

ARTICLES

SEEKING TRUTH IN CHANGING JOURNALISM: an ambivalent notion in Rede Globo

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ABSTRACT - Truth has been a central notion for journalism as a social institution. In current times, when journalistic role and practices are being challenged by audiences and by media reconfigurations, it is important to ask how the field's traditional values are being reorganized. Thus, the objective of this essay is to analyze how Brazilian television network Rede Globo comprehends the notion of truth in 2014's institutional commercials. Through discourse analysis of their campaign, we found that the concept being presented is ambivalent: sometimes, truth is a unified entity and at other times it is multiple. Even though there is an ambiguity when presenting this value, journalism is always shown as responsible for mediating access to truth(s), high lightening journalistic relevance to society.

Keywords: Journalism. Discourse. Truth. Television. Rede Globo.

PROCURANDO A VERDADE NO JORNALISMO EM TEMPOS DE MUDANÇA: um conceito ambivalente no discurso da Rede Globo

RESUMO - Resumo: A verdade é uma noção central ao jornalismo enquanto instituição social. Atualmente, na medida em que as práticas jornalísticas e o papel do jornalismo são questionados pela audiência e pelas reconfigurações midiáticas, é importante perguntar como os valores tradicionais do campo estão sendo reorganizados. Portanto, o objetivo deste artigo é analisar como a Rede Globo compreende a noção de verdade nos comerciais institucionais de 2014. Por meio da Análise de Discurso, descobrimos que o conceito apresentado é ambivalente: às vezes, a verdade é uma entidade única e, outras vezes, ela é múltipla. Mesmo que haja uma ambiguidade ao apresentar esse valor, o jornalismo é sempre o responsável por mediar o acesso à(s) verdade(s), destacando a relevância social do jornalismo.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo. Discurso. Verdade. Televisão. Rede Globo.

EN BUSCA DE LA VERDAD EN EL PERIODISMO EN TIEMPOS DE CAMBIO: un concepto ambivalente en el discurso de la Rede Globo

RESUMEN - La verdad es una noción central al periodismo como institución social. Actualmente, en la medida en que las prácticas periodísticas y el papel del periodismo son cuestionados por la audiencia y por las reconfiguraciones mediáticas, es importante

preguntar cómo los valores tradicionales del campo están siendo reorganizados. Por lo tanto, el objetivo de este artículo es analizar cómo la Rede Globo comprende la noción de verdad en los anuncios institucionales de 2014. Por medio del Análisis del Discurso, descubrimos que el concepto presentado es ambivalente: a veces, la verdad es una entidad única y, otras veces, ella es múltiple. Mismo que exista una ambigüedad al presentarse ese valor, el periodismo es siempre el responsable por mediar el acceso a la(s) verdad(es), con destaque a la relevancia social del periodismo.

Palabras clave: Periodismo. Discurso. Verdad. Televisión. Rede Globo.

Introduction

In a time when journalistic activity is being re-invented by the transformation of its practices and when its contents are permanently challenged, criticized and corrected by the public (BRUNS, 2011), it is our belief that vehicles try to reinforce their institutional image through the recollection of values central to journalism. By reminding audiences that they are associated to core principles of the field - either by reinforcing or by adapting these principles to a new media ecology -, they search for legitimacy and credibility in a society where information is abundant, not to say excessive.

One of the core values that have legitimized journalism throughout decades is truth, a very complex concept with philosophical and moral implications that in the journalistic field is also attached to the notions of reality and objectivity. It is our belief that truth is not only a promise of the journalistic field to its public, but also a responsibility of its practice. As said by Cornu (1994), journalistic institutions cannot avoid the commitment to truth without risking its own reason for existing - even if we consider truth as being provisory and not total.

Considering this, the objective of this essay is to analyse how TV Globo, Brazil's main television channel, constructs through its institutional discourse the notion of journalistic truth in its 2014's commercials¹. Broadcasted since 1965, TV Globo is part of Grupo Globo, the 25th largest international media corporation (IFM, 2014), which also includes a film production company, a subscription

television programmer, print and digital newspapers and magazines, radio services and a music corporation.

