

ARTICLE

STUDY OF THE APPROACHES ON THE “CIVIC CENTER MASSACRE” IN MAGAZINES CARTA CAPITAL AND REVISTA FÓRUM

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ABSTRACT - This article analyzes, through content analysis, the coverage made by *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum* magazines about the “Civic Center Massacre”, held on April 29, 2015 in Curitiba/PR. Specifically, this study aimed to check how these vehicles represented the episode in question, which reached great repercussion throughout Brazil due to the truculent repression applied by the Military Police of Paraná state. We chose the online version of the weekly magazines *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum* since they present themselves as plurals and propose a positive analysis of social movements and collective actions. Both magazines assumed positive editorial positions regarding teachers’ manifestations and their motivations, as well as, in a negative way, the police truculence on the fateful day of April 2015.

Keywords: Alternative media. Social movements. *Carta Capital*. *Revista Fórum*. Civic Center Massacre.

ESTUDO DAS ABORDAGENS SOBRE O “MASSACRE DO CENTRO CÍVICO” NAS REVISTAS *CARTA CAPITAL* E *REVISTA FÓRUM*

RESUMO - Este artigo analisa, por meio da análise de conteúdo, a cobertura realizada pelas revistas *Carta Capital* e *Revista Fórum* sobre o “Massacre do Centro Cívico”, ocorrido em 29 de abril de 2015, em Curitiba/PR. Especificamente, o estudo objetivou verificar como esses veículos representaram o episódio em questão, que alcançou

grande repercussão em todo o Brasil devido a truculenta repressão aplicada pela Polícia Militar do Paraná. Optou-se pela versão online das revistas semanais *Carta Capital* e *Revista Fórum*, pois se apresentam como plurais e propõem uma análise positiva de movimentos sociais e ações coletivas. Ambas as revistas assumiram posturas editoriais positivas em relação à manifestação dos professores e suas motivações, bem como de maneira negativa a truculência policial no dia fatídico de abril de 2015.

Palavras-chave: Mídia alternativa. Movimentos sociais. *Carta Capital*. *Revista Fórum*. Massacre do Centro Cívico.

ESTUDIO DE LOS ENFOQUES SOBRE EL “MASACRE DEL CENTRO CÍVICO” EN LAS REVISTAS CARTA CAPITAL Y REVISTA FÓRUM

RESUMEN - Esta ponencia analiza, por la metodología del análisis de contenido, la cobertura realizada por las revistas *Carta Capital* y *Revista Fórum* sobre el “Masacre del Centro Cívico”, ocurrido en 29 de abril de 2015, en Curitiba/PR. Esa investigación objetivó comprobar como los vehículos representaron el episodio en cuestión, que alcanzó gran repercusión en todo Brasil debido a la truculenta aplicada por la Policía Militar del estado de Paraná. Se optó por la versión online de las revistas semanales *Carta Capital* y *Revista Fórum*, pues se presentan como plurales y proponen un análisis positivo de los movimientos sociales y acciones colectivas. Las dos revistas asumieron posturas editoriales positivas en relación con la manifestación de los profesores y sus motivaciones, y representó de manera negativa la truculencia policial en el aquel día de abril de 2015.

Palabras clave: Medios alternativos. Movimientos sociales. *Carta Capital*. *Revista Fórum*. Masacre del Centro Cívico.

Introduction

Society is in constant transformation and the media presents itself as an important element in the construction and dissemination of new looks and ways of life, re-signifying the universe around us. The media and the most diverse communication vehicles contribute to the construction and maintenance of a conscience and an identity, whether individual or collective. It is a structuring element of subjectivities and it has influence in the constitution of a public sphere, acting in the production of meanings and in the configuration of narratives that transmit symbolic capital.

Mass media vehicles, represented by media conglomerates, create and disseminate content and representations often rooted in the interests of individuals or private groups, industrial and financial interests and social classes, drastically influencing the political and social

processes in our country. The media plays an important role in building public opinion, and it is capable of attributing visibility to the facts and describing them at its discretion, being the largest – and often the only – source of information for the general population. For this reason, it influences the symbolic, ideological and political formation of the individuals, being representative in the mobilization and demobilization of the social movements. In this sense, it contributes to the construction of a stereotyped image of social movements and activists.

