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Uses of TV Journalism as a Symbolic Domination  
by Bolsonarist Ideology

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# Disinformation on traditional Brazilian press: the uses of tv journalism as a symbolic domination by bolsonarist ideology

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## Abstract

This paper presents a reflection around concepts of disinformation proposed by Wardle (2016) and Fallis (2014), applied to Brazilian telejournalism, based on a case study of the talk show *Opinion on Air*, which is broadcasting on Rede TV channel. The methodology consists of analyzing the content around news associated to the Covid-19 pandemic in the aforementioned program, based on the hypothesis that this product has been configured as a spokesperson of the bolsonarist far right ideology. In the partial results, we recommended the stimulus of Media Competence in formal education to fight against the informational disorder caused in the audience by this kind of content disseminated in Brazilian's mass media.

## 1 Introduction

Covid-19 pandemic boosted the problem of “disinformation” – a false statement created with the aim of harming a person, social group, organization or country. In this paper, we propose a reflection on the presence of this phenomenon in the traditional Brazilian press, based on a case study of the talk show *Opinion on Air*, broadcasting on Rede TV channel. Our theoretical construction is based on the concepts of disinformation by Claire Wardle (2016) and Don Fallis (2014), as well as post-truth approaches and media competence, associated with Gaye Tuchman's (1972) classic concept of journalistic objectivity. Our study starts from the hypothesis that, although the president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, demarcates a narrative of attacks on the press, the dispute for the informational monopoly in the media seems to be a tendency of his government, as highlighted in a report published on February 23, 2020 by *The Intercept*<sup>‡</sup>, about the change in the logic of the distribution of advertising funds for

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‡ *The Intercept* from <https://theintercept.com/2020/02/23/imprensa-bolsonaro-band-sbt-record-rede-tv/>

open Brazilian TV's by the Federal Government, favoring TV broadcasters such as Rede TV, Record TV and SBT TV. (THE INTERCEPT, 2020). Movements such as this one shows intentions that seem's to aim to create a consensus in public opinion around the bolsonarist ideology project – whose characteristics, in the context of the Sars-Cov-2 pandemic, gained the contours of scientific denial.

To analyze the uses of traditional Brazilian media as a strategy of symbolic domination by the bolsonarism, we must first understand what is this political phenomenon, which became very popular in the common sense of Brazilian politic after the last presidential elections of 2018 and victory of Jair Messias Bolsonaro. The term “bolsonarism”, is formed by the surname “Bolsonaro” associated to the “ism” suffix. According to Houaiss dictionary (2020), the element “ism” is used by Latin Grammar to designate socials, ideologists, politics and religious movements, since XIX century, with the rise of the science. In Brazilian experience, the bolsonarism movement share some kind of categories of the radical right, which was once generally imagined in terms of skinheads and Nazis. Sedwick (2019), highlights that the contemporary radical right has also a very important intellectual think. The anthropologist Lilia Schwarcz (2019) argues that bolsonarism is a phenomenon that in fact has sources in the slaver Brazilian history, which in turn, grounded in colonialism and patriarchal structures.

The rise of Bolsonaro and his far radical right involve some aspects, among them, the uses of information as a power element and a brand new detail which came with the post-truth phenomenon: the constant attempts of discredit the press. The expression *fake news* itself was used for the first time by the ex-president of USA, Donald Trump, with political intentions (as a way to discredit the press in the face of public opinion), as asserts the researcher of the Tow Center for Digital Journalism, Claire Wardle (2016). In our researches, we believe that Bolsonaro uses this same method to causes an information disorder in Brazilian public opinion, at the same time that co-opt traditional press in his direction and authoritarian project. This paper reflects this aspect, using as a background, news at coverage during Covid-19 crisis.

The methodology used in this exploratory study was the Content Analysis by Non-probabilistic Sampling of the news broadcast in the Opinion on Air program, related to the fight against the pandemic, which, until August 31, 2021, had victimized more than 580,000 Brazilians. In the partial conclusions, the lack of information in the construction of this news was perceived, in ideological consonance with the far right bolsonarist rhetoric, with the presence of content that mainly sought: (1): to disseminate out-of-context news about the supposed drop in the number of deaths and infected by Covid-19 , in order to provoke in the audience a false sense of “normality” in the face of the pandemic; (2): criticism of measures adopted by mayors and local governments to contain the spread of the pandemic in Brazil, like social isolation and the uses of masks; (3): hate speeches against blacks, homosexuals and social left movements.

