

Corvinus University of Budapest

Mapping corruption in Brazil:

An analysis of the news portals and tweets (X)

D O C T O R A L D I S S E R T A T I O N

Supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Vicsek Lilla Mária, PhD

Prof. Dr. Zoltán Szántó, PhD

Cibele Silva e Souza

Budapest, 2024

Department of Sociology

Cibele Silva e Souza

Mapping corruption in Brazil:

An analysis of the news portals and tweets (X)

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

Cibele Silva e Souza

SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION	8
2. THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE	15
2.1 Media Campus and Reality Construction	19
2.1.1 Why we shouldn't ignore Twitter?	24
2.2 The Media and the perception of corruption in society	30
2.2.1 The corruption scandal in the face of media interactions	37
2.3 Multifaceted corruption and its aspects	39
2.3.1 Corruption as an umbrella concept	45
2.3.2 Corruption and social behavior	49
2.4 Brazil's overview amidst scandals and the pandemic environment	50
2.4.1 The relationship between corruption and the pandemic scenario in Brazil ..	59
2.4.2 A Comprehensive analysis of indicators and research in Brazilian media: why Brazil?	66
2.5 Current Research Trends.....	73
2.5.1 Theoretical communication and its interdisciplinarity.....	74
2.5.2 Theoretical Research on the Role of the Press in the Formation of Public Perception.....	80
3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK	91
3.1 Data sources: why the methodological decision is based on a comparison of articles and tweets.....	92
3.1.2 Research questions and possible assumptions	94
3.2 Research intricacies: composition of the investigative locus structure.....	97
3.2.1 The Scope and document elaboration	99
3.2.2 Search selection: <i>Content Analysis</i> and <i>Computer-Assisted Content Analysis</i>	105
3.2.3 Reflection about the limitations and methodological challenges in the analysis	109

4. THE FINDINGS OF THE DISSERTATION.....	111
4.1 Portals tell stories, while tweets reflect outrage and values.....	114
4.1.1 While the judiciary becomes a hero, politics is doomed to corruption.....	120
4.1.2 'Corruption' is undoubtedly the most popular term.....	132
4.2 Brazilians have no 'eye' on international corruption	136
4.2.1 Rio de Janeiro: the epicenter when it comes to corruption	139
4.3 With the focus on 'Lava Jato', the 'CPI of Covid-19' gains space in the discussions	155
4.3.1 In a polarized environment, there is always a corrupt actor	170
4.3.2 PT and MDB and the correlation with corruption	183
CONCLUSIONS.....	199
POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS FUTURE RESEARCH	203
REFERENCES.....	207
APPENDIX I.....	228
APPENDIX II	229

List of graphics

Graph 1 - Thematic Maps Corruption and Media studies.....	15
Graph 2 - Co-occurrence network: Corruption and Media studies.....	17
Graph 3 - Twitter users in Latin America in 2021.....	28
Graph 4 - Perception of corruption in Brazil 2019-2022.....	64
Graph 5 - Variation in the perception of corruption in 2020.....	67
Graph 6 - Platforms used to access or follow digital news in Brazil in 2020.....	69
Graph 7 - Press freedom index in Brazil from 2015 to 2023.....	70
Graph 8 - Emerging keyword analysis in articles and tweets.....	116
Graph 9 - Areas of most recurrent approaches.....	121
Graph 10 - Most recurring areas in articles.....	123
Graph 11 - Most recurring areas in tweets.....	129
Graph 12 - Emerging concepts keywords.....	134
Graph 13 - Excerpts from news articles and tweets: Emerging concepts keywords ...	135
Graph 14 - Emergence of corruption in the national and international aspect.....	137
Graph 15 - Distribution by states in Brazil.....	140
Graph 16 - Distribution of corruption keywords emergence by Brazilian states in news articles.....	142
Graph 17 - Distribution of corruption keywords emergence by Brazilian states in tweets.....	151
Graph 18 - Distributing corruption-related articles and tweets, with a focus on investigations, scandals, and operations.....	156
Graph 19 - Emergence of scandals, investigations and operations in news articles....	159
Graph 20 - Emergence of scandals, investigations and operations in tweets.....	165
Graph 21 - Brazilian politicians linked to corruption.....	171
Graph 22 - Main politicians mentioned in news articles related to corruption.....	172
Graph 23 - Main politicians mentioned in tweets related to corruption.....	178
Graph 24 - Brazilian political parties linked to corruption in news articles and tweets.....	185
Graph 25 -Main Brazilian political parties linked to corruption in news articles.....	187
Graph 26 - Main political parties mentioned in tweets linked to corruption.....	195

List of figures

Figure 1 - Media interaction.....	10
Figure 2 - Theoretical framework	19
Figure 3 - Demonstration of corruption as a comprehensive concept	45
Figure 4 - Photo from one of the April 2021 reports	56
Figure 5 - Corruption perception Index 2021 rank	62
Figure 6 - Methodological framework	92
Figure 7 - News Portals.....	102
Figure 8 - Twitters.....	104
Figure 9 - Interaction between key words linked to corruption	107
Figure 10 - The findings of the dissertation	112
Figure 11 - Emergence of political polarization linked to corruption: Bolsonaro and Lula	179

List of tables

Table 1 - Sources of data collection: news portals and Twitter	100
Table 2 - Search keywords linked to the concept of corruption	106
Table 3 - Recurring excerpts on Portals and Tweets associated with: ethics, justice, honesty, impunity, morality	117
Table 4 - Repercussion areas: most recurrent subcategories	122
Table 5 - Brazilian States: Comparison between the most recurrent subcategories in articles and tweets	140
Table 6 - Excerpts from the links between Brazilian States and corruption in articles	143
Table 7 - Excerpts from the links between Brazilian States and corruption on Twitter	152
Table 8 - Articles and tweets about corruption, with a focus on investigations, scandals, and operations	156
Table 9 - News articles and tweets - focus on scandals, operations and investigations	157
Table 10 - Most frequent politicians linked to corruption in articles and tweets.....	171
Table 11 - Excerpts from Lula and Bolsonaro's engagement with corruption in tweets	179
Table 12 - Articles and tweets - mention of political parties	185

1. INTRODUCTION

Brazil's media has played an important role in uncovering corruption, as proven by recent events such as operations, investigations and arrests of politicians and businessmen involved in embezzlement of public resources. These corrupt narratives disseminated by the media directly influence social discourse, particularly in times of pandemic crisis. Considering that, citizens who gather information through the media tend to perceive corruption more intensely, leading to uncertainty in institutions, political engagement, and collectivity (Charron et al., 2019; Charron and Schwenk, 2022; Norris, 2011). The media's ongoing coverage of corruption reinforces its perception as a collective issue. (Villoria et al., 2014).

Thus, the media plays a role in increasing the visibility of corruption and influencing decisions made regarding it (Thompson, 2005; Thompson and Guareschi, 2002; Castells, 1997; Castells and Cardoso, 2005; Tella and Franceschelli, 2011; Lima, 2006). In the Brazilian context of the COVID-19 pandemic, media convergence highlights the configuration of social discourse, influencing collective perceptions and public trust, in which the continuous flow of information on corruption fuels feelings of insecurity and the erosion of faith in institutions.

In a country boasting the fifth¹ largest digital population globally, Brazil emerged amidst the crisis scenario stemming from the pandemic, wherein the media assumed paramount importance as the primary source of information for Brazilians amidst isolation measures. Within this media landscape, Twitter emerges as a dynamic platform for expression, assuming a relevant role in catalyzing and amplifying voices, discourses, and representations pertaining to corruption within the context of pandemic-induced social isolation. After all, when it comes to the narrative of corruption, which originates in traditional or social media, there is an unending flow of material that feeds the ramifications of communication vehicles.

¹ With 78.3% of Brazilians having an Internet connection, Brazil ranks 5th in the ranking of countries where the population is online. This is according to data from the event sponsored by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), published by the Brazilian Government.

When examining the integration of social media² (Twitter) and traditional media³ (news portals⁴), this research acknowledges the complexities and disparities between these two communication platforms. On one hand, we recognize that social media are participatory and interactive, enabling users to create profiles and facilitate the articulated dissemination of content (Boyd and Ellison, 2007). On the other hand, traditional media distribute information in accordance with the hierarchical pattern of each news source (Castells and Cardoso, 2005). This dynamic landscape, encompassing both communication vehicles, engages with society, shaping technology in accordance with the values, interests, and needs of its users (Castells and Cardoso, 2005).

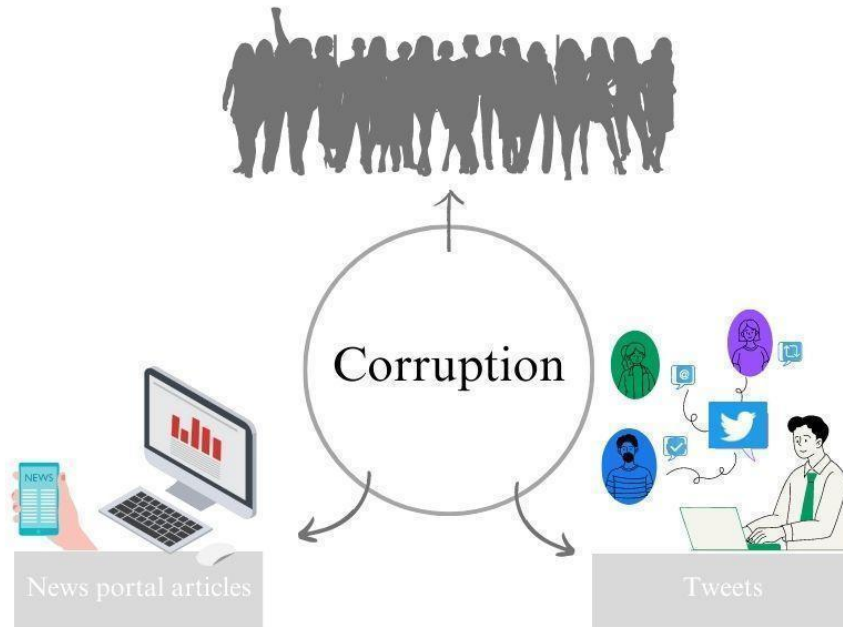
From the perspective of media integration, there is a continuous flow of information regarding corruption. Within this information cycle, streams exist where individuals write on Twitter, share news, and may also encounter cases of corruption to read or even disseminate on the platform (Figure 1). In an environment in which, news outlets distribute information related to corruption based on editorial directives, operating under the assumption that the elite disseminates societal knowledge through these channels. In this context, the media act as intermediaries, fostering dialogue and reflecting societal needs, thereby reinforcing the perception of their role as facilitators of discourse (Damgaard, 2018). In this dynamic cycle of information exchange, social media platforms foster discussions on the phenomenon with the backing of public opinion, opening space for an intense exchange of information, whether it is true or not.

² The study is concerned with the concept of "social media" or "digital platforms" linked to the idea of creating, sharing, and exchanging user-generated digital content that contributes to social interaction. As Castells and Cardoso (2005) points out, a networked society, in which technological networks enable the arrangement of new capabilities to an old form of social organization, contributed to the transformation of social relations in the information age.

³ Traditional media are understood as communication vehicles that are historically inserted in society, playing a central role in the dissemination of information, such as newspapers, magazines, radio and television (Innis, 2022; Mullen, 2009; McLuhan, 1994).

⁴ Newspapers, magazines, radios, and television are examples of traditional communication vehicles that are historically embedded in society and play a role in the spread of information (Innis, 2022; Mullen, 2009; McLuhan, 1994). In view of the fact that news portals, as analyzed in this work, are related to printed newspapers, they are included in the research as traditional vehicles.

Figure 1 - Media interaction



Created by the author from research data.

The emergence of digital media, together with new technologies, has contributed to the use of platforms such as Twitter, drastically altering the landscape of public discourse and its interaction with traditional journalism. In an atmosphere where the introduction of digital platforms has ushered in a new era marked by the rapid and widespread diffusion of information. Previously, Habermas's (2010) notion of the "public sphere"⁵, highlighted the dynamic aspect of citizen engagement in critical conversations on public issues, dialoguing with the information cycle that occurs today. While traditional media has historically, in the last decades, played a central role in shaping this sphere by facilitating news dissemination and deliberation.

⁵ In "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (2010), Habermas defines the public sphere as a space where citizens gather to discuss matters of common interest, express criticism, and influence political decisions. He emphasizes the role of the media in shaping and maintaining this sphere, as a communication channel that improves access to information and facilitates dialogue among segments of society. In today's world, the public sphere is evolving, with the media playing an increasingly role in promoting discourse and civic engagement, especially with the rise of digital media and social networks.

According to McLuhan (1994), the essence of any medium inherently encapsulates another medium, thus underscoring the interplay among media where the medium itself assumes paramount significance as the message. The media function as both disseminators of information and shapers of opinion, thereby exerting substantial influence over the discourse on corruption. Consequently, the depiction of events related to corruption by the media directly influences public perception, institutional trust, and political reactions.

While this complex dynamic also reflects a bias of skepticism, stemming from reflections on the widespread lack of public trust in the media, it fosters an environment of distrust and insecurity regarding communication channels (Kiouisis, 2001; Ceron, 2015; Turcotte et al., 2015). This skepticism influences public perception, shaping attitudes and behaviors towards media consumption. Furthermore, within the ongoing proliferation of digital communication, platforms such as Twitter emerge as vibrant arenas where a multitude of societal viewpoints coalesce and intertwine, thereby further molding the prevailing narrative.

With the ongoing expansion of social media as a communication medium and its capability for research and analysis of public opinion, Twitter has gained significance due to its predictive capacity in addressing global public awareness (Cody et al., 2016). This underscores the platform's role as an open space for contestation over the interpretation of corruption, characterized by dynamics of naturalization, media selectivity, inclusion/exclusion, and strategies of rationalization and moral evaluation (Paiva et al., 2016, p. 13).

From this perspective, acknowledging the significant influence of media in shaping perceptions of corruption, this case study⁶ endeavors to scrutinize the phenomena through two distinct channels of communication: articles disseminated by news portals and publicly tweeted tweets - authored by Brazilians - within a one-year. With the overarching objective of delineating the portrayal of corruption, this investigation situates digital communication as the principal framework, encompassing both conventional journalistic outlets and social media platforms.

The study employs three guiding and structured questions to facilitate the analysis within these two discrete communication realms, namely news portals and Twitter: Is there a

⁶ As it is a case study composed of a specific unit of analysis investigated in depth within a delimited and defined context (Ventura, 2007).

tendency in the way in which the narratives surrounding corruption in articles from news platforms contrast with the discourse on corruption observed in the tweets of Brazilians? How do recurring themes about corruption differ between journalistic articles on news platforms and tweets by Brazilians on Twitter?

The primary objective of these initial two questions is to explore the disparities and parallels in the depictions of corruption between conventional media (journalistic articles) and social media platforms (Twitter), thereby facilitating a comprehensive comprehension of the viewpoint inherent to each medium. The methodological approach of news articles and tweets diverges due to editorial considerations, target demographics, and individual reader filtration processes. It is posited that the portrayal of corruption within news portals is framed within a distinct framework when juxtaposed with the representation of corruption evident in Brazilian tweets. While both communication vehicles engage in reciprocal discourse and form part of media interactivity, the premise rests on the assertion that the perspective of news portals is influenced by the theory of "*agenda-setting*"⁷ (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; 1993; McCombs et al., 2013), alongside editorial alignment and structure.

The third and final question builds on the thematic exploration begun by the previous two questions, forming the core of the investigation: How is the trend of the portrayal of corruption delineated across categories, including (1) locations, (2) areas/editorial offices, (3) politicians, (4) political parties, (5) scandals/operations, (6) investigations, and (7) how do these categories interact with the phenomena through recurrent subcategories? These delineated categories within this inquiry intersect with the primary focus of the study - the cartography of corruption in Brazil - accounting for dimensions encompassing systemic and scholarly constructs such as geographical, social, political, and historical dynamics, while also acknowledging the academic discourse surrounding the subject matter (Friedrich, 2017; Rothstein, 2021; Rothstein and Varraich, 2017; Varraich, 2017). The specific aim is to provide a comprehensive examination of the prevailing recurrence⁸, convergences, and divergences within each designated category. In line with this

⁷ For McCombs and Shaw (1972), the "*agenda-setting*" theory suggests that the media can influence the importance that the public assigns to certain topics by emphasizing them repeatedly in the news. This theory suggests that the media agenda has a strong influence on the public agenda, shaping public perceptions and priorities. With this point of view, when dealing with the media, this research holds the idea, that the media not only informs about what is happening in the world, but also determines which issues are relevant to the audience.

⁸ When approaching the word recurrence is "repetition" or "reiteration".

objective, the quest for understanding initiates an inquiry into the notable patterns recurring across the dual communication platforms. Based on this, the intricacy of this inquiry is enhanced by the concept that corruption becomes interwoven into the story construction, impacting actions, attitudes, and societal norms in a symbolic capacity (Lima, 2006). This perspective is further substantiated by the recognition that sources of information play a pivotal role in shaping or perpetuating certain actions that define the interpretation of reality and subsequently, influence the trajectory of events (Bourdieu, 1989; De Lima, 2006; Giddens, 1989; Thompson and Guareschi, 2002).

To execute the data collection and produce findings that intersect with the fields of communication, sociology, and politics, this study adopts the *Content Analysis* method and *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis (CACA)*. These methodologies enable the incorporation of both quantitative and qualitative data components to shape the study's framework. These methodological choices were made based on their ability to draw conclusions from textual analysis, address relevant questions, and formulate assumptions that are then tested using evidence gleaned from the content (Krippendorff, 2018).

Consequently, the *Content Analysis* method serves as a cornerstone for examining communication content, particularly in quantitatively assessing the model's characteristics concerning corruption disclosed on social networks. Thus, it illuminates discrepancies and discerns trends within these phenomena (Frolova et al., 2017). In view of this, understanding the media's corruption structure not only facilitates further research in this domain but also informs policymaking, democratic analysis, and the discourse surrounding the culture of corruption (Fazekas and Tóth, 2016).

Comprehending the interplay between corruption and media is paramount for unraveling the complexities of public discourse and advancing our understanding of Brazilian social dynamics. Consequently, several key considerations underpin the rationale for this study: Firstly, to scrutinize the prevalence of the "culture of corruption"⁹ within the media, given its increasingly pervasive portrayal. This investigation endeavors to elucidate the degree to which corruption permeates media narratives.

Secondly, the study acknowledges the disparate viewpoints inherent in the portrayal of corruption within news portals and the perspectives expressed in tweets. This recognition

⁹ This study explores the contributions of authors such as Klitgaard (2017), Campbell and Göritz (2014), and Seleim and Bontis (2009) on the culture of corruption, analyzing the cultural influences that facilitate corruption in different contexts. The concept of the culture of corruption comes from a variety of perspectives, based on cultural elements that enable corruption in several situations.

emphasizes the significance of analyzing the dissonance between media representations and public perceptions of corruption, with the study aiming to explore the role of corruption in shaping media reality. Thus, it posits that further theoretical and academic inquiry is indispensable for elucidating the relationship between media framing and its influence on social and political representation, particularly in the context of corruption (Berti et al., 2020).

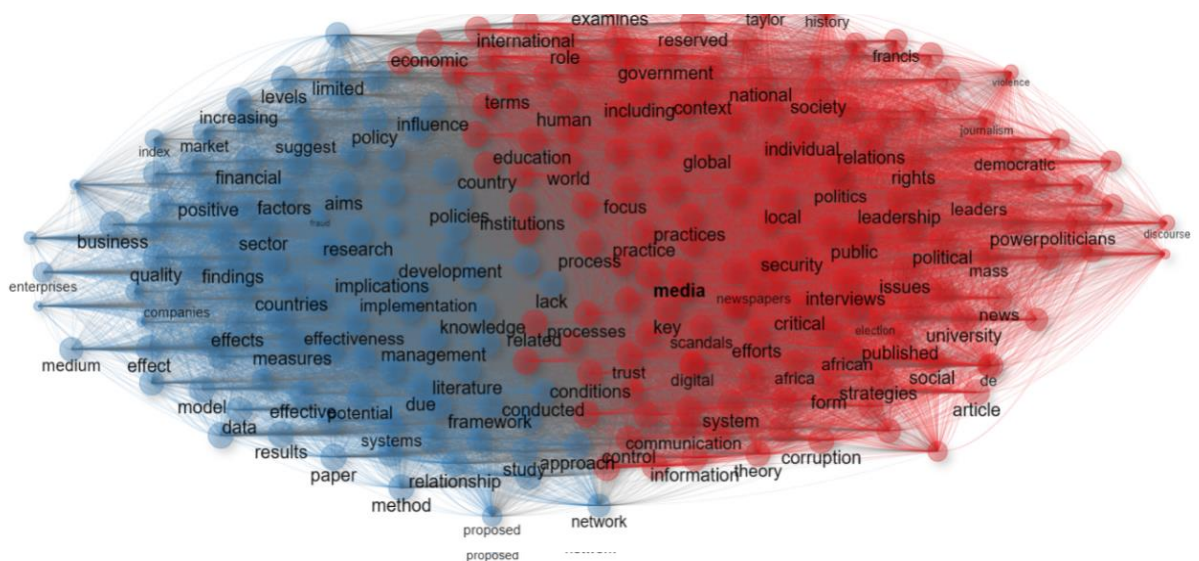
Beyond the political landscape of the nation, Brazil's significance as a point for investigating corruption derives from both the nature of corruption-related coverage in traditional news media and the repercussions of this phenomenon in the digital sphere (Juca et al., 2016). Consequently, there is a compelling need for additional theoretical research to uncover the interplay between media framing and its implications for social and political representation in the context of corruption (Berti et al., 2020).