Though paramount to journalism as a commitment to the public, truth in TV Globo has often been questioned. The network has been accused of bias and associated with lack of ethics in various occasions during its history, mainly in the redemocratization period in Brazil. Highly benefited by the military dictatorship, period in which the channel flourished by participating in a national integration project – when it was the first to broadcast nationally through the microwave technology controlled by government –, TV Globo has made major mistakes in coverage. To name a few, it failed to report properly on the civil manifestations of 1984 for the direct vote. Also, in the first elections for presidency, it showed during its primetime newscast an edited version of a debate favouring the candidate Fernando Collor de Mello, who latter left office during an impeachment process (MEMÓRIA GLOBO, 2015)².

Even though academics and part of the population criticize TV Globo and its journalism for these and other biased coverage, the fact is that the network is the most relevant television channel in the country, reaching almost 100% of homes in Brazil and being audience leader for decades. Moreover, as Porto (2007) puts it, the journalism of TV Globo has changed a lot in the democratic period, learning how to deal with accountability in the new regime, thus looking for a more balanced coverage in politics and other matters. Due to the centrality of the network in Brazil's media system and to the problematic history of its journalistic practices, we believe that it is extremely important to understand how TV Globo associates its image with truthful accounts and what it comprehends as being truth in journalism.

To investigate the notion of truth constructed in the institutional commercials, we have worked with Discourse Analysis, a methodological approach that understands operating discourse, questioning its transparency. Designed by news executives with highly financial motives, those videos rely on the participation of their most recognized reporters, anchors and commentators, profiting from their image as credible journalists and bringing this social capital to the channel itself. But how is the concept of truth constructed in the commercials? To get to this point, we must elucidate how we comprehend journalism and in which way truth has been associated with journalistic practices throughout history.

Journalism as discourse

Journalism may be perceived by scholars as an individual product of journalists' work. It may be analysed as a social practice deeply rooted in professional routines. It may be investigated as a product of organizations, as a system of society or as a reproduction of power. Although recognizing these approaches as relevant and indispensable to the comprehension of journalism in the academic field and incorporating their assessments to our study, we see journalism as a particular discursive genre that, in order to take place, its interlocutors must recognize the permissions and restrictions defining the genre (BENETTI, 2008).

When making her argument, Benetti (2008) positions herself alongside Maingueneau (2007), claiming that a genre is not only concerned with the stylistic properties of a text, but with the conditions of use of this text by its readers³. Otherwise, for journalism to have a place in society as a credible discourse, interlocutors must acknowledge its texts as being so. In order for this recognition to happen, subjects are bound to a communication contract, which implies the existence of conventions, norms and agreements that regulate a discursive exchange (CHARAUDEAU, 2009). One of these agreements is that journalism must commit to convey truthful accounts to the public in exchange for trust and fidelity. So, as a discursive genre, journalism has a contract in which multiple values are involved, among them the truth.

According to Charaudeau (2009), that tacit contract takes into account conditions of identity ("who speaks to whom"), of purpose ("why say so"), of content ("about what") and of device ("in what circumstances"), besides manners of speaking ("how to say it"). For Benetti (2008), it is the condition of purpose of the communication contract that regulates all the other aspects of the journalistic contract. But what is the purpose of journalism? Better said, what is the role of journalism in modern societies?

That is a very complex question with many possible answers. One of the most common perceptions is that journalism exists as a watchdog, responsible for surveilling power and helping citizens to act in a democratic society (TRAQUINA, 2002), and that journalism, by discursively reconstructing the world, offers readers the social present (GOMIS, 1991; FRANCISCATO, 2005). After analysing how the main subjects participating in the journalistic communication contract

(media companies, journalists and readers) perceive the purposes of journalism, Reginato (2016) presents a proposal according to which journalism has 12 purposes to fulfill: (a) informing in a qualified sense; (b) investigating; (c) checking the veracity of information; (d) interpreting and analysing reality; (e) mediating between facts and readers; (f) selecting what is relevant; (g) recording history and constructing memory; (h) helping to understand the contemporary world; (i) integrating and mobilizing people; (j) defending citizens; (k) watching over how power is exerted in society and strengthening democracy; (l) clarifying issues for citizens and presenting the plurality of society.

