultural practices (Hastings, 2012). Therefore, this study will consider Fairclough's three-dimensional frameworks as the analytical tool. H. Janks (2006) explains that Fairclough's model can be seen as three interrelated processes of analysis linked to three interrelated dimensions of discourse. The first part of the process is the object of analysis, which can be verbal, visual, or verbal and visual texts. In this study, the object is the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show. Then, the processes by means of which the object is produced and received (writing/ speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) by human subjects. In this case, the object is produced by speaking and received by listening and viewing. Finally, the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes, that will further be analyzed. According to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis, that consists of the description (text analysis), interpretation (processing analysis), and explanation (social analysis).
Expected research design (data to be analyzed, for example, the titles of analyzed newspapers and selected time period): This research will select videos from the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show posted on their Youtube channel during the four weeks of the Brazilian election runoff, from 2 to 29 October. The show has an average time of two hours and considering the level of detail that a critical discourse analysis offers, this study will select one show per week, which will be chosen by the highest number of views. The videos will be downloaded and transcribed, and their text will be analyzed through the three-dimensions method: text analysis, interpretation, and explanation. Therefore, aiming to present the ideologies and meaning behind the discourse.
Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content): 1. Introduction I will first present a background, contextualize the current socio-political context in Brazil and introduce the presidential election scenario, as well as the media participation in it. Politics, elections, media system, and misinformation will be introduced and connected in a local level. This chapter will also introduce the media group 'Jovem Pan' and the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show and their relevance in the current scenario. 1.1 Brazil's politics and election 1.1.1 Brazil's media system and landscape 1.1.2 Jovem Pan Channel and 'Os Pingos nos Is' show 1.1.3 Purpose and importance of the study 2. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical chapter will define the main general concepts of this research, such as ideology and power. It will also bring the theoretical framework of the critical discourse analysis method, and the authors who conceptually worked on this approach. Then, I will present how these studies help us understand the discourse analysis that will be further analyzed. 2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis/Critical discourse studies 2.2 Power 2.2.1 Linguistic 2.2.2 Ideology 3. Methodology and Data This chapter will present a detailed explanation of Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis as a method and how it was used to analyze the discourse from the show. It will also present the data gathering and what was the criteria for data selection. 4. Limitations, flexibility Limitations of the method and the study object are going to be presented. 5. Results and analysis How the data was analyzed and what were the core findings of the research. 6. Conclusion
Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the method(s) of analysis; all works should be briefly characterized on 2-5 lines): Wodak, Ruth, and Michael Meyer. <i>Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis</i>. 1st, Introducing Qualitative Methods. : SAGE Publications, Ltd, 2001. https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9780857028020. -This book is designed as an introduction to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and gives an overview of the theories and methods associated with this approach. Fairclough, Norman, (1941). <i>Critical Discourse Analysis : the Critical Study of Language</i>. London ; New York :Longman, 1995. -The book brings together papers written by Fairclough over a 25 year period. It covers the four main areas of his approach: Language, Ideology and Power; Discourse and Sociocultural Change; Textual Analysis in Social Research; and Critical Language Awareness. Agudelo Liz, Editson & Wodak, Ruth & Meyer, Michael. (2015). <i>Metodos de Analisis Critico del Discurso</i>. -This book offers a summary of the historical background of critical discourse analysis and provides an overview of the various approaches and methods. It also defines the contributions of the main theorists in this field, the differences in their approaches and the specific methods of each one. CHAUÍ, Marilena. <i>O que é ideologia</i>. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1980. -Marilena Chauí addresses in this book, the origin and mechanisms, ends and social, economic and political effects of what she calls a fabrication of illusions and a collective imaginary history.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and Power*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07299->

-This book brings together Van Dijk's most important writings within broader developments in CDA, framed by new introductory material.

Charaudeau, Patrick. *Les médias et l'information: l'impossible transparence du discours*. 2nd éd. rev. et augm. Brussels: Editions De Boeck; Paris: Institut national de l'audiovisuel, 2011.

-Charaudeau considers the restrictions, the specificities of each genre, the modes of organization, and the staging strategies in news discourse.

Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):

Pedro, A. M. (2019). *Os relacionamentos abusivos em narrativas de vida produzidas por youtubers: um análise avaliativa*. Master's Dissertation, Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas, University of São Paulo, São Paulo. doi:10.11606/D.8.2019.tde-27112019-184703. Retrieved 2022-11-14, from www.teses.usp.br

Kharusi, Raiya Al. "Ideologies of Arab Media and Politics: a Critical Discourse Analysis of Al Jazeera Debates on the Yemeni Revolution." (2017).

SILVA, R. O. *Um mapa da «direita» no YouTube do Brasil através dos métodos digitais*. 2018. 157 p. Dissertação (Mestrado em Ciências da Comunicação – Cultura Contemporânea e Novas Tecnologias) — Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa, 2018.

MARGNA, Livia. *Making a terrorist: The discursive construction of Islamist and right-wing extremist threats in Swiss media reporting*. Praha, 2021. Diplomová práce. Univerzita Karlova, Fakulta sociálních věd, Katedra bezpečnostních studií. Vedoucí práce Prina, Federica.

Date / Signature of the student:

02.10.2022

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The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15, 2021**, addressed to the Program Coordinator. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Mgr. Sandra Štefaniková. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.

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List of Abbreviations

CDA = Critical Discourse Analysis

STF = Federal Supreme Court

HLEG = High Level Expert Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation

IDEA = International Institute for Democracy Electoral Assistance

Iramuteq = Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires

MPF = Federal Public Ministry

TSE = Superior Electoral Court

CHD = Hierarchical Descendant Classification

CPI = Parliamentary Inquiry Committee

1. Introduction

Brazil's 2022 presidential election was portrayed as one of the most important of all time by the national media. The election's outcome was described as central to securing the country's democracy (Mansoor, 2022; Peters, 2022; Zoila & Magni, 2022) as well as determining the planet's future (Gurk, 2022; The Guardian Editorial, 2022; Walton & Orofino, 2022).

The fierce dispute between Jair Bolsonaro and former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva culminated in the narrowest results since Brazil's re-democratization. On October 31, 2022, Lula was elected with 50.90% of the votes, versus 49.10% for Bolsonaro (Pinhoni, 2022). The election was characterized by turbulent campaigns with episodes of violence before and after the results (Anjos et al., 2022) and an extensive disinformation campaign (NETLAB, 2022). On January 8, 2023, a week after Lula's inauguration, an attack on the country's main institutional buildings in Brasilia's capital marked Brazil's political history.

Authors have argued that the phenomenon was not an impulsive post-election reaction but a culmination of various factors. One of them was attributed to "a series of calls for violence spread by messaging apps, social media influencers, far-right ideologists, and official authorities" (Ribeiro et al., 2023, para.1) who disseminated false information of alleged widespread fraud within Brazil's electronic voting systems. Media companies were also accused of playing a central role in the event. Among the suspected media outlets, the media group Jovem Pan became the focus of an investigation initiated by Brazil's Federal Public Ministry (MPF)¹ on January 9. The inquiry aimed to examine potential violations of fundamental rights, the dissemination of disinformation about Brazilian institutions, and content that could incite violence and anti-democratic acts (Ministério Público Federal, 2023).

Founded in 1942 as a radio station, Jovem Pan accumulates thousands of followers online, especially on Youtube. Their official channel on this platform has become one of the most popular in Brazilian media, with over 7,51 million subscribers. The media group is labeled as the "Brazilian Fox News" promoting Bolsonaro's propaganda, similar to how

¹ The Federal Public Ministry (MPF) acts as an inspector of the Brazilian law, but also acts in civil, criminal and electoral areas. In the electoral area, the MPF can intervene in all phases of the process and acts in partnership with the state public ministries.

Fox News promoted Donald Trump's beliefs (Camarotto, 2023). In the inquiry launched the prosecutor highlighted that Jovem Pan conveyed numerous disinformation contents – including reports, live debates, and comments in column and opinion format – with the potential to undermine citizen's trust in the Brazilian judicial institutions and in the democratic processes they conduct (Ministério Público Federal, 2023). Among Jovem Pan's shows, the investigation focused on the 'Os Pingos nos Is' program. In an opinionative political format, the show is broadcast from Monday to Friday on Youtube, on the radio, on TV, and now in 'Pan Flix', their new streaming app. The name is a literal translation of the expression 'the dots in the is', commonly used in Brazil for being precise and accurate, leaving no space for ambiguity or misunderstanding.

The incident has put the media's role in a democratic society like Brazil into question. Traditionally, the media claims to embrace elements such as objectivity and neutrality and of acting as an information provider, protector of the public's right to knowledge, and mediator of societal values (Strömbäck et al., 2014; Domingo et al., 2015 as cited in Witschge et al., 2016). However, research points out the disconnection between the normative and actual performance of the media in the global world.

Over the past years, scholars have also increasingly highlighted the influence of the media's language and discursive power in shaping public opinion, reinforcing the detrimental effects of when information becomes inaccurate, intentionally distorted, and deceptive to harm (Southwell et al., 2017). Furthermore, studies highlight the recent election processes in Brazil and the United States as an example of how disinformation can lead to violent outcomes, with deliberate strategies to weaken democracy (Rossini et al., 2023).

That is precisely the gap in the literature this study aims to address. It seeks to investigate the ideological positions present in Jovem Pan's show 'Os Pingos nos Is' discourse during the 2022 runoff presidential campaign. Hence it proposes to answer the following research question:

RQ: How do the predominant discourses in Jovem Pan's live show 'Os Pingos nos Is' reveal ideological positions during the 2022 elections in Brazil?

To answer this question, the research adopts a qualitative approach. For the analysis, five videos from the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show on Youtube were selected by the highest number of views per week, in a timeframe of the five weeks of the Brazilian

election runoff, from 2 to 31 October 2022. As a starting line, the videos were transcribed into text format. Next, the main words and themes were identified using the data analysis software Iramuteq (Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires). The tool was developed in Python and includes different forms of textual statistics analysis, including "classic textual analyses, analyses of specificities, similarity analysis, and a word cloud" (Souza et al., 2018, p. 2). Through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough's three-dimensional framework was applied in the text, investigating the discursive processes of text production and a sociocultural analysis that considers the concepts of discourse, power, and ideology in the analysis, as well as the political context of the case study. This process is further developed in the Methodology section of this study.

This study is structured in six main chapters. In addition to the introduction, Chapter I includes background information on Brazil and the political context of this case study. It further introduces the media group Jovem Pan and the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show and states its significance for research. Chapter II elaborates on the literature review and theoretical discussions of the main topics and concepts concerning this study. It is divided into five subchapters that encompass literature on the media's role in democracies, the media's role in covering elections, opinion-based shows, the concepts of discourse, power, and ideology, and disinformation and echo-chamber theories. Next, Chapter III covers the methodological part, including the research design, sample of the study, and data analysis. It also includes a discussion about how this study used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in addition to the Iramuteq Software to investigate and analyze the topic. Chapter IV presents the research findings, while Chapter V further discusses these results in connecting with this study's main literature. Finally, Chapter VI summarizes the general contributions of this research, the limitations found, and presents suggestions for future investigations in the conclusion section.

1.1 Background Information

Brazil is a country with continental dimensions. It is the largest country in South America and the fifth largest in the world, with an estimated population of around 207 million inhabitants (CENSO, 2022). Like countries such as the United States, Brazil follows a federal presidential system, where the executive authority is consolidated in a

president who serves as both the head of state and the head of government. Every four years, Brazilian citizens can elect a new president. Since 1996, electronic voting machines have been used to compute the votes (Senado, 2022), a method also used in 46 other nations, including Switzerland, Norway, and Australia (TSE, 2021). In 2022, Lula, president for two consecutive terms, from 2003 to 2011, was elected president of Brazil for the third time.

The elections in Brazil were marked by the use of disinformation as a political tool, a growing practice in the country since 2018 (Ruediger et al., 2020). Yet, if fake news was used to create polarization and fear in 2018 (Blanco, 2022), the goal for the 2022 elections was not only to consolidate this scenario but also to "attack the credibility of opponents, creating conspiracy theories and delegitimizing the Brazilian electoral system" (para.1). In that same period, Brazil was listed as one of the leading countries with a disinformation ecosystem. The Oxford Internet Institute conducted a study in 2019 on the spread of disinformation in 70 countries. It showed that Brazil, along with the Philippines and the United States, is one of the countries most affected by disinformation (Bradshaw et al., 2021).

The impact of social media and messaging platforms in disseminating false information has received significant attention in the country due to its high internet usage and reliance on platforms for news consumption. Data from the Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2022 may help to understand this relationship and how news is consumed. First, Brazil is the number one country in selective news avoidance, with part of the population limiting their exposure to news (54%), especially on topics related to politics. Consequently, social media have emerged as the primary news source for most Brazilians (64%), and YouTube is the most accessed social network for news consumption. Secondly, in contrast to other countries where there is an expectation that journalists should strictly focus on reporting their news when using social media, in Brazil, a significant part of the population (60%) believe journalists should have the freedom to express personal opinions alongside their news reporting. Lastly, the use of smartphones for accessing news has experienced rapid growth, and the country has more intelligent devices than citizens (Newman et al., 2022).

