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ARTICULES

PLURALITY IN LEGISLATIVE MEDIA: an analysis of the Chamber News Agency

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ABSTRACT - For this paper, we used content analysis for the analysis of 115 news reports to determine if there is plurality in the Chamber News Agency news reports. The decision to choose plurality was based on the fact that it is a fundamental requisite for promoting public interest in journalism. The conclusion was drawn that there is currently no plurality due to predominant parliamentary sources taking up the majority of the space, leaving minimal space for the participation of society. Moreover, the only sources the Agency has are social agents authorized by the Chamber of Deputies.

Keywords: Journalism. Democracy. Plurality. Chamber News Agency.

PLURALIDADE EM MÍDIAS LEGISLATIVAS: uma análise da Agência Câmara Notícias

RESUMO - Neste artigo, são analisadas 115 notícias, por meio da Análise de Conteúdo, a fim de se verificar se a pluralidade está presente no noticiário produzido pela Agência Câmara Notícias. Elegeu-se a pluralidade em virtude de esta ser considerada um requisito fundamental para a promoção do interesse público pelo Jornalismo. Conclui-se que a pluralidade está bem distante de acontecer, uma vez que as fontes parlamentares são predominantes, havendo um espaço mínimo para a participação da sociedade. Ademais, percebe-se o fato de a Agência ter como fonte apenas os agentes sociais referendados pela instituição Câmara.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo. Democracia. Pluralidade. Agência Câmara Notícias.

PLURALIDAD EN MEDIA LEGISLATIVA: un análisis de la Agencia Cámara de Noticias

RESUMEN - En este trabajo, se analizaron 115 noticias, a través de análisis de contenido, con el fin de verificar si la pluralidad está presente en las noticias producido por la Agência Câmara Notícias. Fue elegido la pluralidad debido a esto se considera un requisito previo para la promoción del interés público en el periodismo. Se concluye que la pluralidad es lejos de suceder, ya que las fuentes parlamentarias son frecuentes, con un espacio mínimo para la participación de la sociedad. Por otra parte, se observa el hecho de que la Agência como fuente sólo los interlocutores sociales aprobados por la institución Câmara.

Palabras clave: Periodismo. Democracia. Pluralidad. Agência Câmara Notícias.

Introduction

Many writers speak on the interdependence between journalism and democracy; the former cannot satisfactorily exist without the latter and vice versa (BUCCI, 2008; GOMES, 1994; KOVACH and ROSENSTIEL, 2004; MELO, 2008; SILVA, 2002; TRAQUINA, 2012).

Due to this limited connection, the ideal situation is for journalism to primarily serve the public interest. One of the basic commitments of journalism according to Kovach and Rosenstiel (2004) is its loyalty to the public. Faria (2012) states that the media is legitimized because of the important role it plays in society as a spokesperson for the public's interest.

In addition to upholding the same role as journalistic institutions, the Chamber of Deputies' communication system of television, radio, newspaper and website (Chamber News Agency) aims at stimulating public debate and exercising citizenship (MALAVAZZI, 2004). There is no conflict between these mediums in terms of marketing yet there is a conflict between their two different approaches due to their public funding: the fields of journalism and politics. This becomes problematic due to the hierarchy of ministers over journalists (BERNARDES, 2010, 2011; BERNARDES and MACEDO, 2014).

Bernardes (2010, **2011**) argues that the diversity of the 513 ministers in the Chamber and their differing ideologies coupled with the journalists' fight for autonomy make meeting objectives of public interest possible. However, in 2015, political pressure in the Chamber may have increased after the current president's proposal to allow the Secretary of Communication (Secom)¹ to personally appoint ministers to cabinet was fully accepted.

Therefore, it is of interest to us to study the Chamber News Agency as it is an important medium of communication for monitoring how publically elected representatives are carrying out their mandates. The growing importance of obtaining information from the internet helped us determine the Agency's great potential to contribute towards citizen participation.

Plurality or pluralism is a prerequisite for the media as a platform for democratic discourse (UNESCO, 2010). One of the more important forms for journalism to meet its social function is by promoting plurality. Plurality here is understood as a wide range of viewpoints and opinions on various issues debated in the public sphere, especially issues of collective interest (MELO, 2006; SERRANO, 2011).

This article therefore presents an analysis of news reports produced by the Chamber of Deputies in 2015 for the purpose of investigating if there is plurality in their news.