Furthermore, the significance of this research lies in its examination of the relationship between the media and corruption in Brazil, elucidating the profound social, political, and cultural ramifications of this nexus. As underscored by Damgaard (2018), these studies become pioneering and intellectually stimulating when researchers from several disciplines, including politics and social sciences, collaborate to illuminate the social and political landscape in Brazil, enriching our understanding of contemporary scenarios when the frame is about corruption.

2. THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE

The approach to and understanding of corruption in the media over the past few years has been the subject of a wide array of studies and research endeavors, a web of investigations aimed at elucidating the phenomenon comprehensively, ranging from the corrupt acts themselves to issues of accountability. In exploring the scholarly landscape concerning corruption in the media over the past nine years through Bibliometrix¹⁰ analysis¹¹ (Graph 1), it becomes apparent that this field of study is not confined to a singular approach but rather encompasses a multitude of interconnected themes¹². Legal aspects related to governance, technological data, environmental and systemic factors, politics, social institutions, narratives, and notably, the role of the media, constitute intertwined sets that form the analytical framework.

Graph 1 - Thematic Maps Corruption and Media studies



Source: Bibliometrix and R software

¹⁰ The bibliographic search was conducted using the Scopus platform and the R programming language in conjunction with the Bibliometrix library. The following code was used to direct the search: "TITLE-ABS-KEY (media AND corruption) AND PUBYEAR > 2013 AND PUBYEAR < 2024". This code sets the search criteria for finding relevant research on the relationship between media and corruption published between 2014 and 2023.

¹¹ This chapter focuses on the primary writers of this quest, but it also discusses theoretical works that go beyond this search in the bibliography.

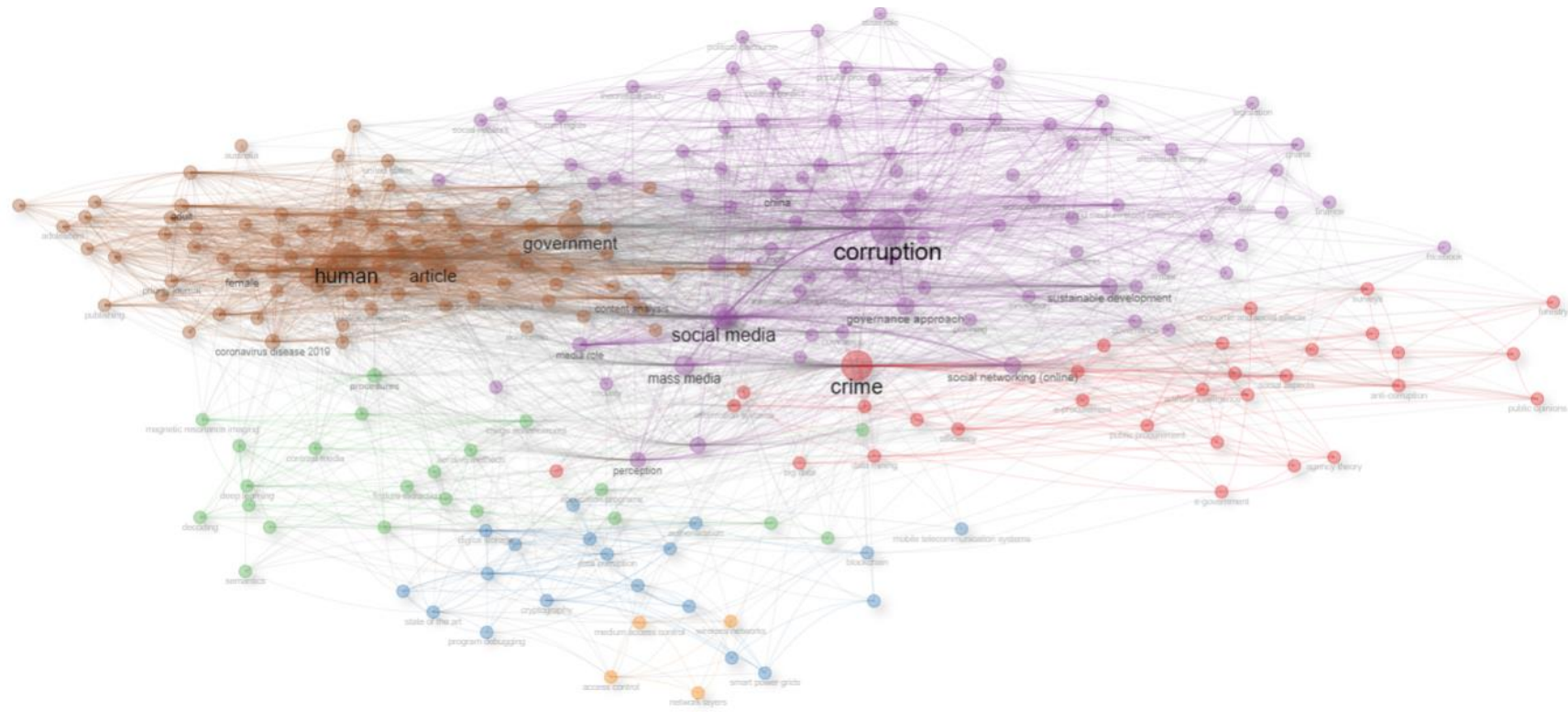
¹² The graphs presented have illustrative purposes to elucidate the complexity surrounding studies on corruption.

As discovered through bibliographic research with the assistance of Bibliometrix, recent scholarly endeavors have delved extensively into the multifaceted realm of corruption, epitomizing its nature and extensive repercussions. Scholar networks have dedicated significant efforts in recent years to comprehensively scrutinize dimensions of this phenomenon, aiming to gain deeper insights into its underlying mechanisms and resultant impacts. Among the myriad avenues of inquiry networks¹³, particular attention has been devoted to examining the interplay between corruption and the media (Graph 2), the main focus of this theoretical review chapter.

In this aspect, the communication paradigm, as elucidated by Castells (2015), is characterized by a complex interplay of technologies facilitating the transmission of information among interconnected agents, wherein meaning and significance are construed within the socio-cultural frameworks guiding information processing. This scholarly discourse underscores the pivotal role played by media platforms in shaping public perceptions, disseminating information, and potentially influencing the prevalence and dynamics of corruption within societal structures.

¹³ Co-occurrence network: In bibliometrix, a co-occurrence network is a graphical representation of the relationships between terms, concepts, authors, or other entities, based on the frequency with which they occur together in a set of documents. This technique is often used to identify significant patterns and relationships within large sets of bibliographic data.

Graph 2 - Co-occurrence network: Corruption and Media studies



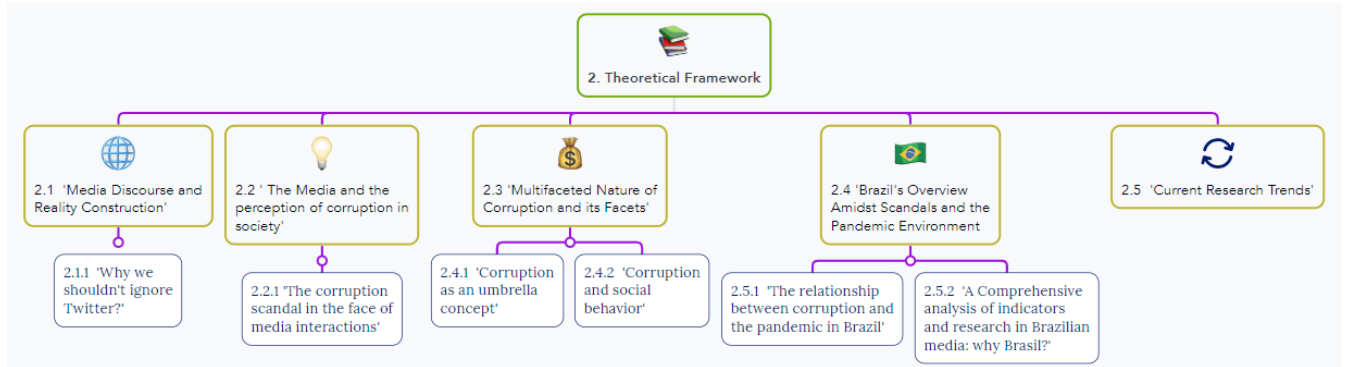
Source: Bibliometrix and R software

Thus, despite the large body of research on corruption, as shown above, this study focuses on the representation of corruption in the media, investigating the role of media in relation to the phenomenon, the multifaceted aspects of corruption and its behavioral dynamics, and the country's sociopolitical context. Each of these faces offers unique insights into the nature, causes, manifestations, and consequences of corruption, contributing to a nuanced understanding of this pervasive societal challenge, which is covered in the pages that follow and reveals how corruption is seen in Brazil through the media.

As a result, this bibliographical review, despite having Brazil in focus, goes beyond the geographical location, bringing the latest studies on the phenomenon. The theoretical framework chapter of the thesis on mapping corruption in Brazil through social media and news portals begins with a broad exploration of the intersection between corruption and media, acknowledging its multifaceted nature. This initial section aims to present key literature that forms the foundation of the research. The subsequent chapters delve into a detailed analysis and reflections of these works, each contributing to a comprehensive theoretical framework based on bibliometric review and contextualization.

Therefore, aiming for a didactic and structured organization, this chapter (Figure 2), titled "*Theoretical Framework*", initiates with an exposition of foundational texts that delve into the interplay between media and corruption. The subchapters in this section are thoroughly dissected and elaborated, serving to supplement and expand the theoretical framework debate. These seminal works serve as cornerstones upon which subsequent analyses are erected, facilitating a comprehensive comprehension of all empirical endeavors. Following this, subchapters 2.1, '*Media Discourse and Reality Construction*', 2.2, '*The Media's and the Perceptions of Corruption in Society*', and 2.3, '*Multifaceted Corruption and its aspects*' examine diverse facets of the media's impact on shaping perceptions of corruption; 2.4, '*Brazil's Overview Amidst Scandals and the Pandemic Environment*' aims to co-contextualize the research both temporally and geographically. And finally, the subchapter 2.5, entitled '*Current Research Trends*', serves as the foundation for previous chapters, increasing the authors' theoretical and methodological comments on their work.

Figure 2 - Theoretical framework



Mindmeister: created by the author 1

From this perspective, and based on the insights and reflections of the main authors, as well as the contextualization of Brazil, this chapter aims to structure the work through theoretical work in dialogue with the country's context, to reflect on the importance of analyzing the representation of corruption in journalistic articles on news portals and on Twitter. Consider the media's articulation in the face of corruption, as well as the sum of the facts in regard to the year 2021.

2.1 Media¹⁴ Campus and Reality Construction

Communication is an integral facet of power dynamics intertwined with the symbolic authority wielded by individuals engaged in interactions shaped by what Bourdieu (1989, p. 11) termed "structuring structures" of communication. These structures operate through symbolic systems wherein communication not only constitutes but also legitimizes the

¹⁴ When we discuss media, we use broad phrases. However, the study finds that social media and traditional media differ in numerous ways, including the nature of content generation, reach and audience, interaction, and the pace of information diffusion. While traditional media involves professional journalism, which involves journalistic practices (Berglez, 2013), companies with a large reach and audience, social media allows individual individuals or groups to post and distribute material in a decentralized, interactive manner that has the potential to go viral. In this case, redefining civic engagement and the public sphere (Sinha, 2019). These variations are taken into account in this work since they have a substantial impact on how information is produced, distributed, and consumed in current society, as well as the findings of this thesis study.

dominance of social frameworks that underpin the construction of worldviews and guide action. Within this framework, individuals adhere to certain behaviors contingent upon prevailing circumstances, thus exhibiting variability in response to different "interactions" (Bourdieu, 1989; Thompson, 1998, p. 21).

Symbolic power, as elucidated by De Lima (2006), holds the capacity to intervene in the trajectory of events, exerting influence over actions and beliefs through the creation of symbolic constructs. Thus, a hierarchical arrangement, governed by values and criteria, governs the representations disseminated within the media sphere, thereby serving as a mechanism for both the control and dissemination of material and symbolic power. For instance, Cardoso Jr. (2013, p. 04) highlights aspects such as "visibility", "prestige", and the "place of speech."

These structures comprise social elements, including communication, history, tradition, and knowledge fragments that perpetuate and validate the construction of the social domain (Neto et al., 2015). Each domain engenders a particular perspective, ranging from the state functioning as a political arena to the media, which serves as a conduit for reality for its audience (Miguel and Brioli, 2010, p. 69; Bourdieu, 1989).

In this environment, the mass media¹⁵ operate and impact society by producing messages that are generated, circulated, received, and perceived by the general public (Hall, 2003; 2006; Mullen, 2006; 2009), contributing to the legitimization and replication of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1989). In an environment where "cultural capital" and the "cultural field" intersect in shaping society, the concept of "cultural capital" encompasses the knowledge, skills, and education possessed by individuals. Conversely, the "cultural field" operates within the social sphere where interactions between culture producers and consumers take place (Bourdieu, 1989).

From this perspective, one can discern the profound impact of the media on society, as individuals tend to exhibit distinct behaviors contingent upon the "interaction field" to which they are exposed. Consequently, they assume varied positions within these fields (Bourdieu, 1989; Thompson, 1998, p. 21; Silva et al., 2020). Within these arenas, the acquisition and wielding of political power hold paramount importance, thereby conferring legitimacy upon symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989; De Lima, 2006).

¹⁵ The idea of mass media focusing on Habermas' public sphere theory which reflects on the media in the formation of public opinion and civic participation, critical theory (Habermas, 2010; 1990 1981). The idea of the public sphere is also worked on by authors such as Thompson (1993); McLuhan (1994); Savigny (2002); Gimmler (2002), Mullen (2006).

Consequently, institutions and media entities are inclined towards constructing and perpetuating symbolic manifestations of power (Thompson, 1998; Souza et al., 2018; Silva et al., 2020). Within the context of a field understood as a nexus of relations, there lies to integrate every field composed of power dynamics, influences, beliefs, concessions, and ideologies (Gomes et al., 2022).

In light of these considerations, communication emerges as a pivotal instrument influencing both the control and behavioral patterns of individuals and their decision-making processes (Demeter, 2017). Thus, power emanates from social relations among individuals in a coercive manner, with an acute awareness among individuals regarding the dynamics of power subjugation (Foucault, 1979). Consequently, power permeates human interactions across diverse contexts (Neto et al., 2015; Weber, 1995).

From this perspective, we can understand how the intensity of media influence molds individual behaviors as people are exposed to different fields of interaction, whether through social media, television, newspapers, or other media platforms. This exposure influences the positions people take on subjects and social issues. Furthermore, the media contributes to build and legitimize symbolic power, as institutions and media outlets have the ability to shape public perception, create political agendas, and influence public conversation. In this setting, communication becomes an effective instrument for regulating and directing people's behavior.

The media plays a pivotal role in constructing and disseminating symbols that shape the interpretation of social events and phenomena. Consequently, individuals function as "news creators", influencing the formation of interpretative frameworks. Examining the theory of symbolic power offers a framework for analyzing the interplay between the media and the structuring of interactional contexts (Bourdieu, 1989).

Through news narratives, individuals adopt interpretive lenses through which they make sense of events and occurrences in the world, acting as "newsmakers" by defining the significance of events, their causes, actions, historical context, and outcomes (Park, 2012). Recognizing that individuals translate, interpret, and internalize media content underscores the dynamic relationship between interactional contexts and the media, extending beyond passive consumption of information to active engagement in shaping public discourse. Thus, to grasp this dynamic and comprehend how news constructs reality and shapes collective perceptions.

As noted by Carvalho Jr. (2003, p. 03), within the realm of symbolic systems, the media generate knowledge and recognition, consequently, exerting influence on electoral processes, as "the mass media profoundly influence the discourse of our representatives" (Carvalho Jr., 2003, p. 03). This underscores how communication serves as a conduit for engaging with and navigating contemporary existence (Rubim, 2000, p. 29).

The arena of communication serves as a battleground for contemporary debates regarding power relations within society (Neto et al., 2015). Here, the potency of the media lies in its capacity to determine what captures public attention (Breit, 2010). Within a context where media coverage contributes to ideological polarization (Hindman, 2012), the power dynamics within society are significantly shaped and contested.

How media content creators construct meanings and interpret contentious activities within a milieu characterized by instantaneous and conflicting information is a subject of inquiry (Breit, 2010). Framing presents the public with the opportunity to engage in implicit problem identification, leading to the formulation of judgments, justifications, or solutions pertaining to specific issues (Park, 2012).

Embedded within the construction of political attitudes is communication, whereby the narratives disseminated by the media contribute to shaping the political agenda within a country (Carvalho Jr., 2013). It is noteworthy that the intersection of communication and politics encompasses diverse trajectories that intersect, wherein the media domain may adhere to its own set of principles within a social arena that seeks to control values through practices and representations organized akin to a system (Cardoso Jr., 2013; Bourdieu, 1989).

Regarding media imagery and the social construction of reality, it is recognized that news can convey similar ideas and images to audiences in several manners across different media platforms, thereby reinforcing the media conglomerate (Gamson et al., 1992). In an environment where the media, instead of fostering civic engagement and citizenship, increasingly promotes cynicism, criticism, passivity, and even apathy (Gamson et al., 1992).

Society is structured and influenced by the media, wherein communication "weaves and involves being in the world in the present space/time, in addition to pointing out the possibilities of deepening this media web in a radical way" (Rubim, 2000, p. 30). Consequently, contemporary society is shaped by communication, reflecting sociability across different spheres (Rubim, 2000). In certain instances, this ambiguous nature of

media discourse allows social movements to offer alternative constructions that challenge the prevailing reality, seeking support among readers by connecting meanings beyond those portrayed by the media (Gamson et al., 1992).

The scenario is mediatic and dynamic, in which, on the one hand, society functions as a watchdog, holding the government accountable and exposing abuses of power (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004; De Lima, 2006). On the other hand, the media often serve as platforms for contentious and sometimes orchestrated conflicts (Breit, 2010).

From previous studies to contemporary academic studies, it is conceivable to state that, information flows through networks of opinion leaders who disseminate mass messages to their respective audiences, thereby shaping the agenda (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). Moreover, social exchange further amplifies the agenda's impact (Feezell, 2018). The planning of mass media is influenced by the social filtering of information, where the exchange of information in media seeks to counteract the fragmentation and selectivity of the audience, thereby contributing to the propagation of predetermined issues (Feezell, 2018).

Considering the realms of communication and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1989), the contemporary dynamic interaction characterized by information flow through networks, which significantly influences the construction and dissemination of opinions in a complex and interconnected manner, becomes evident (Castells and Cardoso, 2005; Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). From this perspective, Bourdieu's theory elucidates how communication fields contribute to the establishment and perpetuation of power structures.

Therefore, the importance of critically examining the media and their power dynamics is highlighted by the constant tension between those who shape public opinion, and those who receive these messages in society. In an environment in which communication is the backbone of symbolic power, supported both by traditional information vehicles, such as newspapers and Twitter.

Understanding the processes of information distribution and assimilation employed by the media, news portals, and social media platforms, and their contributions to the social agenda and ongoing news coverage, is central to this discourse. Thus, the comprehensive approach emphasized here underscores the significance of scrutinizing the underlying power structures of the media, along with the role of modern networks in shaping the information landscape that influences public opinion and the social reality we inhabit.

2.1.1 Why we shouldn't ignore Twitter?

Twitter fits as a prominent platform that both challenges and complements traditional media outlets. Individuals and groups can use Twitter to immediately spread messages to a global audience, affecting public opinion and influencing political and social conversation. Thus, Twitter plays an important part in the dynamics of symbolic power, helping to develop and disseminate narratives and agendas.

Twitter is significant in this study because of its critical significance as a social platform in current culture, allowing for the rapid broadcast of information and the development of global perspectives. The succinct and fast-paced nature of Twitter allows users to promptly express views, disseminate news, and share perspectives, thereby fostering a dynamic discourse. Owing to its mobile accessibility, the platform serves as a tool for reporting on events spanning from political developments to sporting occasions, offering a distinct and expedient viewpoint on occurrences.

As one of the most widely utilized communication and information platforms, particularly in Western nations, Twitter wields considerable influence in the political and social realms, thereby molding public sentiment and impacting decision-making processes. The platform's microblogging format engenders a dynamic and participatory environment, engaging an often-diverse audience that establishes networks through ongoing tweets and interactions (Marwick and Boyd, 2011; Jungherr et al., 2016).

Tweets can be read and sent via computers or cellphones using access methods that facilitate the swift dissemination of photographs, videos, reports, and brief responses to other users (Marwick and Boyd, 2011). Twitter sets itself apart through features such as message length, lightweight design, instantaneous interface, rapid turnover, high public visibility, and the option for a targeted network graph where the "follow" function is available, requiring no reciprocal connection between users (Tufekci, 2014, 2017; Tromble, 2021; Marwick and Boyd, 2011).

The Twitter platform, which focuses on user engagement, delivers data with a simple structure made up of tweets, retweets, mentions, and hashtags, an environment with data that is easy to structure and analyze when compared to other social networks with a massive flow of data. As a result, "Twitter has emerged as a “model organism” of big

data" (Tufekci, 2014, p. 506; Proferes et al., 2021)¹⁶. Given that Twitter provides open APIs that promote data gathering, allowing users of the social network to interact with global events and their developments, the platform has become a reference location for collecting observational data. (Proferes et al., 2021).