## 2 Related concepts and motivation for this work

Don Fallis (2014) warns that when people are “deceived about important topics, such as medical treatments, misinformation can cause serious emotional, financial and even physical damage”. In the context of Covid-19, the rapid spread of fake content provoked what the general director of the World Health Organization (WHO), Tedros Adhanom, classified as infodemy. (Ghebreyesus, 2020). The profound ignorance of the new disease also provokes controversy in the coverage of journalists, who often reproduce fraudulent content in the belief that it is true. This behavior is described by social scientist Claire Wardle (2016) as misinformation (false information disseminated by someone who believes such content to be true). Within the “disinformation ecosystem”, Wardle also highlights the *manipulated content aspect* (intentionally manipulated content), among other situations, which include the use of true images, however, out of context.

Nowadays, numerous academic works that sought to analyze the results of the 2018 Brazilian presidential elections brought to light the effects of the large-scale dissemination of *false content*, constructed with clear intentions to harm and damage the images of political opponents. This kind of false content, shared by social networks departed, from a semantic point of view, was speeded from the field of the right and the left, but mostly from the right, and benefited Bolsonaro's candidacy. (EL PAÍS, 2020).<sup>§</sup> To this specifically fake content, Floridi (2005) defines that it's a *misinformation*. In a post-truth context, which the notion of the truth is a value associated with beliefs and personal emotions, the reference of what is true or false has changed, and politicians – specially Far Right populists around the world – are using this feature very effectively to persuade voters to their authoritarian projects. With President Jair Bolsonaro, this resource continues to be used to mobilize supporters. In this study, we believe that the bolsonarist project also uses the legitimacy of the media press, as a democratic institutional, to provoke and spread disinformation. In Brazil, a qualitative research that investigate consumption habits of Brazilians pointed out that, despite access to the internet having increased significantly in recent years, Brazilians still mainly resort to open TV for information<sup>\*\*</sup>. The open TV in Brazil is a public service operate by concession to private companies. In our research,

We believe that some kind of Tv channels are ideologically embarking on bolsonarist project, using apparent journalistic values, as objectivity and credibility, to mislead the audience and spread manipulated content. In addition to the credibility crisis, the Brazilian media – one of the most concentrated in the world – does not allow journalism to act freely, since, operated by private groups, they serve financial interests. In this way, journalists often use “journalistic objectivity as a strategic ritual” (Tuchman, 1977), to avoid the construction of in-depth news, depriving the audience of access to points of view contrary to the interests of the media, which are subordinates. In his mandate, Bolsonaro encourages attacks on the press, according to a survey by the Fact-checking Lupa agency. (LUPA AGENCY, 2020)<sup>††</sup>. However, it seems to have the veiled support of part of the television broadcast, evidencing an editorial line that makes use of journalistic objectivity when dealing with information that may harm the government's image in public opinion, while at the same time privileging sources and points of view that they are aligned with the interests of Jair Bolsonaro's mandate, using journalistic legitimacy to disseminate disinformation and cause informational disorder, as part of his radical Right method.

### 3 Partial Results

Among the messages (catalogued between the months of September and October 2020), we highlight the construction of: (1) decontextualized news on the reduction of deaths by Covid-19, causing a false sense of “normality” in the face of the fight against the pandemic; (2): criticism of the social isolation measures adopted by mayors and governors to contain the spread of the pandemic in the country; (3): hate speeches against blacks, homosexuals and social left movements. From the investigation of the program *Opinion on Air*, the disinformation was perceived in ideological consonance with the bolsonarist rhetoric.

In this work, we chose to analyze *Opinion on Air* because we think that specifically this talk show gathers the main concepts addressed here: fake news, disinformation, bolsonarist ideology, post-truth and contemporary journalism. This analyze was carried out in the context of the pandemic of Covid, which provided and stills provide a rich material to be investigate by scientific community. In this sense,

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<sup>§</sup> El País: Five fake News that benefited from Bolsonaro's candidacy. From: [https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/10/18/actualidad/1539847547\\_146583.html](https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/10/18/actualidad/1539847547_146583.html).