Plurality of information

Gentili (2002) states that the democratic gradation of any given society depends on the extent to which “consensus” exists in pluralism; how differences are accepted and lived with. Serrano (2011) says that pluralism is one of the structural values of democracy: “When theorizing on the relation between the media and democracy, it is the access for all citizens to diversified and plural information which is key” (p. 15).

Odugberni and Norris (2009) also argue that promoting plurality of interests, voices and viewpoints is one of the key roles of journalism in democratic societies and allow the public to make informed opinions and promote a rational debate on public issues. Motta and Alencar (2007) associate the exercise of citizenship to the existence of varied media coverage which considers a large number of social actors and centres of power in society.

When speaking about journalism, Melo (2006) notes that “objectivity in contemporary journalism entails a plurality of observation and report” (p. 49) which is divided into plurality of sources, channels and core receivers. “All events involve several variables and distinct motivations: they need to be completely unraveled so the citizen can see it in its entirety” (MELO, 2006, p. 49).

Serrano (2011) makes a distinction between external pluralism, the diversity of groups and forms of ownership among communication mediums, and internal pluralism, the content broadcast by each communication medium. This last one is of most interest to us here.

In regard to this form of pluralism, Serrano (2011) suggests a few indicators to observe, some of which are: pluralism of information sources, protagonists and themes; the distancing in front of political forces; neutrality and balance of content; representing political, ideological, cultural and social movements and forces in society. In other words, it is necessary for the medium “to serve as a forum for various viewpoints and to provide varied content all the time and over time” (p.16). This approach is in line with the UNESCO document (2010) that places media pluralism as a prerequisite to obtaining diversity.

It is clear that the notion of plurality goes beyond the widespread idea of journalism to “tell both sides of the story”. It requires much greater effort to capture reality through the perspectives of diverse groups in society. This plurality of viewpoints is fundamental when discussing public policies or creating or changing legal standards.

“Source media”: Who does information serve?

Sant’Anna (2009) calls “source media” vehicles or channels of communication created by diverse, non-journalist social actors who had previously been simple sources. These actors look to have a more concise interaction in the public space, not just scheduling the media but also “talking” directly to society. Source vehicles try to influence public opinion by filtering it through the media, and justify doing so according to shortcomings in journalism exhibited by strong editorial direction.

Rodrigues (2013) proves the media has “bad intentions” when covering parliament. A survey on large national newspaper coverage showed low representation of power on the amount of news being broadcast. “News on political parties is in fourth place, plenary is in fifth, permanent commissions in sixth. There was no news on the Commission on Participative Legislature which means that most of the legislative work is not getting any coverage.” (p. 271)

Talking about his experience as head of the Brazilian Communication Company (EBC), Eugênio Bucci (2008b) definitively refutes that public vehicles are being used for leaders. According to him, this kind of attitude gives way to acts of patrimonialism, not to mention serious disrespect to one of the citizen’s fundamental rights: the right to information.

Sant’Anna (2009) sees source media inaugurating a new territory in journalism which he calls “source journalism” or “influence journalism”. He believes the fact that these media adopt techniques and routines used by traditional press is an important factor. The language is news reporting, the periodicity is regular, the production routine follows the patterns of press reporting with teamwork and without vertical structure of an Assessor (SANT’ANNA, 2009).

However, it is necessary to point out the distance that also occurs between the journalistic routines of “source media” and the traditional press. Based on routines used in the Chamber of Deputies,

Bernardes (2011) identifies closer ties between source selection and the legal process. “The author of a project, his reporter in commission, and the author of a request for a public audience are examples of mandatory sources due to their direct participation in the event to be reported on.” (p. 39)

However, Bucci (2008b) states that even though partisanship is a remote possibility due to the wide range of supporters, it is corporatism that is most worrying: “As much as they do provide services and are useful to society, [these vehicles] first project the image of the institution to which they belong” (p. 263). That is why he refutes the thesis that these channels practice journalism: “There can be no journalism if the person writing the news and the person who is the source of the news are the same person. There is no material and formal distance here necessary for journalistic reporting”. (BUCCI, 2008b, p. 265).

Bucci (2008b) defends the complementary between public and private communication systems as one of the measures to guarantee plurality of information: “in order that public space [...] reflects pluralistic values, a healthy coexistence between the public, non-commercial and private systems is necessary” (BUCCI, 2008b, p. 256).