As a result, there is the potential for Twitter to sustain mechanisms for community relationships and support through interconnected clusters (Tufekci, 2014). In light of this, many tweets hold true and fulfill a social function, strengthening connections and preserving social bonds (Marwick and Boyd, 2011).

In a media environment, it is worth endorsing the notable comparison between Twitter and the popular Facebook. While Facebook boasts the largest user base, the majority of its activities are private, rendering them less accessible for external analysis, especially in academic research. In contrast, Twitter's activities are publicly visible on the internet, rendering it a valuable source of data and information for politicians, journalists, and scholars (Tufekci, 2014).

Despite being a smaller platform than Google and Facebook, Twitter stands out for its popularity among journalists and in the political world, predominantly for presenting this open and simple philosophy that tends to please society, despite recent efforts by the platform to suppress the use of robot accounts that troll automated content (Tufekci, 2017, 2018; Jungherr et al., 2016). In this way, Twitter's virality can help certain topics gain public attention and influence political and social agendas. Twitter now provides a more accessible and dynamic platform for accessing public opinion, allowing for trend analysis, voice amplification, and real-time monitoring of public-interest exchanges.

It is true that new technologies have altered the repertoire of how society, individuals, organizations, and governments transmit and generate forms of communication (Amaral and Pinho, 2017). In an environment where public sphere discourse is seen as a space for engagement, enabling the public to discuss and debate societal concerns (Habermas, 2010), Twitter emerges as a platform with ample space for such discourse. Consequently, the widespread dissemination of public information on Twitter substantiates the correlation between tweets and public opinion formation (Soares and Recuero, 2017).

Due to the brevity, lack of depth, and instantaneous nature of messages (tweets), there exists an assumption that 'Twitter makes meaningful discussion difficult' (Yardi and

¹⁶ Tufekci (2014) uses a reference to biological sciences, mentioning the "model organism," which is a species chosen for rigorous scrutiny by the research community to analyze processes such as the features of living cells.

Boyd, p. 317, 2010). Given the multitude of ways in which individuals can read and share tweets, it is nearly impossible for Twitter users to identify their potential audience, let alone their actual readers; however, this lack of precise audience knowledge is exacerbated by the fact that tweets are viewed by an infinite number of individuals (Marwick and Boyd, 2011).

It is noteworthy that the issue of content filtering on Twitter continues to raise certain concerns, attributable to the high volume of interactions occurring on the platform (Viscardi, 2020). Although the social platform has enhanced its capacity to enable users to report information over time, this approach has not proven effective in curbing the dissemination of violent, abusive, or even false news items on the network (Viscardi, 2020).

Twitter operates straightforwardly by facilitating communities that discuss significant themes (Amaral and Pinho, 2017). The platform's themes span from culture to politics, presented through written texts, images, and videos (Viscardi, 2020). According to Paiva, Garcia, and Alcatra (2017), Twitter contributes to discussions in political, social, and emotional spheres, influencing everyday life; indeed, it is on the platform that users position themselves in favor of or against a particular tweet and, thereby, tend to legitimize or delegitimize a certain topic.

Twitter users are exposed to a variety of points of view via the public timeline, so "People have also turned to Twitter to seek and share information and social support" (Yardi and Boyd, p. 317, 2010). One example is through hashtags and public timelines, in which people can witness public conversations that they would not otherwise have access to and can participate in dialogues that they would not have access to (Yardi and Boyd, 2010).

Twitter users often employ pairs of hashtags in their tweets to support one side of an issue with which they agree while providing a counterpoint to the side with which they disagree (Yardi and Boyd, 2010). This results in exposure to a variety of viewpoints on a given topic, rather than just similar perspectives from a network of followers.

As a result, Twitter is rich in information since anyone can broadcast their thoughts and opinions without the editorial oversight of traditional media institutions. Consequently, tweets enable different narratives about the same fact to dispute the visibility of conversations, creating room for information exposure and allowing for the repercussions of disagreements and disinformation (Soares and Recuero, 2021), which are amplified by the use of hashtags (Barros, 2014).

Twitter features a succession of updated, streamlined, and brief information flows that encourage interaction among thousands of users (Anger and Kittl, 2011; Chandra et al., 2011). Consequently, Twitter's impact extends beyond national and regional levels to the global political arena. Indeed, political leaders, organizations, and citizens worldwide utilize the Internet to communicate, advocate causes, and engage in cross-border disputes. Another significant aspect is that the social platform tends to possess predictive capabilities regarding issues of global significance, addressing rarely explored themes, with the ability to build public opinion surveys (Cody, 2016). In a media landscape, the social platform provides politicians and journalists with more open communication channels to reach a wider audience (Kim et al., 2016).

This occurs at a time when the increasing use of Twitter in election campaign strategies and political discourse has led to a growing body of studies on the subject (Parmelee, 2013; Jungherr, 2014; Jürgens and Jungherr, 2011; Kreiss, 2016). Moreover, themes related to political phenomena capture the interest of users on social media as they align with the political or personal motivations underlying these issues and submitted content (Jungherr et al., 2016).

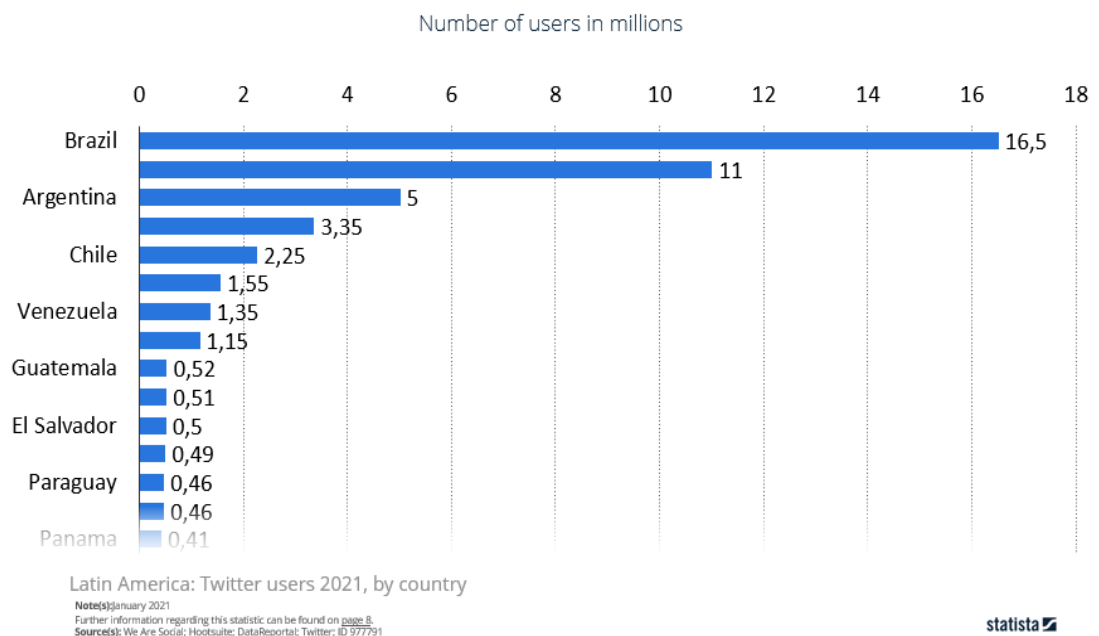
According to studies, it would be wiser for modern political campaigns to shift some of their focus away from traditional media and toward communicating with voters through new media channels such as Facebook and Twitter (Budak, 2010). This encompasses the platform's success in connection to political campaigns, which relies on indirect influence and resonant and rhetorically effective interactions (Kreiss, 2016; Tufekci, 2017, 2018). It is worth noting that during Barack Obama's 2008 campaign, a tweet announcing his victory was retweeted 157 times, which contrasts with the subsequent change in campaign strategy during the 2012 election when a photograph tweeted that same year received approximately 800.000 more retweets in less than 3 days (Kreiss, 2016). Twitter was also utilized as an engagement tool to showcase Obama's campaign news, and on the day of the elections, the politician used the social platform to send messages to his voters asking for votes (Gomes et al., 2009).

The effect of the social network also had an impact on research a few years later; after all, former US President Donald Trump used Twitter extensively as an engagement tool and primarily to catch the attention of his audience (Tufekci, 2018; 2017). And, more recently, this influence can be seen in the Brazilian scenario during a crisis, when the arguments of Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's then-president at the time, transformed the

vaccination narrative against Covid-19 into a political-ideological debate on Twitter (Monari et al., 2021).

Considering that political campaigns utilize the platform to reach people, organize events, and promote civic engagement, online mobilization often translates into offline activities, influencing electoral participation. According to data from Statista (Graph 3), as of January 2021, Brazil had the highest number of Twitter users among Latin American countries, with approximately 16.5 million on the social platform, followed by Mexico and Argentina.

Graph 3 - Twitter users in Latin America in 2021



Source: Statista.

Hence, Twitter's efficacy in mobilizing voters has emerged as a critical factor in numerous elections (Jahanbakhsh and Moon, 2014; Choy et al., 2012; Kreiss, 2016; Parmelee, 2013; Jungherr, 2014). This leads to the conclusion that, within this context, Twitter evolves into a platform for debates surrounding the interpretation of corruption, driven by media selectivity. It configures itself as an environment characterized by both inclusion and exclusion dynamics, appointment strategies, and moral evaluations, particularly evident within political-partisan settings (Paiva et al., 2017). Take into consideration, Twitter's

ability to mobilize voters and facilitate public discourse makes it a forum for discussions about corruption, emphasizing the platform's role in shaping political narratives and influencing electoral outcomes.

It is worth noting that Twitter is becoming a present tool in the West, especially in moments of decision. An example of this is *the Pew Research Center*¹⁷ Twitter studies from 2021, which highlighted that in the case of the United States, North American adult users of Twitter active tweets tend to be less inclined to find a civil tone in discussions about an issue. Certainly, the social platform has a variety of issues that guide political decision-making and shape the daily lives of thousands of Brazilians, Twitter enables communities to discuss broad issues (Amaral and Pinho, 2017).

Being an open social network with few barriers when it comes to participating in public debates, one of the issues that stands out on Twitter is the phenomenon of corruption, which has been a present topic recently due to the political instability of the country of Brazil (Paiva et al., 2017). After all, according to data¹⁸ provided by the platform, the number of monthly active users in Brazil has increased significantly since 2020, reaching about 40 million accounts.

Twitter has become an actor in political decisions in Brazil, and thus the social platform serves as one of the data extractions bases to strengthen the mapping of this thesis. Although the social platform's survival is inextricably related to its ability to combat misinformation in the face of a flood of instant information, safeguard the integrity of shared information, and assure informed civic involvement.

In conclusion, despite criticisms regarding the brevity and potential limitations of meaningful discussion on Twitter, its undeniable influence in modern society cannot be overlooked. The platform's ability to facilitate discussions spanning from culture to politics, coupled with its role in mobilizing voters and shaping public opinion, underscores its significance as a vital component of contemporary communication and civic engagement; for these reasons, Twitter becomes a base platform to support this work. While challenges such as content filtering persist, Twitter's impact on political campaigns and its role in fostering debates on societal issues highlight its enduring relevance. As evidenced by its pivotal role in electoral processes and its capacity to

¹⁷ A nonprofit research center in the United States, founded in 2004, is dedicated to producing information and analysis on trends and issues affecting American society. It conducts opinion polls, social studies, data analysis, and other research to understand the opinions and behaviors of American people around the world.

¹⁸ Twitter site.

amplify voices and perspectives, Twitter remains a powerful tool for driving discourse, influencing perceptions, and mobilizing communities, thus affirming its enduring importance in the digital age.

2.2 The Media and the perception of corruption in society

As previously highlighted, the media plays a pivotal role in shaping collective perceptions. Within this realm, one of the prominent subjects that the media delves into is corruption, a facet of contemporary societal information dynamics. The interplay between modern media and corruption explores its multifaceted manifestations within the web of information, thereby exerting a significant influence on the construction of social reality. From this perspective, the convergence of news, investigative reports, and social media discourse with individual and collective experiences fosters critical reflection on how media mechanisms, in their entirety, can simultaneously elucidate and obscure public understanding of corruption.

In this scenario, media tends to offer interpretations of corruption that shape the discourse and evaluation of issues by the public (Park, 2012). In recent times, corruption has garnered heightened attention in media narratives, particularly as it intertwines with political controversies and underscores the accountability (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004). This trend unfolds against the backdrop of an expanding media landscape empowered by new technologies and global outreach (Castells, 1997).

The advent of social networks heralded a profound transformation in the communication landscape, challenging the established structures of traditional media. Until recently, traditional media adhered to a unidirectional communication model, characterized by controlled information dissemination subject to censorship and monopolization. However, the proliferation of social networks heralded a paradigm shift, ushering in immediacy, transparency, and widespread dissemination of information across diverse content platforms (Jha and Sarangi, 2017).

The media serves as both an informative and normative conduit concerning corruption, broadening the scope of its portrayal (Berti et al., 2020). With a plethora of platforms for disseminating and dissecting informational content, ranging from traditional newspapers to social media, corruption emerges as a pervasive factor interlinking various spheres of power, as we saw previously, including politics, business, and the media (Figueiras,

2017). Moreover, corruption reporting tends to be multifaceted and ambiguous, reflecting the diverse interests and practices underlying each news story (Mancini et al., 2016).

Therefore, the media emerge as the primary actors in the social construction of the concept of corruption (Berti et al., 2020). Particularly within modern democracies, typically founded on constitutional guarantees, the media exhibit an informative propensity, fostering discussions between the government and the public (Vaidya, 2005). By furnishing information, the media empower society to hold public figures embroiled in corruption scandals accountable, thereby placing them under public scrutiny. Consequently, the media assumes a pivotal role in disseminating and combating corruption by mobilizing public opinion and oversight mechanisms (Park, 2012).

Two pivotal factors are keystones in the battle against political corruption: democratization and media freedom (Bhattacharyya and Hodler, 2015). Indeed, the democratization of communication ensures that diverse voices within society enjoy equitable access to information channels, thereby fostering transparency and a multiplicity of viewpoints. Likewise, media freedom is paramount to safeguarding editorial independence, enabling journalists to probe and report on corruption without fear of censorship or coercion.

The convergence of these elements is vital for both traditional and social media, erects a formidable barrier against corruption by furnishing society with unfettered and varied information, placing emphasis on issues such as accountability, and fortifying the democratic ethos. Hence, scholars over the years have underscored the press's significance in unearthing and publicizing corrupt practices, thereby catalyzing policies and behaviors geared towards combating this phenomenon, particularly in nations with restricted press freedom where control over information dissemination persists (Mancini et al., 2017).

- Traditional Media and corruption

In contemporary discussion, the symbiotic relationship between media and corruption has emerged as a major focus point in the continuous fight against societal misconduct. While the media is an effective instrument for exposing corrupt activities, it operates in a context where political and institutional interests frequently strive to limit press freedom.

Independent media entities, in shedding light on corruption, face particularly significant challenges in this regard.

Traditional media channels, including as newspapers and internet news portals, play a critical role in exposing cases of corruption in society. Through investigative journalism and in-depth reporting, these media outlets operate as watchdogs, holding people and organizations accountable for their actions. They frequently serve as the principal conduits via which corruption charges are brought to the public's attention, acting as a check on authority and fostering transparency.

In dialogue, in accordance with the perspective of this work, Mancini et al. (2017) identify several elements to consider, including the media system's influence on corruption reporting, the relationship between media and politics in generating corruption, and the political dynamics influencing journalistic integrity. These difficulties highlight the significance of conducting sophisticated analysis when studying the relationship between media and corruption.

The nexus between media and corruption is pivotal in the fight against corruption; however, governments' and institutions' desire to maintain control over the media and press freedom (Berti et al., 2020). This is particularly significant concerning independent media, which plays a role in exposing corrupt practices (Bhattacharyya and Hodler, 2015). Hence, studies suggest that press freedom is vital in curbing corruption, while also highlighting the importance of considering other factors to comprehend the impact of these domains (Berti et al., 2020).

Mancini et al. (2017) underscore the press's significance in investigating and disseminating corruption cases, thereby advocating for anti-corruption policies and behaviors. An intriguing observation by the author is that in countries with limited press freedom, there is scant possibility to hold those in power accountable, either through public opinion or authorities.

In view of that, it is correct to affirm that the nexus between traditional media and corruption also underscores the challenges faced by journalists and media organizations, although this is not the focus of this thesis. Governments and powerful entities may attempt to influence or manipulate the media to suppress unfavorable coverage or distort the narrative surrounding corruption scandals. This pressure can manifest in several forms, including censorship, legal threats, or economic coercion.

Examining the relationship between the spread of corruption, press freedom, and the development of democratic institutions, Mancini et al. (2017) note that countries with varying assessments of press freedom exhibit diverse cultural, religious, historical, and developmental dimensions. The author identifies other factors that merit consideration, such as a) the influence of the media system and market segmentation on corruption reporting, b) the interplay between media and politics as a factor influencing corruption, and c) political parallelism affecting journalists' work, including the absence of political and ideological ties.

Despite these challenges, conventional media sources remain critical in the battle against corruption. Their ability to conduct thorough investigations, assess complicated situations, and publish information to the public contributes to increased accountability and transparency in society. Furthermore, their historical role as guardians of democracy emphasizes the need of press freedom as a foundational component of democratic governance.

In this sense, Mancini et al. (2017) highlight several factors that deserve attention when discussing the topic of corruption. This includes the influence of the media system and market segmentation on reporting on corruption, the interaction between the media and politics as an influential factor in corruption, and the political parallels that affect the work of journalists, including the importance of the absence of political and ideological ties to guarantee impartial coverage. These elements highlight the complexity and multiple facets of the relationship between media and corruption, highlighting the need for a comprehensive and contextualized analysis of the subject.

In this context, press freedom not only mirrors but also shapes democratic values in society (Huntington, 1991). On one hand, press freedom contributes to establishing democratic institutions, as societies with free media are more inclined to develop political systems that foster accountability and civic participation (Robinson and Acemoglu, 2012). The press plays a tangible role in exposing corruption, conducting public investigations against the public interest, and unveiling the underlying instrumentalization behind journalistic reporting, rather than serving as a fair check on power in defense of the public interest (Mancini et al., 2016).

Undoubtedly, most corruption cases in the public sphere in recent decades have been uncovered through journalism investigations rather than by anti-corruption institutions and bodies (Berti et al., 2020). Hence, the role of journalism aligns with the notion of

field and capital, where an interplay occurs between the contested fields of capital and the sources (Amaral, 2016; Bourdieu, 1989), whereby sources are integrated into the social structure, although journalism may ultimately undermine them in specific cases (Amaral, 2016).

Considering that the Western model of journalism assigns a "monitoring role" to the press, journalism is tasked with a tangible and immediate function regarding corruption by elucidating ethical guidelines and public behavior (Mancini et al., 2016), thereby making press freedom a bulwark against corruption (Berti et al., 2020).

Furthermore, press freedom not only reflects but also actively shapes democratic norms by encouraging accountability and civic engagement. Journalism's role in exposing corruption demonstrates its critical role in promoting openness and accountability in society. Notably, journalism often serves as the primary vehicle for exposing corruption, surpassing the efforts of anti-corruption institutions. Within the framework of field and capital in a context of a symbolic power that constructs reality, journalism navigates power dynamics, occasionally challenging established sources of authority. As the vanguard of societal watchdogs, Journalism has an important role in promoting ethical standards and raising public awareness.

In this environment, press freedom emerges as a keystone in the battle against corruption, enabling journalists to carry out their monitoring duties and preserve ethical standards. As a result, protecting press freedom is critical, not only for journalistic integrity, but also for the preservation of democratic principles and the quest of a more transparent and responsible society.

- Social Media and corruption

The synthesis of traditional media and the expansive reach of social media platforms has heralded a new era in the battle against corruption. The transparency afforded by social media has empowered individuals to expose instances of corruption and scrutinize narratives, thereby reinforcing accountability mechanisms. This transparency, coupled with the immediacy of media technology, has facilitated real-time monitoring of events and decision-making processes, enhanced detection efforts and promoting transparency in public administration.

The transparency fostered by social media serves as a catalyst for exposing instances of corruption and facilitates the scrutiny of narratives, thereby bolstering accountability mechanisms in their endeavors (Hedman, 2016). Leveraging the instantaneous nature of media technology, real-time monitoring of daily occurrences and even decision-making processes becomes feasible, enhancing the capacity to detect corruption and prioritize transparency in public administration (Bruns and Himmler, 2016).

In recent years, there has been a growing acknowledgment that individuals who consume information via social media tend to harbor a heightened perception of corruption compared to those relying on traditional sources (Charron et al., 2019). This underscores how social media, characterized by its relatively unregulated content, can influence perceptions of corruption within political institutions and trust dynamics, often in a detrimental manner (Charron and Annoni, 2021).

Moreover, technology-savvy activists utilize online platforms to articulate public discontent, particularly regarding issues of corruption (Salge and Karahanna, 2018). Platforms like Twitter foster vital avenues for reporting and exposing corruption in a viral, instantaneous, and global manner, enabling users to disseminate content and fostering an environment conducive to social surveillance (Tufekci, 2014; 2017; 2018).

In summary, traditional media and the freedom afforded by social media collaborate synergistically to empower citizens through social participation and to oversee and combat corruption across several sectors. Additionally, owing to the instrumentalization of the media, communication channels play a significant role in shaping and reshaping political reputations (Thompson and Guareschi, 2002; Mancini et al., 2001).