<sup>\*\*</sup> Pesquisa Brasileira de Mídia. From: <http://antigo.secom.gov.br/atuacao/pesquisa/lista-de-pesquisas-quantitativas-e-qualitativas-de-contratos-atuais/pesquisa-brasileira-de-midia-pbm-2016-1.pdf/view>.

<sup>††</sup> Lupa Agency. Dia da Imprensa: Bolsonaro atacou veículos e jornalistas em 17 das suas 21 lives em 2021. 01 jun 21. from: <https://piaui.folha.uol.com.br/lupa/2021/06/01/dia-imprensa-bolsonaro-ataque/>. Acesso em: 03 jun 21.

we resort to a literacy revision which could make an intersection between disinformation concept and journalistic practices, in a interdisciplinarity between Information Science and Communication.

*Opinião no Ar* (Opinion on air) was premiered on September 28, 2020. The program is broadcasted from Monday to Friday at Rede Tv channel, and is presented by three journalists: Amanda Klein, Luis Ernesto Lacombe and Sílvio Navarro. At its premiere, the program was advertised as an “journalistic format that values all the sides of the news, but without militancy”. But, if we lean carefully, we can realize that the communicators and the guests who are at the debates always have very similar views. Another insight that this research highlighted is that most of the themes chosen dialogue with the Bolsonaro’s and his Far-Right rhetoric facing the pandemic.

To develop this study, we used Content Analyze (CA), method that still configures one of the most usefully techniques applied in the field of Communication, because its provides an objective description of communication’s content. (BERELSON, 1952, p.18 apud KIENTZ, 1973 p.10). Fonseca Júnior (2006 in Duarte, Barros, 2006, p. 280) draws attention to its adaptability in face of the Communication challenges. To get an overview of the topics covered in the program, we applied a non-probability sampling content analysis, verifying one edition a week, to get an overview of a month (four weeks). We chose September and October of 2020 to analyze the firsts weeks that the program premiered.

From a semantic analysis of the topics covered, we can see that all the informative content published in this small sample analyzed present news with a format that is not common in Brazilian journalism: with a very strong opinion load and ultra-conservative inclinations. traditionally, Brazilian journalism uses, in its newsmaking, the resources of objectivity and impartiality, limiting the spaces of opinion to figures called commentators or columnists. Except from Amanda Klein, except for Amanda Klein, who seems to represent a kind of quota to cause the false impression in the audience that it is a plural and democratic debate, the program configures itself as a true spokesperson for bolsonarism. On social networks, supporters of the ultra-right television program promote attacks and insults to the journalist daily.

Another detail that reveals the hidden relations between TV presenters and the bolsonarism came to light during the investigations of the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) in the Brazilian Senate, which began in April th 2021 with the objective of revealing signs of corruption in the purchase of anti-covid vaccines and omission in hundreds of deaths that occurred during the fight against the pandemic. According to an article in the Folha de S. Paulo<sup>††</sup> newspaper, documents delivered to the CPI by the Federal Government’s Communication Department revealed that the presenter of the *Opinion on the Air* program, Luís Ernesto Lacombe, received R\$ 20,000 from the Government. Public money was used in campaigns to publicize the 2019 Social Security reform, early treatment against Covid, combating aedes aegypti endemic, violence against women and a disclosure of the release of the 200 reais bill, among other initiatives. Of 34 transfers, 16 were for campaigns on retirement rules. Before being hired by Rede TV, in 2020, Luís Ernesto Lacombe even stated, in an interview, that he has an affinity with Bolsonaro’s ideas. In the table below, we reproduce an overview of the issues covered in the period under review.