The disinformation scenario becomes even more alarming during election periods, as research from the International Institute for Democracy Electoral Assistance (IDEA) shows. They tracked the global evolution of 53 countries between 2016-2022. They revealed that even though disinformation attacks can occur at any time, an upward trend

peaked during election years (IDEA, 2022). The study also pointed out that Brazil has the second-highest number of disinformation cases in electoral processes globally, trailing only India.

Disinformation data from the 2022 elections illustrate these findings. The daily average of false messages in the first round of the 2022 elections was 202,500, jumping to 311,500 in the second round (NETLAB, 2022). However, it was more than the volume that had exceeded its limits. New formats of disinformation content have emerged, blurring the lines between what is true and what is misleading. Accordingly, the content varies from entirely false to those based on opinions masquerading as facts to "support and reinforce beliefs, ideologies, and conspiracy theories" (Blanco, 2022, para. 1). The 'NetLab' research from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro monitored platforms and publications between January 2021 and August 2022 to identify the main disinformation narratives. Among the YouTube videos containing electoral disinformation and the highest number of views, Brazil's media group Jovem Pan was prominently featured with its 'Os Pingos nos Is' show (NETLAB, 2022).

1.2 Case study: Jovem Pan and 'Os Pingos nos Is'

Created in 2014, 'Os Pingos nos Is' is broadcast at the same time by Jovem Pan radio, owner of the largest audience in the news segment in São Paulo (Jovem Pan, 2023), TV Jovem Pan, today the country's second most popular news channel on private television (Valquer, 2022), on YouTube, and on the 'Panflix' streaming app (Jovem Pan, 2020). In a two-hour live show from Monday to Friday, the show comprises one presenter and five commentators who discuss the general news of Brazil and the world together at a table.

On Youtube, they describe the show as:

"Os Pingos nos Is' - Fearless Opinion! The show revolutionized the way politics and economics are reported. Focused on addressing topics critically in a chat and open discussion format, where it is worth listening to the opinion and comments of each presenter and also of the listeners, 'Os Pingos nos Is' has achieved the highest ratings in its radio broadcasting time slot and is a reference on YouTube."

In strong alignment with Bolsonaro, the show live-streamed the former president broadcasts for some time, once a week. In an interview with Fox News, Bolsonaro mentioned the media group and the show, referring to Jovem Pan as an "example of journalism" (Bolsonaro, as cited in Camarotto, 2023).

Since the 2022 presidential election, the media group has been a target of different investigations and social media bans. In the second electoral round, the Superior Electoral Court (TSE)² opened an investigation for an alleged favoring of news for Bolsonaro and an alleged lack of isonomy in the treatment given to Lula's campaign, in addition to a request for content exclusion that "mobilized an entire ecosystem of disinformation" (Aragão & Menezes, 2022, para. 10). In November, a month after the results, YouTube started demonetizing all Jovem Pan channels for consistently violating the platform's rules for spreading disinformation and hate speech (Costa, 2022), enabling it to generate revenue from advertisements. In January 2023, the MPF investigation was launched to examine the correlations of Jovem Pan's contents with the invasion and attacks on buildings of Brazilian political institutions in the capital, Brasília.

In this sense, the 'Os Pingos nos Is' case presents crucial aspects to be investigated in the Brazilian electoral context. While studies in Brazil have analyzed Jovem Pan in a different context (Bertoncello, 2019; Chagas & da Cruz, 2022; Silva & Mendes, 2022), this research found a gap in the literature that has analyzed the media group specifically in elections. This represents a potential investigation and comparison with other studies to understand how the media behaves within different political contexts, specifically in the electoral realm. Therefore, this study delves into theoretical reflections surrounding these informational disputes in the following chapter.

² The Superior Electoral Court (TSE), the highest body of the Electoral Justice in Brazil, plays a fundamental role in the construction and exercise of Brazilian democracy. Its main powers are established by the Federal Constitution and the Electoral Code.

2. Theoretical Chapter

The Theoretical Chapter is organized into five subchapters: the media's role in democracies; the media's role in covering elections; opinion TV shows: the Jovem Pan case; discourse, power, and ideology and the discussion around disinformation and echo chambers. These subchapters follow a chronological order of trying to comprehend what is discussed in the literature around the media's role, potential effects, and responsibilities to analyze later how Jovem Pan's case connects with these expectations. It also brings other recent studies that examined Jovem Pan shows in different contexts, as well as 'Os Pingos nos Is'.

In light of this study's methodology, discourse, power, and ideology are essential for analyzing the media in a Critical Discourse Analysis. These concepts provide a foundation to examine how language is used, how power dynamics are manifested, and how ideologies are conveyed within media texts. Additionally, they are integrated with theories on disinformation and echo chambers, which shed light on the potential impacts of these phenomena within social media and communication. Considering these interrelated concepts, this study aims to comprehensively understand the contemporary media landscape, specifically focusing on the Jovem Pan case.

2.1 Media Role in Democracies

In light of a more complex information environment due to globalization and digitalization, an increasing body of literature has examined the relationship between journalism and democracy (Bennett & Livingston, 2018; Eberl et al., 2017; Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018; Martin & Yurukoglu, 2017; Rossini et al., 2023). As media technologies rapidly evolve and societies undergo socio-political transformations, traditional notions about journalism's role and perceptions of how it should function in democratic contexts are critically reevaluated and challenged.

The impact of social media, disinformation, and changing news consumption patterns in the digital age is prompting scholars to delve deeper into the role of journalism and its contribution to informed citizenry within democratic contexts (Ferreira, 2022). Some even argue that journalism and democracy are intrinsic, and journalism's existence is only considered feasible in democratic models of societies. Others, however, consider this idea a romanticized view, claiming that one can exist without the other, given that

journalistic work is found in countries with different political systems (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018). Despite disagreements on whether democracy is a condition for journalism practice, one relevant aspect in this discussion is that, within democratic societies, most scholars agree on similar roles or functions that journalism and media institutions should fulfill. Among them, beyond contributing to society, they are expected to provide "surveillance, forming opinion, setting the agenda, acting as a 'watchdog', acting as a messenger and public informant" (p.149), as well as to strengthen democracy in various ways (Baptista Ferreira, 2011). To understand the media's role as an information provider, as is often presented as the media's normative role, (Fonseca, 2010) also highlights two central functions that the media should perform in democracies. First, to provide people with information that would not be accessible without the media, and second, to act as a state watchdog, exercising a form of "social control" over those in power (p.8).

To enhance understanding of what the public can anticipate from this relationship, scholars have highlighted the role of journalism within different democratic societies. According to (Strömbäck, 2005), deliberative democracies emerge as particularly desirable for journalism, especially during election periods when citizens rely on unbiased and objective information to inform their decisions. They are characterized by popular inclusion, encouraging the participation of actors from both the center and periphery of society. It values deliberativeness, where ideas are evaluated in a rational-critical debate, and decisions are reached based on the strength of arguments rather than power structures. Central to deliberative democracy is dialogue, which is marked by mutual respect and serves as the foundation for constructive discourse.

The role of journalism within this framework is twofold. Firstly, journalism should create an ideal environment for deliberation and debate that is objective, rational, and honest. Secondly, journalists are responsible for making discourse accessible to individuals from both the center and periphery of society, mobilizing and encouraging citizen participation. It strongly emphasizes the role of journalists as "fair-minded participants" who actively foster political discussions characterized by impartiality, rationality, intellectual honesty, and equality among participants (Strömbäck, 2005, p.340). By enabling a platform for discourse, journalists contribute to the realization of deliberative democracy, fostering an informed and engaged citizenry.

Other scholars suggest an approach analyzing journalism role that focuses on journalistic practices, considering "people's expectation regarding what is news and who is entitled to produce it (...) their motivation and practice in the production of news, and

their power relationships in the process of the circulation of news"(Domingo et al., 2015 as cited in Witschge et al., 2016, p.13). Along with these lines, Witschge et al. (2016) highlights three functions of journalism: 1) "Information Provider," which, as a norm, is a consensus regarding the expectation of providing "accurate, reliable, and relevant information and news"; 2) "Guardian of the public's 'right to know'" uncovering information that is relevant to society but that actors try to keep hidden; 3) "Mediator of societal values" facilitating the transmission and dissemination of cultural values and beliefs within societies (p.16).

In an analysis that considers both the desired functions and the reality of journalistic practice, Fonseca (2010) points out that media organizations take on various other roles hidden behind the stance of neutrality while transmitting information. That includes elements such as influence on political agendas, the influence of opinion on specific topics, and the ability to organize interests of specific groups or actors. These functions are represented in a power relationship where "the media has historically had many ways of controlling, limiting, and shaping access to information" (Witschge et al., 2023, p. 26), holding power over which issues should be prioritized in the public debate, as well as how they are framed. As a result, the framing of certain information in the news can have consequences that involve potential harm to individuals, groups, or institutions, as the media has the power to "fabricate and distort images and versions of events and phenomena, simultaneously with its function of informing" (Fonseca, 2010, p.13).

It is also relevant to point out that within the new media ecosystem, the power relations involving the media and society have changed, considering that new forms of communication, platforms, social media, and emerging actors have decentralized the information monopoly (Witschge et al., 2023). Nevertheless, mainstream news outlets also migrate to new communication models, creating a mix of old and new practices as they adapt to a new set of norms and values that are reinventing how the news is transmitted.

2.1.1 Media Role in Covering Elections

Considering the power of media information and its role in a democratic society, it is essential to understand how this relationship occurs in specific events where information plays a crucial role, such as in elections (Grolla & Nishijima, 2019). Elections represent critical moments when media coverage can significantly impact public opinion

(Eberl et al., 2017), shape political discourse, and influence the democratic process (Kydd, 2021). As a primary source of information (Van Dijk, 2000), the media's role in providing accurate balanced coverage becomes even more crucial during election periods.

(Miguel, 2004) states that in a democratic society, a central element for ensuring a representative election is the level of information accessible to the population, both about the political process and the actors involved. Two aspects are considered fundamental for voters to make an informed decision. Firstly, it is information about the candidates, "who supports them, what their backgrounds and proposals are", and secondly, information about the "social world," including the challenges, alternatives, and potential consequences (p. 93). Information needs to have a plural character, enabling voters to be aware of different perspectives relevant to the political process. In this sense, journalism plays a fundamental role as it is responsible for providing voters with the necessary information for political participation that will guarantee and influence the quality of an election (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018).

Considering the significant emphasis on providing voters with access to information, scholars also debate the extent to which the media can influence voters during elections. Grolla and Nishijima (2019) conducted a systematic review to analyze the existing literature exploring the media's impact on election outcomes during political campaigns. Reviewing research on the topic between 1996 and 2017, the study found that 91% of studies indicate the influence of the media on election results. Several factors of the media coverage were identified as central in influencing voters. One commonly raised concern was the extent to which media gives attention to a specific candidate, which can, for instance, lead to a reduction in voters to the opponent. DellaVigna and Kaplan (2007) found similar results when analyzing election voting in the United States. They analyzed the expansion of Fox News in the country and observed a significant increase in voter turnout for the Republican vote in the 2000 election. It identified a positive impact of media bias, where the exposure to the channel led voters in Democratic districts to shift ideologically toward Republican voting.

In addition to the importance of exposure time, it is equally crucial to analyze how the media shapes its coverage. The portrayal of actors involved in elections can impact voters' perceptions and election outcomes (Grolla and Nishijima, 2019). Hence, if the media portrays a candidate in a positive or negative light, it can potentially influence public opinion and affect voting behavior. This evidence was found by Eberl et al. (2017) analyzing the media during the 2013 Austrian parliamentary election campaign. In

contrast to other studies, the visibility time of parties and candidates was identified as not being of great importance for voting behavior. However, they found compelling evidence of media bias in voting concerning the evaluation of the actors and the agenda bias, which involves the selection of news about each candidate to be presented. Voters' political preferences were found to be influenced and updated based on the way the media presents information about political events and candidates.

In the Brazilian context, several studies have analyzed media coverage during elections (M. M. de Carvalho et al., 2022; Machado, 2021; Miguel, 1999; Porto et al., 2020; Vasconcelos, 2020;). More recently, Vasconcelos (2020) examined the Brazilian media outlets' coverage in presidential elections from 1989, the post-re-democratization period, to 2018. The findings showed that the media played a crucial role in shaping the country's future through its coverage and had significant influence on election outcomes. Additionally, the study found that the media used "strategies of manipulation and distortion of facts, which weaken the democratic system" (p.21). Focusing on the 2018 presidential elections, (Barbosa Diniz & de Araújo Mendes, 2020) found similar results concerning bias in Brazil's media outlets when covering the dispute between Jair Bolsonaro and Fernando Haddad. Analyzing nine Brazilian newspapers during the election year, it was identified that the media provided unequal space for the candidates, lacking impartiality in the coverage and confirming biases in exposure time.

Recognizing that the media's coverage of elections can influence public opinion (Barbosa Diniz & de Araújo Mendes, 2020), the portrayal of candidates and political processes further holds the potential to "diminish the overall credibility of the electoral process, undermining and undermine democracy" (p. 602). Especially in the final weeks of the election, Barbosa Diniz & de Araújo Mendes (2020) consider the dominance in media exposure for Bolsonaro to be significantly relevant to the election outcome. While there is no consensus among scholars on the extent to which the media can truly impact election results, there is a general agreement on the existence of coverage that favors a particular candidate. Some studies focused on the influence of the media coverage on actors during the election campaign (Bos et al., 2011), while others point out the importance of analyzing the weeks preceding the elections (Eberl et al., 2017), regarded as crucial for voters. A smaller part of the literature also focuses on post-election coverage, where evidence suggests that the media portrayal of the winning candidate can influence the voters' perception, and, consequently, how they interpret and legitimize the

election result (Gattermann et al., 2022). Yet, "very little is known about how the media report on the actual election results" (p.857).