The diverse frames through which news about corruption is presented are linked to the reporting methodologies employed by journalists (Berti et al., 2020). Indeed, within the realm of information dissemination, both written and spoken language serve as components of the social process, promoting varied conceptions of corruption (Breit, 2010). When anti-corruption investigations or trials are underway, the media often operates concurrently with the judicial system, with reports potentially serving as investigative material (or vice versa) (Berti et al., 2020).

The underlying logic of journalism often aligns with specific interests, with the issue of corruption frequently leveraged to serve particular agendas, often at the expense of the public interest. As Mancini et al. (2016, p. 17) assert, "News media become part of the political struggle and decision-making process, reflecting the often-contingent interests

of groups, individual politicians, and businessmen”. Disparities in political systems, media coverage, and press freedom contribute to the notion that media market segmentation, coupled with political parallelism, fosters diverse presentations of corruption and engenders a shared sense of outrage. As highlighted by Mancini et al. (2017, p. 67), "media market segmentation, political parallelism, and media instrumentalization thus condition different representations that prevent the emergence of unanimously shared outrage".

In today's media landscape characterized by high visibility, while the media can serve as a potent tool in curbing corruption, it also has the potential to propagate misinformation. Moreover, while the Internet represents a viable resource for combating corruption, it can also obfuscate certain issues, underscoring the necessity for caution, as emphasized by the authors (Mancini et al., 2016).

Hence, studies must account for the fact that the web is susceptible to information manipulation, given the absence of verification of sources that may yield disparate effects (Mancini et al., 2016). In that regard, to recognize that the emergence of media conglomerates has led to the integration of diverse media platforms, which often disseminate uniform messages through varying methodologies and technologies (Gamson et al., 1992).

In closing, the distinction and even integration between the press and social media explored in this thesis is founded on the notion that the widespread reach of social media platforms has inaugurated a new age in the fight against corruption. Unlike traditional media, which is bound by established editorial frameworks and regulatory restraints, social media platforms provide a decentralized and relatively uncontrolled environment in which anyone can freely spread information and engage in discourse.

As an outcome, the transparency promoted by social media acts as a catalyst for revealing instances of corruption and facilitating the scrutiny of narratives, so strengthening accountability systems in their efforts. However, despite its potential to drive positive change, the unregulated nature of social media content distribution poses obstacles. The ubiquity of disinformation, as well as the rapid dissemination of unconfirmed claims, highlight the need for critical media literacy and responsible online conduct when navigating the digital landscape.

2.2.1 The corruption scandal in the face of media interactions

The scandals serve as pivotal junctures that illuminate the interplay between media, politics, and society. Through the lens of communication dynamics, scandals offer profound insights into the violation of social and moral norms, as well as the subsequent public attention and reactions channeled through the media. The media's role in fostering a culture of publicity not only exposes politicians to scrutiny but also amplifies the repercussions of their actions, shaping public perceptions and discourse.

As previously noted, the construction of corruption is intricately woven into the production processes and meanings within the social and political spheres, with the media playing a significant role in shaping political scandals (Paiva et al., 2017; 2016). However, in contemporary times, the media landscape offers a diversified range of opinions and content, enabling citizens to engage in dialogues with the news and align them with their beliefs (Charron and Annoni, 2021). The media often extensively covers scandals and corruption-related news, perpetuating their presence in society and reinforcing individuals' perceptions (Rizzica, 2015).

Scandals persist as a prominent topic in journalism, as the truth behind them remains subject to ongoing debate (Lull and Hinerman, 2000). The portrayal of corruption in the media tends to be simplified to ensure comprehension among the general population (Berti et al., 2020), thus contributing to the perpetuation of scandal narratives (Mancini et al., 2017).

On one hand, scandals are not natural occurrences but rather constructed events propagated by the media (Berti et al., 2020). On the other hand, the media has a significant impact on public perceptions and responses to scandals, triggering a chain reaction of reactions, accusations, defenses, public answers, and legal processes (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019).

Technological advances, such as the introduction of new communication tools, have had a significant impact on the spread and impact of scandals in the media landscape (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004; Tumber, 2004). The growth of information and communication technology has increased the visibility of scandals, especially those involving corruption (De Lima, 2006).

The surge in media coverage of scandals correlates with crises in democracy, indicating a complex interplay between political dynamics and media influence (Tumber, 2004). It's

noteworthy that political scandals often emerge as a result of the inherent struggle and competition between politics and the media (Castells, 1997). Technological innovations have further exacerbated the prevalence of scandals in contemporary democracies, largely due to the incessant flow of information facilitated by the Internet and new media platforms (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004).

From this perspective, scandals serve as vital lenses through which to comprehend the dynamics of news within the realm of communication, considering the vast information flows that constitute the phenomenon, spanning from public reactions to institutional feedback (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019). In that regard, to recognize two key factors in political scandals: firstly, the violation of one or more social or moral norms, and secondly, the public's attention, typically channeled through the media, and its subsequent reaction (Thompson, 2000; McDermott et al., 2015).

The media fosters a culture of publicity that, in turn, contributes to the exposure of politicians, rendering them susceptible to scandals (Tumber, 2004). When politicians find themselves embroiled in corruption scandals, they often prioritize defending their interests, both in terms of social status and reputation. From this standpoint, it is challenging to envisage a scandal devoid of media coverage given the dynamics of influence at play (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019).

The proliferation of news related to political scandals has spurred the development of various communication strategies aimed at mitigating negative repercussions for politicians (Tumber, 2004). Consequently, scandals intertwined with social and political spheres ignite discussions on ethics, morality, and institutional inequalities, often revealing more than just instances of corruption and irregularities due to their far-reaching implications (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019).

In a landscape where political marketing stands as a cornerstone for political actors, integrating into the fabric of dominant political culture (Balázs, 2005), scandals prompt reflections on how society grapples with issues of behavior and norms (Thompson and Guareschi, 2002; Tumber and Waisbord, 2019). This is primarily achieved by inciting shame and tarnishing the reputation of implicated individuals, with a keen focus on societal and moral concerns (Tumber and Waisbord, 2004).

Simultaneously with the dissemination and amplification of scandals in the media upon their public exposure, the actions of an individual can offend or tarnish the idealized moral fabric of a social community, in a milieu where scandals evoke both fascination and

outrage (Lull and Hinerman, 2000). Consequently, there remains much to unpack when it comes to political scandals, particularly concerning how hypocritical behavior influences public opinion (McDermott et al., 2015).

In many respects, interpretations of scandals emerge against the backdrop of narrative frameworks and are intricately interwoven with moral underpinnings, thereby reinforcing social norms and institutions (Lull and Hinerman, 2000). Consequently, there are theories positing that hypocritical acts associated with corruption scandals elicit stronger public backlash compared to non-hypocritical acts (McDermott et al., 2015). Thus, political scandals have become entrenched within the realm of moral scrutiny and judgment (Lull and Hinerman, 2000).

Bearing this in mind, the explosion of news about political crises has prompted the development of complex communication tactics for navigating the tumultuous waters of public opinion. These scandals go beyond simple examples of corruption, igniting arguments about ethics, morality, and institutional imbalances, reflecting deeper societal issues. The scandals' long-term relevance stems from their ability to spark public reflection and push discussions about governance, ethics, and societal values. As a result, they remain critical phenomena in the ongoing debate about the junction of media, politics, and public perception.

2.3 Multifaceted corruption and its aspects

While this research has delved into the multifaceted nature of corruption, likening it to an umbrella concept, it is necessary to consider the diverse array of perspectives surrounding its conceptualization. Several approaches exist in the study of corruption, ranging from legal and economic perspectives to cultural insights, each shedding light on the vulnerabilities inherent in corrupt practices and offering potential avenues for mitigation (Magnagnagno et al., 2022; Barros et al., 2019). This comprehensive exploration underscores the complexity of corruption and the need for a nuanced understanding informed by diverse disciplinary lenses.

The "umbrella concept" of corruption, worked on by Varraich (2014) and Rothstein and Varraich (2017), suggests that corruption is a broad and comprehensive concept, that encompasses a variety of practices and manifestations, which in a certain way dialogues with the point of view of this work. Starting from the idea that, just like an umbrella

covers area during the rain, corruption encompasses several approaches exist in the study of corruption, ranging from legal and economic perspectives to cultural insights, each shedding light on the vulnerabilities inherent in corrupt practices and offering potential avenues for mitigation (Magnagnagno et al., 2022; Barros et al., 2019). s forms of unethical, illegal, or abusive behavior that involve the misuse of power for personal benefit or that of third parties.

In addition to this, it must be considered that, the discourse surrounding corruption has spanned decades without arriving at a fully satisfactory definition (Heywood, 2007; 1997; Damgaard, 2015), and discussions regarding its conceptualization have persisted throughout history, forming a cornerstone of classical understanding. This enduring debate traces back to Machiavelli's contemplation of virtue as a neutral concept, which has sparked numerous subsequent critiques (Von Alemann, 2004). Presently, corruption is conceptualized as a distinct manifestation within the realm of statecraft or governance (Waisbord, 2000).

However, the 1990s marked a significant uptick in debates surrounding corruption and its entanglement with politics, largely driven by public indignation, political discourse, and activist concerns over recurring corruption scandals, leading to an erosion of trust in political institutions (Heywood, 2007). Presently, there is a noticeable trend wherein corruption discourse tends to pivot towards political matters and issues intertwined with public administration, with instances of petty corruption becoming increasingly present (Mancini et al., 2016).

Even at this preliminary stage, corruption is increasingly attracting media attention and prompting the search for conceptual clarity and deeper studies. Nonetheless, within academia, the diversity of interpretations yields a plethora of definitions of "corruption" (Varrach, 2014; Rothstein and Varrach, 2017). Historical and social factors play pivotal roles in elucidating the disparities among nations (Rose-Ackerman, 2005). Indeed, perceptions of corruption often manifest in individuals' behaviors, impacting voting choices, investment decisions, and governmental allocations (Rizzica, 2015).

However, this diversity of perspectives engenders debates regarding the multifaceted implications of this phenomenon. As Damgaard (2015) asserts, "The different terms at stake in the mediatized discourse on corruption make the social construction of corruption contested, ambiguous, and multifaceted, particularly within the framework of democratic systems (Breit and Vaara, 2014).

The plethora of definitions surrounding corruption stem from the historical and cultural legacies intertwined with the complex nature of the phenomenon (Szántó et al., 2012). Consequently, inaccuracies emerge, as there exists a tangible link between the actual prevalence of corruption within nations and its perceived prevalence among populations (Abramo, 2005). Ultimately, the prevalence of corruption varies across diverse societal dimensions (Gray and Kaufmann, 1998).

Some research recognizes that, inequality serves as a catalyst for heightened levels of corruption, particularly within democracies, it is noted that inequality fosters an environment conducive to corruption. The adverse impact of inequality on economic growth may stem from its correlation with corruption, often regarded as a barometer of governmental fragility (Rose-Ackerman, 2008; 2005). In line with this idea, studies argue that a single scale of corruption cannot be measured in a general way in all countries due to differences in cultural aspects, democratic systems, and transparency of public and social institutions, among other factors. (Cunha and Araujo, 2018; Cunha 2014).

This phenomenon not only erodes the societal perception of justice and trust in public institutions (Teremetskyi et al., 2021) but also diminishes the legitimacy of democratic governance, thereby influencing democratic decision-making processes (Gray and Kaufmann, 1998). According to Von Alemann (2004), corruption is inherently complex, mirroring the complexities inherent in societies and political systems. As previously highlighted, the distinction lies in the following:

During some historical phases bribery, the purchase of office and votes is a normal phenomenon known to the population but not condemned by it. In other countries, e.g. in Cuba, even tipping is forbidden as a form of corruption. In Singapore, bribery is punishable by death. The phenomenon of corruption is as polymorphic as are the attempts to stamp it out. (Von Alemann, 2004, p. 28)

Corruption encompasses a spectrum of meanings and impacts, influenced by the dynamics of social confrontation (Reis, 2008). Thus, it assumes varied forms that resist singular definition, spanning from minor transgressions like petty bribery to the manipulation of illicit political finances (Heywood, 2007). The term corruption encapsulates a broad array of acts, including fraud, deception, embezzlement, bribery, nepotism, among others, reflecting its multifaceted nature (Brei, 1996).

Different types of corruption stem from diverse causes and yield distinct consequences, underscoring the importance of accurately delineating its nature (Heywood, 2007).

Scholars have endeavored to unravel its multidimensional essence, driving various efforts to elucidate its meaning (Von Alemann, 2004). This comprehensive and robust concept not only broadens its utility but also facilitates the quantification of corrupt practices in alignment with contemporary standards (Miranda, 2018).

Despite its significance, defining corruption remains a challenging task, often overlooked by scholars, despite its pivotal role in analytical research (Von Alemann, 2004). The definition of corruption pivots on normative notions within social institutions and the values underpinning the public interest (Filgueiras, 2008). While corruption exhibits conceptual variations, its central idea remains immutable (Sousa Lima and Marques Serrano, 2022; Damagaard, 2015). Nonetheless, a concept with broad linguistic extension risks losing coherence, underscoring the importance of delineating clear parameters (Miranda, 2018).

Corruption persists as a complex network of actors operating within and around the state, driven by private gain at the expense of the public good (Fazekas and Tóth, 2016). Embedded within societal practices and attitudes, systemic corruption perpetuates a cycle where those unwilling to participate become its victims, prompting systemic retaliation (Mancini et al., 2016). In essence, corruption engenders poverty, terrorism, and fatalism, extending its pernicious influence far and wide (Lennerfors, 2009).

This is because it involves give and take based on trust, as there are no agreements and contracts that come from long-standing relationships or connections where both parties involved are aware that they could be guilty of a crime and therefore there is trust between the two parties involved (Von Alemann, 2004). Furthermore, if there is a network of corrupt rewards and favors, the threat of publication and exposure of corrupt facts can in turn help governments stay in power (Rose-Ackerman, 1997).

Corrupt acts are associated with transgressions of rules of conduct, and so when dealing with scandals associated with corruption, there is the discursive tendency of corruption as an antithesis to social orders and the 'common good', "socially polluting and dangerous to the fabric of society" (Damagaard, 2015, p. 411). There is a thesis that corruption occurs at the interface of the public and private sectors, according to the incentive system that allows political actors to resort to bribery and kickbacks (Filgueiras, 2008; Rose-Ackerman, 1997).

The critique or justification of corruption is related to the concept of the collective or common good, claiming that transgressions imply corruption (Damaard, 2015). In the

public sector, there are monopolies of privilege that constitute a competitive political market composed of actors who, in a sense, struggle to transfer the income of social groups to themselves (Filgueiras, 2008).

Corruption, in certain instances, operates as a clandestine endeavor devoid of identifiable victims to report the crime, thereby rendering both its conceptualization and measurement contentious (Rizzica, 2015). Some studies endorse that, corruption, rather than being a solution in itself, signifies a breakdown in the relationship between the state and society (Rose-Ackerman, 1997).

When examining corruption within the context of societal decline, definitions often trace back to historical developments, suggesting a progression from a purported golden age of state adherence to norms to their erosion in the present and anticipated disappearance in the future (Von Alemann, 2004). Alternatively, corruption is viewed as a transformative phenomenon within states, not signaling a fresh start but rather a metamorphosis wherein corruption plays a role even in the modernization processes of developing nations (Von Alemann, 2004).

There are empirical evidence suggests that corruption acts as a drag on development and exacerbates the unequal distribution of development-related benefits (Rose-Ackerman, 1997). Consequently, corruption emerges as a formidable foe of social and economic progress, a notion ostensibly supported by evidence indicating that corrupt policies stem not merely from ignorance but from deliberate malfeasance (Miranda, 2018).

Studies indicate that corruption's impact extends beyond individual transactions, profoundly affecting the economy, particularly by hampering investment levels, distorting business incentives, and impeding the effective implementation of regulations governing a nation's resources (Miranda, 2018). Consequently, the notion that actors engaged in corrupt practices are oblivious to their wrongdoing serves as a pretext for justifying their actions within a value system that supersedes legality. They rationalize their actions as expediting matters, overcoming bureaucratic hurdles, rectifying unjust disparities, or serving a purported higher purpose (Von Alemann, 2004).

Corrupt actors often operate with double standards, leveraging secrecy to shield themselves from public condemnation while hypocritically laying claim to moral rectitude. This hypocrisy becomes even more pronounced in scandals involving political donations (Von Alemann, 2004). Given the challenge of achieving consensus on this complex phenomenon, scholars propose categorizing corruption based on factors such as

the relevant market, public interest, formal regulations, and public opinion (Brei, 1996). Despite the myriad manifestations of corruption, they typically share a common trait: the pursuit of private gain, often resulting in illicit enrichment (Miranda, 2018).

According to the concept of the Dictionary of Politics with the concept of V. O. Key (1935)¹⁹ when discussing techniques and political corruption cites that the phenomenon is part of an abusive control of government power and resources, with a focus on personal or party advantage, the ramifications presented by the policy dictionary ensure the expansion of the semantic field. From this perspective, three types of corruption stand out as examples: bribery, which is the reward for winning or concealing the actions of a public official; nepotism, which includes the granting of jobs and favors; embezzlement, which is based on the appropriations or diversion of public funds for private purposes (Miranda, 2018). Based on this principle, the definition of corruption should be based on the concepts of legality and illegality, and not on the bias of morality and immorality, taking into account the differences in social and legal practices (Miranda, 2018; Pardo 2017).

The interpretation of the term "corruption" varies across contexts, yet its essence remains intact, although defining it entails semantic reductions that omit moral considerations (Miranda, 2018). This is largely because corruption discourse often intertwines with diverse, heterogeneous ideals such as ethics, democracy, administration, governance, and others (Damgaard, 2015).

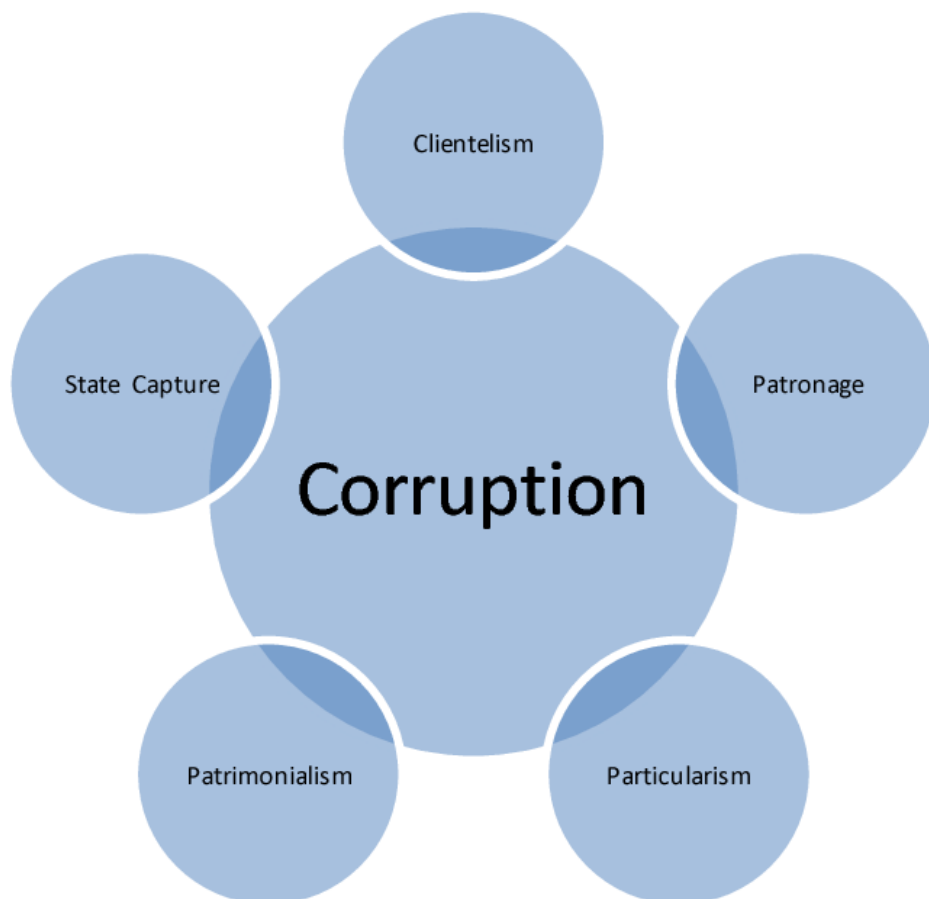
Finally in conclusion, it is evident that corruption emerges as a multifaceted phenomenon with far-reaching implications for societal well-being and economic development. As a clandestine act often devoted to identifiable victims, its conceptualization and measurement remain contentious. Furthermore, corruption erodes the link between the state and society, stifling growth and prolonging inequity. Despite efforts to resist it, corruption continues, supported by historical precedents and societal conventions. Finally, combating corruption necessitates a deliberate effort to maintain openness, accountability, and ethical governance processes, which fosters trust and integrity in society.

¹⁹ V. O. Key is a noted political scientist who has made significant contributions to the study of politics, particularly in the areas of electoral behavior and Southern politics.

2.3.1 Corruption as an umbrella concept

As previously noted, studies on corruption have been approached academically by diverse disciplines over time. Consequently, each field has developed its own understanding of the phenomenon, yet there remains no consensus on its definition and conceptualization (Arellano-Gault, 2019; Rothstein and Varraich, 2017; Bohara, 2004). In this context, the concept of corruption as an umbrella term, illustrating the interconnectedness between the categories that constitute it, including clientelism, patronage, patrimonialism, particularism, and state capture (Figure 3).