Besides understanding the condition of purpose's centrality in the communication contract, we also need to comprehend that the condition of identity is part of what makes journalistic accounts credible and relevant among other discursive genres. "Who speaks and to whom it is spoken" are fundamental aspects to make sense of how the relation between journalism and its public is formed. This is a process of negotiation of meanings, in which the imaginary has a significant role, considering that writing and reading are, first of all, movements of expectations: I expect that what I say is comprehended as I originally intended and, at the same time, I hope that what I read was intended to mean what I comprehend. This is why it is important to keep in mind the centrality of TV Globo in Brazil, and the suspicion of its coverage by part of the audience, as we have pointed out before.

In this recognition process, it is in great part the image that readers have of journalism in general and of vehicles and journalists in particular that legitimizes the discourse produced by the field. It is only by the recognition of this reconstruction of the world as valid that readers attribute credibility to the journalistic discourse and understand accounts as meaningful to their daily lives. This is a product of the reversibility of imaginary formations (PÊCHEUX, 1993), in which any discourse exchange demands interlocutors to ask themselves about their identity and the identity of the other that addresses them.

Then, the relevance that journalism acquires in society as a valid discourse about what is happening in the world is deeply connected to the image of the self, historically related to an ethos⁴ imbued of values such as truth, objectivity and accuracy, just to name a few. The public must believe that journalism has a specialized

competence and this belief comes from a social and historical perception that journalism is a credible and authorized practice to narrate reality (SERRA, 2006). To some extent, the renovation of the communication contract happens in the self-referential discourse, where vehicles try to control their self-image and to connect themselves to core values of journalism, justifying its social role.

In this essay, we are concerned with studying truth as a value attached to the self-image produced in the institutional discourse of TV Globo. This search for fashioning a self-image linked to positive values has always been present in the journalistic field, but this act is strengthened in the current context provided by the communication technologies, in which we see the dynamic of network journalism with new forms of connectivity taking shape and transforming the production of content (HEINRICH, 2011).

Pereira and Adghirni (2011) state that we are experiencing structural changes that represent a paradigmatic crisis in journalism. Though recognizing that the production of news has always been subject to alterations and shifts, the authors argue that what we see now are challenges to the very core of journalism. Organizational structure, daily routines and discursive modes are only a few of the redesigns pressed by a new relation with the public promoted by technologies that allow people to produce, access and share content in multiple environments.

Brin, CharrondeBonville (2013) call communication journalism the superabundant information available in multiple supports and subordinated more often to the public's desire than to public interest. These unprecedented interaction possibilities challenge and question the role of journalism in modern societies. It is in this context that new agents realise that the consolidation of competences and commitments that singularize journalism as a discursive genre is essential when establishing bonds with the public. Truth is one of these imperatives, connected to the reason why journalistic accounts are fundamental to societies.

Truth and journalism

Truth is a much-debated concept in philosophy and social sciences, since it is the core of various institutions that are committed to knowledge production or intended to serve citizens in a democracy, such as sciences, law and journalism. Here, we

understand that journalism relies on discursive strategies to create effects of truth. Even though it presents itself as essentially truthful, it is always restricted by production conditions in the reconstruction of facts.

As a social institution, we believe that journalism has a particular social role that is not met by other institutions and that confers legitimacy for the production of a discursive reconstruction of the world (FRANCISCATO, 2005). Historically, journalists and journalistic vehicles rely on a code of principles and values intended to govern the role of informing. Among these principles, “Journalism’s first obligation is to the truth” (KOVACH; ROSENSTIEL, 2004, p. 36). Thus, truth is a notion recollected in the institutional discourse of vehicles, which the public recognizes as part of the communication contract. In one of the founding studies on media, Lippmann (2010) states that, universally, the public considers that journalism must serve the truth and daily present a truthful picture of what is interesting in the world. For Schudson (2010), truth has always been linked to the profession as a commitment to this public.

According to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2004), the promise of truth and accuracy has been an important part of marketing journalism since the beginning of the activity. In a more recent context, these authors reinforce the idea that the public expects information to be truthful. For them, truth generates a feeling of safety and news are what people rely on to get to know and to think about the world beyond their personal experience (KOVACH; ROSENSTIEL, 2004).