This paper does not intend to state whether this particular practice does or does not fit the mould of journalism. However, based on the information given here, there are two points that are clear: (1) the simple appropriation of journalistic techniques is not motive enough to insert an activity in this field; (2) pointing out the disruptive influence of diverse interests in journalism cannot be used to support highlighting influences of institutional interests in “source media”.

For example, in the case of Chamber Agency, if we consider that the news produced will inevitably be institutional because it deals with events from the actual institution, we could then question if some ideal elements of journalism such as plurality are being highlighted in these working conditions.

Communication in the chamber of deputies: Transparency vs. Good image

Barros, Bernardes and Lemos (2007) identified a few objectives which brought about the creation of legislative vehicles in Brazil: the need for government acts to be published systematically

in order to achieve political participation; a Parliamentary evaluation of whether political coverage by traditional media would lead more towards putting a strain on democracy or towards improving it; the crisis of credibility for political institutions and the citizen demand for transparency. In addition to these reasons there is also the congressmen's interest in their work getting more exposure.

The communication system in the Chamber of Deputies began in 1971 with the then Assessor for Public Relations and Communication (ADIRP). After the re-democratization in the 1990s, the ADIRP was replaced by the Secretary of Communication (Secom) and had some significant changes made to it in 2003, resulting in the Writing Manual².

Secom works under the Board of Directors, more specifically the President of the Chamber of Deputies, however, the terms of this authority are not defined in any official documents. Secom is divided into two departments, the Department of Integrated Media, responsible for the journalistic activities of the communication vehicles, and the Department of Public Relations and Communication, responsible for advertising within the Chamber³. This division of tasks points toward the need to emphasize separating Public Relations activities from journalistic activities, an essential fact for vehicles to gain credibility.

The Chamber News Agency (ACN) was the last vehicle to be instituted (2000), completing a framework of communication vehicles for the Chamber of Deputies (together with TV Câmara, Radio Câmara and Câmara News). According to Bernardes (2010), the Agency was created in order to make legislative activities more visible by advertising them. The Agency's online content is divided into 21 editorials on the Chamber of Deputies⁴ website.

The Chamber Agency currently operates in an integrated/shared system of coverage with Rádio Câmara. The director of Print Media, João Pitella Júnior⁵, identified 13 reporters working for both vehicles (this number might vary somewhat due to integration with TV). Furthermore, the Agency has 3 producers and 9 editors. One of the editors is the director, another two are editor-in-chiefs (Luciana Couto and Mônica Nunes). The editorials are not allocated to any specific reporters, therefore, all reporters and editors are available to cover any kind of story.

The producers, outsourced professionals, keep track of press websites and collect material related to the Chamber. This material helps editors to make decisions about what kind of events will be

covered. It is not possible to monitor all the ongoings in the Chamber as work team is small. According to the editors, the plenary is always the priority and the CPIs are also highlighted due to their public interest, in addition to appreciating the audiences for issues of great interest to society.

Editors from three vehicles (Agency, Radio and TV) hold a meeting to define the agenda. The reporter receives the agenda in advance and is assigned to cover that particular event, then he must write the material once the event has finished. According to one of the editors, the Agency does not work with deadlines.

The Secom Writing Manual lays out guidelines and guiding principles for the vehicles in the Chamber. These vehicles are known as “vehicles of journalistic publishing” which should be “tools at the disposal of Brazilian society so that they are able to access objective, impartial and non-partisan information on legislative proceedings” (MALAVAZI, 2004, p. 19).

In addition, there is a fundamental principle which should guide newsmaking criteria:

The criteria for measuring the importance of news is its connection to public interest: the greater the number of citizens who are affected by economic, social, political and cultural aspects, the more interest the news will generate. (MALAVAZI, 2004, p. 26).

Public interest and political and institutional interests run through the vehicles in the Chamber, generating a complex situation which is difficult to define. Queiroz (2007) and Bernardes (2010) talk about hybridism between journalism and institutional communication as a defining feature of the vehicles in the House.