What is known, however, is that the media discourse holds power to "allow ideologies to materialize", often employing strategies that seek to "marginalize or discriminate" certain actors (Fernandes & Leme, 2020, p.176). Analyzing the media context of the 2022 presidential elections, (Weltman, 2022) identifies an increasing tendency among Brazilian media to seek "loyalty - identity-based, ideological, and/or partisan - from consumer audiences" (p.101). This process, characterized by adopting dynamics that limit pluralism in the political dialogue, can potentially foster polarization (Martin and Yurukoglu, 2017) and political radicalization (Weltman, 2022).

2.2 Opinion-based Shows: the Jovem Pan Case

In light of the new forms of media engagement, opinion-based programs have significantly increased over the past years and gained prominence in political debates (Bursztyjn et al., 2023). These shows adopt a journalism style that relies "on personal perspective, narration and subjectivity" (Kavanagh et al., 2019, p. 125), which is engaging for the audience but often blurring the distinction between facts and personal viewpoints. While there is limited research about their impact on shaping public opinion compared to other news formats, existing literature found a more substantial effect of opinion shows on viewer attitudes than news programs (Smith & Searles, 2013).

The understanding of programs that focus on opinion journalism consequently affects expectations regarding the normative role of journalists. Kelling & Thomas (2018) suggest that the discourse surrounding ethical issues involving opinion journalists is often hindered by a lack of agreement on their responsibilities and the challenge of assessing their performance. Yet, there is a consensus on what scholars suggest should be part of their functions, which includes providing evaluation, explanation, analysis, and contextualization that journalists involved in daily reporting may not be able to do due to time and space constraints (p.401). In other words, they are expected to make news more understandable by placing it in a context and highlighting its relevant aspects.

However, the same body of literature points to a conflict between the normative and actual performance of journalists in this role. The format of opinion shows usually has hosts expressing their opinion on daily news together with 'expert' guests who echo the host's views (Smith & Searles, 2013). They often present only one side of the political

debate, showing partisan perspectives and containing an emotional side that is appealing to the audience (Bursztyn et al., 2023). Moreover, the "ideological opinion content" of the shows does not follow the journalistic norms of presenting a fair and unbiased discussion of political issues (Smith and Searles, 2013, p. 673). Consequently, opinion-based shows are more likely to share negative emotions in political discussions toward a side that they consider as opposition, illustrating how and why one side is portrayed as 'bad' while providing viewers with positive aspects of their favorite candidate (Holbert et al., 2010 as cited in Smith & Searles, 2013).

Since research indicates that people often face challenges in differentiating between factual information and personal opinions, which can significantly affect their attitudes (Kavanagh & Rich, 2018), it becomes crucial to examine the discourse presented in opinion programs and the facts and opinions they convey. In the context of the present case study, the show 'Os Pingos nos Is' claims to be a *critically opinionated* program that has positively changed the way politics is reported. However, studies that analyzed the 'Os Pingos nos Is' and the Jovem Pan group in different contexts reveal characteristics that challenge this allegation.

Investigating narratives of the pandemic, (Chagas & da Cruz, 2022) examined the coverage of the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show on the COVID-19 vaccines in Brazil. Selecting the most-watched shows on Youtube between 2020 and 2021, the study revealed "the absence of sources, investigation, and valid criteria" that ensure the necessary rigor of journalistic information (p. 15). The research suggests the need to reflect on populist stances in vaccine information and the ideologies that the discourse carries. Other studies have focused on analyzing the media group's response to the pandemic across different platforms. (de Assunção, 2023) investigated the articles published on the Jovem Pan website in 2020 about the COVID-19 and examined the content from a journalism ethics perspective. The findings revealed positions against social distancing and vaccines, going against health recommendations during the pandemic. The research also pointed out a contradiction within Jovem Pan, noting that the news organization used to be known for high-quality journalism. While it is still a significantly relevant news organization, its editorial approach is "distant from the expected standards of an ethical and responsible journalism" (p.47).

This recognition of Jovem Pan's current significance was also noted by (Bertoncello, 2019) in a study on media convergence in radio journalism. The research examined how Jovem Pan, originally a radio station, expanded its presence on the internet

by streaming its radio programs as live shows on social media platforms. The findings suggested that this shift might have a more substantial impact on audiences than traditional radio reception and that through different strategies over time, the group remains extremely relevant amidst the competition. These findings become particularly relevant to be analyzed in light of the influence of opinion shows in political contexts (Smith & Searles, 2013). In this sense, Chagas & da Cruz (2022) investigated the selection of sources in the Jovem Pan program 'Morning Show', during the coverage of the 2022 electoral conventions of the candidates Jair Bolsonaro, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, and Ciro Gomes. Through content analysis and examining the number of sources per news, the research revealed a pro-Bolsonaro bias within the coverage, which "uses journalistic ethos to highlight the neoconservative agenda" (p.33).

Overall, while studies of the 'Os Pingos nos Is', Jovem Pan, and its other shows provide relevant findings, the literature lacks a comprehensive analysis that investigates the news organization and its programs in elections. Therefore, this study aims to bridge this research gap and contribute to the analysis of the 'Os Pingos nos Is' discourse and its ideologies during the 2022 elections, shedding light on its potential impact on public opinion and the elections' democratic process. In addition, this research brings to the analysis three elements that scholars consider essential to investigate in the media: the concepts of *power* and *ideology* and their intrinsic relationship with the media *discourse*.

2.3 Discourse, Power, and Ideology

Discourse Studies provide a relevant theoretical base to analyze the media discourse and uncover its ideologies. Within this field, concepts like *discourse*, *power*, and *ideology* are frequently employed to conduct critical investigations on how language is used in society, and its definitions are manifold (Wodak, 2004). Van Dijk, (1997) states a difference in the concept of discourse from what is understood by common sense and discourse analysis theories. Popularly, it is seen as any type of communication, such as a report, a conversation, or a political public speech. However, scholars have tried to understand the complexities of the concept, understanding that even unintentionally, all verbal interactions communicate something, such as emotions, ideas, and beliefs. Thus, they focus on "who is interacting with whom, where and when" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 69).

For (Fairclough, 1992), discourse is seen as a form of action, and this dynamic is connected with social structures: at the same time that is shaped by social relations and

norms in society, the construction of discourse is also "socially constitutive", thus, will also be shaped by those structures (p.64). In other words, more than reflecting or representing the world, it is a practice of "signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning" (p. 64). That means discourse goes beyond individual actions and declarations, as its meaning is constructed within broader social contexts. Therefore, it is essential when analyzing discourses to consider the context in which they appear, in addition to being influenced by the social constraints of the context, they also play a role in shaping, constructing, or transforming that context (Van Dijk, 1997).

From a critical perspective, in the social interactions of discourse, language can reveal, create and reflect power, and it cannot be separated from the distribution and exercise of power within institutions and society (Fairclough, 1995). In this case, "institution" is not limited to specific organizations but is regarded as "a set of social relations which endows individuals with power, status or resources of various kind", that will shape and legitimize the actions in a social context (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 8). While power can manifest in various ways, such as physical violence and force, it operates subtly in society. It takes the form of a tacit exercise of dominance communicated through discourse, influencing individuals to align with certain ideologies. The true motivations driving this cooperation are left unsaid, creating the illusion of individual autonomy (Fairclough, 2001).

According to (Foucault, 1995), "power is exercised rather than possessed" (p.26). It is not a property to be acquired and rather a strategy which its effects are based on "dispositions, maneuvers, tactics, techniques, functionings" employed to exert control by those who occupy strategic positions (p.26). It is characterized by an asymmetrical relationship where one party holds more power than the other. However, to Foucault, power relations go beyond the binary idea of domination and the dominated, and it is seen as a much more complex phenomenon with conflicts and struggles. Foucault (1995) also argues that power exists everywhere, it permeates all aspects of life and relations, and someone always benefits from it. Hence, in society, the discourse that governs is always the discourse of those who hold knowledge.

Fairclough (2001) argues that power in language operates in two main ways: "power in discourse" and "power behind discourse" (p.43). Firstly, power relations are presented in circumstances such as conversations, discussions, and face-to-face interactions. However, in discourse, the power can also be less obvious, as it often happens within the media. Differently from the in-person situation involving interactions,

discourse in the media is divided between those who produce and those who consume. These dynamics are often unclear and can involve concealed power relations, making identifying challenging. Those who produce information have control over the narrative. They hold power when deciding what information is included or excluded from the media, how events are portrayed, or how the audience is represented. The impact is not limited to one text, for instance, but accumulates over time through the repetition of topics and ideas and can exert a potent influence in society. However, despite the power relation, it is also important to state that individuals have the ability to critically assess and analyze the information, choosing to accept it or not what they see, rather than passively accepting it at face value.

In power behind the discourse (Fairclough, 2001), which is also a hidden type of power, the entire social structure and organization of language and communication are shaped and maintained through hidden mechanisms often invisible to society. The social and ideological factors influence and shape the conversations, and they can include dynamics that involve norms in society, ideologies, or beliefs that determine what is considered relevant.

Drawing on Foucault's (1995) perspective that power is not possessed or held by an institution and its dynamics can change over time, Fairclough (2001) notes that the way discourses are structured will also be determined by the changes in power relations:

Power at these levels includes the capacity to control orders of discourse; one aspect of such control is ideological - ensuring that orders of discourse are ideologically harmonized internally or (at the societal level) with each other. (p. 30)

There are many different views on what ideology is and how to understand it. The general idea of the concept usually refers to a combination of values and beliefs. However, its meaning has developed and changed through time (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In the Marxist theoretical tradition, ideology is perceived as one of the tools used by the ruling class to exercise domination. It is created and maintained through class disputes and masks the existence of social divisions. Within this framework, ideology is characterized as a form of false consciousness. In other words, its purpose is to distort reality by presenting the dominant ideas as unquestionable truths and persuading society of their absolute validity. Consequently, it is presumed that certain ideas have always existed and remained unchallenged, enabling dominant ideas to become ideas of all classes and,

therefore, the general ideas of a society. The inability to perceive the real conditions forming these ideas will be, therefore, what is called ideologies (Chauí, 2008).

In critical approaches of political science, the concept differs from the idea of ideology as something connected to the falsification of reality (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In this perspective, ideology is constructed as a broader concept related to language and discourse, encompassing forms of domination beyond social classes. To Van Dijk (2011), ideology is a form of 'social cognition' that will be constituted of peoples' beliefs and how they perceive, interpret, and understand the world. Even though these sets of beliefs are held by individuals, ideologies are understood by the author as a social element. They cannot be acquired and represented alone but rather learned and shared collectively. They can be shared in most of society's social practices, such as daily interactions, classrooms, work environments, and the media. In this case they can also be positive or negative, such as gender ideologies, sexism or feminism; racism or antiracism; class ideologies between poor and wealthy; or even ageism. However, they are usually hidden or unnoticed. In daily conversations, dominant ideologies are often presented as neutral or unbiased, rooted in the discussion as common sense or widely accepted assumptions that often go unquestioned (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In discourse, ideologies can be seen as the primary form of control by consent (Fairclough, 1995). For Fairclough (1995), in a critical approach, it is essential to understand ideology not only as a neutral form of 'worldview', but as part of a domination process, "as a means through which social relations of power are reproduced" (p.31). In the author's view, when a discourse event operates ideologically, the focus is not on whether it is true or false but rather contributing to maintaining and reproducing existing power dynamics. However, the falsity of the discourse must still be taken into consideration, and it is essential to address it. That can include intentional omissions or distortions for aiming to persuade or misrepresentations and manipulations of reality. These elements gain particular significance when considering the media's influential role as a "main source of people's knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (van Dijk, 2000, p. 36).

2.4 Disinformation and Echo Chamber

Through the lens of discourse, power, and ideology, it reveals how language shapes social realities. This understanding sets the stage for investigating the contemporary phenomena of disinformation and echo chambers, where manipulating

information and consolidating power within closed networks can potentially contribute to the distortion of public discourse and the fragmentation of shared narratives. Disinformation has emerged as a growing concern in research, and its development has become a highly complex phenomenon based on newly developed deception techniques (Colomina et al., 2021).

The phenomenon has been deeply studied by media practitioners as well as by scholars of different fields (Allcott & Gentzkow, 2017; Freelon & Wells, 2020; (Pennycook et al., 2020; Wang et al., 2022; Pennycook et al., 2020), leading to contrasting approaches and typologies (Damstra et al., 2021). The fundamental idea underlying the debate is related to an era characterized by the rapid production and dissemination of information, where the traditional methods of information organization are challenged (Alves & Maciel, 2020). Due to the unprecedented media and research attention, it is also presumed that these are today's main political communication topics (Freelon & Wells, 2020).