That was also the comprehension of Park (2008), when he pointed out the role of journalism as a source of information that must convey the truth to a great number of people. This definition was and is until today partaken by many researchers, who understand that journalism has an obligation to sharing the truth (BOND, 1959), which implies a work of searching for and checking facts perceived as worthy of being known (CORNU, 1994).

However, this question takes on a special shape nowadays. Internet and social media create endless possibilities for an individual to produce and share information – being true or not. And this is the point in which the notion of truth is even more decisive to the journalistic activity. It is the truth that guides the legitimacy of the field, what readers expect of journalism and what serves as a

discerning aspect of stories shared by a regular person from those carefully investigated by journalists.

In this reconfigured sphere of information exchange, Heinrich (2011) analyses that the role of journalistic organizations could be to provide the truth and to guide⁵ their users. The author understands that this can only be achieved “if news organizations concentrate on providing competitive news packages that include the many story angles and viewpoints criss-crossing through the information space”, cooperating with alternative sources, searching for other angle and for other truth (HEINRICH, 2011, p. 229). We need to consider, therefore, that journalistic organizations are private companies, with private interests and they are subject to pressures from advertisers and other groups. It is because of this that, despite these interests or because of these interests, the journalist puts his truth, which must come from a correct investigation of the facts and the search for different views.

The difficulty is that, in the changing context of media production, this obligation sometimes remains just as a “must be” of journalism. According to Bastos (2010), in a professional culture increasingly oriented by the paradigm of flexibility, convergence and profitability, journalists are often not in tune with the traditional values of the journalistic field – to discover the truth (investigation), to watch the powers (watchdog) and to influence public opinion. In fact, we ponder that there is a tension between discourse and practice in the context of network journalism, since the time pressures and the need of constant update impose an agility that redefine the notion of truth itself.

Singer (2010) argues that truth, in the Internet environment, is understood by journalists as “far more open and more fluid than the one enclosed by traditional journalistic structures” (p. 93). Not only stories are seen as a work in progress, but also the process of determining truth and meaning is no longer a prerogative of journalists. “The construction of meaning is more widely shared in a network that encompasses many seekers of truth and incorporates many voices in reporting and relaying it” (SINGER, 2010, p. 94). It is in this unprecedented and unsettling context that the institutional discourse of TV Globo tries to connect itself to truth as one of the core values of journalism.

Discourse analysis and methodological construction

Since we approach journalism as a discursive genre, it is only natural that we work with Discourse Analysis as a research method. According to Orlandi (2007b), the aim of this theoretical-methodological framework is to understand meaning as a symbolic work, part of a general social work, constitutive of men and its history. It is through the repetition of meaning, in the operation of paraphrase as a concept, that the analyst can understand discourse by finding hegemonic meanings raised by determined subjects in determined subject positions. To understand this notion, it is fundamental to consider that discourse only exists in the relationship between the subjects of an interlocution (ORLANDI, 2007a) and that any discourse is guided by the images that the interlocutors make from their own subject position and the position of the other subject (PÊCHEUX, 1993).

Discourse produces meaning not only in its verbal dimension, but also in all aspects of its non-verbal production. One of the determinants of meaning is the symbolic matter – the image, the verbal sign and the sonority that composes discourse. Therefore, in our analysis, besides investigating language as a set of phrasings connected to verbal cues, we also consider the aesthetic qualities of television expressed in the audiovisual organization of the commercials as a way of inviting the audience to adhere to the message conveyed (GERAGHTY, 2003; GORTON, 2009). It is in the intersection of verbal and non-verbal dimensions that we map meanings of how TV Globo comprehends journalistic truth when representing itself in front of the other, constructing a self-image (MAINGUENEAU, 2008; BENETTI; HAGEN, 2010). The “other” refers to readers, announcers, journalists pertaining the vehicle, as well as journalists and entrepreneurs of rival vehicles.

Meanings don't exist “per se” since they are configured in the discursive process, in which statements acquire purport according to the position of those who profess them (ORLANDI, 2007a). As we have pointed out previously, the imaginary is in play in any discursive exchange. Rede Globo and its journalists have an image about the public that they must consider in order to position themselves when enunciating. Similarly, the public has an image about the vehicle and about journalism that affects the

interpretation of information. To understand the positioning of these actors is to think in a relational process, where subjects are constantly in negotiation (RESENDE, 2009).