Figure 3 - Demonstration of corruption as a comprehensive concept



Working paper: Aiysha Varraich (2014).

This interconnection between the concepts of corruption serves as the basis for this thesis²⁰. In addressing this perspective, corruption tends to occupy a secondary position in studies and research, with economists analyzing the relationship between corruption, democracy, and the media. Studies have shown that corruption has a negative impact on economic development (Mancini et al., 2017). Within the political sphere, corruption is frequently associated with economic corruption, often intertwined with institutional factors (Rothstein and Varraich, 2017). Thus, with this in mind, diverse concepts encompassed by the term "corruption" have emerged due to the broad range of interpretations within the academic field (Varraich, 2014).

Following this line of thought, when addressing the universalization of concepts, there exist various interpretations of corruption, which vary according to locality and region (Rothstein and Varraich, 2017; Rose-Ackerman, 1997; 2005). The authors note that a common issue in this regard is the lack of balance between the universality of corruption and its contextual nuances. Consequently, the universalization of the term tends to give rise to several challenges, including amalgamating various forms of corruption, such as "clientelism, patronage, nepotism, and patrimonialism into a comprehensive analytical concept" (Rothstein and Varraich, p. 45, 2017).

Some studies have aimed to identify the common core among these various forms of corruption, transcending cultural interpretations that often dominate empirical research. According to Rothstein and Varraich (2017), within the social realm, corruption is intertwined with patronage – interpersonal domination – and consequently manifests in many forms like nepotism, patronage, and other variations. Varraich (2014) contends that these concepts share common ground. The author then diverges to explain the distinctions and similarities comprising the theme, citing the concept of family resemblance first proposed by Ludwig Wittgenstein, who described them as "a category." According to Varraich:

Corruption can be viewed as an umbrella concept that links together concepts of clientelism, patronage, state capture, particularism and patrimonialism. When surveying the literature surrounding these concepts, rough patterns as to the application of these concepts geographically appear. (Varraich, 2014, p. 04)

²⁰ This interconnection between the concepts of corruption becomes the basis of reference for the thesis and its methodological application, through keywords, explained further in the methodology section.

Considering this perspective, Varraich (2014) underscores that clientelism emerges as a primary form of corruption in transitional nations like South and East Asia, Latin America, and post-Communist states, while patrimonialism prevails in Africa and collaborates with corrupt practices in both developed and developing countries. Patrimonialism is regarded as a type of legal corruption that intertwines with machine politics. Consequently, the treatment of these terms in literature generates disagreements due to their diverse interpretations.

Varraich (2014) posits that these secondary concepts can be deemed "real" or "true" because they possess established aspects that overlap with corruption, yet they remain inadequately explored in literature. She endeavors to address this gap by delineating the central ideas of clientelism, patronage, patrimonialism, and state capture, concurrently analyzing their intersections with corruption and its evolution. Moreover, Varraich (2014) asserts that clientelism is not contingent upon the state's developmental trajectory and persists as a recurrent phenomenon even in developed nations. She illustrates this by highlighting secondary concepts such as pork-barreling and special interest politics in Western countries like the United States.

The author emphasizes the importance of understanding clientelism to comprehend its relationship with corruption, noting the absence of a definitive definition linking clientelism with corruption. However, she identifies a set of core characteristics, including dyadic relationships, contingency, hierarchy, and iteration as foundational to the concept of clientelism. Reciprocity, as outlined by Varraich (2014), plays a pivotal role in clientelism, where the exchange of goods or services between patron and client hinges upon reciprocal support. This reciprocal relationship forms the basis of the pattern where political benefits are provided to clients in exchange for their support.

Furthermore, Varraich (2014) underscores hierarchy as a fundamental feature of clientelism, wherein individuals of higher status leverage their authority and resources to benefit those of lower status, who, in turn, provide services as a means of support. In dealing with the differences between clientelism and corruption, Varraich (2014) points out that clientelism and corruption overlap, making concepts of understanding complicated at the intersection. In this way, he maintains that this overlapping has several degrees and is worked on by several theorists, who compare, separate, or approach the similarities and differences of the concepts. For the author,

"The most difficult overlap between corruption and clientelism to explore is where clientelism is a type of corruption. This conceptual space is the prevalent one applied in the research to the studies of post-communist states, where clientelism is described as a structural form of corruption (Mun-giu-Pippidi 2006)." (Varraich, 2014, p. 10). Thusly, the author emphasizes that concepts are dependent, with clientelism as a social organization and corruption related to individual social behavior in a context of a structural society.

Closing this reasoning about corruption as an umbrella concept, corruption serves as an umbrella concept that encompasses various related phenomena such as clientelism, patronage, state capture, particularism, and patrimonialism. A thorough examination of these interconnected notions reveals that corruption crosses geographical boundaries and emerges in many ways across distinct countries. Varraich's (2014) approach emphasizes the complicated relationship between corruption and clientelism, underlining their overlapping nature and the difficulties in conceptualizing and studying them.

Moreover, by emphasizing the intertwined nature of clientelism as a social organization and corruption as individual social behavior within structural societies, Varraich provides valuable insights into understanding the dynamics of corruption across different contexts. Thus, acknowledging the nuanced interplay between these concepts is necessary for developing effective strategies to combat corruption and promote accountability and transparency in governance worldwide.

Building upon the 'umbrella concept' framework discussed above, my research adopts this approach to conceptualize corruption. By doing so, this thesis utilizes this perspective to select the keywords in the methodology section of my thesis. To recognize that terms²¹ such as Clientelism, Collusion, Corruption, Money Laundering, Nepotism, Embezzlement, Kickback, and Bribery are fundamental part of the umbrella concept. These terms jointly contribute to the comprehensive understanding of corruption, embracing diverse forms and expressions within different societal situations. Therefore, the utilization of the umbrella concept framework serves as a comprehensive and analytical tool to guide the methodological approach of my research, facilitating a more nuanced exploration of corruption and its associated phenomena.

²¹ Terms used in the methodological section in dialogue with the 'umbrella concept' of corruption.

2.3.2 Corruption and social behavior

There is no way to discuss corruption without addressing behavior. At the intersection of corruption and societal dynamics lies a complex interplay of influences, where perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors intertwine to shape the landscape of governance and democracy. To delve into the relationship between society and corruption in nascent democracies, two prominent trends emerge. Authors such as Hirschman (1983) and Warren (2012) underscore the detrimental impact of corruption on the political apparatus. They posit that involvement in corrupt practices undermines the democratic fabric of the political system and erodes individuals' trust in it.

Drawing upon social psychological insights, Hirschman (1983) delves into how corruption contributes to the disengagement of citizens from public affairs and political activism. According to the author, the normalization of corrupt behavior reinforces individuals' acquiescence to such practices, deeming them commonplace. This normalization perpetuates a cycle of corruption, further entrenching its prevalence within society.

In this context, corruption becomes ingrained in societal norms and behaviors, ensnaring those who resist participation in corrupt networks as unwitting victims (Mancini et al., 2016). Moreover, the authors highlight how corrupt practices intertwined with journalism underscore the existence of a pervasive culture of corruption, which tacitly legitimizes and perpetuates illicit conduct as an accepted norm.

Echoing this sentiment, Warren (2002) contends that corruption undermines the inclusive nature of political processes, particularly in terms of the relationship between representatives and constituents. Corruption breeds disenfranchisement and diminishes democracy's legitimacy, fostering widespread disillusionment with public decision-making processes. Consequently, corruption engenders a decline in collective action and weakens the democratic ethos (Warren, 2002).

Seligson and Zéphyr (2008) assert that the detection of corruption correlates with diminished adherence to democratic principles within societies. Various studies have scrutinized the repercussions of corruption on interpersonal trust, highlighting its detrimental effects on public confidence (Seligson, 2002). Furthermore, the legitimacy of democratic governance hinges on citizen support for electoral processes, civil liberties, governmental transparency, and institutional accountability (Bohn, 2012). In this context,

corruption within democratic frameworks tends to erode trust and satisfaction with governmental institutions, thereby disrupting the citizen-state relationship.

Efforts to combat corruption have spurred the implementation of transparency measures in Brazil (Matias-Pereira, 2002), aiming to bolster public trust in politicians and governmental bodies. However, the complexity of devising effective anti-corruption strategies remains a prominent challenge, as noted by Matias-Pereira in collaboration with social scientists.

Moreover, empirical evidence suggests a correlation between exposure to corruption and diminished political engagement among individuals, thereby inversely affecting their democratic participation. While corruption often dampens civic involvement, studies such as those by Bonifácio and Fuks (2017) reveal a nuanced relationship, with some individuals paradoxically demonstrating heightened political commitment in response to corrupt practices. These findings suggest that individuals who have encountered corruption firsthand are more inclined to engage in various forms of participatory activism, spanning from grassroots community initiatives to electoral and protest movements (Rothstein and Varraich, 2017). Thus, it is projected that experiences with corruption will motivate people to express their displeasure through participatory channels and civic action.

In an environment in which the relationship between corruption and democratic involvement demonstrates the diverse character of civic engagement in society. While corruption undermines trust in democratic institutions and dampens political attitudes, it can also spur increased civic action among those immediately affected. As attempts to combat corruption continue, it is important to acknowledge the complex processes at work and the potential for citizen empowerment in the face of institutional hurdles. By promoting transparency, accountability, and civic education, countries can work toward a more resilient democracy in which citizens are empowered to actively shape their collective future.

2.4 Brazil's overview amidst scandals and the pandemic environment

In recent years, Brazil has grappled with an unprecedented crisis, which began in 2013 and has since challenged the established political order that emerged in the 1980s, persisting through setbacks and trials (Saad-Filho and Boffo, 2021). Within a global

context where corruption is pervasive, the onset of the pandemic has exacerbated this phenomenon, as emphasized by Sousa Lima and Marques Serrano (2022) and Anessi-Pessina et al. (2020). Thus, to note that corruption is linked to national and international economic and political pressures in a globalized world (Cunha and Araujo, 2018; Cunha 2015).

Against this backdrop, the post-Covid-19 scenario is characterized by a concerted focus on recovery, prompting governments to adopt strategies aimed at facilitating efficient expenditure within shortened timeframes and relaxed budget constraints, often through emergency measures (Anessi-Pessina et al., 2020). This unfolds within a societal framework where a prevailing culture of self-interest often supersedes adherence to regulations, stemming from a historical legacy of elitism, social inequality, and the remnants of slavery (Reis, 2008).

The Covid-19 pandemic has indeed exacerbated issues of transparency and oversight, thereby fostering instances of corruption, particularly within the health sector (Rose-Ackerman, 2021; Teremetskyi et al., 2021). Moreover, existing societal inequalities serve to further fuel instances of corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 2005). Consequently, scholarly investigations posit that the pandemic has exacerbated opportunities for corruption, with the exploitation of this phenomenon resulting in the misappropriation of resources allocated for combating the virus (Anessi-Pessina et al., 2020).

Viewing corruption as a dysfunction inherent in organizational structures within the political system, it becomes evident that this behavior is regrettably commonplace in the political arena (Filgueiras, 2008). In this environment, the anti-corruption narrative has become a critical component of Brazilian political discourse (Lagunes et al., 2021).

Corruption scandals such as the 'Mensalão'²² and the 'Petrolão' have had a long-lasting impact, resulting in popular demonstrations in 2013, the impeachment of former President Dilma Rousseff (PT), in 2016, the arrest of former President Lula da Silva (PT) in April of 2018, and the election of Jair Mesias Bolsonaro with 55.13% of the votes in the end of 2018. Thus, it is possible to conclude that, during the 2018 election campaign, Bolsonarismo gained popularity in an environment dominated by the right's growing political vocabulary. (Fernandes et al., 2021).

²²'Mensalão' allowance is a monthly political vote-buying scheme, launched in the first term of the government of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (PT - Workers' Party), and gained repercussions in 2005 after the declaration of former federal deputy Roberto Jefferson (PTB - RJ), to the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*.

The apparent commitment to combating corruption was central to the campaign's narrative, with transparency and integrity identified as essential Bolsonaro government objectives (Lagunes et al., 2021). Bolsonaro, embodied by the campaign slogan "Brazil above all, God above all," made his mark on the nation's history by entering leadership in what has been described as a "extremist and dysfunctional" style (Saad-Filho and Boffo, 2021, p. 300).

O atual clima político no Brasil não tem precedentes, marcado por uma polarização intensificada e por um líder abertamente hostil à imprensa (Fontes e Marques, 2022). Consequently, the 2018 Brazilian elections witnessed a significant rightward shift in the country's political spectrum (Sargentini and Chiari, 2019). It is interesting to note that at this time, an anti-corruption narrative emerged alongside the rise of authoritarian neoliberalism, specifically aimed at the Workers' Party (PT), this helped Bolsonaro win election with a campaign focused on the idea of administrative integrity. (Saad-Filho and Boffo, 2021; Lopes and Albuquerque, 2021; Almeida, 2019).

It should be recalled that the 'Mensalão' scandals of 2006, exposed during the first term of the government of Luís Inácio Lula (PT), and the 'Lava Jato'²³ operation was one of the factors that triggered the anti-corruption demonstrations of 2013, which led to the 2016 impeachment of Dilma Rousseff the wear and tear caused by the successive Workers' Party corruption scandals fueled the idea of a "new politics" against the establishment (Pereira et al., 2020). "In this context of 'organic crisis,' the 'hybridity,' adaptability, and mutability of fascism" are expressed in the formation or reemergence of neo-fascist "ideologies, movements, parties, and leaderships" (Madeira and Pereira, 2012, p. 08).

In his election campaign, Bolsonaro pledged to champion transparency in government, vow to dismiss any team member accused of corruption, and uphold the integrity of the country's oversight institutions (Lagunes et al., 2021). Thus, assuming the presidential office in 2018 coincided with a period marked by waning trust in political parties, a trend exacerbated by preceding years marred by corruption scandals, notably exemplified by Operation Car Wash (Fernandes et al., 2022).

²³ Lava Jato' began in 2014 with the objective of combating corruption and money laundering in Brazil's recent history. The name was chosen for the reason that the movement of money of illegal origin was at a fuel station and jet wash in Brasilia. The politician and current president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT) became the target of investigations and was convicted of passive corruption and money laundering in the case of the triplex in Guarujá and a site in Atibaia (São Paulo), being arrested and in then released. In the year of this research, 2021, the task force was incorporated into the Special Action Groups to Combat Organized Crime (Gaecos).

Scholarly research corroborates that the erosion of Brazilian democracy set the stage for Bolsonaro's ascent (De Albuquerque, 2021). Interestingly, despite occasional displays of antipathy toward democratic norms, Bolsonaro has largely adhered to the democratic framework throughout his political career (Lagunes et al., 2021). The 2018 election campaign witnessed a significant proliferation of digital influencers leveraging their respective user networks to disseminate content via platforms such as Twitter and WhatsApp, often aided by automated bots (Sargentini and Chiari, 2019). Indeed, as observed by Viscardi (2020), "Jair Bolsonaro strategically chose the use of social networks to disseminate his campaign ideas and interact with voters".

In his initial days in office, the President utilized the social media platform Twitter (Santos et al., 2020) to express disapproval of land allocation policies for indigenous peoples and descendants of slaves, while also criticizing programs aimed at social advancement for millions of Afro-Brazilians (Da Silva and Larkins, 2019).

Furthermore, President Bolsonaro has actively adopted an anti-media stance (França, 2018), leveraging social media platforms to propagate misinformation under the guise of combating what he terms as "Fakenews". This deliberate dissemination of falsehoods through social networks marks a significant departure from traditional forms of political discourse. As Sargentini and Chiari (2019) astutely observe, there has been a perceptible shift in rhetoric from labeling individuals as liars to discrediting entire news reports as fake.

This deliberate disinformation campaign not only damages public confidence in mainstream media, but it also creates a climate in which false information spreads unrestricted. The way Bolsonaro uses social media to propagate and magnify false narratives has major ramifications for democratic discourse²⁴. By exploiting the viral nature of online platforms, Bolsonaro capitalizes on the inherent vulnerabilities of social media to shape public opinion and also suppress dissenting voices.

Against this context, corruption scandals shaped voter decision-making during the 2018 elections, with the electorate's priorities concentrating on eliminating corruption and preserving democracy (França, 2019). According to Barometro Latino, in the days preceding up to the first round of the 2018 elections, 69% of voters said democracy was their preferred form of governance, while 12% supported authoritarianism. This

²⁴ Brazil has currently taken a stand against fake news by passing Law 14.197/2021, also known as the Law to Combat Fake News, and by partnering with social media companies to detect and delete misleading content as well as by launching public awareness campaigns.

framework, which was popular in 2021, has endured in recent years. As a result, corruption scandals have been engrained in the Brazilian political landscape in recent decades, exacerbating the country's democratic fragility (França 2019).

Following the 2018 elections, Brazil rose to international prominence as a result of the increasing number of deaths and infections caused by Covid-19 in the country; in this scenario, particularly concerning was the Bolsonaro government's stance on the virus's coverage in the media, dismissing it as a mere "little flu" (Souza, 2020). Jair Bolsonaro vigorously disagreed with the Ministry of Health's advice in speeches and public appearances, frequently downplaying the virus's severity and referring to it as a "little flu" (Recuero, 2021).

Bolsonaro emphasized economic and political priorities, which influenced his response to Covid-19 (Barberia and Gómez, 2020). Therefore, the dissemination of disinformation and the role of traditional media in this scenario cannot be dissociated from the problems in the political arena, especially in Brazil, given Bolsonaro's rhetoric downplaying the severity of Covid-19, labeling it as a "minor flu" (Santos and Cesar, 2022). The president openly opposed isolation measures (lockdown), arguing that halting the country's activities would lead to starvation (Recuero and Soares, 2021).

This public stance was one of the contributing factors to Brazil's dire situation in the face of Covid-19, particularly evident in 2021, when the country became the epicenter of the pandemic crisis, recording approximately 300,000 deaths in March alone (Fernandes et al., 2021). Remarkably, Brazil ranked third in the world in 2020 with 141.741 Covid-19 deaths; by mid-2021, the estimated number of deaths had increased to 412.880. USA Ambassador David Scheffer²⁵, a renowned authority on international criminal law, proposed that some of the actions taken by government officials during the pandemic might be considered crimes against humanity (Ventura and Perrone-Moisés, 2021; Scheffer, 2021).

Bolsonaro's statements had a direct impact on society, as they contributed to the increase of misinformation (Recuero, 2021) and reinforced the recurrent attitude against science, medicine, vaccines, and research, becoming a strong factor that contributed to the pandemic crisis in the country. Recall that "Bolsonaro frequently interacts with the

²⁵ David John Scheffer Clinical Professor Emeritus Director Emeritus of the Center for International Human Rights. American lawyer and diplomat who served as the first United States ambassador.

public without a mask and encourages his supporters to do the same" (Ferrante et al., 2021, p. 441).

As Brazil deals with the dreadful human cost of the pandemic, Covid-19 and corruption compound the problem by making it harder to get resources quickly and increasing social inequality. According to the Johns Hopkins²⁶ CoronaVirus²⁷ Resource Center, there were 594.653 deaths by the end of September 2021.

The image provided by the '*Brasil de Fato*' portal is a harsh representation of the country's during the pademia (Figure 4). The accompanying article dives into the terrifying probability that Brazil's Covid-19 death toll will surpass the sad milestone of one million by October 2021. This gloomy projection emphasizes the gravity of the pandemic's impact on the country, underlining structural issues with the healthcare infrastructure and response procedures. Furthermore, it emphasizes the importance of strong and effective efforts to slow the spread of the virus and relieve burden on the healthcare system.

²⁶ Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center is an initiative of Johns Hopkins University that provides up-to-date information and data about the COVID-19 pandemic around the world.

²⁷ Covid-19.

Figure 4 - Photo from one of the April 2021 reports



Source: Brasil de Fato - April 19, 2021.

In this context, Bolsonaro leveraged his media discourse as a primary source of information for the population in addressing the virus. At the time of the public calamity crisis, the significant increase in the number of deaths resulting from COVID-19 intensified the narratives surrounding the pandemic. Several newspapers, news portals and social media highlighted the social impacts resulting from the disease, including deaths. The media coverage of these deaths not only represented the magnitude of the tragedy, but also helped to shape public perception of the pandemic's severity and the importance of prevention and control efforts.

Amidst the pandemic-induced crisis and the media environment, corruption has arisen in the media as a major issue of conversation in the country. This encompasses both legacy corruption cases from 2021 and the 'Lava Jato' scandal, with new cases coming to light through the 'Covid-19 CPI'²⁸, aimed at investigating irregularities in the Bolsonaro government's pandemic response. Hence, corruption yields a myriad of

²⁸ CPIs (Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry) are instruments of parliamentary investigation used to investigate specific facts that are of public interest. During the Covid-19 pandemic, several countries created CPIs to investigate aspects related to the management of the health crisis, such as government responses, the use of public resources, acquisition of vaccines, among others. These CPIs aim to clarify issues, identify flaws and point out responsibilities.

consequences, spanning from inefficiency to eroded trust in public services, institutions, and leaders (França, 2019). Moreover, the issue of impunity exacerbates the problem, as many politicians implicated in scandals continue to enjoy successful political careers and even secure victories in elections (Juca et al., 2016).

In parallel with this scenario, with an 8.1 million-strong Twitter following, the president's social media presence has further bolstered the loyalty of his supporters, who affectionately refer to him as a "myth". However, Bolsonaro's stance on Covid-19 has created a contentious atmosphere. The precedents set by his media statements have fostered polarization among public officials who oppose the government's decisions, thereby amplifying the discord through widespread coverage in the media (Santos and Cesar, 2022).