This study adopts the view that disinformation presupposes intentionality in sharing false content. Hence, some characteristics of the term can be exemplified by the High Level Expert Group on Fake News and Online Disinformation (HLEG) of the European Commission, which defines disinformation as: "all forms of false, inaccurate, or misleading information designed, presented, and promoted to cause public harm or for profit intentionally" (2018, p.11). Thus, it encompasses critical criteria that highlight the potential and an intent to harm.

In elections, through disinformation, actors may aim to deepen polarization, shape public discourse, favor or discredit specific candidates or parties, or foster skepticism toward institutions. Consequently, they can manipulate the elections (Kapantai et al., 2021), undermining democratic processes. Papakyriakopoulos and Goodman (2022) highlight the elections in Brazil with Bolsonaro and the United States with Donald Trump as examples of how disinformation organized by illiberal actors can have violent consequences and threaten democracy. They call this action a 'democratic backsliding', which refers to the deliberate effort from incumbent governments to undermine democratic principles in a country (Bauer & Becker, 2020).

Similarly, (Rossini et al., 2023) researched individuals' susceptibility to false electoral information in the 2022 Brazilian election and identified correlations with political ideology, trust in institutions, and the electoral process. The study indicated three primary findings: 1) *Institutional trust is a complex construct amidst democratic*

backsliding. Individuals with less trust in the electoral results, and higher trust in the government and Brazilian Army, were more likely to believe in false information related to the election. In contrast, those who trusted the judicial system were less likely to be influenced by false information, thus, less likely to hold misinformed beliefs. 2) *Right-wing citizens are more likely to believe in electoral misinformation*. This suggests a correlation between right-wing political ideology and susceptibility to electoral misinformation, especially if it concerns something that aligns with their preexisting beliefs. Additionally, the study observed that individuals who expressed lower satisfaction with the country's democracy were inclined to be more disinformed. 3) *Using alternative sources and social media for news predicts belief in misinformation*. Individuals who consumed "alternative news," such as partisan media and outlets that exist only online, and those who relied on social media as a news source were more prone to believe in misinformation about the elections.

Moreover, the spread of disinformation is not limited to isolated instances but is exacerbated by the formation of echo chambers in digital spaces (Tucker et al., 2018) . Echo chambers are seen as "a process of self-selection that confines communication to ideologically-aligned cliques" (Bastos et al., 2018, p. 2). In other words, echo chambers can occur in environments where individuals are exposed primarily to information and viewpoints that align with their existing beliefs, reinforcing and amplifying their preexisting views (Bessi & Ferrara, 2016). Research has demonstrated that echo chambers extend beyond the online world and are connected to the dissemination of false information (Bastos et al., 2018), and the emergence of ideological extremism (Wojcieszak, 2010).

(Cinelli et al., 2021) argue that "selective exposure and confirmation bias", or the idea of looking for information that is related to preexisting positions, "may explain the emergence of echo chambers on social media" (p.1). The idea of echo chambers is not a consensus among scholars, nor does it regard its potential effects on individuals (Arguedas et al., 2022). Yet, scholars found significant evidence when analyzing the phenomenon. Bastos et al. (2018) examined tweets and hashtags during the Brexit campaign and found evidence of polarized echo chambers on Twitter. The authors also point out that differently from the idea that echo chambers result only from online discussions, the results show that it can also permeate the offline world.

In light of these discussions, (Ruiz & Nilsson, 2023) investigated the disinformation narrative of the flat Earth groups on YouTube and its rhetorical strategies

and suggest a two-phase conceptual framework to understand how false content circulates on social media. According to the authors, the first phase consists of what they call seeding, when actors insert deceptive content while attempting to make it appear legitimate or trustworthy to the recipients or the wider audience. Second, the echoing phase is related to an echo chamber, where individuals will contribute to disseminating the narratives amplifying and propagating the ideas, consequently giving the illusion of broader support or legitimacy to the content being spread. This way, it is found that disinformation tends to circulate through discussions that are based on personal beliefs, and individuals, therefore, engage repetitively in these arguments to support their point of view, even if they know they are false.

Considering the potential echo chamber dynamics and especially the view of reinforcement of ideologies and beliefs in certain groups, this study finds it relevant to consider the theory when analyzing the repetition of content in the discourse of the 'Os Pingos nos Is.' Understanding this dynamic can provide valuable insights into the role of 'Os Pingos nos Is' in potentially contributing to forming and maintaining an echo chamber among its audience.

In summary, the literature shows the relationship between journalism and democracy remains an ongoing subject of research and debate, and scholars have identified numerous functions and roles that journalism and media institutions should ideally fulfill in democratic societies. While some argue for a neutral role of the media as an information provider, promoting an environment of dialogue, impartiality, and objectivity (Strömbäck et al., 2005), others contend that these characteristics may not accurately represent the day-to-day realities of journalistic practice. Instead, it is proposed that the media carries hidden roles and wields power and influence over the audience (Fonseca, 2010). However, it is relevant to recognize that even though these roles are not always practiced, the discussions around journalistic functions are essential as they "establish the parameters of what is considered desirable within a given institutional context" (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018, p. 151).

Especially in heightened political times such as elections, people rely on information to make informed decisions and are thus highly influenced by the way events are covered by media (Barbosa Diniz & de Araújo Mendes, 2020). Opinion shows have recently gained a lot of traction, as they can help voters make up their minds and facilitate their voting decision. At the same time, however, this type of media increases the risk of damaging journalism's role in democratic societies as it uses discursive power to reinforce

political attitudes and steer public opinion and debate in a specific ideological direction (Smith & Searler, 2013; Foucault, 1995). Those powers could potentially culminate in disinformation and echo chamber dynamics, where reality becomes distorted in such a way that it leads to political extremism and puts legitimate democratic processes such as elections into question (Wojcieszak, 2010).

3. Methodology and Research Design

This study aims to investigate the ideologies embedded in the prominent themes of the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ discourse during the 2022 presidential election in Brazil. For this investigation, qualitative methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) are applied, using the Iramuteq Software for the analysis of the findings. This methodological chapter is divided into four subchapters in the following order: (1) Research Design, (2) Critical Discourse Analysis, (3) Analysis Tools, and (4) Data Analysis, and will further provide a comprehensive understanding of these topics. This research seeks to address the following research question:

RQ: How do the predominant discourses in Jovem Pan’s live show ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ reveal ideological positions during the 2022 elections in Brazil?

A case study of Jovem Pan's show ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ holds significant importance in Brazil's contemporary political landscape, particularly in the context of the 2022 presidential election. This election was deemed one of the most crucial in the country's history, carrying global ramifications (Gurk, 2022) and being fiercely contested to safeguard democracy (Llanos, 2022). The subsequent attacks on Brazilian institutions demonstrated a wave of violence that not only materialized physically but also found expression in verbal discourses from groups alleging electoral fraud and refusing to accept the election outcome. In this case, Jovem Pan became the subject of investigation in the country, showing a perception of power in the discourse that could have potentially influenced its audience and demonstrating its relevance for analysis.

The multifaceted and exploratory nature of the debate underscores the importance of conducting a comprehensive analysis of the media’s discourse. Case studies are of great relevance in this investigation, as they facilitate an in-depth examination of the research object, considering the specific context of the analysis and taking into account

unique elements for a comprehensive understanding (A. P. Costa et al., 2017). Thus, case studies allow researchers to examine real-life scenarios in depth and draw insights from the complexities of the studied case. By closely examining the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ discourse, this research can gain invaluable insights into how the media could have potentially played a relevant role in shaping political narratives during and after the election campaign. This examination becomes especially crucial in an election marked by disinformation, which as previously shown in the literature, can significantly affect a political process course. The following chapters show the steps that guided this research, from the selection to the analysis and results.

3.1 Data Collection

To conduct the data analysis, five videos from the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ show were sampled from their official Youtube channel. The four-week timeframe applied for the selection was delimited by the 2nd to 31st of October 2022, respectively, the first day of the second round of the presidential election campaign and the election day itself. In this period, 18 shows were broadcast. For the thesis, the five shows with the highest number of views on each week were selected. In addition, one show from the election day was also considered. The final sample selection is as follows:

Table 1.

Date	Headline	Number of views	Link
03/10/2022	BOLSONARO E LULA NO 2º TURNO/ PESQUISAS EM XEQUE/ JOICE DERRETE	1.376.905	<u>BOLSONARO E LULA NO 2º TURNO/ PESQUISAS EM XEQUE/ JOICE DERRETE - OS PINGOS NOS IS - 03/10/2022</u>
13/10/2022	TSE BLINDA LULA/ BOLSONARO SE DESCULPA/ DIRCEU CONFRONTADO NAS RUAS	1.138.507	<u>TSE BLINDA LULA/ BOLSONARO SE DESCULPA/ DIRCEU CONFRONTADO NAS RUAS - OS PINGOS NOS IS - 13/10/2022</u>
20/10/2022	RECORDE DE BOLSONARO/ DATAFOLHA APAVORA PT/ MARCHA PELA LIBERDADE	1.423.748	<u>RECORDE DE BOLSONARO/ DATAFOLHA APAVORA PT/ MARCHA PELA LIBERDADE - OS PINGOS NOS IS - 20/10/2022</u>
4/10/2022	JEFFERSON PRESO/ NEYMAR COM BOLSONARO	1.656.750	<u>JEFFERSON PRESO/ NEYMAR COM BOLSONARO - OS PINGOS NOS IS - 24/10/2022</u>

31/10/2022	ELEIÇÃO DE LULA/ BOLSONARO RECLUSO/ CAMINHONEIRO S PARAM O BRASIL	2.178.600	ELEIÇÃO DE LULA/ BOLSONARO RECLUSO/ CAMINHONEIRO S PARAM O BRASIL - OS PINGOS NOS IS - 31/10/2022
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Source (Author, 2023)

After the selection, the videos were first watched, downloaded, and later transcribed into text format using the paid platform Escriba, a tool for transcribing audio from YouTube videos. YouTube was chosen as the primary platform for several reasons. Firstly, the platform is identified as the most prominent platform for news consumption in Brazil (Newman et al., 2022). Additionally, the significance of Youtube in this study's context became even more evident when considering that the video platform demonetized Jovem Pan's channels for propagating disinformation. Secondly, the platform interface allows access to the videos chronologically, facilitating the selection process based on the number of views and consequently stating the videos' relevance. While this study did not investigate specific audiovisual elements, and it will explain further in the analysis, the videos were carefully watched multiple times to comprehend how the discourse and topics were presented. This thorough approach represents the third reason for choosing Youtube as the platform for selecting the shows.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an approach that adopts a critical perspective to investigate the role of language in society and how it influences and reflects broader social processes and dynamics (Fairclough, 1995). It is considered the most influential line of research for scholars who want to investigate how media contributes to creating a social construction of reality (A. Carvalho, 2008). It is usually used as a "tool for ideological critique" (Reynolds, 2019, p. 56) and to analyze "social problems and especially the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96).

The theory of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was first formulated by Norman Fairclough, building upon linguistic theories that recognize language as an essential component of social life, connected to and influenced by various other aspects of society (Araujo & de Araujo, 2009). The works of prominent scholars such as Van Dijk (1997) and Wodak (2001) have contributed to developing a powerful approach to analyzing and uncovering the relationships between the language used by individuals and groups in social contexts. CDA aims to go beyond the surface of texts and considers the broader institutional and sociocultural contexts in its analysis (A. Carvalho, 2008), assuming that language gains power through individuals, who have power over discourses and consequently structure ideas, values, and beliefs in society (Wodak, 2001). In this approach, scholars are expected to take a deliberate stance to analyze and comprehend the studied object and to reveal and critique the power imbalances present in the discourse (Van Dijk, 1997).

CDA scholars highlight some crucial aspects to consider for a critical examination of discourse, including analyzing the interconnection between power and ideology, recognizing that texts hold indications and cues of social patterns, and acknowledging that these meanings can often be unnoticed by individuals (Costa, 2022). Among many possibilities of investigations, CDA studies have primarily focused on analyzing texts produced by powerful institutions, such as the media. According to Fairclough (1995), the primary concern of CDA in media analysis is to demonstrate how changes in language and communication in the media "constitute social and cultural change" since the media has a "signifying power", revealed through media frames and how language is manipulated (p. 29). In this view, while media institutions frequently claim neutrality for public discourse, this narrative is seen as a misconception, considering how the media plays an active role in mediating and constructing messages through language.

There is no single theoretical framework for CDA, and it draws on various backgrounds that can be applied to explore different aspects of discourse. Fairclough's (1995) CDA method provides an analytical framework to investigate the relationship between language, power, and ideology in text. In Fairclough's analysis, text is referred to as both spoken and written forms, and it is just one of the three elements that compose a discourse. Besides text, in a discourse, one can also find "a process of production, of which the text is a product, and the process of interpretation, for which the text is a resource" (p.24). Together, all these elements are part of the social interaction process of discourse.

This study adopts Fairclough's (1995) socio-approach to CDA, which, considering the discourse dimensions, provides a three-dimensional framework that involves the following stages: 1) description, which is concerned with an analysis of the text, 2) interpretation of the discursive processes of text production, 3) explanation involving a sociocultural analysis of the text and considering potential social effects. Fairclough's approach derives from some premises considered in this study. First, discourses are permeated by power relations and ideology. Second, it has the premise that individuals often fail to recognize the relationship between language and social structures, but these connections become evident through the analysis of texts. Consequently, a critical analysis should involve the text individually and "the relationship between texts, processes, and their social conditions" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 26).