In contrast, we have the alternative media, which are not economically linked to the large media conglomerates, which assume relevance in society for the fact of providing diversity, as well as showing autonomy in front of large communication conglomerates. Alternative media are great allies of activists and social movements. In this sense, as the vehicle fulfills a minimum agenda of social movements and civil society manifestations, it gives voice and visibility to minorities.

Social movements are a source of innovation, generating knowledge and they have a democratic and citizen character, justifying the analysis that focuses on the networks of articulation and communication established by the subjects in their daily practice. They promote the democratization of social relations and they are capable of redefining social roles, discourses and identities. Brazil is marked by a recent history of military dictatorship (1964-1985). We are learning to live in democracy and this is not a quick process, nor simple. However, it is true, that today the Brazilian people have a greater possibility of participation, but the dictatorship inheritance is still present, contrasting with the search for effective democracy (Luvizotto, 2016, p. 297). In this sense, it can be said that activism and social movements are mechanisms to strengthen society. There is a shift in the configuration of activism and social movements today, largely attributed to the media role, especially the internet.

There are countless social movements in our country. In this article, a remarkable episode was observed in 2015 in the city of Curitiba/Paraná: a striking movement of workers, teachers and civil servants of Paraná state, who experienced what got known as the “Civic Center Massacre”. Curitiba is Paraná’s capital, a state located in the southern region of Brazil, which has almost 12 million inhabitants (IBGE 2016) and it is considered the fifth richest state in the country, behind only to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul (IBGE 2016). According to the data released by the City Hall of Curitiba¹, the recent development of the city was marked by the

strong presence of industry, which added strength to the economic profile, adding efforts to the activities of the commercial and service sectors. The city has almost 2 million inhabitants, according to data from the last demographic census (2010) and it is considered a planned city, becoming internationally awarded in the categories of urban management, environment and public transport.

On April 29, 2015, the “Civic Center Massacre” left more than 200 public servants and teachers of the state of Paraná wounded by military police officers, who surrounded the Legislative Assembly building in Curitiba. The police attacked the protestors with tear gas and rubber bullets to prevent intervention in the vote on the bill that proposed changes in the social security system of state employees and that was approved that afternoon by the deputies.

From this episode, which represents an affront to the right to strike and a crackdown on human rights, this article aimed to analyze the content of the coverage of the “Civic Center Massacre” by two Brazilian media outlets, the online version of the weekly *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum* magazines, as they present themselves as plurals and propose a positive analysis of social movements and collective actions.

To carry out this analysis it is necessary, initially, to discuss the concept of social movements and their relationship with the media. A reflection on the media is presented, seeking to highlight the main characteristics of the magazines, object of study of this article. In the sequence, the “Civic Center Massacre” is described in order to elucidate the episode that will be analyzed in the journalistic approach of the vehicles in question. After presenting these considerations, we analyze the coverage made by the alternative communication vehicles, *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum*, on the “Civic Center Massacre”.

Media and social movements

Social movements are collective actions characterized by the gathering of people who identify themselves around a specific cause or demand. They have a structure, sociability and mechanisms of action proper to each season and circumstance. It is through actions undertaken by movements and activists that their demands, ideologies, criticisms or denunciations are presented to the society (Luvizotto, 2016; Gohn, 2012; Scherer-Warren, 2014).

Public opinion is an important element for the legitimation of

social movements, since they need society to understand their action strategies and demands. Society needs to discuss, debate and express itself on the claims of the social movement so that it has legitimacy and it is recognized as a citizen mobilization. In this sense, the media are important elements in the relationship between society and social movements, since they give visibility spreading their information, besides promoting the strengthening of identity and belonging bonds between citizens and the social movement causes, making participation and engagement possible. Therefore, it is fundamental that the press recognize diversity, the plurality of social subjects of our society.