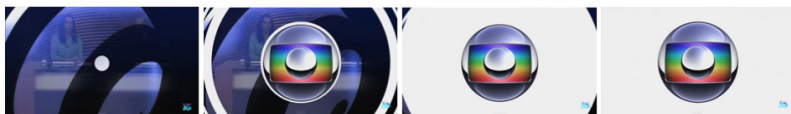
Moreover, meanings are determined by ideological formations that exist outside and precede the objects we map (PÊCHEUX, 1993). Thus, it is essential to understand the discursive memories to comprehend the meanings constructed by our object of study. That is why we have started this essay thinking about the role of television, particularly of TV Globo, in Brazilian society. Both positioning and discursive memory are elements that contribute to the analysis of how TV Globo produces meaning about truth and how this can be interpreted in the context of changing journalism.

Journalistic truth(s)

In order to operate the research with this theoretical-methodological framework, the corpus is composed of all the seven videos of the institutional campaign aired on TV Globo during commercial breaks, in the first semester of 2014. In these, we look for recurrent meanings connected to the concept of truth in verbal discourse, through paraphrase; and we investigate the visual organization (framing and editing, digital effects, sound and image content). We also dialogue with the promises of the organization stated in its letter of principles. But first, as part of our analysis, it is important to describe the commercials and its aesthetic qualities in order to better comprehend the notions of truth constructed by the Globo.

All videos are composed by archive images of Globo's national and regional news programs, set in a digital blue background and accompanied by a soundtrack marked by tension and suspense. These images are organized in two forms. The ones that start and finish the commercials often show reporters and news anchors and are overlaid by translucent circles, which transform themselves in the network logo (FIGURE 1). Amidst them, there are images of reporters in the field, public figures or iconic events. These last ones share the screen with blocks of text and world maps (FIGURE 2). Thus, the aesthetic qualities not only elicit the engagement of the network with relevant issues worldwide, but also the pressure of time in journalistic work.

Figure 1 - The logo of Rede Globo, well known by the public, appear during the commercials



Source: Globo (2014)

The commercials also bring narrated texts read by newscasters and written particularly for the institutional pieces. Some sentences are reinforced in lettering, one word at a time, to emphasize an idea or a concept. All the digital effects combined impose a rapid pace to the edition that contributes to the organization of meaning, as we will explore below.

In each commercial, one of the anchors of their four daily newscasts is the announcer. Morning and noon newscasters feature in one commercial each and the late newscast presenter in two. The night newscast *Jornal Nacional* is featured three times – twice in the voice of editor in chief William Bonner, showing the significance of their prime time program. Their voices alone attribute credibility and authenticity to these videos, indicating that journalists also share the notion of truth they enunciate in the institutional pieces.

We can state through the analysis that truth is not a one-dimensional construct in TV Globo's commercials. As in theory, it has many layers that overlap and sometimes even override each other. One of the meanings that we found is that the institutional discourse of Rede Globo conveys the notion that all their news programs practice journalism according to fundamental principles of the activity: *"From good morning to good night, we believe in what we do, we do what we believe in: journalism at Globo"*.

This sentence ends all seven commercials, during which truth is activated as one of journalism's ideals, as we can suggest from the following example: *"Seeking truth, we can make mistakes, but we can never let mistakes unamended"*. During the intervals of this text read by one of the anchors, it is possible to see and hear other anchors correcting information in newscasts emissions, using expressions such as "actually", "correction" and "err" to amend mistakes, conveying the meaning that journalism can never let go of truth as an ideal. As Cornu (1994) points out, journalistic truth

might be partial and provisory, but it is a fundamental commitment to the public.

Another meaning constructed in the commercials is that in order to access truth professionals must be **eyewitnesses** of events and will work to verify information no matter where they happen or when they happen. *“When a fact takes place, we must **be close to the fact** because closer we can **see better and report better** the fact we have seen”*. This reinforces the notion that journalists act as witnesses and, in the process of observing reality, they must be diligent in their attestation of the facts. Images of Globo’s international correspondents appear alongside this sentence, while we hear words such as “Rome” and “Japan”. We can also see such correspondents in conflict and war zones, reinforcing the idea of witnessing the fact even in dangerous situations.