To guide the analysis, this study also drew upon Reynolds' (2019) work, which offers a comprehensive review of the main principles of CDA for journalism scholars, focusing on uncovering ideologies in text. Using Reynolds' insights, this research considers a set of questions to guide the CDA analysis and inform the development of a codebook. These questions are not intended to be answered in this research but rather to serve as theoretical cues, highlighting elements to focus on and investigate during the analysis. The following questions are a combination of those derived from Reynolds (2019) and other scholars:

- What is it talked about? "Whose perspectives are being validated by this story?" Helps "to provide more nuanced insights into the construction of ideology surrounding news sources and news subjects described in media content." (Reynolds, 2019, p.60)
- "Who does the article mention? How are those actors represented?" (Carvalho, 2008, p.168)
- How are groups depicted in an "us versus them" discourse? "Can thus be used to identify the people and policies that produce certain ideologies in media discourse." (Reynolds, 2019, p.60)
- "What is obscured in the text? How do the inclusion and exclusion of facts serve to create a certain meaning?" (Carvalho, 2008, p.171)
- "What were the political, social, and/or cultural implications of dominant discourses?" (Carvalho, 2008, p.172)

3.3 Analysis Tools

3.3.1 Iramuteq Software

Software for textual data analysis is increasingly prevalent in qualitative research, and many scholars point out its advantages (Souza et al., 2018). Iramuteq (*Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires*) is an open-source software used to analyze and explore different types of textual data, including interviews, questionnaires, and literary texts. It is freely available and based on the R software and Python language. Widely employed in Humanities and Social Sciences Research, Iramuteq proves especially valuable when dealing with an extensive text corpus. It can assist in statistical analysis, data visualization, and identifying recurring patterns and themes in texts, hence organizing the data in a clear and accessible manner (Camargo & Justo, 2013).

Developed in 2009 by the French researcher Pierre Ratinaud, Iramuteq was initially only available in French, yet, now, the software includes dictionaries in multiple languages. It is essential to highlight that Iramuteq is not a research methodology. Instead, it is a data processing tool that enables researchers to explore and analyze their data (Souza et al., 2018). Iramuteq is a preliminary step in applying Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in this study.

Camargo and Justo (2013) provide a comprehensive Iramuteq manual highlighting the software's diverse analytical capabilities. In this study, the Hierarchical Descendant Classification (CHD) is employed, generating a Dendrogram that: "obtain classes of texts that, at the same time, present similar vocabulary among themselves and different vocabulary from the text segments of other classes" (p. 516). The process of CHD involves three steps: the initial text preparation and coding, the descending hierarchical classification achieved through data processing, and the subsequent interpretation of the identified classes (Souza et al., 2018).

After transcribing the video's audio into text, the first step of organization involved adding the transcripts into a single file and formatting them to the requirements of Iramuteq. This included removing paragraph spacing and ensuring the absence of special characters such as @, %, \$, and others. Additionally, the Journalist's names constantly repeated throughout the show were removed to not interfere with the word analysis. Next, each video was identified and separated by a specific command line,

named **** *video_1, **** *video_2, **** *video_3, **** *video_4, and **** *video_5. Finally, all the prepared transcripts were saved in a text document for further processing and uploaded to the software.

3.4 Data analysis

The data analysis followed the three levels of CDA pointed out by Norman Fairclough (1995). Throughout the analysis, elements were incorporated into each one of the steps to guide the study in answering the research question. First, in the *descriptive* phase, the analysis consisted of an overall and extensive text reading, highlighting words and phrases, and developing a preliminary codebook. The "Word Cloud" (Figure 1) auxiliary the examination, presenting the most frequent words throughout the five shows. (Ryan & Bernard, 2003) argue that to comprehend the most recurring topics and their contexts, a relevant and efficient approach is first to observe the words used most frequently in the discourse. For this purpose, software and computer programs can be valuable research tools. By observing their repetitions and the contexts in which they occur, they serve as a preliminary step that suggests what the themes are concerned with.

In the *interpretative* step, a second analysis of the text was done. In this stage, the relation of words pointed out by the classes on the dendrogram (Figure 2) was observed and investigated in the text. Considering the arguments presented, rhetoric, and the actors involved in the discourse, among other elements, an inductive coding was created to identify the themes. Understanding that "themes get identified by physically sorting the examples into piles of similar meaning" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 97), the textual corpus was analyzed multiple times to grasp the context and formulate the themes.

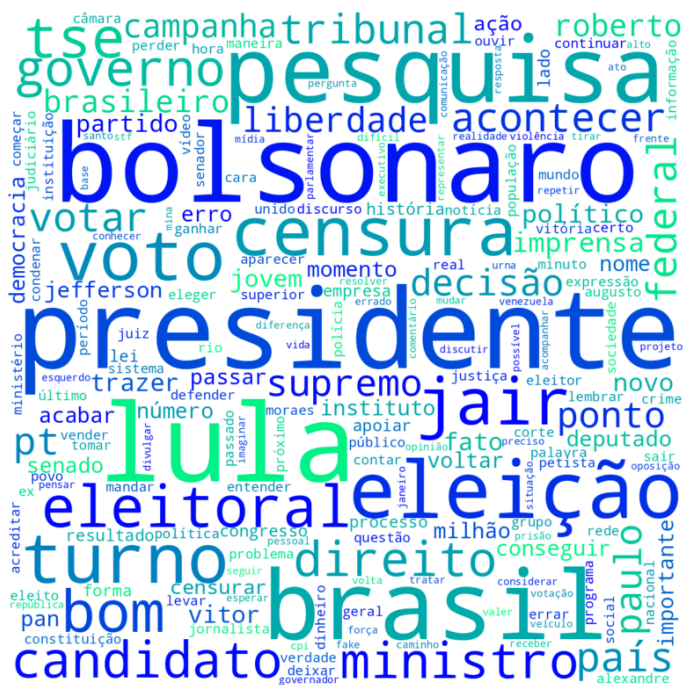
Finally, in the *explanation* phase, the text was analyzed at a social-practice level, considering the power structures and ideologies pointed out by the CDA in the context of the elections.

4. Results

This section presents the findings of this research, organized into two main figures, the World Cloud, representing the most used words in the discourse, and the Dendrogram, representing the prominent themes in the shows. While this is a descriptive section of the results that will further be discussed with the literature in the discussion part, the images are contextualized to better comprehend the topic. The analysis of the Dendrogram found four main topics that were interpreted as 1) 'Us' versus 'Them': Bolsonaro versus The Old Politics; 2) Mistrust in the Electoral Process: the elections' result can't be trusted; 3) Undermining and Discrediting Brazilian Institutions: judicial Authoritarianism and activism; 4) Suppression of Freedom of Expression: Jovem Pan's Claim of Censorship.

Figure 1. Word Cloud

From: Formes Actives



Source: Author (2023)

Most Used Words: "Opinion polls" (Pesquisa), "Bolsonaro," "Lula," "President" (Presidente), "election" (eleição), "round" (turno), "candidate" (candidato), "censorship" (censura), "electoral" (eleitoral), "vote" (voto).

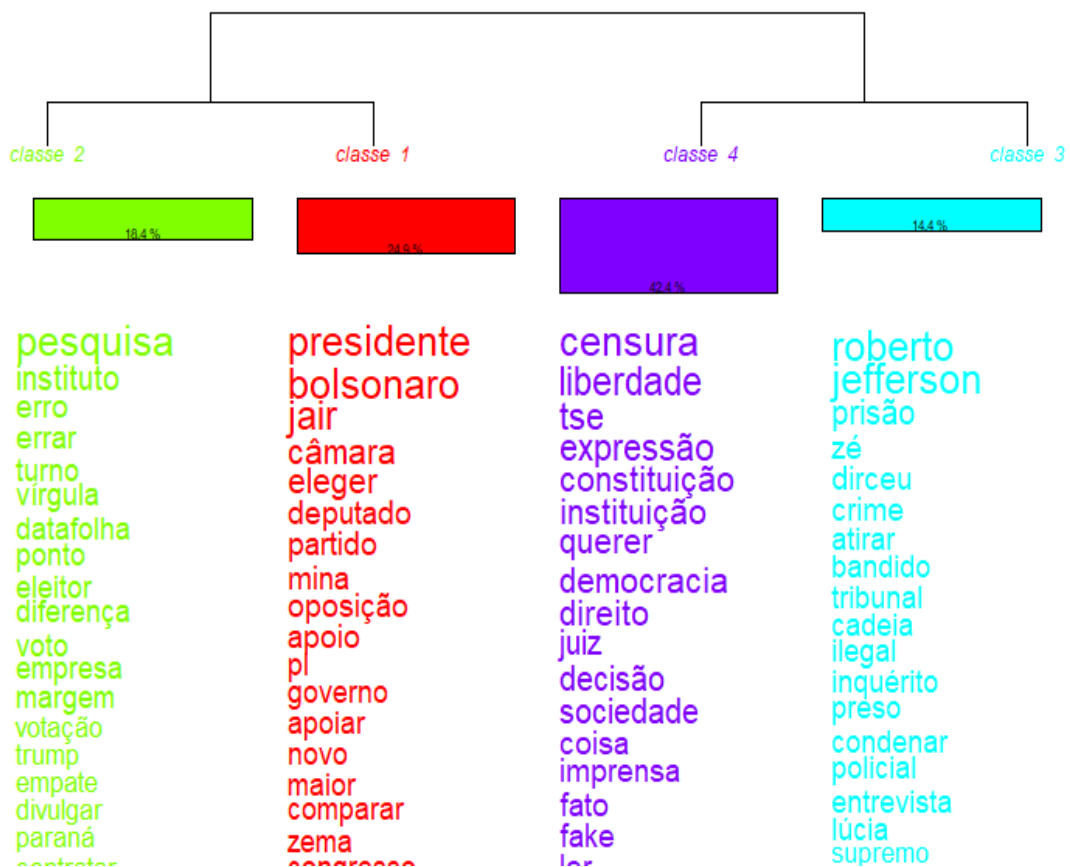
The Word Cloud represents the most frequently used words across all five shows during the election runoff. The word "eleição" (election) and "votação" (voting), besides being used to cover the events during the period, acquire connotations permeated by various assumptions. In the early stages of the second round, in the first show, the word is used in the context of "doubts," questioning the fairness of the electoral process in the first round and alleging possible fraud in the voting machines. This narrative continued throughout the shows, stating that there were lobbying efforts to prevent the National Congress from voting on the printed vote project. Additionally, there were claims that the opposition candidate was buying votes.

Regarding the two election candidates, "Bolsonaro," "Lula," and the word "presidente" (president) are used in highly ideological and opposing contexts. When referring to Bolsonaro, the contexts are mostly positive. Bolsonaro is associated with being the country's greatest leader, the greatest electoral political phenomenon of the last decade, synonymous with transparency and anti-corruption, and someone who governed the country in a serious and efficient manner. Words like "liberdade" (freedom) and "democracia" (democracy) are also associated with him when referring to his government. In some references, he is mentioned as "our president." When referring to "Lula," terms like "ex-presidente criminoso" (criminal ex-president) are used, depicting him as someone who supports dictators, defends thieves, and is part of terrorist organizations in Brazil. This treatment is even more evident in two moments: the first show after the first round of the election and the last two shows, which analyze the results on election day.

In the show that takes place at the beginning of the second round campaign, the word "pesquisa" (opinion poll) stands out and continues to be repeated throughout the following weeks. It refers to opinion polls that indicated a significant advantage for Lula over Bolsonaro in the first round. Due to the close results, a narrative was created that the polling institutes were paid by the opposition of the Bolsonaro government and acted to manipulate the elections and influence votes in favor of Lula. The idea of a parliamentary inquiry (CPI) to investigate the polls was repeatedly reinforced, and after the investigation took place, it was claimed that the investigation process was not transparent.

The word "censura" (censorship) is associated with "tribunal" (court) and "supremo" (supreme), and "ministro" (minister). The debate gains prominence in a context where the show accuses the Superior Electoral Court of censorship for prohibiting the program's commentators from referring to Lula using words like "bandido" (criminal) and "condenado" (convicted) in relation to a trial in which he was acquitted.

Figure 2. Dendrogram CHD



Source: Author (2023)

4.1 Class 1 - 'Us' versus 'Them': Bolsonaro versus The Old Politics

Main words: "president" (presidente), "Bolsonaro", "Jair", "elect" (eleger), "congressperson" (deputado), "party" (partido), "opposition" (oposição), "support" (apoio), "compare" (comparar), "government" (governo).

This first class represents the characterization of two opposing poles in the discourse: Bolsonaro and his allies on one side and the opposition to the government on the other. In this context, Bolsonaro is often portrayed positively, accompanied by adjectives such as "humble," "honest," and "transparent." He is usually depicted as a victim of the system due to his anti-establishment stance, while various actors are labeled as opponents, perpetrators, and traitors. On the other hand, Lula is often treated

negatively, with the use of adjectives such as "thief," "bandit," "ex-convict," and "corrupt" prevailing in the discourse.