At that time, denial became a recurring theme within the rhetoric of the extreme right, including the promotion of drugs like hydroxychloroquine²⁹, without scientific evidence for treating Covid-19, distrust in vaccines, and skepticism towards science (Guerreiro and Almeida, 2021). The focus on the 'Covid CPI', which scrutinized the procurement of ineffective drugs as substitutes for vaccines and the reluctance to pursue tenders, potentially construed as acts of administrative misconduct by the federal government, further intensified the scrutiny. Additionally, Bolsonaro's criticism of isolation measures added to the contentious environment (Ferrante et al., 2021).

In this context, Brazilian anti-corruption institutions play a role; however, there's criticism that they prioritize punitive measures over proactively reducing corruption cases (Magnagnagno et al., 2022). Alternatively, there exists a public perception that politicians engaged in hypocritical crimes are less competent to hold office (McDermott et al., 2015).

A survey by the Datafolha Institute³⁰ reveals alarming perceptions regarding abuses within the health sector, with a striking 63% of respondents expressing belief in the existence of such abuses. Even more concerning is that a significant majority, totaling 64% of the population, holds the belief that the president was aware of these abuses. These findings shed light on the erosion of public trust in governmental oversight and accountability.

²⁹ A drug that has been used in Brazil for many years to treat malaria as well as autoimmune diseases such as lupus and rheumatoid arthritis. In the early stages of the Covid -19 pandemic, some physicians and researchers speculated that hydroxychloroquine might be effective in treating.

³⁰ Datafolha was founded in 1983 and belongs to Folha de S. Paulo, a Brazilian research institute specializing in public opinion polls and market research. It was founded in 1983 and belongs to Brazilian newspaper Folha de S.Paulo.

Furthermore, the survey anticipates a substantial decline in public approval of Bolsonaro's administration, with Datafolha's data projecting a rejection rate of 53% by the conclusion of 2021. This high level of disapproval reflects growing dissatisfaction with the government's handling of important issues, particularly in the healthcare sector. These data are a harsh reminder of the essential need for openness, accountability, and competent government to fulfill the concerns and aspirations of the Brazilian public.

As a result, the public tends to believe that a politician who commits a hypocritical crime is unfit for government (McDermott et al., 2015). As Rose-Ackerman (2005) affirms, there is an indirect effect of corruption, the belief that it is acceptable not to pay taxes, using as justification the idea that the government is composed of corrupt officials and their supporters, "Thus, in corrupt governments, the individual projects are excessively expensive and unproductive, but the overall size of the government is relatively small" (Rose-Ackerman, 2005, p. 07).

In this scenario, news portals and social media platforms have evolved into not only sources of information but also arenas for public discourse. Therefore, amidst the pandemic, there emerged a trend where presidential communication on social networks primarily focused on disseminating decisions, often aimed at legitimizing political agendas (Manfredi-Sánchez et al., 2021, p. 83).

This period saw heightened tensions between the government, health ministers, and state governors, particularly regarding controversial decisions aimed at controlling the spread of the disease. These controversies significantly contributed to an extensive media agenda, intensifying the strain in the relationship between the government and the media (Santos and Cesar, 2022). Former President Bolsonaro's consistent attacks on journalists and traditional media outlets further exacerbated these tensions, with instances of both physical and verbal violence against journalists becoming alarmingly common.

Since assuming office in 2018, Bolsonaro has actively sought to circumvent traditional media channels as sources of information. In a symbolic departure from tradition, his inaugural address as president was delivered via a live broadcast on Facebook (Fernandes et al., 2021). Taking that into consideration, the discourses propagated on platforms like Twitter, by both users and authoritative figures, often serve to construct moments of hegemonic contestation (Paiva et al., 2017).

Therefore, Brazil has been thrust into the spotlight due to a series of corruption scandals in recent years, garnering both international and domestic attention with high-

profile investigations and operations that have dominated headlines. Despite extensive efforts to scrutinize these occurrences, the scope of understanding and addressing corruption and its societal impact remains somewhat limited within the span of a single year.

Thinking that, the evolving nature of politics in the modern era, where visibility plays a pivotal role. Political visibility creates a platform for representation that is accessible to society, shaping public perception and discourse (Ruby, 2002). Consequently, politicians increasingly turn to social media platforms as a means of communication, leveraging their wide reach and immediacy. These platforms have proven useful in electoral campaigns, allowing politicians to freely express their opinions, highlight government activities, and engage in adversarial debate with opponents (Fernandes et al., 2021).

As a result of this context, Brazil has been dealing with the fallout from recent corruption scandals, which have received substantial national and worldwide attention. Despite concerted efforts to examine and remedy these issues, it is difficult to understand the whole scope of corruption and its influence on society in a single year.

As politics evolves in the modern era, visibility has become an aspect, shaping public perception and discourse. Politicians, including former President Bolsonaro, have increasingly turned to social media platforms to communicate directly with the public, leveraging their broad reach and immediacy. This shift has transformed social media into not only sources of information but also arenas for public dialogue and debate.

2.4.1 The relationship between corruption and the pandemic scenario in Brazil

The convergence of social, cultural, political, and economic factors further emphasizes the significance of research efforts aimed at understanding and mitigating the complex interplay between corruption and public health emergencies, providing invaluable insights for policymaking and societal progress. Thus, from this section, this thesis elucidates the relationship between corruption and the pandemic evident in the period researched.

Brazil faced numerous challenges in 2021, including corruption and the COVID-19 pandemic. These challenges included the diversion of pandemic response resources, exaggerated medical supply procurement prices, vaccine acquisition and distribution

issues, mismanagement of public funding, and the epidemic's politicization. These circumstances underscore the relevance and necessity of the research thesis, shedding light on Brazil's complex political, social, and economic landscape within a context where "corruption undermines the sense of justice in society, people's confidence in their public institutions, and undermines checks and balances that should protect society" (Teremetskyi et al., 2021, p. 25).

According to BBC³¹ reports (2020), as the coronavirus outbreak spread across the nation, there was a surge in operations targeting corruption related to public funds and resources designated for pandemic response. The confluence of factors such as a culture of corruption, perceived opportunities, and institutional capacity has exacerbated Brazil's crisis scenario (Franklin et al., 2021).

On one hand, studies indicate that the COVID-19 pandemic has heightened the risk of corruption, particularly within the healthcare sector, due to the mismanagement and exploitation of public resources (Teremetskyi et al., 2021). This aligns with the observation that countries with higher levels of corruption, elevated unemployment rates, and larger populations experienced a more pronounced increase in COVID-19 cases (Eigenstuhler et al., 2021).

Vale ressaltar que durante a pandemia, a Lei nº 13.979/2020, alterada pela Medida Provisória nº 926/2020, incluiu disposições como a dispensa de licitações públicas para permitir a rápida aquisição de produtos, serviços e insumos para situações de crise gestão (Maia et al., 2020). No entanto, estes esforços prejudicaram involuntariamente o interesse público e a segurança, incentivando o desvio de recursos públicos e tornando possível a sua utilização indevida.

Simultaneously, the epidemic paved the ground for negotiations with the National Congress to allocate cash and authorize emergency purchases without bidding to handle the ongoing issue. It is worth noting that, these procedures were open to abuse for illegal activities as bribery, corruption, resource theft, and embezzlement (Florêncio Filho and Zanon, 2020).

Looking at Brazil's historical context, just some years ago, in 2019, the country's Human Development Index (HDI) was 0.766, placing 88th globally. By 2020, Brazil's HDI had dropped to 0.758, ranking it 86th out of 191 countries, and by 2022, it had fallen even

³¹ BBC: 'Covid' already affects the governments of seven states and the amount investigated reaches R\$1.07 billion.

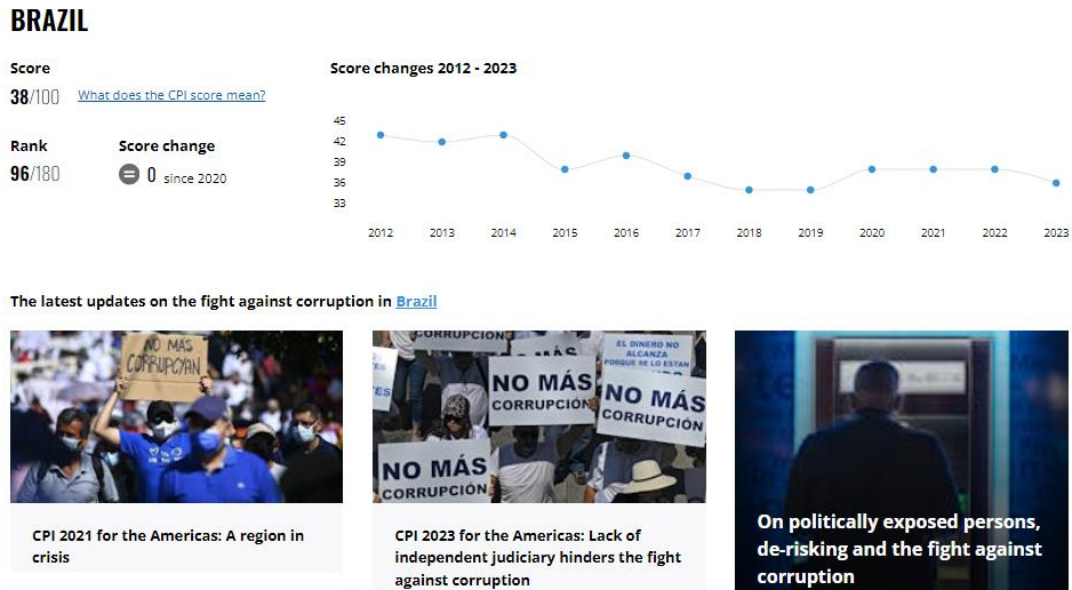
more to 0.754. According to Rose-Ackerman (2005), the association between HDI and corruption levels calls into question governance goals and emphasizes the significance of focusing on growth while combating corruption. Furthermore, evidence suggests that corruption indicators and inadequate governance processes are associated with per capita income and the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) (Rose-Ackerman, 2005).

This confirms the hypothesis that there is a link between the Human Development Index (HDI) and corruption, implying that nations with higher Corruption Perception Index (CPI) ratings have higher human development indices. In this situation, perceptions of corruption influence decision-making and faith in institutions. This emphasizes how important it is to understand how corruption perceptions and the HDI relate to one another when analyzing the socioeconomic environment and governance dynamics of a nation.

According to the Corruption Perception Index (IPC)³² Brazil ranks 96th out of 180, scoring 38 out of 100. With more than half of the population, or 54%, expecting an increase in corruption by 2020, this data highlights the erosion of faith in public institutions and governance caused by the phenomenon (Figure 5). Such impressions of pervasive corruption can have far-reaching implications, including a loss of trust in the efficacy and integrity of government operations, as well as the promotion of apathy and disillusionment among individuals.

³² The Corruption Perception Index (IPC) is a measure of the perception of corruption in a country based on surveys of experts and local business people. The IPC ranges from 0 to 100, with the higher value, the lower the perception of corruption in the country.

Figure 5 - Corruption perception Index 2021 rank



Source Website- Corruption perception.

Moreover, a higher perceived level of corruption might deter foreign investment, stymie economic growth, and worsen social inequities, stifling the country's development and advancement. As a result, Brazil's ranking in the IPC not only reflects its existing state of affairs, but also acts as a rallying cry for substantial changes and actions aimed at eliminating corruption and restoring public trust in institutions.

Given the recurring corruption scandals, this impression supports a culture of impunity and lack of responsibility. As a result, in countries dealing with significant levels of corruption, the problem permeates social dynamics, influencing numerous aspects of societal interaction (Bonifácio and Fuks, 2017).

The structural implications of corruption became glaringly evident amid the pandemic, exacerbating social disparities in healthcare access. With resources being siphoned away, marginalized communities found themselves grappling with inadequate healthcare, underscoring a critical social dimension of this phenomenon and directing public attention towards governmental administration and the vulnerability of public contracts established during the crisis (Teremetskyi et al., 2021; Dikmen and Çiçek, 2023).

Furthermore, the implementation of social isolation measures by Brazilian states to curb virus transmission has directly impacted unemployment and income rates among the population (da Silva and da Silva, 2020). The portrayal of a Brazil grappling with

destitution and deprivation during the Covid-19 crisis has underscored the populace's struggle to meet basic health standards (Costa, 2020).

The reactionary and irresponsible behaviors of political actors and government entities during the pandemic, particularly in procurement processes and medication testing, which have exacerbated corruption. This collaboration with public authorities has only served to magnify corruption, as emphasized by Florêncio Filho and Zanon (2020).

As a result, corruption in public management has exacerbated the country's epidemic crisis (Florêncio Filho and Zanon, 2020), which, as a result, has had an impact on the social repertory of Brazilians via the media. Looking at Brazil of 2021 and the country's relationship with corruption, a survey by the Datafolha Institute ³³linked to the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*³⁴, published in 2022 by G1, endorses that 53% of Brazilians think corruption tends to increase over time, in 2021, was 36%.

Another survey conducted by Statista in 2019³⁵ found that about 54% of respondents in Brazil said that corruption had increased during the year. On the other hand, the survey shows that eight out of ten Brazilians believe that corruption can be fought by ordinary people. Similarly, according to Statista data, the period of Jair Bolsonaro's administration, the public's expectations of corruption gradually deteriorated. In March 2021³⁶, 67% of respondents predicted that corruption would increase in the future, the highest share to date, compared to 43% in December 2019 (Graph 4).

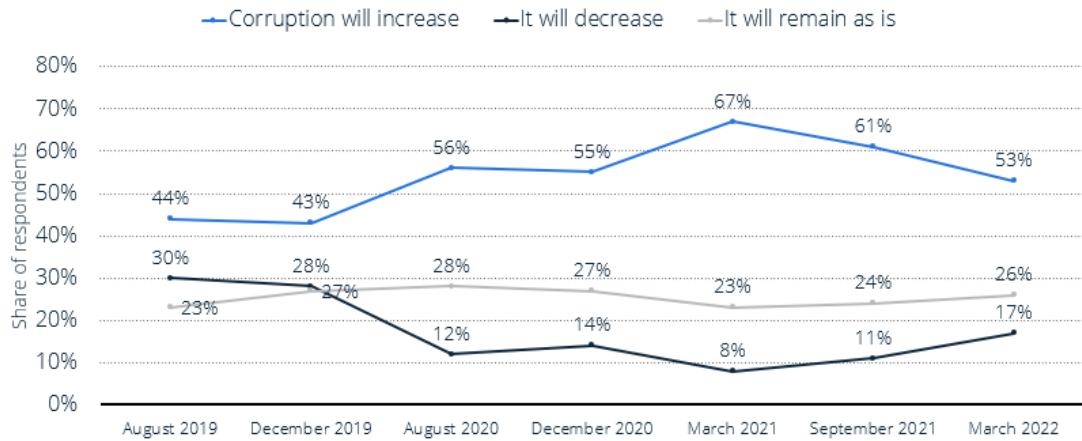
³³ Research published by the newspaper Folha de São Paulo.

³⁴ Research carried out in 2021 by Instituto Datafolha and published by Folha de São Paulo in 2022, registered with TSE BR-08967/2022.

³⁵ Title: Share of respondents who think corruption has increased over the past year in Brazil as of 2019. Published by Statista, country: Brazil; analyze date: February 27 to April 2, 2019; audience: 1,000 respondents; 18 years and older; method: Computer-assisted personal interviews (CAPI).

³⁶ Title: Future expectations regarding corruption in Brazil from 2019 to 2021 published by Statista; Country: Brazil; date: 13 to 15 September, 2021; public: 3,667 adults.

Graph 4 - Perception of corruption in Brazil 2019-2022



Brazil: public opinion on the fight against corruption 2019-2022

Notes: Brazil, March 22 to 23, 2022; 16 years and older; 2556 respondents
 Further information regarding this statistic can be found on [page 8](#)
 Source(s): Datafolha; ID 780568



Source: Statista.

While this thesis does not delve into sentiment analysis, the accompanying graph serves to illuminate the prevailing perception of corruption and its temporal evolution, particularly within the scope of this paper's timeframe. Through this lens, the graph elucidates Brazil's complex relationship with corruption, capturing shifts in public sentiment and highlighting the nuances of perception during the period under examination. Despite fluctuations, the Statista graph unequivocally depicts a persistently high perception of corruption throughout 2021, challenging the notion of a diminishing corruption landscape in the country.

This depiction of corruption perception intersects with the management of resources, strategies, and policies enacted amid the pandemic. The heightened transfer of both public and private resources during this period has amplified the risk of corruption and bribery, rendering many sectors, notably healthcare, vulnerable to exploitation (Dikmen and Çiçek, 2023).

A striking example of this nexus between corruption and the pandemic lies in the distribution of vaccines, wherein certain regions of the country are favored over others, exacerbating social inequalities. Data obtained from the Federal Government Purchasing

System (Comprasnet)³⁷ via the Ministry of Economy tool reveals that since February 2020, approximately 92% of Covid-19-related procurements without bidding have been allocated to regions such as the Federal District and states like Rio de Janeiro, Pará, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo (Maia et al., 2020).

According to the newspaper Estado de Minas³⁸, in 2020, the value of contracts investigated by the Federal and Civil Police and the Public Ministry across various states in the country, which were linked to signs of fraud involving purchases and contracts aimed at combating the disease, reached an approximate value of R\$ 1.5 billion.

Findings from the Federal Court of Auditors (TCU)³⁹ reveal that a significant portion of the resources allocated to combat COVID-19 were misappropriated, undermining the effectiveness of public health initiatives. The TCU noted "a lack of detailed expense reporting by the Military Commands and insufficient evidence of expense execution" (TCU, 2023). Consequently, estimations suggest that millions of dollars were diverted, directly impacting the capacity and infrastructure of the healthcare system.

In a broad perspective, the convergence of social, cultural, political, and economic variables that define Brazil in 2021, as well as its inadequacies, highlight the importance of this thesis work. The nation faced a number of struggles associated with corruption and the COVID-19 pandemic crisis, such as the misappropriation of funds meant for crisis management, excessive costs associated with purchasing medical equipment, problems obtaining and distributing vaccines, inadequate resource management, public outcry, and politicization of the pandemic, to name a few. These concerns all contribute to Brazil's recent history of corruption, emphasizing the significance of the complete mapping undertaken in this study.

The connection between corruption and the Covid-19 outbreak in Brazil highlights the nation's multifaceted issues during this unprecedented catastrophe. The structural consequences of corruption, exacerbated by the pandemic, widened social inequities in healthcare access, as resources intended for crisis management were diverted, leaving underprivileged populations with inadequate care. Moreover, the implementation of social isolation measures further exacerbated unemployment and income rates, portraying

³⁷ Comprasnet website is an online platform maintained by the Brazilian government, specifically by the Ministry of Economy. It was created to assist in the management of public procurement by the federal government.

³⁸ Jornal Estado de Minas News Portal.

³⁹ The TCU (Federal Audit Court) is a Brazilian institution responsible for overseeing the accounts and financial activities of the federal government. It is an external control body, that is, it is not part of the Executive, Legislative or Judiciary branches.

a Brazil struggling with destitution and deprivation amidst the pandemic.

2.4.2 A Comprehensive analysis of indicators and research in Brazilian media: why Brasil?

The spread of disinformation, combined with the phenomenon of mediatization, is a critical component of the political and social challenges faced by countries such as Brazil (Santos and César, 2022; Recuero et al., 2022). The Brazilian media landscape has transformed into a dynamic arena with an abundance of narratives and information. This proliferation has been exacerbated by the desire for clarity in an environment marked by uncertainty and fear, as exemplified by the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic in the previous chapter. Consequently, understanding the multifaceted indicators and research pertaining to Brazilian media assumes paramount significance in comprehending the complexities inherent in contemporary societal dynamics.

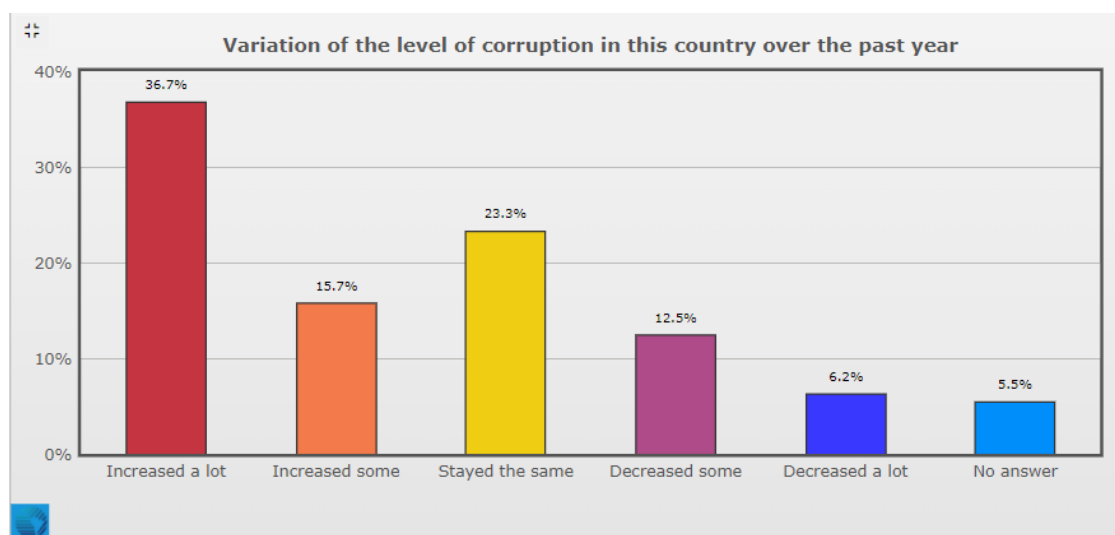
The issue of isolation and the necessity to seek information prompted Brazilians to intensify their exploration through online communication channels. This phenomenon not only fostered diverse ideological discussions but also exacerbated the influence of fake news on these platforms. This trend aligns with findings from studies indicating that media concentration tends to be pronounced in low-income countries, where incentives for diverse information sources are lacking (Valdya, 2005). Therefore, the intersection of media proliferation, disinformation, and societal challenges underscores the pressing need for comprehensive research and analysis to navigate the web of influences shaping public discourse in Brazil.