For Maria da Glória Gohn (2011) social movements “carry out diagnoses about social reality, construct proposals. Acting in networks, they build collective actions that act as resistance to exclusion and fight for social inclusion” (Gohn, 2011, p. 336). Such actions are strengthened by the present or even permanent organization and discourse that permeate a social movement and are strengthened by the use of online tools, which reach a larger number of people, making possible greater political-social participation.

In Brazil, according to Gohn (2012), social movements have gained resonance in the last three decades. Therefore, the author’s approach focuses from the 1990s, a period of intense changes in the Brazilian development process, which encompasses new strategies of social intervention to confront the so-called “market regulatory capacity”, as well as informal economic growth. “Labor relations are no longer the main focus of workers’ struggles. The basic struggle is to maintain a job” (Gohn, 2012, p. 222). From the 1990s, according to the author, the movements became more qualified and structured, with motivated actions better organized and with less pressure, which brought, above all, a new culture and contributions from different types of movements to the country’s democratization process for the reconstruction of democratic values.

Seeking to understand the citizens’ struggles forms as active social subjects immersed in the collective, Ilse Scherer-Warren (2014, pp. 14-15), another social movement scholar, established its analysis according to their organizational arrangements and divided them into five categories:

– Category 1: “Organized social movements”. They aim at political, social or cultural change; they have institutional organization and they seek to establish their continuity. They hold public manifestations and protests to disseminate their claims. One can cite as an example the Free Pass Movement.

– Category 2: “Social Movements Marches or Manifestations”. They are characterized mainly by the use of public marches, whether occasional or regular. One example is the World March of Women.

– Category 3: “Broad manifestations of citizenship and/or the ‘outraged’”. Groups organized in a heterogeneous and diverse way, that protest on the most diverse causes. The mobilization occurs, in large part, through the virtual medium and social networks. An example of this category of social movements is the Arab Spring of 2011.

– Category 4: “Action forms on the streets or Blockade-Manifestations”. They are smaller groups that get organized to manifest themselves in larger mobilizations. Generally they have ideological principles, being common the presence of anarchist ideas. Black Blocs is an example of this.

– Category 5: “Sociocultural Manifestation-Action”. Its characteristic is to act collectively in public spaces to disseminate sociocultural rights of the excluded, marginalized or unrecognized plots in society. *O Grito dos Excluídos* (The Excluded’s Scream) is an example of this category.

With the subdivision of social movements around these topics, it is possible to verify the various possible fields of analysis for a social phenomenon present throughout history.

The articulation of the strike movement of the servants of Paraná by the Union of Workers in Public Education of Paraná, APP-Syndicate, had as main characteristic the attempt to organize the social movement. Also noteworthy was the performance of other unions that joined the strike: Assuel (Londrina State University technical-administrative Syndicate), Sinteemar (Workers in Maringá Teaching Institutions Syndicate), Sintespo (Technicians and Professors of the Ponta Grossa University State Syndicate), Sindiprol (Teachers of Public Higher Education in Londrina and Region Syndicate), SESDUEM (Teachers of the State University of Maringá Syndicate) and Sinduepg (Teachers of the Ponta Grossa State University Syndicate).

Mobilized citizens and social movements have played a fundamental role in the history of social change because they create a community, constituting proximity, taking over and occupying space, claiming the city and what it can provide; they create a real space for deliberation and decision-making interests. In the light of this, the following is a review of journalistic coverage of magazines and alternative communication vehicles.

News coverage and *Carta Capital* and *Revista Forum* Magazine vehicles

We can observe that the space destined for social movements in the media vehicles linked to large media companies is still small and the coverage often criminalizes social movements and their members. This is a historical practice. It is possible to verify that, in a recurrent way, a social movement becomes news when its actions have national resonance and sometimes the press presents a unilateral perspective, linked to the political, economic and ideological interests of the groups that hold the concentration of power and of the communication vehicles. The ideological component is present in the way the facts are presented, not considering the multiplicity of subjects involved in the process, in an attempt to interfere in public opinion, privileging certain social groups to the detriment of citizens who demand change. Media monopoly or oligopoly does a disservice to democracy.

On the other hand, some initiatives appear linked to independent media vehicles of the great media corporations. In these vehicles, it is possible to perceive a greater presence of the social movements in interlocation with the society. However, the reach of these communication vehicles is small and sometimes regional. Those who have greater reach also cannot surpass the reach of the mainstream media.