Luís Ernesto Lacombe. Source: Rede TV web site

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<sup>††</sup> Governo Bolsonaro pagou R\$ 268 mil a apresentadores bolsonaristas e de TV aliada, Folha de S. Paulo, June, 29, 2021, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2021/06/governo-bolsonaro-pagou-r-268-mil-a-apresentadores-bolsonaristas-e-de-tv-aliada.shtml>.

| <b>Topics /date</b>   | <b>Ernesto Lacombe</b>   | <b>Sílvio Navarro</b>   | <b>Amanda Klein</b>  | <b>Sikêra Jr.</b>   | <b>Dr. Zeballos</b>   | <b>Dr. Ítalo Marsilli</b>  |
|---|--|---|--|---|---|--|
| <b>September,28</b><br><br><i>Theme 1: Nine States records a drop of deaths by Covid.</i>                 | <i>Quarantine is not a cure. quarantine is not vaccine.</i>  | <i>"The impression that remains is that there is hysteria surrounding the pandemic".</i>  | <i>"If public authorities in Europe and the US insist on quarantine it is because they work".</i>                | <i>"The world is very boring about this political correctness thing. the lgbt community is losing support because of this victimism".</i> | <i>"The fatal cases today are minimal. Because of the discovery of corticosteroid treatment. Now we know how to treat Covid".</i>   | x  |
| <i>Theme 2:<br/>Datafolha search: 75% guess that schools must be closed during pandemy.</i>               | <i>What are the risks of isolation for generations of children?</i>  | <i>Mask works? is it good for something?</i>  | <i>The Center of Disease control recommends the use of mask".</i>  | x   | <i>if you look at the child mortality rate, it's very low. The isolation is more dangerous for children mental health.<br/><br/>"mask serves more for psychological safety".</i>    | <i>Here appears a great opportunity for us to ask about how we have been conducting our education. We know that our education here in Brazil is an instrument for the entry of the politically correct. (...) Teacher is who who manages to teach. It's not who went to college to receive a degree.</i> |
| <b>Topics</b>   | <b>Ernesto Lacombe</b>   | <b>Sílvio Navarro</b>   | <b>Amanda Klein</b>  |   |   |  |
| <b>October, 06</b><br><i>Theme 1: Donald Trump leaves hospital and keeps his treatment at White House</i> | <i>"Amanda, when a man interrupts a woman's speech, he is practicing man interrupting. But when a woman interrupts a man's speech, is she practicing empowerment? Please let Silvio finish talking".</i> | <i>"The press in general is rooting against Trump because the international press is leftist and campaigns for Joe Biden. (...)We must not be afraid of the virus. The damage caused by the lockdown, by the isolation, was also very large".</i> | <i>"Trump's denial stance is not worthy of a leader".</i>  |   |   |  |
| <b>Topics</b>   | <b>Ernesto Lacombe</b>   | <b>Sílvio Navarro</b>   | <b>Amanda Klein</b>  |   | <b>Dr. Anthony Wong</b>   | <b>Dr. Ricardo Zimmerman</b>   |
| <b>October, 14</b><br><i>Theme 1: Coronavirus: number of deaths continues to fall".</i>                   | <i>"We must remember that Neil Ferguson, Professor of Imperial College defended the isolation but he</i>   | <i>"To what extent could the lockdown have caused psychological damage to people?"</i>  | <i>"Europe is facing a second wave of pandemy. Don't you think WHO recommendations are prudent and proper"?"</i> |   | <i>"The administration of this Ethiopian was disastrous. He's not even a doctor. And he didn't know what to say either, his advisors are also complicated, because at one point</i> | <i>"It's already been proven that lockdown does much more harm than good".</i>   |