Data from the *Media Freedom Index*⁴⁰ show that Brazil ranks 107th with a score of 34.05, indicating that corruption is deeply ingrained in the country. These indicators play a role in assessing Brazil's international standing regarding press freedom and democracy. A low ranking on the Media Freedom Index can significantly affect the country's global perception and credibility as a robust democracy that upholds the principles of free expression. This underscores the importance of addressing corruption and enhancing media freedom to bolster Brazil's reputation on the global stage.

⁴⁰ The Media Freedom Index is a metric that assesses the degree of press freedom in a country. It is compiled by the organization Reporters Without Borders (RSF) and assesses the situation of the press in more than 180 countries.

In addition, the 2015 edition of the *Latinobarómetro*⁴¹ showed that Brazil is the only country in Latin America where corruption is considered the biggest problem, with 22% (Feres Júnior and Sassara, 2016). This variation in the level of corruption in Brazil increased; in 2020, the perception of corruption growth was 36.7%, with 23.3% believing it would remain stable and 15% believing it had increased slightly (Graph 5). This suggests that corruption is a significant concern among Brazilians and underscores the importance of addressing this issue effectively.

Graph 5 - Variation in the perception of corruption in 2020



Source: Latinobarómetro 2020 Brazil.

The high percentage of respondents who perceived an increase in corruption suggests that the population is concerned about this issue. This may reflect ongoing corruption scandals, publicized investigations, or a general perception of deteriorating ethical standards in both the public and private sectors. While a portion of respondents believed that corruption levels would remain stable, that nearly a quarter of respondents expressed uncertainty or skepticism about improvements suggests a lack of confidence in anti-corruption measures or institutional reforms.

⁴¹ Latinobarómetro is a public opinion study that annually applies in 18 Latin American countries.

According to the 2015 Brazilian Media Survey⁴² published by Brazil Communications Company, 40% of Brazilians utilized the Internet as a communication medium at that time. This survey also highlights the level of trust in online content, with 27% indicating that they "always or often" trust news obtained from the Internet, in contrast to 58% who trust newspapers and 54% who trust television. In Brazil, the consumption of online content plays a role in shaping public opinion, particularly due to the substantial investment by Brazilian politicians in social media platforms to connect with their constituents.

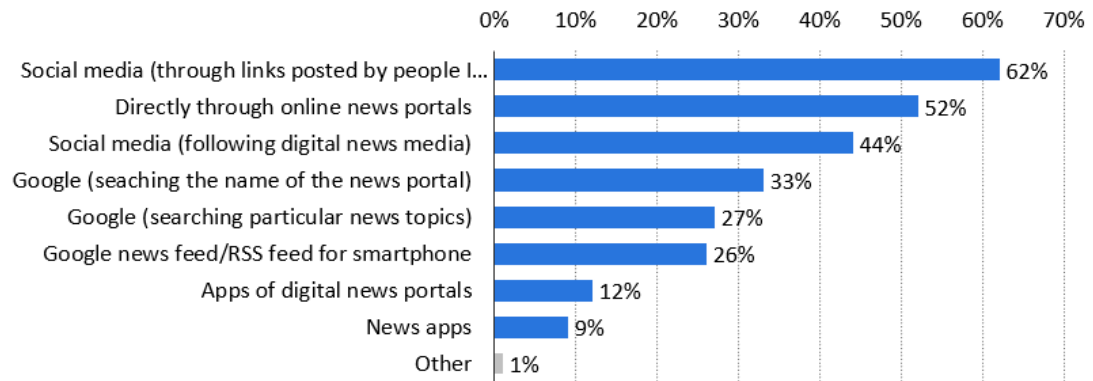
Amidst the dynamic landscape of Brazilian media, the consumption of online content emerges as a critical factor in influencing public opinion. Observe the contextual framework in recent years, Brazilian politicians have increasingly relied on social media platforms to effectively engage their audiences. The concept of mediation and mediatization within the global context emphasizes the fragmentation and autonomization of representations in a convergent mediatized environment. Therefore, gaining insights into the patterns of online content consumption and their implications for public discourse in Brazil for understanding the relationship between media, politics, and society.

Regarding media visibility in the face of the means of communication worked on in this research, it was observed that when dealing with the user⁴³, with access to information, social platforms (62%) lead the ranking, when dealing with the information of people followed by the user, after, news portals (52%) appear as the most used for accessing information and finally, in third place (44%) social media linked to news channels (Graph 6).

⁴² Brazilian research carried out by the Federal Government, in particular, SECOM (Secretariat of Social Communication of the Presidency of the Republic) released the 2015 Brazilian Media Survey, which aims to provide an overview of the media consumption habits of the Brazilian population.

⁴³ Statista: Platforms used to access or follow digital news in Brazil in 2020.

Graph 6 - Platforms used to access or follow digital news in Brazil in 2020



Notes: Brazil, June 22 to July 2, 2020; 2,047 respondents; among people who read digital news at least once a week. Further information regarding this statistic can be found on [page 8](#). Source(s): Provokers; Luminato; ID:1178606

statista

Source: Statista.

These platforms exert influence over social discussions and, consequently, decision-making mechanisms such as voting, within an environment where media visibility complicates the control of events mediated by the media due to their conspicuous nature. This phenomenon arises from the transformative impact of new technologies on the repertoire of societal, individual, institutional, and governmental communication dissemination and interaction (Amaral and Pinho, 2017).

Another national household sample survey, in collaboration with IBGE⁴⁴ and the *Ministry of Communications* (MCom), found that about 65.6 million households will be connected in 2021, 5.8 million more than in 2019. Hence, media visibility serves as a pivotal instrument in the continuous struggle of communication, particularly when political scandals arise, potentially eroding the public's confidence in their leaders. Within this framework, the media plays a role in molding the political terrain by constructing narratives that highlight many aspects of political activities, including negotiations, actions, and the personalities of political actors.

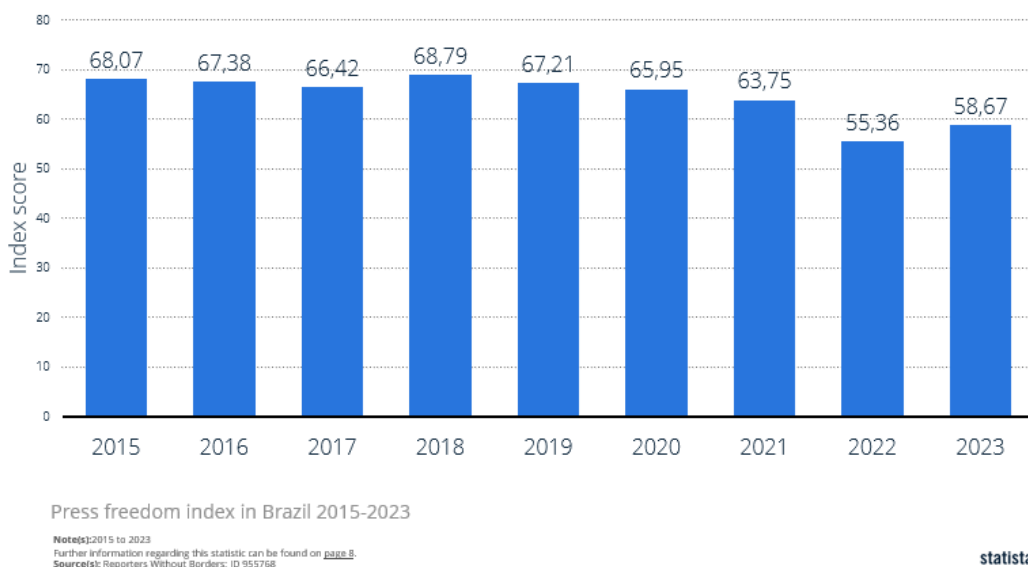
As a result, media visibility emerges as a strategic component of everyday communication challenges. Particularly noteworthy is the observation that, in some cases, political scandals contribute to a decrease in the public's perception of public figures' moral

⁴⁴ The IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) is a federal agency affiliated with the Brazilian Ministry of Economy, responsible for the production and dissemination of statistical, geographical and cartographic information about the country.

standing. The media plays a critical role in shaping political reality by using framing techniques that highlight political actions, negotiated outcomes, and political actors' personas.

From 2015 to 2022, press freedom in the nation witnessed a notable decline, plummeting from 68.79 to 55.36, as indicated by Statista (Graph 7). This plunge has positioned the country among the ten nations in Latin America with the least press freedom.

Graph 7 - Press freedom index in Brazil from 2015 to 2023



Source: Statista.

This decline in press freedom reflects on Brazil in several ways. First, according to the graph it suggests an increasing restriction on the role of the press as a counterweight to power, which is fundamental to maintaining transparency and government accountability in a healthy democracy. Less press freedom increases the risk of censorship, self-censorship, and limits on journalists' ability to investigate and report on issues of public concern objectively.

In dialogue, according to *Reporters Without Borders*, the media in Brazil are considered partially free, on a scale of 64/100. The Press Observatory and the Gutenberg Institute, in recent years there has been a tendency toward progress in building an ethical journalistic

professional identity for the public service (De Albuquerque, 2000). The decrease in the press freedom index suggests a deterioration in the environment for journalistic expression, potentially indicating increased censorship, restrictions on media activities, or threats to journalists' safety and independence.

It is interesting to note that an investigation⁴⁵ by *Reporters Without Borders* (RSF)⁴⁶ and the Institute of Technology and Society of Rio de Janeiro (ITS -Rio)⁴⁷, shows the hatred of the media for three months in some months of 2021, in which it shows that politicians associated with the government of President Jair Bolsonaro were authors of attacks on vehicles critical of the government, women journalists. In the same year, the country was ranked 107th out of 180 countries in RSF's World Press Freedom Index 2021.

The significance of media freedom in Brazil becomes particularly pronounced amidst challenges to democracy. Indeed, both issues have served as pivotal pillars in the struggle against political corruption, the promotion of democratization, and the defense of media liberties (Bhattacharyya and Hodler, 2015). Moreover, there are indications that the Brazilian press has attained a greater degree of independence from political party affiliations or factional influences compared to previous years (Ortiz, 1988; De Albuquerque, 2000; Boas, 2013).

In conclusion, the reflections presented emphasize the importance of media freedom in shaping Brazil's sociopolitical landscape. The country's media environment, marked by a proliferation of narratives, the spread of disinformation, and threats to press freedom, highlights the complexities of modern societal dynamics. The decline in press freedom indices represents a concerning trend that jeopardizes democratic principles and journalistic integrity.

Despite these challenges, there are some signs of progress, as evidenced by efforts to strengthen ethical journalistic standards and promote professional autonomy. However these challenges, social media platforms provide opportunities for diverse expression and public discourse, empowering citizens to engage in political and social issues. While they

⁴⁵ Reporters Without Borders (RSF) and the Institute of Technology and Society (ITS) conducted a poll between March and June of this year, recording half a million tweets with hashtags targeting the press. Approximately 20% of the total was produced by accounts with a high likelihood of automated behavior.

⁴⁶ Reporters Without Borders (RSF) is an international non-profit organization that promotes freedom of the press and freedom of expression around the world.

⁴⁷ The Institute of Technology and Society of Rio de Janeiro (ITS -Rio) is a non-profit organization based in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, founded in 2012. The mission of ITS -Rio is to study and promote the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) for the social and economic development of the country.

provide opportunities for democratizing communication, they also pose challenges such as misinformation dissemination and public opinion manipulation.

2.5 Current Research Trends

This research considers the reflections of McCombs (1977) that, endorses that the media holds significant influence in determining the importance individuals attribute to specific topics or issues through the journalistic coverage. In this mindset, the media not only informs but actively influences the public's cognitive agenda, affecting not only what to think about but also how to think about it. In this sense, this approach is consistent with Bourdieu's (1987) concept of reality production, highlighting how the media shapes both individual and communal perceptions, contributing to the structuring of the social world. With the objective of the thesis is exploring the representation of corruption in media, particularly focusing on tweets on Twitter and articles on news portals, this work has as its background the *Theory of Mass Communication* (McCombs, 1977; McCombs and Shaw, 1972; McQuail, 1987; Baran et al., 2012)⁴⁸ to engage with diverse scholarly viewpoints. Bearing in mind that the theory of mass communication dialogues with the authors to analyze how the media portrays cases of political corruption and how this influences the public perception of these cases.

Drawing upon the theory's principles of *agenda-setting* analysis, and personalization of politics, these studies illuminate how media coverage of corruption not only reflects societal norms and values but also actively constructs and reinforces narratives that impact public discourse and policymaking. Moreover, the *Theory of Mass Communication* provides a theoretical framework to analyze the mechanisms through which media outlets prioritize certain corruption narratives, frame them within specific contexts, and ultimately shape public understanding and responses to instances of corruption within society.

Thinking about that, this theoretical synthesis endeavors to illuminate and complete the reflections about the nuanced nature of corruption portrayal in media, laying the groundwork theoretical and methodological for a comprehensive analysis of its societal implications in order to close the theoretical chapter. Synthesizing insights from diverse scholarly perspectives, including seminal works, it becomes evident that corruption

⁴⁸ The 'Theory of Mass Communication' investigates how media influences society, with a focus on the dissemination of messages to broad audiences. It explores how the media influences public opinion, attitudes, and behaviors. *Agenda-setting*, cultivation analysis, and media effects are all important concepts for understanding how media material influences audience perceptions and behaviors. To better comprehend the impact of mass communication on individuals and society, the theory takes into account aspects such as media ownership, technology, and audience characteristics.

representation in media discourse is not a monolithic entity but rather a product of numerous influencing factors.

2.5.1 Theoretical communication and its interdisciplinarity

When dealing with corruption and the media, authors such as Cunha (2009; 2014; 2015), Cunha and Araujo (2018), and Serrano (2016) endorse the importance of investigation and analysis of the phenomenon of corruption, specifically when it comes to the relationship between the phenomenon and its representation in the media, reflections, and implications on public opinion and electoral behavior. . Overall, the authors use an interdisciplinary approach that includes content analysis, documentary and bibliographic research, and discourse analysis to investigate how the media represents political corruption and how that portrayal influences public perceptions and electoral decisions. Although each author may address these themes in specific ways, they contribute to a broader understanding of the phenomenon of corruption and its impact on contemporary society. Inside '*Theory of Mass Communication*' some authors discuss *Agenda-Setting*⁴⁹ and even '*Personalization of Politics*'⁵⁰ in an attempt to light of the visibility of journalistic coverage of political corruption, the interconnectedness of corruption cases in many countries, the role of networks in social issues, and the media's influence on public perception of corruption and the functioning of the judiciary. In dialogue with these authors, Figueras (2017) and Thompson (2013; 2000; 1998) investigate themes such as the portrayal of corruption, the role of commentators in shaping the narrative of corruption cases, the growth of political scandals in the context of modern media, and the impact of traditional and social media on public perceptions of corruption. These debates support the Theory of Mass Communication's reflections and add to a broader understanding of the thesis's major goal, which is to examine the dynamics between media, corruption scandals, and public opinion.

⁴⁹ In view of For McCombs and Shaw (1972) this theory suggests that the media not only influences what people think about, but also what their decisions. By emphasizing certain topics, such as cases of political corruption, the media can influence the importance attributed to these topics by the audience, thus shaping the public and political agenda.

⁵⁰ The personalization approach to politics is discussed by authors such as Thompson (1998; 2000), Schwartzberg (1967) and Souza (2014) within the context of mass communication theory. The personalization of politicians and their focus on individual conduct can influence public perceptions of politics.

In line with Thompson (2013; 2000; 1998), Charron and Annoni (2021), Li et al., (2020) and Einspänner et al., (2014) analyze the issue of corruption, particularly its link with the media and the implications for election conduct. In general, the authors use an interdisciplinary approach that includes content analysis, documentary and bibliographic review, and discourse analysis, but they all have the same goal: to reflect on how the media portrays political corruption and how this representation influences perceptions of the public and electoral decisions.

Building on the foundational insights of various scholarly perspectives, particularly in understanding the multifaceted nature of corruption representation in media, Cunha's (2009; 2014; 2015; Cunha and Araujo, 2018) study provides a focused analysis into the dynamics of media coverage of political corruption in the European context. By delving into the visibility of journalistic⁵¹ reporting on political corruption, Cunha's research offers valuable insights into the landscape of media portrayal and its resonance with public opinion.

As this thesis endeavors to map the landscape of corruption in Brazilian media, Cunha's work serves as a pertinent reference point, illuminating methodologies and trends that may inform comparative analyses and contextual understandings within the Brazilian socio-political context. Thus, the work of Cunha (2014) serves as inspiration for this thesis, providing valuable insights into the dynamics of media coverage of political corruption and its implications for public perception and electoral behavior.

Another source that contributes to the empirical formulation of this thesis is Cunha and Araujo (2018) present an exploratory analysis of five news stories on corruption cases in Portugal and Brazil that were further related to investigations in Angola. The authors employed a qualitative analysis methodology to examine how sociability networks are described in the texts and infographics accompanying the news, as well as the relationships between institutions and actors in the Lusophone space.

Cunha and Araujo (2018) emphasize the interconnectedness of corruption cases investigated in Brazil and Portugal, particularly highlighting cases such as 'Marquês'⁵² and 'Lava Jato'. The authors note the involvement of political actors, private companies,

⁵¹ This approach is fascinating and relevant to this thesis; nevertheless, it should be noted that this work does not explore the role of the journalist or reporter. It's included studies with this concentration because they address concerns that complement some perspectives. of this thesis.

⁵² The "Marquês Case" refers to one of the biggest corruption scandals in Portugal, involving Portuguese businessman José Sócrates, who was Prime Minister of Portugal from 2005 to 2011.

and state institutions across borders, indicating the transnational nature of corruption networks within the Lusophone space.

It is interesting to note that, regarding Brazil, the authors analyze the coverage of corruption cases involving prominent political actors such as Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and José Sócrates, as well as the connections between Brazilian and Portuguese companies implicated in corruption scandals. By making the connection between cases of corruption, scandals and politicians, the authors open the discussion about how corruption is part of the social reality in these countries as well as the authors' other works (Cunha 2009; 2014; 2015).

The analysis reveals a complex web of relationships and social networks involving political elites and corporate entities within the Lusophone space. Cunha and Araujo (2018) highlight the role of infographics in visually representing these networks and enhancing the visibility of actors involved in corruption scandals. Overall, the study underscores the transnational nature of corruption networks and the challenges of investigating and reporting on corruption within the Lusophone space. As this thesis points out, Cunha and Araujo (2018) endorse the role of the media in shaping public perceptions of corruption and influencing discussions on governance and accountability. Cunha (2015) investigates the changes occurring in European nations, as well as the role of the media in what she refers to as 'de-democratization,' with a special emphasis on the visibility of political corruption in southern European countries. The work is based on an approach that involves documentary and bibliographic reviews, discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2012), and content analysis (Cunha, 2009) being an important theoretical basis for this thesis. It is worth highlighting that, Cunha's theoretical review emphasizes the emergence of political corruption as a national phenomenon within globalized patterns, which is monitored by international prevention organizations and national institutions. Cunha (2015) concludes that mainstream media contribute to constructing an image of "bankruptcies" in national democracies by emphasizing corruption issues, leading European citizens to accept the inevitability of austerity policies.

Echoing these insights and dialoguing with Cunha's work, Serrano (2016) investigates the interplay between media, justice, and politics in four corruption cases in Portugal, spanning from 2008 to 2012. The analysis included press articles, and the pieces were coded into databases using SPSS statistical software. Interviews with journalists and politicians were conducted to supplement the content analysis, as was a survey of public

statements made by justice agents regarding the cases under consideration. Serrano (2016) unveils the media's influence on public perceptions of corruption and the justice system. Drawing upon cultivation analysis theory, Serrano (2016) underscores the media's role in shaping public perceptions of social reality, particularly regarding issues of corruption and judicial efficacy.

In a complementary vein with a different focus, Figueiras (2017) seeks to enhance understanding of how commentators addressed three highly publicized corruption cases in Portugal — "BPN", "Freeport" and "Face Oculta"⁵³—during prime-time television newscasts. The study analyzes the themes, actors, tone, and style of commentary on these corruption cases and assesses the connection between the commentary narrative and the journalistic coverage of the same cases.

Regarding methodology, Figueiras (2017) draws data with the support of FCT⁵⁴ project, with the quantitative content analysis of opinion with the same variables used in the analysis of news coverage of the corruption cases. The study points out that the culture of scandal in Western societies can be viewed as a downside of trust politics, as scandals highlight transgressions of codes and behaviors regulating public office, thereby affecting individuals' reputations. In summary, Figueira's (2017) study sheds light on how commentators influence public understanding of corruption through their narratives on prime-time television, revealing the evolving dynamics between news and opinion in shaping public discourse on political corruption in Portugal.