According to Pontes (2015), journalism has been considered by the social movements as an enemy practice, as a system of concentrated ownership, considerations that allow us “to consider that the journalism exercise has an importance and a potential that transcends this political domination situation” (Ponte, 2015, p. 83). In this sense, it becomes fundamental to perceive how communication vehicles behaved before an event that shocked the society by the violence used during the manifestations.

Vilas Boas (1996) divides the magazines into three stylistic groups: the illustrated ones, the specialized ones and the general information ones. Far from the journalism practiced in daily newspapers, they tend to extend journalistic coverage, which is more concerned with contemporaneity and present. The journalist must do his utmost to ensure the constant interest of the reader. For this purpose, the cover is produced with “attractive” packaging. The text is organized in phrasal topics, and the opening of the stories is almost always a climatic narrative, that is, it is about addressing the

subject, not the fact. The news should be explored in a broader and more interpretive way.

The magazines in question, *Revista Fórum* and *Carta Capital* are characterized by the confrontation with the monopolized structure of the mass media, which according to Moraes (2010) makes the consensus in order to insist that there is no way out of neoliberal presuppositions. “The alternative establishes a differentiated form of communication, especially since it stands out from a group that wants to expose idea and activity that are not part of the universe contemplated by the vehicles considered of great mass” (Xavier, 2009, p. 149). In this sense, and considering that these magazines are not economically linked to the large Brazilian media conglomerates and that they are against neo-liberal politics and because they are more pluralistic and committed, according to themselves, with minorities and the marginalized, this study will frame them as an alternative communication vehicle.

Alternative journalism, with the aim of proposing a reconstruction of the public sphere, presents a perspective based on the values “of equal opportunities, equity, radical democracy and the subordination of economic-private interests to collective interests” (Oliveira, 2009, p. 6). According to Oliveira, it is not only a matter of defending institutional democracy values, but that it breaks with the siege of the official sources’ agenda, “by full reference in information production in the citizen subject and not in the consumer subject” (Oliveira, 2009, p. 6).

Alternative media, referred to as “radical” by Downing (2002), are generally small-scale. However, Atton (2001) states that it is not expressed only by the differentiated form of production and distribution. Its radicalism can be interrogated by the multidimensional character, being a perspective that privileges the overlapping and intersection of dimensions. Alternative journalism breaks with the logic that the recipient is a mere consumer of messages.

Inspired by the World Social Forum, *Revista Fórum* was launched with coverage of the first event, which took place in January 2001 in Porto Alegre. “It was there in Porto Alegre of those who dreamed another possible world that *Revista Fórum* was born. It is not the official publication of the WSF, but the magazine brings in its DNA the force of the movements and the certainty that it is in the multiplicity of voices that a better world is made “(About the Magazine, 2016).

The printed magazine circulated monthly until December 2013, with a sale of 20 to 25 thousand copies. Since January 2014, *Revsita Fórum* has become digital. In the institutional page, the newspaper informs the concern in bringing in the reports and interviews, a different world view of the traditional media.

Carta Capital magazine completed 21 years in 2015. It is an *Editora Confiança* publication, which was born in 2001, with the Italian-Brazilian journalist, Mino Carta, when the magazine was still biweekly. In its institutional page, the publishing company *Editora Confiança* stands as an organization that believes in quality and independent journalism, and it emphasizes that the basis of all its work is in the commitment to its readers, viewers and commercial partners in all platforms.

With a circulation of 75 thousand copies, it is customary to report the unfolding of the facts rather than to silence them and it behaves, in the majority of the times, in a way contrary to the positioning of the great mass media. Unlike other traditional magazines, *Carta* argues that the media must unveil themselves and publicly assume their political-party affinities because it understands that the relation with the reader is thus more honest and authentic, according to the magazine itself (www.cartacapital.com.br) Fiorucci (2011) and Rocha, Jacobus e Cavalcanti (2011) categorize *Carta Capital* magazine as an alternative communication vehicle.