|  |  |   |  |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|--|---|--|
|  | was in secret with his lover".   |   |  |  | he said he is in favor of hydroxychloroquine , then he said no".  |  |
| <b>Topics Date</b>   | <b>Ernesto Lacombe</b>   | <b>Sílvia Navarro</b>   | <b>Amanda Klein</b>  | <b>Tiago Brunet</b>  | <b>Daniel Bergamasso</b>  |  |
| <b>October 22</b><br><b>Theme 1 - Challenges of entrepreneurship in Brazil</b> | "In Brazil, which, like the rest of the world, is experiencing a crisis caused by the Chinese virus, how to find opportunities"? | "We have a labor legislation that binds not only the entrepreneur but also those who want to innovate"?   | "How entrepreneurs can find an opportunity facing the biggest sanitary crisis of the century"?   | "As I am a theologian, my training base is biblical".<br><br>"Brazil is a land of opportunities".  | "Brazil is a gold mine for the new economy".  |  |
| <b>Topics Date</b>   | <b>Ernesto Lacombe</b>   | <b>Sílvia Navarro</b>   | <b>Amanda Klein</b>  | <b>Felipe Nery</b>   | <b>Maria Elise Laureano</b>   |  |
| <b>October 29</b><br><b>Theme 1: Gender and Sexuality at schools."</b>         | "A child aged six, seven, eight, nine, is old enough to decide if he wants to change sex"?                                       | "The child had a sex change issue. Then he arrived there at puberty and says: I don't want it anymore. Disappointment with the sex reversal. What happens"? | I think there is a different understanding when we use the term "gender ideology. (...) the correct term accepted by science would be gender identity. Because the term ideology, it seems that if you were to address issues of gender and sexuality at school, you would be influencing children and adolescents to become homosexuals and transsexuals, as if this were possible and this is not true". | "I'm not based on science, I'm based on freedom.<br><br>"That's what Brazilian feminists say so much: they use women to advance a much broader claims of power". | "Until the age of seven, the child does not focus on issues of sexuality itself (...) the child is what you plant (...)". |  |

Source: the authors.

At the September 28,2020, when Brazil faced six months of covid pandemic and recorded 140.000 deaths (G1, 2020), the program brought to debate this notice: *Nine states records a drop in the number of covid deaths*. To talk about this subject, Ernesto Lacombe, Amanda Klein and Sílvio Navarro talked with the infectologist Roberto Zeballos. At his speech, the specialist guest minimized the risks of the pandemic, making it clear that, with the discovery of the use of corticosteroids, the disease was easily treatable. Dr. Zeballos also questioned data and recommendations from the World Health Organization and stating that isolation measures were "unnecessary". In fact, all the participants' comments converge to a thought that was predominant among right-wing leaders in the world, such as Trump and, in Brazil, Bolsonaro: scientific denial. Except from Amanda Klein, which, apparently, makes up the program's bench just to give the false impression that it is a free and plural debate, when, in fact, Opinion on Air functions as a spokesperson for the Far Right bolsonarist ideology and hate speeches against the press, black people and LGBT community.



From left to right: Silvio Navarro, Amanda Klein, Lacombe and the guest, dr. Zeballos.

The October 6 edition brings to debate this subject: *Donald Trump leaves hospital and must continue his treatment at White House*. In all public speeches and *tweets*, Trump minimized the risks of the new coronavirus pandemic and questioned the effectiveness of using a mask to stop spreading coronavirus. A reporter contextualizes the approach to the news in European newspapers, and talks about the expectation with the approach of the North American elections. The debater Amanda Klein - considered by the audience of the program as a “leftist” because of her placements - criticizes Trump's stance, by minimizing the risks of the new coronavirus to public opinion and draws attention to the advantage of the then-candidate Biden on the eve of the process electoral. The journalist is soon countered by her fellow member, Silvio Navarro, who comments: “*the press in general supports against and has always supported Trump because the international press is leftist and campaigns for Joe Biden. (...) Finally, another question is about the effectiveness of using a mask. There is already a question around the world about the effectiveness of wearing a mask, Amanda. Even by some agencies they represent, not only in the United States but around the world, they already question the use of the mask. We must not be afraid of the virus. The damage caused by the lockdown, by the isolation, was also very big*”. Amanda Klein points out: “*The two main ones, FDA and CDC don't. It is unanimity*”. In spite of the data highlighted by Amanda Klein, Navarro insists on a rhetoric that disregards scientific evidence regarding the use of masks to prevent the spread of the virus, aligning his speech with the denialism that has marked contemporary right-wing ideology.

In front of the conversation between the two communicators, Ernesto Lacombe, the journalist who mediates the debates on the program, makes a comment that, for his audience, may sound unpretentious, but when analyzing the speech, a certain ideological charge can be observed: “*Amanda, when a man interrupts a woman's speech, he is practicing man interrupting. But when a woman interrupts a man's speech, is she practicing empowerment? Please let Silvio finish talking*”. For our analysis, this simple comment, analyzed in a perspective, leads us to consider a very strong association with the characteristics of the bolsarist rhetoric - marked by constant attacks on minorities and attempts to discredit feminist, anti-racist and anti-lgbtqphobic movements.