From the outset, there are insinuations that Lula's campaign attempted to tamper with the elections. When sharing this statement, the commentator also takes a clear position using the pronoun "we":

"I prefer to project things, to anticipate what needs to be done in the second round. **If they plotted something and there are suspicions about it**, they failed. If it had been done properly, they would have finished it in the first round. They failed because the voters didn't allow it. **What we need to do is win the second round.**"

Praise for Bolsonaro is demonstrated by highlighting positive aspects of the government. One recurring topic revolves around the candidates' communication styles. Commentators urge voters to overlook Bolsonaro's perceived rudeness and focus on his positive attributes:

"Forget the rhetoric, the words, the way they speak. Put on paper the actions of one government and the actions of the other, the economy (...) **President Bolsonaro's administration** went through a global crisis within a pandemic, and yet managed to emerge **bravely with impressive numbers.**"

The commentator continues comparing the candidates and differing adjectives to each of them:

"If words bother you, and **the president humbly apologized for his words**, look at the **president's actions** and **the actions of the ex-convict.**"

Throughout the show, commentators attempt to identify those responsible for Bolsonaro's loss of power and support, as evidenced by the tie in the first round. The former president is portrayed as someone who fought against the system, an anti-establishment figure, and his elimination of political benefits led many actors to turn against him.

"President Jair Bolsonaro ended up facing a very difficult situation with government sectors... **he dismantled easy avenues for misusing public funds**, and this group is conspiring against the government."

Those who had previously supported the government but turned into opposition are portrayed as having "thrown stones at a government that has been **working for the people for four years**."

In addition, it also analyzed the strategies Bolsonaro should adopt during the campaign to increase the votes and likelihood of success. In this regard, they express an opinion that those against Bolsonaro are often misinformed about the facts:

"I know it's rare for someone to have fewer votes than in the first round. But it can happen precisely through increased **awareness**."

Other actors, including the media, are also held responsible for Bolsonaro's loss of support. The press is accused of "dehumanizing" Bolsonaro over the course of four years and favoring Lula.

"I am primarily astounded by the press. **This press, I declare it dead, bankrupt, shameless**, as it sanctions these acts...[they say] 'Let's give a little push **against Bolsonaro and in favor of the immaculate Lula da Silva**.'"

When discussing Lula, the narrative is that the candidate is corrupt and supported by criminal factions and individuals:

"Marcola said he supports Lula. **As far as I know, the audio was true**. Marcola, the leader of the PCC [criminal organization], said he preferred Lula, and several other factions also say they prefer Lula."

After the election's final result, which announced Lula's victory, these same narratives were further reinforced. Statements emphasizing Bolsonaro's fight against the system are repeated, presenting him as the symbol of a power system's downfall. The discourse regarding the media's role remained strong, portraying Bolsonaro as having fought "against the old press," which created a distorted image of Bolsonaro, an image that did not reflect reality:

"Jair Bolsonaro **didn't lose**; he only **competed against something that doesn't exist**. They transformed him into some kind of alien, turning him into his own opponent. Nobody truly loves Lula."

The defeat was also attributed to the president's characteristics, often resembling Donald Trump's loss. It is suggested that both lost due to "aesthetic" reasons, meaning they did not conform to the expected communication style of presidential candidates, faced opposition from the media, and were labeled anti-democratic. The commentators also expressed sadness and concern about the results:

"If Lula's campaign speech is respected, we are **not only in a sad day but a dangerous day**."

Bolsonaro's role now shifts to that of the opposition leader:

"Jair Bolsonaro emerges as **the greatest political, electoral, and media phenomenon** of recent decades, **perhaps in all of Brazilian politics**. Without a doubt, Bolsonaro will become the leading figure in opposition to Lula's government."

Finally, regarding the election results, a narrative emerges that suggests people knew the election was not conducted fairly, yet they supported it because "everything was justified to remove Bolsonaro from power."

4.2 Class 2 - Mistrust in the Electoral Process: the elections' result can't be trusted

Main words: "opinion polls" (pesquisa), "institute" (instituto), "error" (erro), "err" (errar), "round" (turno), Datafolha, "voter" (eleitor), "difference"(diferença), "vote" (voto), Trump, "tie" (empate), Paraná

This class represents two main focuses on mistrust in the electoral process: attack on the opinion polls and institutes during the campaign and the accusations of errors and mistrust in the voting machines and the electoral process.

Prior to the first round, several opinion polls were conducted to grasp the electoral landscape. Although these polls do not predict election results but rather gather population

estimates, numerous accusations were made with the intention of criminalizing them, alleging intentional favoritism towards certain candidates. There were calls for the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee (CPI) to investigate the research institutes.

"This is an election that was indeed full of questions. An election where we need to **demonize** the research institutes because what they did was not an error. I made errors when I stepped onto the court to compete in the Olympics for Brazil and missed a serve, that is an error. **What the institutes did was electoral fraud, criminal.** What they did was lie."

Due to the projected estimates indicating that Bolsonaro would receive fewer votes in the elections, the research institutes were perceived as an additional opposition:

"The polls only make mistakes **trying to benefit** the side of the former president and **ex-convict Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.**"

There was a constant comparison between the events surrounding Brazilian electoral polls and the presidential polls in the United States. Allegations were made that the US poll also propagated falsehoods and was subject to criminal investigations, thus suggesting that both countries experienced "dirty" elections.

"The polls in the US (...) always lying, always biased, always speculating or trying to influence (...) **Why didn't Trump win in 2022? Because the election was dirty,** completely full of uninvestigated offenses that were not promptly addressed by the justice system."

The polls were grouped among the actors blamed for Bolsonaro's poor performance, who were acting together to defeat the president:

"**They** [research institutes] **joined the conglomerate** of political opposition parties in Congress, **political parties in the Supreme Court**, commanded by TSE-TRE ministers, **political parties in the old press**, the **traitors**, within the political context of President Jair Bolsonaro. The press that tried to dehumanize President Bolsonaro for four years, calling him a Nazi, a fascist (...)."

In addition to the polls, concerns were raised about the electronic voting machines and the integrity of the electoral process. Alleged videos claiming people could not vote

because others had already cast votes on their behalf were often mentioned. It was also claimed that most of the videos featured individuals wearing "green and yellow," the colors of Brazil's flag, and embraced by Bolsonaro's supporters. Although the authenticity of these videos remained unverified, they were repeatedly discussed and questioned during the show:

"These videos that we are watching... **are they fake?** Were they **staged**? I want an investigation. **I don't think they are.** There are many of them, and **they seem quite authentic.**"

Furthermore, several other elements were presented to support the idea that errors and potential fraud occurred in the election's first round. It was argued that the election was conducted "in the dark":

"There is an **odd, inconsistent voting pattern**, where the evolution of the vote count seems **strange**. That consistent, regular rise, where Lula overtook... What is this, my people? Are you going to throw away all the years of investment in your **freedom** to watch this soap opera?"

After the results of the second round and the announcement of Lula's victory, the question was about how it was possible that politicians who supported Bolsonaro were elected in municipal and state elections, and yet these votes did not translate into support for the president. This situation catalyzed suspicion that something was amiss:

"The person went there, voted for Bolsonaro's federal deputies, voted for Bolsonaro's senators, but then voted for Lula. **Is this scenario possible?** (...) How can we prove that this is not a conspiracy theory and that it is a **very eloquent observation?**"

The prevailing narrative was that they were not the only ones who did not believe the Brazilian elections were not fair, but rather all voters, both from Bolsonaro's and Lula's sides:

"You have 49.1% of the Brazilian electorate who believed that the **election was neither fair, nor democratic, nor equal.** And 50.9% celebrate that it was not fair, democratic, or equal. The most important thing is that **no one believes that it was like that.**"

4.3 Class 3 - Undermining and Discrediting Brazilian Institutions: judicial Authoritarianism and activism

Main words: Roberto Jefferson, "prison" (prisão), Zé Dirceu, "crime" (crime), "shot" (atirar), "bandido" (bandit), "court" (tribunal), "prison" (cadeia), "ilegal" (ilegal), "inquiry" (inquérito), "arrested" (preso), "condemn" (condenar), "police" (policia), Lúcia, "supreme" (supremo)

A central point on this topic was the attack on Brazilian institutions, including the Federal Supreme Court (STF) and the Superior Electoral Court (TSE), and more specifically, authorities governing these institutions. The narrative was that the country was living a "legal chaos", where institutions acted in a biased, authoritarian, and "outside the law" manner, benefiting one side of politics. Brazilian powers were accused of being to blame for Brazil's problems:

"What is **always** the **origin** of all the **social tensions that Brazilian democracy has been experiencing** in recent times? All the crises we have today in Brazil ... there is **always a crisis of the judiciary** with the other powers."

The elections would thus be a continuation of authoritarian strategies that the Institutions took during Bolsonaro's government. In the quote below, it is possible to see criticisms regarding the decisions taken by the Institutions during the COVID pandemic in Brazil, which sometimes annulled Bolsonaro's measures and imposed new general rules - for instance, related to the closure of places that could generate agglomeration, such as churches and medicines, without scientific proof of the "cure" of COVID. Both were interpreted as authoritarian decisions by the institutions.

"It's been **four years of listening to the TSE** and seeing the **tyrannical pen** of the TSE/TRF saying what **we** can discuss, what we can put in our bodies, what we can discuss with our doctors, with our children. Whether or not we can open **our** churches and pray. **It can't happen anymore**, Brazil **will not stand** this kind of **totalitarian regime**."

In the context of the election, the narrative was that there was a continuation of the institutions' strategies to act against Bolsonaro. First, the eligibility of former president Lula to participate in the elections was questioned. They blamed the TSE for having "rehabilitated a criminal":

"The TSE, which is the arbiter of the election, is **acting** in a **biased** way (...) It says the system is perfect (...) And I say again, they are part of a court that **rehabilitated a criminal**."

The institutions, especially the Brazilian judiciary, were accused of functioning as "a political party", acting invidiously and being partisan in favor of Lula and having "tarnished" the image of Bolsonaro's campaign.

"What the STF also did was to **unstructured** any **support** that **President Bolsonaro** might have, creating fear and terror in his supporters. Through **unconstitutional inquiries**, arrests, judicial blockades, censorship."

This way, it was insinuated that the powers acted together, illegally and in violation of laws, to prevent the election process from taking place in a transparent manner. They were placed as part of the "establishment group", and this same process was not restricted to Brazil but to the whole world. In addition, a strongly repeated factor was the impediment to the printed vote as a discrediting factor of the elections:

"During this electoral process, we had a **TSE** that made the most effort in the world to make the process as **less transparent as possible**. Even with direct action within Congress, so that Congress would not support the "printed vote". They said all the time that this was a step backward."

Another repeated topic was that the TSE had embargoed the possibility of auditing electronic ballots. In other words, this means accessing each voter's votes through a bulletin at the end of the election to ensure transparency. For the commentators, this was one of the ways to prove that elections were not being rigged. The phrase, repeated several times during the election campaign, was denied by news agencies such as Aos Fatos, confirming that all ballot boxes were audited.

"How would you prove that? With something called **auditing**. And why can't it be proved through auditing? Because **it was banned. Who stopped it? The Superior Electoral Court.**"

One of the most repeated words involving "Roberto Jefferson" referred to a former federal deputy arrested for non-compliance with judicial measures during the elections and attempted murder after shooting at police officers during apprehension and throwing bombs of moral effect. The fact that the politician was an ally and supporter of Jair Bolsonaro caused controversy during the election and among commentators.

"All right, he supports President Bolsonaro. But he has no interference either in the campaign or in the eventual second government. He supports because **he has to support the president.**"

They also stated that it was not good for Bolsonaro to be associated with him and that he should find strategies to be disassociated from the former deputy:

"President Jair Bolsonaro has every reason to **try to get rid of the links** he has with Roberto Jefferson because **an act like this looks very bad a week before the elections**".

While commentators condemned the action, they said they understood his "revolt" because his arrest involved judicial authoritarianism and that the former deputy had been persecuted for months:

"Jefferson **is right to be outraged** because his process is one of the **weirdest in the world, in Brazil and in the constitutional world.**"

Overall, with these events, and especially after the election results and Lula's victory, the prospect was that things would only get worse:

"Now, with this government, there is **no attempt to balance the STF**. And you can notice the more towards the end of the PT government, including **Alexandre de Moraes**, who is **part of the PT government**, the more towards the end, **the more activists they are. Without the Bolsonaro government, we have no expectation** of any progress in reforming the judiciary."

The narrative was that the institutions did not deserve respect from the population, or no decision taken by them should be respected, as they would have no credibility. The population, then, would have every right to revolt against the process:

"The TSE failed miserably to explain how the data counting worked (...) When a population realizes that its institutions do not respect it, **the population revolts.**"

Later, it is suggested that other, more serious reactions might occur as a consequence of what had been "planted":

"We do not know how many sectors of society are **angry enough to take other actions** (...) There are 49.1% of voters in Brazil who think differently from the way this process occurred. **Whoever plants the wind reaps the storm.**"

4.4 Class 4 - Suppression of Freedom of Expression: Jovem Pan's Claim of Censorship

Main words: "censorship" (censura), "freedom" liberdade, TSE, "expression" expressão, "Constitution" (constituição), "Institution" Instituição, "democracy" (democracia), direito, "judge" (juiz), "decision" (decisão), "press" (imprensa), "fact" (fato), fake

The debate on censorship was brought up several times during the shows and debated with different actors. At the beginning of the elections, the TSE determined the exclusion of content on the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show for sharing content that was considered false, associating Lula with organized crime in the country. During the second round, an electoral investigation was opened to investigate whether the broadcaster Jovem Pan treated the two candidates unequally. It was decided that they could not use expressions that included "thief", "corrupt," or "head of a criminal organization", to refer to the candidate Lula, under penalty of a fine and under the precept that they disrespect the presumption of innocence provided for in the Federal Constitution, and therefore were subjecting the electorate to a false reality (Aragão and Menezes, 2022).