The importance of communication vehicles for social movements and organized civil society in general is noticed. Following is the episode of April 29, 2015, which became known as the “Civic Center Massacre” in the city of Curitiba/PR.

The “Civic Center Massacre”

In order to contextualize the coverage of the manifestations of the workers of Paraná by the alternative means of communication in question it was essential to approach the topic of the social movements, since it was the strike movement of the public servants of Paraná that during approximately three months denounced the neglect of the state government with the area of education and involved more than 250 thousand servers. The movement mobilized various manifestations, marches, public acts and confrontations, the most representative being the “April 29 Massacre”, when the teachers

and servants' mobilizations were violently suppressed by the Public Security Secretariat.

The civil service category has made two major stoppages in 2015, motivated by the approval of a measure package aimed at containing expenditure and the consequent reduction of benefits of the civil service. In total, the first and second phases of the stoppage totaled 73 running days and 49 school days.

In the protest against the approval of bill No. 252/2015 that affected the rights of public officials, teachers camped at the Civic Center in the capital of Paraná, where the Legislative Assembly (Alep) and the seat of government are located. According to the bill, the social security system of more than 34,000 retirees aged over 73 would be changed to the Pension Fund. The measures would allow the appropriation of R\$8 billion from the teachers' State Pension Fund by the state, since the money would be used to pay off the debts of the former governor, Beto Richa.

It is important to clarify that Brazil is constituted by a federation of states that, despite being submitted to a common Constitution, they have certain rights (Dallari, 1986), such as proposing bills to define issues such as Social Security. Another relevant clarification for the understanding of the scenario presented in the “Massacre” is about the governor of the state of Paraná, Beto Richa. Carlos Alberto (Beto) Richa, assumed the government of the state of Paraná in 2011 and was re-elected in 2014, being in power until now, 2017. Before being governor of the state, Beto Richa was mayor of the city of Curitiba (2005 to 2010) and held other positions, for example, the state deputy of Paraná with two consecutive terms, from 1995 to 2001 and he is affiliated to the PSDB (Party of Brazilian Social Democracy). PSDB was founded in 1988 and, according to Zucco Jr. (2007), it is characterized by being a center-left party, but is commonly classified by left-wing intellectuals as being centrist, from the liberal positions it proposes, such as the more free participation of business organizations and the greater participation of foreign investors.

On April 29, when state deputies decided to vote on bill 252/2015, a siege was set up in the Legislative Assembly building in Curitiba, with approximately 4,800 military police officers, according to Gadine (2015). The measure was justified by the State government as complying with a judicial decision that provided for authorization of the use of police force in the event of occupation of the House, as occurred in February, when servers avoided the vote on a fiscal adjustment package.

Around 2:00 p.m., police officers dispersed with tear gas, rubber bullets and dogs the protesters camped, even after they retreated. The confrontation would have begun because of the attempt of a group to overcome the isolation area.

Still during the bombing, deputies approved the changes in Paraná Pension Fund and the bill was sanctioned by Governor Beto Richa less than 24 hours after the protest, which left more than 200 people injured. It is a relevant episode for the history of the social and union movements.

Methodological procedures

The present research was carried out based on the content analysis of the coverage of *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum* magazines about the manifestations of the civil servants of the state of Paraná. Specifically, the analysis focuses on the event, which happened on April 29, 2015, known as the “Civic Center Massacre.” The analysis turned to the online version of the weekly *Carta Capital* and *Fórum* magazines. The period of analysis was from April 28 to May 5, 2015, because it delimits the battle against education professionals, an episode that caused indignation and support from the Brazilian society.

We used Laurence Bardin’s (2009) propositions on Content Analysis (CA) as a methodology, covering the exploration phases of the magazines and the cataloging of the contents related to the subject cited, reading and data interpretation. We also used the methodological model proposed by Lopes (2003) with respect to the four phases of the investigation: (1) definition of the object; (2) observation; (3) description; (4) interpretation.

The subjects in question were identified and then a floating reading was taken of those that somehow approach the manifestations studied. Floating reading, according to Bardin (2009), is a preliminary reading of the material, in order to recognize it and identify more important and more relevant aspects. It is at this time that the categories have been identified. They provided greater analytical “yield”, focusing on points that elicit more contrasts in content analysis and more strongly suggest the inclinations of texts.