The October 14 edition returns to debate the pandemic of covid with the headline: *Coronavírus: number of deaths is falling*. Again, *Opinion on Air* brings a guest that puts in doubt official information of World Health Organization. Dr. Anthony Wong refers to the CEO of WHO in a pejorative way: “*The administration of this Ethiopian was disastrous. He's not even a doctor. And he didn't know what to say either, his advisors are also complicated, because at one point he said he is in favor of hydroxychloroquine, then he said no*”. Amanda provokes, asking to the second guest (Dr. Ricardo Zimmerman): “*Europe is crossing a second wave of pandemic. Don't you think that prophylactic measures as social isolation and uses of masks can stop spreading coronavirus*”? Doctor Zimmerman says: “*I disagree. What is happening in Europe shows that we didn't learn anything. It's already been proven that lockdown does much more harm than good*”.

At October 22, the subject is about the economy crisis, and brings to debate the theme: *Challenges of entrepreneurship in Brazil*. The guest for this conversation is Tiago Brunet, credited as a “business mentor”. “*As I am a theologian, my training base is biblical*”, he says, when introducing himself. Although the theme proposed for debate in this edition's program does not make reference to the



pandemic, in this paper we highlight the ideological alignment of the *Opinion on the Air* agenda with the rhetorical strategies and actions of the Jair Bolsonaro government in view of the prospects of economic recovery. Although Brazil is facing one of the highest unemployment rates in recent years, at his speech, the guest seeks to build the image of Brazil as a land of opportunity:

*“The greatest biblical entrepreneur was Joseph. Why did Joseph go from a Hebrew slave to the governor of Egypt when Egypt was the greatest power in the world? Because he solved a problem. There was a famine on Earth, he knew how to store the grain, where to store it, for how long and how to sell it afterwards” (...) those who solve problems and those who are obstinate, that is, invincible, tireless, know how to solve problems will hardly prosper in Brazil because Brazil is a land of opportunities. If I wash my car outside, they'll give me 20, 30 reais at least. And there are places, Africa and other places that you might want to wash that no one will offer”.*

At that time, data released in September 2020 by the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD Covid 19), carried out by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) indicated that Brazil ended the month with 13.5 million unemployed [about 3.4 million more than in May 2020, representing an increase of 33.1%]. To survive during the crisis, thousands of Brazilians went into entrepreneurship. In this sense, it is clear, in conducting the interview with the expert, that there is an attempt to build a scenario of a Brazil as a "land of opportunities", diverting the audience's attention from the real conditions that are taking the country to the context unemployment – political instability and lack of concrete measures and lack of planning by the Jair Bolsonaro government.

In addition to this aspect, we highlight the fact that the Federal Government started, in July 2020, discussions on a new labor reform, with liberal inclinations. According to an article in *Folha de S. Paulo*, the Group for Higher Studies of Labor (Gaet) was formed within the Ministry of Economy. The team, made up of ministers, judges, lawyers and economists, would aim to complete the reform in labor and union legislation - which began two years ago, still in the Michel Temer (MDB) government and which caused numerous losses of historically consolidated labor rights by Brazilian workers - with a proposal that offered as few legal questions as possible. Besides the “business mentor”, the program has a second guest: the journalist and writer Daniel Bergamasso. The interviewee is asked by Sílvia Navarro about “*what is the challenge for anyone who wants to set up a start up in Brazil, a country full of ties, especially labor (...) we have a labor legislation that ties not only the entrepreneur but also those who want to innovate*”? From this question that we highlighted, it is evident that there is a biased tone at journalist Sílvia Navarro's when questioning can be seen in attacking Brazilian's work laws.