Mônica Nunes, one of the editor-in-chiefs for the Chamber Agency, believes this vehicle’s work is mainly institutional: “it opens up space for debates and actions performed by the Chamber of Deputies”, but “the Agency’s objective is to provide quality information to citizens on Chamber proceedings” (Interviewed on 02/06/2016). Opinions differ a little among professionals over the purpose of the Writing Manual: according to Agency director, the Manual is still being used but “needs to be updated to include the technological advances which have occurred since 2003” (Interviewed on 14/10/2015). The editors say that professionals do not consult the Manual anymore yet the principles of plurality, public interest and impartiality laid out in the manual still guide their work.

Plurality in the chamber agency: who has a voice?

In order to analyze plurality in Chamber Agency news we considered one of the indicators put forth by Serrano (2001): pluralism of information sources, in regards to representing diverse currents of the many fields of society, as well as a balance of sources. We chose Content Analysis for such an analysis due to what this method offers:

[...] a set of communication analysis techniques that obtains indicators (quantitative or otherwise) and allows to infer knowledge related to the conditions of producing/receiving these messages (BARDIN, 1979, p. 42).

Furthermore, content analysis measures a large amount of news and therefore making it possible to reach conclusions about an important sample of the object being studied. This study must be added to previous works with qualitative methods, such as discourse analysis, which then must help to verify other indicators of plurality, such as neutrality and balance of contents and distancing from political forces.

We collected the analysis material for a period of a week between January and May 2015 using a random selection method suggested by Bauer (apud HERSCOVITZ, 2010). We collected material on the first Monday in January (the 5th), the second Tuesday in February (the 10th), the third Wednesday in March (the 18th), the fourth Thursday in April (the 23rd) and the fifth Friday in May (the 29th). We then started searching for news by date on the Agency's home page.

A sample was taken of each one of the news reports from the days mentioned above in order to see if there was pluralism of sources. The reports were selected in two stages: first, 56 news reports on the most reported on issue were taken from each one of the days listed above. Second, they were grouped together with other news reports dealing with the same issue. So, if a certain issue had been reported on at least three times it was collected for analysis. This is how we reached the total of 115 news reports (Tables 1 and 2).

Table 01 – First selection of reports for analysis – 56 reports

Date	Issue most covered in the news
05/01/15	(A) The new Minister of Agriculture (2 reports out of 13; or 15%)
10/02/15	(B) Biodiversity project (15 reports out of 44; or 34%)
18/03/15	(C) General commission on public safety (21 reports out of 90; or 23%)
23/04/15	(D) Petrobrás CPI statement (16 reports out of 57; or 28%)
29/05/15	(E) Vote on political reform (2 reports out of 32; or 6%)

Source: elaborated by the authors

Table 02 – Second selection of reports for analysis – 59 reports

Date	Issues covered in at least three reports
10/02/15	(F) Vote on the compulsory PEC Budget (7 reports) (G) Establishment of the commission for political reform analysis (4 reports)
18/03/15	(H) Cid Gomes' appearance in the House (20 reports) (I) Hearing on refinery closures in the Northeast (6 reports) (J) Debate on the proposal for payroll tax breaks (4 reports) (L) Withdrawal of the minimum salary project (3 reports) (M) Vote on the military amnesty strike (3 reports)
23/04/15	(N) Discussion on the federal agreement (7 reports) (O) Minister's hearing on defense security (5 reports)

Source: elaborated by the authors

Bardin (1979) states that “a unit of registry is a unit which codifies and corresponds to the content; it is considered as a base unit with categorization and frequent counting as its goal” (p. 104). We used news sources which were categorized into 16 types as units of registry, all referring to currents, groups, fields of work or origin of sources. The categories were defined after

reading the materials, the exception being the citizen category which was included due to its predetermined importance to the vehicle we were studying. Following normal content analysis procedures, the content was limited to those from the texts, making interpretations from the obtained data. This is a preliminary form to recognize the representation of various social segments in the texts as detailed in Motta and Alencar (2007) and in Guerra et al (2014).

Next was the source count using Excel tables and following the enumeration rules cited by Bardin (1979): presence (or absence), intensity and frequency of source categories. The sources were grouped according to their segments, the number of sources per segment and the number of news reports in each source category was then counted.

Initial Analyses

256 sources were used in the 115 news reports, an average of 2.2 sources per material. If we take into account that the contradictory principle of journalism requires the presence of at least two distinct sources then this average would initially meet the basic principle. After analyzing the materials one by one, we noticed:

a) 67% of the materials were at less than the average: 8.7% (10 materials) had no sources; 33.1% (38 materials) had only one source; and 25.2% (29 materials) had only 2 sources;

b) 33% were higher than the average: 19.1% (22 materials) had 3 sources; 11.3% (13 materials) had 4 to 6 sources; and 2.6% (3 materials) had a larger amount (8, 9 and 14 sources).