In the show, commentators compared the decision to forms of censorship practiced during the military dictatorship in the country. They claimed that fake news was just a false justification used to practice censorship and that even if false information was

shared, it would be up to the digital platforms to be held responsible, not the actors or the broadcaster. Thus, they stated that it was forbidden to deliberate on press freedom, as it could not be relative:

"Freedom of expression should naturally be accompanied by **the responsibility of the publication**. What I wanted is to call the publication accountable and especially the pages that publish, that is, the **digital platforms**. But to **hit outlets like Jovem Pan**, this is **persecution and censorship**. (...) There is no point in talking about informational disorder, high collective determination, fraying of the social fabric, **there is only one name for all these complicated, it is censorship.**"

Different actors were presented as responsible for the censorship. Firstly, the TSE, which initiated the investigation and ordered the order, and which was also accused of acting in this way to protect Lula:

"The truth is that **there is censorship** and protection by a court that should be constitutional, which is the STF, and its electoral pet TSE to **protect the corrupt pet.**"

Several actors were presented as "accomplices" of the decision, including judges, lawyers, prosecutors, and artists. However, one actor that the commentators mainly repeated were the press and the journalists:

"Despite this pressure and coercion, this **absurd propaganda** is made to **legitimize abusive acts of the judiciary**, especially the electoral justice, including **censorship**, with the **complacency of the press**. **The old, big, whatever you want to call this sold press.**"

Names of several newspapers and journalists were cited with the intention of exposing those who either had not expressed solidarity with Jovem Pan or who agreed with the decisions and reaffirmed that they were intended to combat disinformation:

"Today I come across a '**Globo**' news story, framing, emphasizing, Mr. Alexandre de Moraes, saying that we are already in the second generation of disinformation. **Are there no more journalists at Globo?** Back in my time, the guy who wrote that would be out on the street (...) This story of informational disorder **is a**

fantasy. Aren't you ashamed? All journalists. Aren't you ashamed of this vague euphemism covering up acts of censorship?"

Slurs and swear words were repeated when referring to the subject:

"I call every journalist who does not react to this a scumbag, **not a journalist, a scumbag**. They are **cynical**. Because we defend everyone's right of expression here."

At one point, a commentator compared the decisions made by the TSE not only to Bolsonaro's advantage but also to Lula's campaign. However, the conclusion is always that the decision is made on censorship prerogative:

"Likewise, it was decided in the plenary of the TSE that the Lula campaign cannot link Bolsonaro's speeches about cannibalism. Likewise, they are **speeches taken out of context, but which are real speeches** (...) we see two spectrums there, the issue of electoral propaganda, **which the TSE has always had the prerogative to arbitrate**. But the de facto **censorship** we are seeing is absolutely inexplicable and must be repudiated at all costs."

In the show, it was stressed that the implementation of censorship was also something that was in Lula's plans:

"This is **exactly** what the **former prisoner wants to put in Brazil**. The **totalitarian state**, a totalitarian regime. With the people, the senate, and especially the **free press gagged**."

In their defense, they claimed to have never expressed themselves as the "owners of the truth" or "arrogant" in the way they communicated. But rather, they were doing a job of contrasting with a press that has given up on its role, that "misrepresents" itself and acts "ideologically":

"If you look in the archives of this program, **you will not find provocations, venomous illusions, attempts to create or destroy characters**. We have loyalty (...) The **success of this program comes from the reliability it brings**."

5. Discussion

This research was set to investigate the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ show discourse and the ideologies embedded in it during the 2022 Brazil runoff election. The discussion of the findings seeks to examine the uncovered ideologies and their potential consequences in the context of the Brazilian elections and in a disinformation landscape.

The study of media and ideologies is a pressing matter among scholars, especially in journalism (Reynolds, 2019). The investigation of ideologies in journalistic discourse becomes even more relevant considering the characteristics and positions usually taken by media organizations that claim to act in a "neutral", "independent", "non-partisan", and "ideological" stance (Fonseca, 2010, p.8). However, as understood by some CDA authors, ideologies are automatically embedded in the language of a discourse (Fairclough, 1995); accordingly, this research aimed to investigate these positions. When investigating elections, research shows that how the media portrays an event can significantly influence citizens' attitudes and potentially impact the legitimacy of a government (Gattermann et al., 2022).

In line with previous findings of Jovem Pan (Chagas & Cruz, 2022) and the ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ show (de Assunção, 2023), this study found a pro-Bolsonaro partisan ideology in the coverage of the elections. The analysis explicitly separates groups that act either in support or against Bolsonaro. Despite the general idea in the literature that the media is often perceived as passive, playing a subordinate role rather than actively shaping political dynamics, research shows that most political theories taking these stances fail to explain the media in societies like Brazil (De Albuquerque, 2019). In different contexts, the media can "present much more active patterns of behavior" and also "claim to have legitimacy on their own to intervene in political disputes" (p.917). Consequently, they adopt a supportive stance towards the government or align themselves with the opposition.

As further examined in the study, phrases that use "we" to refer to the positions of the commentators were kept separate from "they," which encompassed individuals who either criticized the government or did not show their support publicly. Hence, these actors were also seen as acting against the interests of Brazil. The use of positive and negative adjectives for these groups also reveals alignment with one side. This dichotomy is presented by Van Dijk (2008) in an analysis that exemplifies four possibilities of an "us versus them" discourse: it emphasizes the positive aspects of the in-group (us) while

highlighting the negative aspects of the out-group (them); in doing so, it downplays the positive aspects of the opposing group while not emphasizing the negative points of their own group. The "us" side is represented by Bolsonaro and its allies, and what the 'Os Pingos nos Is' hosts call the 'good' people, and the traditional Brazilian family, while the "them" consists of many actors, including Lula and the opposition, the left-wing, Brazilian institutions, opinion polls, and the media. This dynamic can be interpreted as a manipulation of discourse that aims to persuade and influence social actors by presenting a biased perspective favoring the dominant group. The negative aspects of the in-group are often not described or shown to the general population because they are seen as detrimental to the group's core ideas and beliefs.

The biased selection of information observed in this study privileging specific candidates contradicts the principles outlined in the literature to guarantee the quality of a democratic election. Research highlights that access to adequate information is crucial for ensuring a fair and representative election, primarily assured by the plurality of information available to society (Miguel, 2004), and thus, a crucial element is to measure whether "different perspectives and worldviews are made available to all citizens" (p. 93). Considering that the media discourse acts as a primary and powerful source through which individuals acquire information (Van Dijk, 2000), the show's audience is consuming partial and biased information that can influence its vote (Dellavigna & Kaplan, 2007) toward one favorite candidate. Moreover, considering the show's disinformation landscape and current investigations by the Federal Public Ministry, the audience could also have had distorted and deceptive facts about the candidates and election scenario.

This understanding becomes a central concern when examining information related to the electoral process. For instance, the discourse surrounding electronic voting machines and the voting procedure, where the legitimacy of the process is questioned, can have significant ramifications for Brazilian democracy. These claims have been repeatedly propagated in opinion formats in the show without any official sources or supporting data. After the first round of the election, several speculations emerged regarding potential electoral fraud and accusations of poll manipulation, which showed low results for Bolsonaro. Consistent with prior research, this suggests that beliefs regarding election fraud are disseminated after the election results and during the electoral process (Edelson et al., 2017). On election day, this narrative gained further traction.

Despite lacking evidence, additional elements suggested a questionable and opaque process.

Several fact-checking portals (*Aos Fatos*, 2022;) (*Fato ou Boato*, 2023) have refuted the narrative presented in the show. They have clarified that polling companies provide estimates rather than predictions of election outcomes and have exposed the fraudulent nature of videos and information shared on the show regarding errors in the voting machines. Nevertheless, unsubstantiated claims of voter fraud can still undermine people's confidence in elections, especially when these claims align with their political beliefs, and fact-checking is not enough to diminish its consequences (Berlinski et al., 2023). Partisanship can reinforce these beliefs, as partisans tend to perceive their own party as acting with good intentions while viewing the opposing side as employing fraudulent means to achieve immoral ends (Edelson et al., 2017). However, mistrust in the electoral process and its integrity are exacerbated by unfounded allegations of electoral fraud disseminated in conservative media circles, similar to what happened in the United States, before the Capitol invasion in 2021 (Pion-Berlin et al., 2022).

Consequently, as the analysis further highlights, while the show selectively emphasizes positive aspects of one candidate and levels accusations against the other, it may have also potentially bolstered electoral fraud beliefs within a partisan audience. This scenario of duality where the media reinforces electoral disinformation, and one-sided ideologies, and creates doubt in the electorate, as evidenced by Weltman (2022), can lead to an increase in political radicalization and polarization, potentially causing instability within the political system. These circumstances are fertile in Brazil's political landscape, and the show appears to have deliberately acted to reinforce this scenario. While De Albuquerque (2019) reminds us that most political communication studies assume that the media acts as "pillars of the democratic order" in societies, "working as accountability institutions" (p. 915), this may not always be the case. The media can also manipulate to serve political interests, potentially legitimizing anti-democratic decisions, as Van Dijk (2017) demonstrated in his analysis of the Brazilian media.

Disinformation, employed in various forms, is a prevalent manipulation tactic, as highlighted by Di Domenico (2021) and Giglietto et al. (2020) in the context of elections. It can be intentionally used to either bolster or weaken candidates and parties while fostering mistrust in democratic institutions. Considering the show's involvement in legal investigations and the removal of videos by both Brazilian institutions and YouTube due to disseminating false information (Rudnitzki & Martins, 2022), the ideologies uncovered

suggest a deliberate spreading of disinformation driven by ideological and political interests. This situation sparks a global debate on how to effectively combat disinformation without infringing upon freedom of expression's boundaries. Furthermore, the analysis examined claims frequently made during the show that both 'Os Pingos nos Is' and the Jovem Pan group faced government censorship and were restricted from sharing specific information. While the primary focus of this study is not to pass judgment or evaluate Brazilian laws related to freedom of expression, interpretations arise regarding the show's discourse and how the commentators utilized the platform to address these allegations.

The show perceived the censorship decisions as another strategy to undermine Bolsonaro's campaign. Alongside the TSE, which was responsible for the resolution to prohibit the use of expressions like "thief," "corrupt," or "head of a criminal organization," when referring to Lula, the 'traditional media' was constantly accused of primarily supporting the censorship, as they were alleged to be covering up acts of suppression. The show's portrayal of the media, dividing it into two categories, aligns with what the literature points out as characteristics of hyperpartisan media, often discrediting mainstream outlets and describing them as deceitful to validate and promote their own biased perspectives (Recuero et al., 2020). In the show, as the analysis shows, on one side, the allegedly 'traditional media' was depicted, referring to the major media outlets in Brazil, and, simultaneously, those critical to Bolsonaro. On the other side, Jovem Pan and a few named journalists were presented as prioritizing the truth from their perspective. One relevant aspect of hyper-partisan reporting is that it "departs from traditional notions of journalistic balance and presents a biased picture of one side of a political debate" (Bhatt et al., 2018, p. 545). Their content is often alarmist, with tendencies to exaggeration and informality in the language; it can increase polarization and is considered dangerous due to their wide reach (Recuero et al., 2020).

Media polarization is among many factors that can contribute to what Kydd (2021) defines as conservative radicalization, a phenomenon driven by multiple factors in societies experiencing a decline of a formerly dominant group. This radicalization is characterized by fears of losing power and a desire to maintain the status quo, leading some groups to resort to violence. In Brazil's political landscape, the continuous attacks on the country's institutions and electoral process reflect a form of political radicalization. The approach taken by the 'Os Pingos nos Is', which resorts to attacks and offensive remarks to undermine the credibility of the Institutions and its leaders, indicates a failure

to uphold democratic values. Rather than making critical journalism towards potential abuses and errors, which is a crucial journalism role, the approach involved personal attacks and offensive remarks to undermine the integrity of the electoral process. Moreover, by accusing the institution responsible for the electoral process of acting with bias and taking actions to favor a specific candidate, these attacks fostered the belief that not only societal and media groups were opposing Bolsonaro but also that the country's democratic institutions were working to remove the president from power. As a result, it implied that a manipulated election was orchestrated institutionally to ensure the president's defeat.

Even though one cannot automatically assume that discourses could lead to specific ideological effects, it is crucial to consider and examine the possibility of their potential ideological consequences (Fairclough, 1995). In this context, examining the possible effects of a discourse that encourages voters to mistrust election results while legitimizing and endorsing possible violent reactions from the population becomes especially relevant. As observed in the analysis, the topics addressed were not presented in an isolated context but rather in a potential dynamic resembling an echo chamber, where certain themes are repeatedly echoed, reinforcing the ideologies and beliefs of certain groups. The systematic repetition of these ideas on the show, coupled with individuals' tendency to consume news that aligns with their own ideological preferences (Cota et al., 2019), creates a favorable environment for beliefs presented as "truth," to solidify into an "absolute truth" (Recuero et al., 2020, p. 570). By this means, ideologies are easily propagated in discourse within power relations, often accepted and disguised as common knowledge (Wodak & Meyer, 2009), to exercise power and control by consent (Fairclough, 1995). In spaces lacking diversity in political dialogue, it can foster disinformation and polarization (Cinelli et al., 2021), and affect individual political attitudes. In elections, people can hold strong inclinations towards candidates with either highly positive or negative views, which can lead to negative consequences for tolerance in politics (Boutyline & Willer, 2017). Hence, as shown in previous research (Cinelli et al., 2021), echo chamber effects are not restricted to online environments, and they can be potentially manifested in the offline world, where the consequences can be dangerous for democracy.