Thus, after the floating reading, it was possible to identify the following content analysis categories, defined based on the

content brought by the material: 1) reasons for the movement and 2) responses from the authorities.

With the categories established, it was possible to structure the analysis based on aspects common to the news that clearly brought information about these two axes, that is, about the reason for the mobilization and these manifestations and how the authorities positioned themselves before the event.

After identifying and establishing the analysis categories, each of them was systematically observed how they were represented in texts, titles, captions, highlights, identifying and making a list of nouns, adjectives, phrases, metaphors and ironies in order to construct a list of expressions relating to them.

Subsequently, the process of material describing was started, characterizing reports in general. Selection mechanisms and information emphasis were used in text construction and, the research delineated the production of meaning given by these contents based on these elements.

Finally, we arrived at the interpretation phase, in which the data/results were confronted with the theoretical concepts that underlie the investigation.

Analysis of the *Carta Capital* magazine

Carta Capital magazine presented three issues within the context and period analyzed. The article “A sad day for Paraná teachers”, published on April 29th, is in the Society section and in the subsection, Police Violence. It brings the subtitle “Police repression hurts 200 in action against a Beto Richa (PSDB) project that changes the state pension plan”. It reports that the more than 2 thousand police officers who surrounded the Legislative Assembly of Paraná buildings, on the afternoon of Wednesday, 29, reacted to the teachers’ manifestations. These were prevented from accompanying the vote on the bill amending the state pension plan.

The report details the forms of repression, the number of wounded and the hospitals’ situation. It also indicates that the confrontation had been taking place since the weekend, with a large presence of police officers. Richa would have retreated and withdrawn the project from the agenda, but returned in a determined manner, including intensifying repression.

With the project approved and police truculence evident, the episode would have repercussions throughout the State and also throughout Brazil. “The general-prosecutor of Justice of Paraná, Gilberto Giacoia, ordered the initiation of a procedure to determine responsibility for ‘possible excess’ in the repression of manifestations this Wednesday.”

In fact, the report already begins its evaluation with an intense description of the events that have taken place on this emblematic day. These descriptions emphasize the violent actions of the Military Police in numbers and tactics, and the consequences they caused, as well as the position of the Paraná government in relation to the Bill in question and its response to the manifestations that were being drawn in the streets.

There were 2 hours of confrontation, when “the streets turned into a war scenario”, with 2,000 police officers and 1.5 protesters involved, more than 200 injured and eight seriously injured. “Police officers threw tear gas bombs, rubber bullets and water jets against protesters.”

Regarding the motivation of the movement, the magazine only cites what would be the dissatisfaction with the new law, but does not explore this context.

The report invests in the excesses of police repression, when it ends by noting the negative repercussion of the event throughout Brazil and which was even classified by the OAB - Brazilian Bar Association of the state of Paraná as a “true massacre” with “possible excesses” when, in fact, it should only guarantee the security of the protesters and contain possible infractions.

The second article, “The Richa government is torn apart,” published on April 30 in the Political section, presents the subtitle “It is early to predict the political future of the one that was once a Toucan promise, but the governor may have sealed its luck between rubber bullets and gas bombs.”

According to the content, the Richa government “crumbles”. Even with 64% approval soon after his re-election, the governor gets, 60 days later, in his highest rejection rate: 70%.

There is also an episode in which Richa tried to impose a package of economic measures and ended up facing more than 50 thousand servers in the streets of Curitiba. The government has also been accused of possible complicity in schemes of extortion and corruption commanded by a “distant cousin.” The governor would

also have caused chaos in the state's finances in debt to suppliers, trying to bleed the social security savings to recover the deficit.

On the episode of the Civic Center, the text highlights that “from now on, the demonstrators would only be defending their interests in a peaceful way, but Richa would have blamed the protestors for the battle.” The article qualifies his statement as comical and the governor as a person without common sense, balance, and responsibility. According to this article, “The episode of *Nossa Senhora da Salete* Square will remain in history, and Governor Beto Richa will be marked as his tormentor.”