Table 03 – Table of sources for the 115 analyzed reports

Categories	Number of sources	Number of reports by source type
President of the Chamber ⁶ (01)	-	14
Members of Parliament associated to the government ⁷ (02)	58	40
Political parties or their leaders (03)	10	6
Opposition leaders to the government (04)	61	34
Opposition parties or their leaders (05)	2	1
Executive Sources (06)	28	27
Judicial Sources (07)	9	6
Audit Court (TCU) (08)	2	2
Regulation agency (09)	2	2
Sources of subsidiary bodies to the Justice (MP and DP) (10)	4	4
Municipalities and states' political authority (11)	10	7
Civil bodies or their representatives (12)	7	6
Military or police bodies or their representatives (13)	20	11
Companies or their representatives (14)	24	23
Specialists or researchers (15)	5	4
Citizens (16)	0	0
No sources (17)	-	10

Source: elaborated by the authors

As evident in Table 03, the sources from category 02 (Members of Parliament associated) and category 04 (Opposition leaders) were represented the most. They made up 46.4% of all the sources. This

conclusion confirms that the vehicles of the Chamber give visibility to legislative proceedings where the members of parliament are most active. In comparison, the number of parliament members in opposition was a little higher than the base number. The first ones had 61 sources (23.7% of the total) and the last ones had 58 sources (22.7% of the total). The positions are inverted in relation to the number of news reports: the base appears in 40 reports (34.6%) and the opposition in 34 (29.6%).

This first relation reveals a balance between parliament members and opposition members, consistent with what the professionals had projected. According to the editor-in-chiefs, it follows the following rule: listen to members of parliament involved in discussions (project authors, draftsmen, councilmen who participated in the discussion) and if there are any “repercussions”, listen to both sides; the government and the opposition. In other cases, both sides are listened to when there is conflict on an issue. The professionals are guided by common proceedings of journalism.

Further important data from Table 03 is the finding that the president of the Chamber appeared in only a few cases: in 14 materials (or 12.2%). Even though the vehicles are under his control, the quantitative analysis does not show that he used this vehicle for his own image. Furthermore, there were more Executive sources than there were sources for the President of the Chamber.

The low participation of civil society represented by categories 12, 14, 15 and 16 is additional information. In addition, category 13 (Military or police bodies or their representatives) was ahead of almost all the civil society groups. In this respect, we can question the absence of civil bodies debating on public safety or biodiversity. We shall deal with these two cases in more detail later. Of particular note is the very minimal participation from specialists (less than 2% of sources) and even worse, the absence of citizen participation.

One of the editor-in-chiefs explains that the participation of external sources is not common in Agency materials. She said that since the material originated mainly from events in the Chamber, the external sources are the participants from the public hearings.

The issue of inserting the public in the Chamber Agency is more challenging than what Bernardes and Macedo (2014) stated for the set of vehicles:

Members of organized civil society, specialists, technicians from the Executive and Judicial powers and authorities in different levels of government and the public are represented in these

vehicles but less frequently, something which is also happening in conventional print news on Legislature (BERNARDES and MACEDO, 2014, p. 143).

The writers justify this characteristic by the fact that “being official” is something typical of journalism (BERNARDES and MACEDO, 2014). Statements from professionals collected by Bernardes (2010) clearly show that this point has been discussed a lot among them. While they do believe that citizens should have more effective participation in the news so as to produce a product that is different from what is made in the market, others consider that only members of parliament should be heard even though they represent citizens. Furthermore, many others say the production routine is preventing this from happening.

It is clear that the number of sources is the first indication of possible plurality still needing to be verified by other criteria. It is worth noting that the writers who deal with plurality do not specify a minimum measure to attain it, which shows that the issue is complex and cannot be reduced to a number. Furthermore, as we have previously said, we are aware that the variety of sources can be more or less depending on the issue being reported on. Also, depending on the issue, the types of sources implied or expected are different. This is why we understand that it is necessary to study news reports about one specific issue because it is then possible to make a better projection on expected plurality. This is not possible to elaborate now due to the limited space of this article.