Originally, our search should analyse the content of the October 30<sup>th</sup>, but, as our goal is to apply a semantic analysis around content related to misinformation in the context of Covid 19, and the theme chosen at that date was “*Technology influencing our lives*”, we decided to investigate the content of October 29<sup>th</sup>, to test our hypothesis (that Bolsonaro's government uses traditional press to spread misinformation and hate speech). The theme discussed was: “*Gender and sexuality at schools*” – one of the behavioral guidelines that characterized the campaign of the then extreme alt-right candidate, Jair Bolsonaro. It can be said that this edition of *Opinião no Ar* was one of the ones that had the greatest repercussion on the program's YouTube channel in relation to its engagement: it had 12,000 likes on YouTube and 2,438 comments in the live chat, when the average of likes range from 1 thousand to 6 thousand likes. The presenter Luís Ernesto Lacombe refers to the theme as: “*gender ideology*”. This expression is not recognized by the academic world and has been used by conservative political movements in Brazil since the 1990's. Amanda Klein corrects the term:

*“I think there is a different understanding when we use the term “gender ideology. (...) the correct term accepted by science would be gender*

*identity. Because the term ideology, it seems that if you were to address issues of gender and sexuality at school, you would be influencing children and teenagers to become homosexuals and transsexuals, as if that were possible and that's not true, right? As there is no sexual option, sexual choice, what exists is an orientation because the person is born that way, with this attraction, with this desire, and this is largely determined by a biological factor.*

Questioned, one of the guests, the educator Felipe Nery, starts his speech by distorting the understanding around the concept of gender identity proposed by the feminist philosopher Judith Butler:

*“There is no recognition of gender identity. Judith Butler, in her book Problems of Gender, she advocates for overcoming an identity, a patriarchal, oppressive system, who speaks of identity, essentialism, things like that that she will deal with in her work. What does this mean in practice for those who want to understand? I'm not defending a person, I say that there isn't something defined... So the cultural factor is what prevails (...) When we're talking about little babies, it wasn't put for him: act like this. So, there's no cultural issue (...) there's something defined about him. It's not just biological, it's true...But it's also biological. We extrapolate as if the external factor were the imperative, which is what Judith Butler, what gender means. In fact, the genre wants to deny reality. Even when you say you have a theory, a scientific question, quite the opposite. All gender theorists clearly say that they don't want to prove anything. There is no scientific basis. It is extrapolating science itself”.*

In another excerpt, the guest reveals his conservative inclinations, referring to the gender laws implemented in Sweden. The educator relates the implementation of “genderless” toilets with the number of rape cases in that country, not to mention that the high rate of notification of such occurrences and changes in legislation are at the root of the high rates of sexual crimes in Sweden. Phrases like: “*I'm not based on science, I'm based on freedom*” and “*that's what Brazilian feminists say so much: they use women to advance a much broader power political claims*” also form the clearly conservative position of the guest. Luís Lacombe provokes his fellow (Amanda Klein) by distorting the journalist's initial speech: “*a child aged six, seven, eight, nine years old is old enough to decide if he wants to change sex*”? Amanda Klein emphasizes that her colleague distorted her speech and cites research carried out at the University of São Paulo realizing that between three and four years of age, children already begin to be aware of the world, and from that age onwards, they begin to see a lot of your orientation. “*The point is not having a class on sex change, it is teaching children to respect differences and fight against bullying*”, she asserts. The journalist has her reasoning interrupted by Lacombe, who asks the psychologist (Maria Elisa Laureano) another question, not before pointing out that the scientific data released by the University of São Paulo “are not reliable”.

The dynamics of this edition, in line with the others analyzed so far, is affluent in the conservative claims that elected President Jair Bolsonaro. Based on the content analysis carried out in this paper, we sought to test the following hypothesis: although the rhetoric commanded by President Jair Bolsonaro seeks to delegitimize the traditional press and build a “parallel reality” from the construction and sharing of false news in applications such as Whatsapp and Telegram, in addition to alternative pages on web that disseminate far-right content in Brazil, the bolsonarism seeks space in a small portion of the mainstream media, possibly to both: reach more voters who consume free-to-air TV, and join efforts in legitimizing its authoritarian ideology, which, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, causes disorientation and informational disorder. This work concludes that, although covered with journalistic

language and the legitimacy of the Press, the aforementioned program contributes to the opportunistic use of lies, with the clear objective of confusing public opinion and creating controversy. Considering the impact of the media in influencing the behavior of citizens and their power relations, it is necessary to discuss the encouragement of Media Competence, which could be included at the center of instruction at all levels of formal education.

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