In fact, it is possible to consider that in relation to the categories of analysis, the article first disqualifies the recent performance of the government giving legitimacy to the manifestations, that is, to the reasons of the movement. The report considers that the government has erred, acted in a harmful way and would now be reaping the fruits of its dubious administration and that the protesters would only be defending interests, possibly harmed by the approval of the Bill. “The future of Paraná state civil servants will be seriously committed,” he says. About the manifestation: “The protest, besides peaceful, proceeded. The servants only wanted to defend their interests against the governor's excesses.”

In turn, about repression, the content deals in a negative way with the way the protesters were held. Police officers “heavily armed” would have turned the space into a “real war square”, which the article classifies as “belligerence” and “real massacre.”

Finally, the third article of *Carta*, dated April 29, 2015, “Violence of the PM leaves more than 200 injured in Paraná”, is in the Society section and it is entitled “Police used rubber bullets, tear gas bombs and water jets against demonstrators”. The text makes a brief but very detailed description of what would have been the repression of the Military Police of Paraná. It reports on repression tactics (dogs, rubber bullets, tear gas bombs and others) that would have left more than 200 injured and at least eight people in critical condition.

There is emphasis on information that, 17 military police officers were arrested for refusing to participate in the siege to teachers in Curitiba.

The content, in fact, specifically deals with the category of Repression, although it cites the motivation of the protestors, without giving more prominence to it. Repression, in fact, is exploited. Even

briefly, the content condemns the violence applied by the police at the request of the government highlights this truculence in a negative way through photos and in the description of the tactics used.

Revista Fórum Analysis

The *Revista Fórum* published seven articles, from April 28 to May 5, 2015, but one of them, because it fit into the opinion genre, was not counted. Six publications are the focus of this analysis.

In the April 28 article, therefore, before the “Massacre” day, entitled “Teachers are beaten by the police in Paraná,” the text reports the reason for the military police’s aggression against striking teachers in the surroundings of the Legislative Assembly of Paraná. The subtitle: “Pepper spray and gas bombs were used in truculent action by the military police against protesters, who try to pressure state deputies not to approve the changes in the pension plan proposed by Governor Beto Richa (PSDB)” emphasizes the elements used to suppress the movement.

The confrontation happened due to the PM avoiding the passage of a sound truck from the Teachers’ Union (APP-Syndicate) that was heading to Alep. “Pepper spray and gas bombs were used against protestors, who are trying to pressure state lawmakers not to approve the changes in the pension plans proposed by Governor Beto Richa (PSDB).”

At the end of the text, there is the hyperlink access to the videos that denounce the PM’s truculence against the protesters, which resulted in the injury of eight people. The content deals with the Repression category, with emphasis on the words: aggression and truculence.

On April 29, *portal* publishes a story titled: “Band’s Videographer is attacked by PM’s Pitbull dog in Paraná,” in which he details information about a dog’s attack on TV Band cameraman Luiz Carlos de Jesus, while he covered the repression to teachers’ protest. He was hit in the leg and had to undergo surgery. At the end of the story, there is a note from ABRAJI (Brazilian Association of Investigative Journalists) that quoted all the injured professionals and, in the end, protested against the use of violence by the PM. In this article there was also the predominance of the Repression category, with the emphasis in the repudiation to the police action.

On April 30, 2015, *Portal* republished an article by the Free Journalists - network of collectives originated in diversity, which produces reports in counterpoint to centralized and centralizing traditional media, entitled "Paraná reveals details of the April 29 massacre"². In spite of being an opinionated genre, it is important to mention it due to the detail of the violent action by the military police against Paraná public servants, the improvised assistance to the victims in the building of the City Hall of Curitiba, the videos with the wounded lying down being transmitted on the Internet, the impact of the approval of the bill for the functionalism. In the text, the journalist recalls the repression to state teachers protesting under the government of Álvaro Dias when, on August 30, 1988, the Military Police repressed a protest of state teachers in the same Civic Center of Curitiba and it also cites the investigation by which the administration of Richa is submitted, referring to alleged payments of bribes to servers of the State Revenue of Londrina, in the north of Paraná.