This result brings us to other considerations: is it possible to expect plurality in materials if there is no plurality in the actual debate being held in the Chamber? Should coverage reflect the balance of voices within the debate? Moreover, how can it be expected that plurality happens if the interest in giving visibility to political discourse is what dominates? Is it fair that the voice of parliament gets more attention ahead of other social voices? Are the political discussions reflected in the news reports capable of helping develop well-informed public opinion? Will they end up confusing citizens?

Furthermore, the analyzed sample offers a visual that besides the parliament members, only sources supported by the Chamber Institution are accepted as sources since only people who are invited to participate in the event are heard (meetings, commissions, etc.). This was confirmed by one of the editors at the Agency. Could this simply be the result of a lack of vehicle sources like editors claim?

Final considerations

115 news reports from the Chamber News Agency were analyzed for this article. These reports had been published on five random days and were selected between the months of January and May 2015. The objective of the analysis was to verify the possibility of plurality in Agency news reports. In democratic societies, plurality is an expected requisite in journalism (ALDÉ, 2004; BUCCI, 2008; GENTILLI, 2002; MELO, 2006; ODUGBEMI and NORRIS, 2009; SERRANO, 2011).

Although the discussion on identifying legislative vehicles as journalistic remains, they intend to fulfill a role that would place them in this classification as well as adopt their format and language (BERNARDES, 2010; MALAVAZI, 2004; QUEIROZ, 2007; SANT'ANNA, 2009). According to Bernardes (2010), the production of vehicles in the Chamber could in part be called Public Journalism as there is an emphasis placed on public interest and the information is not treated as merchandise.

All the analyzed news reports lacked plurality: the parliamentary sources are dominant and therefore leave little space for society to participate. A further absence of citizens in the news was noted which also shows that the ideal of offering a different kind of product from what is already being offered by journalism is far from being a reality.

However, there was a balance between base and opposition which points at two aspects: 1) The group in charge of the vehicle does not have any privileges and 2) the sources for the news are chosen by those who participate in the events in Parliament, similar to the criteria of journalism. An exception may be made with regard to limitation of sources prominent in the daily ongoings of the Chamber. The news is restricted to a description of what occurs in this institution without trying to develop the issues discussed with experts and citizens.

Because of this, the groups interested are outside the debate and many points of view are excluded, not contributing enough to contemplate the diversity of society and the development of public opinion. Moreover, overexposing parliament members suggests that political motivations may have overwhelmed other objectives which the Secretary of Communication for the Chamber generally agree upon, such as contributing towards educating the citizens politically.

It is obvious that by giving an advantage to "both sides" of an issue, the demand for plural representation of ideas on many topics is not met. If the Agency's objective remains restricted to that

purpose then this analysis shows that the news reports have reached it. In this case, maybe the need to change the production routine and the culture of the profession should be considered, yet that appears to be less likely due to the structure and lack of autonomy amongst the vehicles.

*This paper was translated by Lee Sharp

NOTES

- 1 For more information go to: <<http://goo.gl/G9AvuQ>> and <<http://goo.gl/dc9alu>>. Accessed on May 03. 2015.
- 2 According to information from the Coordination of Public Participation for the Chamber of Deputies, obtained by email, the Secom Writing Manual “persists as a reference for procedural rules that guide journalistic coverage and the institutional advertising of the Chamber of Deputies. However, the publication does not concern the changes to Secom’s organizational structure and will be updated at the best possible time” (22/05/2015).
- 3 Available at: < <http://goo.gl/mOQixs> > Accessed on Aug.20. 2015.
- 4 Available at: <http://goo.gl/490jwT> Accessed on April. 15. 2015.
- 5 Information collected from interviews conducted by email with the director and the editor-in-chiefs of the Chamber Agency.
- 6 Another possible presentation of the analysis could be groups associated or not to the President of the Chamber of Deputies since the Chamber vehicles must answer to him.
- 7 The categories of political groups were defined by the usual bench divisions in the Chamber, as seen at: <<http://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2014/noticia/2014/10/desafios-dilma-tera-de-recompor-base-no-congresso-para-governar.html>> Accessed on Jan. 08. 2016. However, there are other possible groups, especially for specific issues. Therefore, the separation of associated or non-associated base does not necessarily have an ideological position for its members as they do not constitute monolithic groups.

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