The invasion and attack on Brazil's Institutions buildings in Brasília in January 2023 exemplify how far radicalization of political beliefs can go. They resulted from a discourse of manipulated elections, which claimed to have undergone a rigged and stolen

process and called for military intervention and dissolution of the National Congress (Nicas, 2023). The scenes on the street not only demonstrate how far language and discourse can go in shaping citizens' opinions and what they can turn the Brazilian political scenario into: an environment of political violence where democracy is at risk. These considerations emphasize the need for further research to examine the different sources of information and individual motivations that might have played a role in fueling these actions.

6. Conclusion

The 2022 presidential elections in Brazil put the country's political scenario into the global spotlight. While the election results were considered by many as essential to upholding the country's democratic direction, they were also questioned by groups that claimed the elections were stolen and the process was anti-democratic. The consequences of these beliefs led to a wave of violence throughout the country, culminating in the invasion and attacks on buildings of Brazilian political institutions in the capital, Brasília. These buildings included the presidential residence at the Planalto Palace, the National Congress, and the Federal Supreme Court (FSP)³. Researchers did not categorize the attack as a spontaneous post-election reaction. Instead, it was seen as an organized action influenced by the spread of disinformation, involving social media platforms and Brazilian media actors, including the media group Jovem Pan and its show 'Os Pingos nos Is' (Ribeiro et al., 2023). Identified as a prominent leader in audience ratings between news media companies on radio and YouTube, the group and its show are the subject of multiple investigations by the Brazilian justice system. These investigations stem from different reasons, among them potential allegations of contributing to inciting violent acts and disseminating disinformation. By claiming to uphold independent journalism, the group and the channel align with the normative role of journalism, indicated in the literature as the position adopted by most media outlets claiming to be objective and not biased (Fonseca, 2010). Nevertheless, this alignment is challenged by previous research that found biased stances within different shows of the Jovem Pan group in the coverage of political topics.

This paper investigated the ideologies in the discourse of the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show. Through a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study aimed to answer the following question:

"How do the predominant discourses in Jovem Pan's live show 'Os Pingos nos Is' reveal ideological positions during the 2022 elections in Brazil?"

³ The Federal Supreme Court is the highest body of the Judiciary, and it is primarily responsible for safeguarding the Constitution, as defined in art. 102 of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil.

To achieve this goal, one show was selected for each of the five weeks of the election's second round, in addition to one extra episode included in the analysis of the election result coverage. The episodes were selected from the show's YouTube channel, based on the highest number of views, and were subsequently transcribed through the platform Escriba. Finally, the textual corpus was analyzed following Fairclough's (1995) tri-dimensional framework for Critical Discourse Analysis, involving a segmentation analysis using the software Iramuteq.

6.1. General contributions

This study unveiled that the discourse propagated in 'Os Pingos nos Is' during the 2022 election campaign takes a pro-Bolsonaro stance. The discourse is characterized by ideological polarization, showcasing actors portrayed as either against or in favor of Bolsonaro. In this case study, beliefs of electoral fraud were found, coupled with a discourse that sought to delegitimize the electoral process, directing verbal attacks toward Brazilian institutions and legitimizing potential violent outcomes.

Each actor presented in the election coverage was framed into the discourse of "us" versus "them," identified in the literature as a manipulation strategy to favor some candidates while disparaging others (Van Dijk, 2008). The positive discourse of "us" was portrayed through Bolsonaro, his allies, and the show 'Os Pingos nos Is', positioning themselves as "the right side" to be and as a representation of true and alternative media. On the other hand, the negative discourse of "them" encompasses Lula and the left, Brazilian institutions, opinion polls, the media, and other actors accused of conspiring against the government. Bolsonaro's portrayal was adorned with adjectives including 'humble,' 'honest,' and 'transparent,' whereas references to Lula contained discrediting adjectives using words such as 'thief,' 'corrupt,' and 'ex-convict,' revealing political favoritism and ideological alignment with Bolsonaro's far-right stance.

The literature highlights that the media wields power in its discourse (Fairclough, 2001), has the potential to influence individuals by how it portrays candidates during elections, and shapes perceptions of the winners of the electoral process (Gattermann et al., 2022). Thus, it impacts the perception of the legitimacy of the victorious candidate. By adopting biased stances when referring to the candidates throughout all analyzed episodes, presuming errors in the electoral process, and projecting a "dangerous future" with Lula, the show reaffirms not only clear pro-government ideological positions, as

found in other studies, but also reveals extreme views and unproved information that could jeopardize Brazilian democracy while reinforcing political and ideological standpoints.

As highlighted in the echo chamber literature, the recurrent propagation of themes in an environment lacking political diversity can reinforce beliefs, foster polarization, and spread disinformation. By incessantly promoting only the positive aspects of one candidate and the negative aspects of another, Jovem Pan, as an institution of power, contributes to the delegitimization of the election results and encourages violence as a perceived natural reaction to the process. The show reinforces such beliefs by presenting opinions and disinformation, falsified facts, and absolute truth to its thousands of listeners across different platforms. These discourses, emanating from a supposedly independent and critical broadcaster, expose a facade of objectivity in the show and its use of power to disseminate partisan ideologies.

Other studies have analyzed Jovem Pan and its shows in different contexts (Bertoncello, 2019; Chagas & da Cruz, 2022; Silva & Mendes, 2022), but have not specifically examined ‘Os Pingos nos Is’ during the elections. This research presents a theoretical contribution to the literature by addressing this gap. The findings of this study align with previous research that reveals a pro-government stance on the program with Bolsonaro. However, what sets it apart is its emphasis on the electoral context. While the media group leverages its long-standing audience, exposing to its partisan beliefs over the years, in an electoral context, the Os Pingos nos Is capitalizes on the political competition scenario and presents a candidate that fits these ideological stances to its audience. Thus, through ongoing engagement with the audience and promotion of its ideologies, the show cultivates a biased stance over time, creating an environment conducive to supporting its preferred candidate during the election period. Individuals who have been exposed to Jovem Pan's discourse over an extended period could be more susceptible to accepting and internalizing the information presented, potentially simulating an echo chamber effect. Future studies could analyze these potential effects.

This study can encourage future research to compare the discourse and ideologies of the show during and outside the electoral context, investigating potential shifts in how certain topics are discussed and portrayed. The findings may contribute to a better understanding of how media outlets could potentially adapt their discourse in response to political events and how ideological positions may evolve during different moments of the political landscape. It also offers a methodological contribution by analyzing the show

through an in-depth Critical Discourse Analysis in conjunction with the Iramuteq software, introducing new elements in the analysis to uncover ideologies.- separate paragraph.

This study raises several further concerns which future scholars could address. Firstly, while the study reveals the show's clear ideological positions during the elections, the Jovem Pan claims to be an independent and critical journalism group adopting this stance to their shows. Given this discrepancy, future research could focus on audience effects and investigate whether viewers perceive the show as a neutral journalistic source or view it as a channel with distinct political positions. Both perceptions could have different effects on how the show impacts the audience. Moreover, public opinion research could investigate the ideological stances of the show's audience during the elections and explore potential connections with theories suggesting that individuals choose news sources based on their personal ideological beliefs.

Lastly, regarding the 2023 attack in Brasília, this research provided valuable insights by demonstrating that the narratives echoed by participants of the assault were connected to those disseminated on the show. These findings emphasize the need for future scholarship to examine the information sources of groups involved in the attack and investigate how different political actors, including Jovem Pan and the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show, influenced their perspectives and participation.

6.2 Limitations

The present study conducted a Critical Discourse Analysis, considering the textual corpus of the five videos from the 'Os Pingos nos Is' show during the second round of the 2022 Brazilian presidential election. The decision to focus solely on the textual corpus of the videos was made after careful consideration of several factors that both guided and limited the scope of this research.

First, one of the primary considerations that influenced the choice of textual analysis was the length of each episode, which spans approximately two hours. By closely examining the textual corpus, this research conducted an in-depth interpretation of the discourse, providing a comprehensive understanding of the show's underlying ideologies, power dynamics, and political motivations. While the textual analysis approach provided valuable insights into the linguistic construction of the discourse, a multimodal analysis could offer additional layers of understanding. Visual, auditory, and gestural elements

shape the reception and interpretation of political messages, as they can capture nuances of the discourse that might not be apparent in textual analysis, such as facial expressions, body language, visual cues, emotions, and reactions when transmitting information (Machin, 2016). Nonetheless, this study answered the proposed research question by conducting a comprehensive analysis, examining the most prevalent themes in the discourse, and unveiling the ideologies. Considering the limitations presented, future research can build upon this study by incorporating a multimodal analysis. They could explore the interplay between different semiotic resources, examining how they shape the discourse and how it potentially affects audience responses.

Secondly, many critics have raised concerns about the methodological rigor and systematic nature of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Some argue that the relatively small sample size often used in CDA could potentially affect the research's reliability or validity. However, it is essential to acknowledge that CDA offers a more in-depth investigation than other analyses focusing solely on textual elements without considering the broader social factors shaping the discourse and its context (Fairclough, 1995). This study was limited to examining discourses only during the second round of elections. The choice to focus on the runoff period was made for two reasons. First, this study had to choose a small sample of shows due to limited time constraints. Second, when comparing the two periods of elections, the choice was made for the second round since it experienced heightened electoral disinformation (NETLAB, 2022) and led to more investigations within the Jovem Pan group, which makes it more valuable for my research. However, an analysis encompassing both rounds could have potentially revealed more discursive elements of the show, drawing a more comprehensive ideological picture. Therefore, longitudinal studies with a more extensive corpus of shows could shed light on whether these programmatic narratives were exclusively propagated during the election or if the identified narratives were also repeated in the first round or in periods before the electoral campaign.

A final concern pertains to the researcher's decision in choosing which parts of the text to focus on while excluding others. Consequently, the researcher-driven selection process could introduce bias into the research. To address this concern, this study applied specific criteria to help mitigate selection bias, initially focusing on identifying keywords and themes with the support of the Iramuteq software. By identifying word repetitions and frequencies, this method enhances the objectivity of the textual data (Camargo & Justo, 2013). Furthermore, there is a similar concern that case studies might contain

subjective bias concerning verifiability, given their qualitative nature, which relies on the researcher's interpretation. Nevertheless, many scholars argue that the rigor of qualitative research can be as reliable as quantitative research (Wodak, 2004). Thus, the case study approach also offers the advantage of getting a "close in on real-life situations" and examining phenomena "as they unfold in practice" (Wodak, 2004, p.398).

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8. List of tables and figures

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Data Collection Table of the shows used in the analysis

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Word Cloud about prominent words used in the show

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Figure 2, page 45

Dendrogram CHD about prominent themes present in the show

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APPENDIX

1. Exemplary Codebook for Critical Discourse Analysis

Actors	Actions connected to the actors	Relation to other actors	Themes
"Bolsonaro" - "the good people" - "Jovem Pan" - "Families"	"Truth" - "Honest" - "Work hard" - "Prosperous future" - "Best for the country" - "Anti-establishment"	The good side	Us' versus 'Them' - Bolsonaro and the old politics
"Lula" - "The old traditional media" - "Old Institutions"	"Ex-convict" - "Corrupt" - "Thief" - "Manipulated media" - "Biased media" - "Politicized institutions"	Old politics	
"Trump" - "Parana" - "Bolsonaro" "Half of the Brazilian electorate"	"Victims" - "Winners"	Victims of election fraud	Mistrust in the Electoral Process: The System's Stand against Bolsonaro
"Opinion Polls" - "Datafolha" - "Lula" - "Biden" - "Institutions"	"Buying opinions" - "Demonize" - "Electoral fraud" - "Criminal" - "Dirty" - "Inconsistent voting pattern"	Perpetrators of election fraud.	
"Bolsonaro" - "Roberto Jefferson" - "Half of the population"	"Victims of the system" - "Pandemic boycott" -	Victims of the system	Undermining and Discrediting Brazilian Institutions: judicial Authoritarianism and activism
"Supreme Federal Court (STF)" - "Superior Electoral Court (TSE)" - "Lula"	"Legal chaos" - "Outside the law" - "Origin of all problems" - "Crisis of the judiciary" - "Authoritarian" - "Totalitarian" - "Establishment group" - "Bised"	Corrupt system	
"Jovem Pan" - "Independent Media"	"Jovem Pan" - "Independent Media"	Victims of censorship	Suppression of Freedom of Expression: Jovem Pan's Claim of Censorship
"TSE" - "The old media" - "Lula" - "Left-wing" - "Press"	"Censors" - "Corrupt" - "Propaganda" - "Sold press" - "Scumbag" - "Cynicals"	Censors	