The following article: "Repression by PM to teachers in Paraná was 'excessive use of force,' says Pepe Vargas," said the statement by the Minister of the Office of the President of the Republic, Pepe Vargas, who said that it was "unacceptable" the truculent and abusive action of the PM that left more than 200 injured, eight in serious condition.

Through the use of the words: repression, truculence, excessive use of force and violation of human rights, the identification of the Repression category in this article is reinforced.

On the same date, the report: "Because of the repression, teachers from Paraná study about going to court against the Richa government" details the probable takeover to hold the state government and the Alep president responsible for the police operation that left hundreds injured in Curitiba. The general secretary of the APP-Syndicate, the governor of Paraná and the Public Security Secretariat were heard.

By means of the keywords: "repression, abuses of violence, police action, Justice, evidence, collective action, change in social security, acts of repudiation, excesses of police", the category Repression is represented. The text makes clear the search for measures of accountability for the acts practiced.

On May 3, it was published: "President of the PSDB of Paraná asks the head of the Secretary of Public Security." Federal deputy Valdir Rossoni, president of the PSDB (Brazilian Social Democracy) party in the state of Paraná, published a text on Facebook

condemning the police operation and placing the responsibility on the secretary of public security, Fernando Francischini. The *portal* published the note in its entirety. The words were very recurrent: responsibility, massacre, outbursts, and exaggerations. It also refers to the Repression category, in this case, the show of dissatisfaction with the police operation.

In the article published on May 5, 2015: "Protests in response to the massacre of Paraná happen this Tuesday," the category of teachers conducts a manifestation in Curitiba and guides national protests against violence and democracy. The National Confederation of Workers in Education (CNTE) and the Central Workers' Union (CUT) announced a national day of mobilization in solidarity with the teachers of Paraná who were beaten on April 29, as well as to charge governors and mayors for compliance with the national floor of the category, according to the 13.01% adjustment. Walk and political act in the Civic Center were marked.

The CNTE General Secretary and the President of the Teachers' Union of the Official Teaching of the State of São Paulo (APEOESP) were consulted. The most recurrent words are: protests, Paraná massacre, national day of mobilizations, solidarity, compliance of the floor, readjustment, political act. The categorization highlighted is of the Repression, showing the motivation for new protests to denounce the violence practiced on April 29.

Final considerations

In fact, the study in question provided a reflection on the role played by the Brazilian magazines of national circulation *Carta Capital* and *Revista Fórum* in the construction of the meanings that involve the Civic Center Massacre.

In relation to the *Carta Capital* magazine, even with shorter coverage, it was also possible to provide a more elaborate and plural coverage because it examines the events a lot. It also represents in a useful and positive way the reasons for the movement and its protestors. It reinforces the importance of the protest and substantially criticizes the truculent performance of the police and, above all, the government of Paraná. It defines these protests as a legitimate social claim and police performance as excessive, truculent, disproportionate, and unnecessary.

The coverage of the *Revista Fórum* emphasized the consequences of police repression against the workers on strike: detailing of the number of wounded and appointment – in this case, the press, a repudiation of

institutions, reports of journalists who witnessed truculence, interviews with authorities of the Human Rights folder and teachers’ union.

The content analysis allowed affirming that the coverage of the vehicles in question conceives these protests as the possibility of the subjects as main actors in the public sphere, to perfect, to extend and to spread citizenship. The political acting in the episode, however, is portrayed by *Carta* as authoritarian, disastrous and inconceivable.

In conclusion, it should be considered in a more comprehensive analysis of this episode that several independent vehicles, strike commands, mobilized citizens in social networks and unions have positioned themselves and circulated different, more pluralistic and transparent discourses in the face of efforts by the government of Paraná to build a favorable public opinion. The performance of civil society in this episode occurred through the network articulation made possible by the alternative media.

* Translated by Lee Sharp

NOTES

- 1 Source: www.curitiba.pr.gov.br/conteudo/perfil-da-cidade-de-curitiba/174
- 2 Retrieved from jornalistaslivres.org

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Intellectual and scientific content of the study, data collection and analysis.

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