Other sentences dialogue with the challenges of **verification**, but now they are related to the idea of time and speed that pressure professionals to broadcast news as soon as possible. *“Agility is to **give the news quickly**, when the fact takes place. Responsibility is having **agility to check** the facts before they become news”*. However, the meaning here clearly states that, even though time is a constraint to journalistic work, Rede Globo’s professionals are first and foremost committed to the truth of events achieved through rapid fact-checking. Therefore, meaning makes verification of events and time pressure work in favour of each other, marketing the agile professional of Globo as the competent professional.

The fast-paced edition of the commercials also contribute to the meaning of agility, where journalism has to deal with multiple facts at once, where news are always taking place, no matter where. Once again, when addressing agility in verbal discourse, the focus is on international news, where correspondents and public figures such as the president of the United States Barack Obama and the president of France Nicolas Sarkozy appear. This shows that journalism, at Globo, surpasses national relevance and is preoccupied with reporting global matters to its audience. The underline meaning of ubiquity is conveyed, that when seeking truthful facts, journalism must be everywhere (FIGURE 2).

Figure 2 - Images of Nicolas Sarkozy and Barack Obama are used in the commercials to emphasize ubiquity



Source: Globo (2014)

So far, truth appears as an ideal that must be attained by journalism through the witnessing of facts, agility to check them and ubiquity of the news channel. Truth can be provisory and partial, since mistakes can be made and events are always taking place, but it is treated as ONE. However, there is a division in the concept, which at times is presented as a unified entity and at other times it is multiple. This shows, as Singer (2010) puts it, that the concept is indeed more open and fluid in the journalistic context of today, and connected to the idea of multiple views. Both meanings of truth are conveyed when exposing the relation of journalists with sources.

In the first case, a single truth could be attained through professional competence. *“All sources must be heard, but they must also be questioned and confirmed so that you have **a single source of news** and not only versions about them”*. The images that accompany speech are of people giving interviews and of journalists reading documents on computers, reinforcing the steps of hearing, questioning and confirming information, related to a notion in which the public must rely on journalism to make evaluations for them. Journalism is then responsible for verifying the truth and offering it to its audience.

On the other hand, multiple truths must be judged by audiences and the role of journalism would be to mediate them in order for the public to evaluate truthfulness. This meaning is prevalent, since it appears in three commercials: *“**All sides** of news must be shown in depth so **you can choose one side** tranquilly”; **“The truth doesn’t have only a side, it has many. All deserve to be heard and deserve to be listened so that you can **have truth on your side**”** (FIGURE 03); *“All serious opinion is made of lots of information. But **truthful information will never be constructed by a single opinion**”*. Those sentences empower the public and recognize news as construction.*

Figure 3 - Truth does not have only one side, it has many

Source: Globo (2014)

Multiple truths recognize facts as having many sides and people as having different opinions that might not be reconcilable, but that must be present in journalistic accounts so that individuals can draw their own conclusions about the present and how to interpret reality. This reinforces Rede Globo's editorial principles where journalism offers public a form of knowledge, and in which truth is inexhaustible and unreachable in its totality. The group has developed its editorial principles based on exemption and accuracy as core values in an organization that claims to be independent, secular and nonpartisan (ORGANIZAÇÕES GLOBO, 2011).

In both meanings - if truth is a unified entity and if it is multiple -, journalism mediates access to truth and this is incontestable as a value. However, we understand the tension between single and multiple truths as a way to cover the complexity of the concept and to bond with a larger number of viewers. If, on the one hand, journalism is discussed as a construction that could not reach a single and universal truth; on the other hand, there is the belief in truth that reinforces the value of the activity in a changing media environment.

Both dialogue with transformations of journalism – challenged by new platforms, professional routines and business models – and the debate concerning journalism's social role. In a context of abundant information, the number of untruthful accounts increases and the need for journalism to verify believable and *truthful* information is highlighted by the institutional commercials.

Final considerations

According to what we have outlined in this essay, the concept of truth has been historically related as one of the central elements to explain the role of journalism in modern societies. This argument has been made by the researchers in journalism studies, by the professionals of the field and by the public. Therefore, one of the journalism purposes is to check the veracity of information (REGINATO, 2016). Performing the verification, journalism *can* contribute to the truth of the facts, but its important to ponder that there is a conceptual difference between these two concepts (REGINATO, 2016). As Kovach and Rosenstiel (2004) point out, verification is a discipline and truth is a value that journalists have to seek: it is not known if truth exists or not, but is an obligation to pursue it.

Thus, verification is part of truth as a value of the journalistic field, but it is not enough to guarantee it. Cornu defends that truth in journalism, even if being provisory and partial, is the product of three orders. As well as veracity of information attained through verification, it demands a just interpretation of independent nature and an honest and authentic expression in discourse. All these three orders have appeared in our analysis, when commercials state that journalism is responsible for mediating and interpreting events, through responsible verification procedures and that it might have to make amends to its narratives in a straightforward manner.

In light of structural changes in journalism derived from a new media ecology, the objective of this essay was to analyse how TV Globo constructs through its discourse the notion of journalistic truth in institutional commercials in order to legitimize itself. Analysing the videos aired during commercial breaks, we have concluded that the vehicle constructs its own image as an institution responsible for mediating access to truth associated with five meanings: a) TV Globo seeks the truth; b) TV Globo is close to the facts to access truth; c) TV Globo checks information to discover the truth; d) TV Globo hears lots of sources to offer the truth with a single source of news; e) TV Globo presents the truth offering all sides of the news, not only a single opinion.

As we tried to explain above, these meanings can be contradictory, showing that the notion of truth is complex and

involves other journalistic principles, such as plurality and accuracy. It also flirts with notions of reality and objectivity. The concept presented is ambivalent: sometimes, truth is a unified entity and at other times it is multiple and has the audience as its judge. Even though there is an ambiguity when presenting this value, journalism is always shown as responsible for mediating access to truth(s), highlighting journalistic relevance to society. The vehicle associates these elements to its image and also points that these are roles that journalism needs to comply with.

It is important to emphasize that the image of a journalistic institution worried about the truth is constructed by the Brazil's main television channel: it is Rede Globo that is saying that, it is not any other Brazilian vehicle; the text is enunciated by the leading journalists of the channel and not by someone who will not be recognized immediately by the public as associated to the television network. In other words, and having the theoretical basis of the Discourse Analysis to support this claim, journalists speak from the ideological position of the channel and they reflect the positions of the social place they represent, which is determined by historical and social context.

When Globo associates these meanings to itself, it makes the construction that these are the ideals that their professionals work with everyday and that all of them are aligned with such values, classifying journalism as an objective practice, ignoring differences or individualities. Even though the form of producing journalism may change, there is one value that endures the transformation and helps to define what journalism is. This value is the truth.

We cannot forget that this is a commercial strategy, part of a campaign that has the very intent of making the company relevant not only to audience, but also to peers and to other vehicles. Being the Brazil's main television channel, Globo legitimizes a standard model of making journalism, framing the way other vehicles will position themselves in a competitive field, and also indicating to the audience what to expect of journalism in a democratic society, especially in a period of structural changes.

* This paper was translated by the authors.

NOTES

- 1 This research was first presented at the conference Re-inventing Journalism, hosted by ZHAW Zurich University of Applied Sciences, between February 5 and 6 2015.
- 2 We chose to report only those two particular occasions since they are ethical mistakes that the network recognizes having made in the institutional website dedicated to preserving its history. The network considers other controversial episodes as false accusations.
- 3 We use the word “reader” as a broad concept that comprises the television viewer as a reader of discourses. Because of our theoretical affiliation, it is important to highlight that, discursively, the reader unfolds in two: the **real reader**, that in fact interprets the text, and the **imagined reader**, that exists only virtually and guides the production of the discourse. This dimension is important because journalists enunciate to the reader they imagine and indicate the place that the real reader must take when interpreting the text (ORLANDI, 2007a).
- 4 We use the notion of ethos referring to the self-image that the enunciator constructs in the discourse to exert an influence on the other(s) (CHARAUDEAU; MAINGUENEAU, 2008).
- 5 From our theoretical and methodological filiation, we consider necessary to discuss the use of the term “guide” adopted by the author. We have the understanding that the meanings are appropriated from the readings of each subject and that journalism does not “guide” users as if there were a simple transmission of information.

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