The authors Cunha (2009; 2014; 2015; Cunha and Araujo, 2018), Figueiras (2017), and Serrano (2016) explicitly dialogue with the reflections of Thompson (2000; 2013) offering insights into the media's effect on political scandals, enriching our theoretical understanding of corruption representation in media discourse. When we consider that Thompson (2013; 2000; 1998) emphasizes that there is rapid information dissemination and intensified media competition.

Thompson's (2000) work on political scandals and provides a broader contextualization of media dynamics in corruption representation. By examining the relationship between

⁵³ "BPN", "Freeport" and "Face Oculta" are three cases of corruption and scandals that have shaken Portugal in recent years.

⁵⁴ Foundation for Science and Technology is a body within Portugal's Ministry of Education and Science that evaluates and finances scientific research activities in all scientific fields, particularly natural, exact, social, and human sciences.

media transformations and political events, the author emphasizes the media's role in shaping public perceptions and influencing the course of political developments.

Thompson's work (2013) provides a comprehensive analysis of the contemporary phenomenon of political scandals providing basis for the elaboration of this thesis in order to promote insights into this research. Employing a systematic approach, Thompson (2013) examines the evolution of political scandal within the context of communication media development, elucidating how changes in visibility and the public-private life dynamic have contributed to its prominence.

Through meticulous research, the author delineates three primary categories of political scandals — sex scandals, financial scandals, and 'power scandals' — and traces their evolution in British and American political landscapes. Furthermore, the empirical and reflective contributions of Thompson offer an original theoretical framework that underscores the connections between scandal, reputation, and trust, shedding light on the profound social and political dialogue surrounding these factors in the scenario of corruption scandals. Thompson's (2000; 2013; 1998; 2002) considerations shed light on this research, as one of the authors, based on the composition of reflections in this thesis. Another study base that dialogues with this thesis and serves as inspiration is the work of Charron and Annoni (2021) investigate the influence of news media on people's perceptions of political corruption, focusing specifically on the contrast between social media and traditional media sources. They assumption that individuals who primarily consume news from social media platforms will perceive higher levels of political corruption compared to consumers of traditional media. Additionally, the authors propose that perceptions of corruption among social media users will be more polarized, particularly along partisan lines. The ideas presented by Charron and Annoni (2021) contribute to the research of this thesis, which seeks to examine the representation of corruption on social media and in news articles on portals.

Regarding implications, the work contributes to understanding how media consumption influences perceptions of corruption, highlighting the potential for increased polarization among social media users. The remarks by the authors, has implications for democratic societies, as higher polarization could impact trust in political institutions and democratic processes. Thus, Charron and Annoni's (2021) research sheds light on the relationship between the news media and corruption perceptions in European democracies, emphasizing the role of social media in shaping public opinion and polarization.

With a greater rapprochement with society and an approach to machine learning, Li et al, (2020) address the pervasive challenge of corruption, which undermines human development, economic growth, and public trust. The author highlights the complexity and global nature of corruption, emphasizing the need for innovative approaches such as machine learning to combat it, opening space for broad future studies in the academia.

The authors deploy an unsupervised machine learning methodology, utilizing natural language processing, to collect and analyze data from Twitter. Li et al, (2020) aim to detect self-reported experiences with corruption, particularly in sectors like healthcare and police bribery. The study analyzed over 22 million tweets and identified 2383 tweets from 1556 users reporting experiences with corruption. The findings reveal a small but significant number of users actively reporting corruption experiences, mainly in countries perceived to have higher levels of corruption. Notably, the majority of these messages included reports of users' own experiences or documentation of corruption.

Likewise, Li et al. (2020) underlines the necessity of multistakeholder collaboration and the incorporation of emerging technologies, such as big data analytics and machine learning, in modernizing anti-corruption initiatives. It is interesting to note that, despite the hurdles and limitations, such as the clandestine nature of corruption and concerns about technology misuse, the authors are enthusiastic about technology's involvement in tackling this worldwide. The authors emphasize the need for sustained political will, advocacy, and data-driven approaches within the SDG framework to effectively combat corruption on a global scale.

Another study based on Twitter by Einspänner et al., (2014) explores the application of computer-assisted content analysis to Twitter data, a methodological framework rooted in the systematic coding and analysis of various forms of communication. The authors highlight the increasing relevance of online communication in the Information Age and argue that content analysis provides a valuable tool for studying this medium.

Einspänner et al., (2014) emphasize the challenges of sampling Twitter data due to limitations in accessing the Twitter API and the sheer volume of data generated. For the authors, the researchers must carefully select sampling criteria based on content, accounts, and time frames to ensure the relevance and representativeness of the data collected. Einspänner et al., (2014) explain that while traditional content analysis can be conducted manually or with basic software, the scale and complexity of Twitter data often necessitate specialized tools. Bearing this in mind, the authors endorse that

software's includes functionality for quantitative and qualitative analysis, making activities like word frequency analysis, metadata tagging, and even sentiment analysis, when applicable.

Einspänner et al., (2014) assert that content analysis, supported by software, offers a comprehensive methodological framework for analyzing Twitter data. However, they caution that qualitative data analysis software should be used as a supportive tool rather than a sole determinant of research findings, emphasizing the continued importance of researcher interpretation. The research by Einspänner et al., (2014) becomes a support for this thesis, primarily due to the use of software. Although the usage of software is different, in general, it provides support, and the study provides valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities of conducting content analysis on Twitter.

In conclusion, an interdisciplinary examination of the link between corruption and the media demonstrates the complexities of the phenomenon and its substantial impact on modern society. The writers work interdisciplinary on communication theory and its different biases, providing valuable viewpoints on how the media portrays political corruption and how this portrayal effects public perception and voting behavior. Furthermore, the expanding importance of social media and the use of data analysis technology create new opportunities and problems in the fight against corruption.

2.5.2 Theoretical Research on the Role of the Press in the Formation of Public Perception

As we've explored previously, the dynamic between corruption and the media has been subject to extensive scrutiny across various academic disciplines, ranging from communication to political science and cultural studies. Within this realm focused on communication and media studies, scholars like Mancini et al. (2016), Thompson (2000), Tumber and Waisbord (2004), Mazzoni et al. (2022), Hallin and Mancini (2004), Brunetti and Weder (2003), and Vaidya (2005) reflect on how the media depicts and disseminates corruption scandals and the resulting impact on public perception and the political landscape.

The aim of this section is to explore theoretical perspectives that dissect this nexus, aiming to deepen our comprehension of the media's role in constructing and shaping the discourse surrounding corruption in contemporary scholarship. These works are organized around the central concepts and theories put forth by these scholars, providing a comprehensive

overview of the multifaceted dynamics that define the relationship between corruption and the media on both national and global scales.

Mancini et al., (2016) undertook case studies on corruption involving journalists, employing a methodology that entailed detailed narrative analysis, interviews, and content analysis of media coverage and judicial proceedings, all centered on the nexus of media coverage and corruption. Their research spanned five countries: Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Romania, and Slovakia.

The case studies outlined by Mancini et al., (2016) delve into the roles journalists assume in corruption narratives, categorizing them as Initiator/Enforcer, Reporter/Facilitator, Corrupt Journalist, and Apathetic Journalist. The findings illuminated commonalities among the studied countries in their emphasis on political and public administration corruption. Notably, the coverage predominantly addressed "big corruption", with minimal attention paid to "petty corruption", in view of that, the complexity inherent in corruption coverage stems from the autonomy journalists wield within their respective countries' media systems.

For Mancini et al., (2016), the study's conclusions underscored the necessity for a nuanced comprehension of corruption coverage, recognizing the intricacies of journalist roles and the broader systemic challenges at play, in which corruption was portrayed as systemic, involving multiple actors such as journalists, politicians, and government officials. Of particular interest from this study is the revelation that, despite initial typologies, empirical data unveiled a more realistic reality, challenging simplistic categorizations and underscoring the further exploration into the dynamics of corruption within media ecosystems, in line with the proposal of this thesis.

It is worth endorsing that, Mancini et al., (2016) typology of mediated corruption scandals offers a comprehensive framework for understanding the diverse manifestations of corruption representation in the media. By categorizing scandals as market-driven, "custodians of conscience", or politically oriented, Mancini highlights the multifaceted nature of corruption narratives. This typology, coupled with insights from Thompson (2000), Canel and Sanders (2007), and Hallin and Mancini (2004), provides a nuanced understanding of corruption representation in diverse socio-political contexts.

In dialogue with Thompson (2000; 2013), Mancini et al., (2016) delve into an analysis of transformations within the political landscape, particularly concerning media coverage of political scandals and corruption. Mancini et al., (2016) underscore Thompson's

observations regarding the escalating frequency of political scandals in established liberal democracies, suggesting that these observations also hold relevance for new democracies, where political structures are even more unstable and volatile.

Thompson (2000) discusses the shift from ideological politics to what he terms "politics of trust" wherein trust in political leaders becomes paramount due to diminishing party affiliation and the volatility of party structures. Expanding on this discourse, Mancini et al., (2016) argue that new democracies, in particular, face additional challenges due to institutional weakness, the lack of establishment of the rule of law, and the necessity for a more developed social and cultural milieu.

In interaction, Paolo Mancini (2018) present a thought-provoking take on media scandals that diverges from the prevalent Western perspective. Mancini contends that in many nations, including some in the West, corruption scandals are regularly manipulated by diverse actors - such as political and corporate competitors - to attack their enemies and weaken trust in them. To support his point, the author used the content analysis approach as well as computerized and human-assisted content analysis, with the research conducted as part of the ANTICORRP⁵⁵ project, which is sponsored by the EU.

Mancini (2018) delves into how this instrumentalization manifests in the coverage of corruption scandals, observing that the news media frequently serve as instruments for political and business rivalries rather than impartial watchdogs. In emerging and transitional democracies, corruption scandals are wielded to discredit opponents and shape public opinion, reflecting the backdrop of political volatility and feeble party structures. Mancini (2018) contrasts this with the portrayal of corruption in established democracies, where scandals tend to focus on international cases or emerge from strategic leaks rather than deliberate manipulation.

In light of this, beyond the Western domain, corruption scandals are guided by an instrumentalization logic, serving as instruments for specific interests rather than competitive resources in the media environment (Mancini, 2018). This viewpoint challenges liberal assumptions about the media's role in democracy and underscores the significance of contextual factors in comprehending media scandals.

Aligning with Mancini's (2018) perspective, Thompson's (2000) concept of the "politics of trust" elucidates the strategic role of corruption scandals in eroding public trust in

⁵⁵ EU Anti-Corruption Research and Policy (ANTICORPO) was an initiative funded by the European Commission as part of the Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Framework Program.

political and corporate entities. This resonates with Mancini's argument regarding the instrumentalization of scandals to manipulate public perception and discredit adversaries. The interplay between media narratives and societal trust underscores the complex dynamics shaping corruption representation in the media.

With this theoretical basis, it is possible to state that, Thompson's (2000) concept of the "politics of trust", which holds that trust is a fundamental element in political and social relations, supports Mancini's argument that corruption scandals become powerful weapons precisely because they call into question or 'kill' trust in accused parties, whether political figures or business entities. From this perspective, by revealing corrupt activities, the media can diminish citizens' trust in these individuals or institutions, reducing their influence or legitimacy.

In another academic contribution, Mancini (2021) refers to Thompson (2000), who emphasizes that while scandals are an endemic feature of contemporary political culture, thinking about the conditions under which they occur and their evolution differ significantly from one context to the next. This demonstrates that how scandals are classified, revealed, and developed is heavily influenced by the social, political, and media environments in which they occur. Mancini endorses Thompson's (2000) views, pointing out that corruption crises necessitate a thorough examination of the structural factors and specific dynamics in each political and media setting.

Mancini (2021) delves into the dynamics of corruption scandals, particularly emphasizing their mediation and varied interpretations across different global contexts. He observes that corruption scandals, pervasive in both wealthy nations with low corruption levels and poorer nations marked by widespread corruption, often dominate public discourse, whether in newspapers or as tools for economic and political maneuvering. The author contends that existing scholarly literature primarily focuses on corruption scandals within Western liberal democracies, particularly analyzing cases involving public figures within these contexts. However, he points out the limits of this technique, claiming that it fails to represent the various nature of corruption crises around the world.

To fill this gap, Mancini uses a comparative analysis methodology, drawing from literature on corruption and media studies to illustrate the varied character of corruption scandals. Furthermore, Mancini (2021) explores politically oriented corruption scandals in depth, highlighting their instrumentalization by vested interests to attack political rivals or advance particularistic agendas. The author provides illustrative examples from

various countries, demonstrating how these scandals are linked to the broader political landscape and media ownership structures.

Mancini's (2021) extensive analysis demonstrates the complicated interplay of journalism, politics, and commercial interests in affecting the coverage and impact of corruption scandals. Finally, his work provides vital insights for this thesis into the contextual complexities and different forms of corruption scandals, challenging dominant Western-centric perspectives and emphasizing the importance of a more thorough understanding of this worldwide phenomenon.

Tumber and Waisbord (2004) investigate the relationship between scandals and the mass media, claiming that scandals are not only covered by the media but also frequently arise from them. The authors emphasize that scandals should primarily be regarded as news events, serving to uncover hidden political transgressions. They argue that press organizations play a vital role in publicizing political wrongdoing that would otherwise remain concealed. Furthermore, the authors contend that scandals are not inherent but arise sporadically within specific historical and political contexts. Tumber and Waisbord (2004) assert that a combination of institutional political dynamics and a vigilant press committed to muckraking for comprehending the occurrence of scandals.

In terms of methodology, Tumber and Waisbord (2004) employ a qualitative approach, drawing on historical and political analyses to support their arguments. They examine previous scandals, with a special emphasis on the role of the media in their dissemination and public reception. The writers provide a complete overview of the phenomena by evaluating numerous examples of scandalous incidents in various countries.

Additionally, the writers use scholarly literature and theoretical frameworks to explain their findings and back up their claims. The authors believe that media changes have had a key role in the occurrence of scandals in contemporary politics. They highlight the historical interest of media organizations in scandalous news and note that certain trends in journalism have intensified this predisposition.

However, Tumber and Waisbord (2004) also observe a decline in investigative journalism in recent decades, attributing it to various factors such as financial pressures, ownership changes in media companies, and legal challenges. Despite this drop, the authors observe that scandals remain a prevalent feature in political discourse, particularly fueled by tabloidization and the introduction of new media platforms.

Tumber and Waisbord (2004) contend that the changing media landscape has transformed the nature of scandal coverage, favoring sensationalism and entertainment qualities over thorough investigative research. Overall, Tumber and Waisbord (2004) offer a comprehensive examination of the intricate interplay between media dynamics and political scandals, offering light on the changing character of public discourse in modern democracies.

Mazzoni et al. (2022) provide an alternative perspective on corruption and its junction with the media, this time focusing on the Balkan region. The writers thoroughly investigate the relationship between the media and corruption in Western Balkan countries. They argue that the effectiveness of media outlets in combating corruption cannot be primarily based on legislative frameworks, but must also include the diverse social circumstances in which journalism operates.

To address this complicated subject, the author suggests an analysis of the media systems in Albania, Northern Macedonia, Serbia, and Montenegro. They want to uncover important variables that could undermine the media's ability to combat corruption in these countries. The methodology involves examining the political and party systems of the selected countries, focusing on the quality of the political class and the characteristics of the media systems.

The author uses models proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) to assess dimensions such as the press market, political parallelism, journalistic professionalization, the role of the state, press freedom, and ownership concentration. Mazzoni et al., (2022) argue that the Balkan media environment is vulnerable due to shaky democratic institutions, political conflict, and economic pressures.

The enduring legacy of communist rule has left profound impacts on media systems, giving rise to challenges such as political parallelism, media capture, and biased coverage of corruption. As a result, corrupt media entities may manipulate or conceal instances of corruption, thereby exacerbating the issue rather than ameliorating it. Furthermore, Mazzoni et al., (2022) contend that corruption coverage is frequently weaponized to advance partisan interests, undermine oppositional forces, and perpetuate existing power structures, rather than fulfilling its intended watchdog role effectively.

As Mazzoni et al. (2022) point out, it is critical to investigate each circumstance in which corruption exists. While the media can clearly play an important role in discovering cases of corruption, its effectiveness is dependent not only on legal safeguards but also on

institutional resilience, journalistic autonomy, and existing society values. Thus, the author sheds light on the complications inherent in media-driven anti-corruption efforts. In dialogue with corruption and the media, it is worth remembering the researches that endorses press freedom in this multifaceted scenario. It is worth remembering that Mancini et al., (2017) conducted a comprehensive analysis of newspaper articles spanning from 2004 to 2013, utilizing data from Freedom House, to assess the influence of press freedom on corruption coverage.

The research underscores the role of contextual factors such as media market segmentation, political parallelism, and media instrumentalization in shaping diverse representations of corruption. By integrating perspectives from scholars like Thompson (2000) and Treisman (2000), Mancini et al., (2017) highlight the nuanced differences in corruption coverage across various media landscapes, emphasizing the need for a contextualized understanding of media dynamics.

The relationship between press freedom and corruption, endorsed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), also becomes the focus of studies by Brunetti and Weder (2003). According to these authors, countries with greater press freedom have lower levels of corruption, whereas countries with less press freedom have higher levels of corruption.

Brunetti and Weder (2003) use this same viewpoint to investigate the relationship between press freedom and corruption in a variety of nations, with the goal of determining whether a free press is an effective deterrence against corruption. The authors suggest that press freedom can be an effective strategy for combating corruption because it incentivizes independent journalists to find and disclose instances of misconduct by government officials.

The authors' methodology entails compiling data on press freedom and corruption levels. Press freedom is measured using indices compiled by Freedom House⁵⁶, which assess various dimensions of press freedom, including legal, political, and economic influences as well as repressive actions. In addition, corruption levels are gauged through surveys conducted by the International Country Risk Guide (ICRG)⁵⁷ and other sources. Brunetti

⁵⁶ Freedom House is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that was founded in 1941 in the United States. Its primary goal is to promote freedom and democracy throughout the world. The organization publishes annual reports on the state of political and civil liberties in several countries around the world, as well as provides assistance to human rights and democracy activists.

⁵⁷ The International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) assessment includes 22 variables organized into three risk subcategories: political, financial, and economic. Each subcategory has its own index. The Political Risk score is 100 points, Financial Risk is 50 points, and Economic Risk is 50 points.

and Weder (2003) then conduct empirical analyses, including cross-sectional and panel data examinations, to investigate the connection between press freedom and corruption. The findings indicate a strong negative association between press freedom and corruption across countries. Countries with greater press freedom tend to exhibit lower levels of corruption, and this relationship holds true even when controlling for alternative measures of corruption and press freedom. Thus, Brunetti and Weder (2003) suggest that the causation likely runs from higher press freedom to lower corruption, implying that an independent press can indeed serve as a check on corrupt practices within governments. The empirical evidence presented in the study suggests that an improvement in press freedom could lead to a significant reduction in corruption levels, with potential implications for countries with particularly repressive practices like Indonesia, the Russian Federation, and Nigeria. In conclusion, Brunetti and Weder (2003) highlight the importance of press freedom as a vital component of anti-corruption efforts, suggesting that countries could substantially benefit from enhancing press freedom to combat corrupt practices effectively.

Addressed the issue of government transparency, but still with an intriguing theoretical vision that dialogues with the theoretical framework of this chapter, Vaidya's (2005) research, focus on analyzing a government's inclination towards corrupt practices in the presence of an independent media. Through the lens of sequential-move game theory, the study explores how collusion between a media entity and a government, along with the government's ability to manipulate media allegations, can diminish the effectiveness of corruption deterrence efforts.

The work (Vaidya's, 2005) sheds light on the phenomenon where media organizations, driven by the potential gains from scandal exposure, may be incentivized to fabricate false allegations, thereby creating perverse incentives that inadvertently facilitate corruption. By delving into the strategic behavior of media and government actors within a theoretical framework, Vaidya's (2005) aims to provide insights into the underlying mechanisms driving corruption dynamics in societies with varying degrees of media freedom and government transparency.

Drawing on theoretical constructs and empirical evidence, the author presents an analysis of how media-government relationships shape corruption deterrence outcomes, considering factors such as media concentration, competition, and the potential for false allegations. To support these academic reflections, the methodology adopted by Vaidya's

(2005) involves the application of game theory models to illustrate various scenarios of interaction between media and government entities. By constructing sequential-move game frameworks, the research demonstrates the strategic dynamics, wherein both media and government actors strategically maneuver to maximize their respective benefits.

From the author's perspective, the study highlights the interplay between media independence, government accountability, and corruption deterrence key points when dealing with corruption. Vaidya's (2005) argues that, while the media is often perceived as a watchdog capable of exposing government misconduct, its susceptibility to external pressures, including economic incentives and political influences, can compromise its watchdog role. Furthermore, the research underscores the complex nature of media-government interactions, wherein constitutional safeguards may not always guarantee effective corruption deterrence.

By extending Thompson's (2000) and still dialoguing with Vaidya's (2005) ideas to the economic context, Zhang et al., (2023) provide valuable insights into the systemic nature of corruption and the complexities involved in devising effective anti-corruption strategies. Zhang et al., (2023) present a comprehensive analysis of corruption, anti-corruption efforts, and their implications for economic development, emphasizing the relationship between political and economic factors in addressing corruption. The authors introduce a theoretical model that integrates levels of supervision and associated costs to formulate an optimal anti-corruption strategy.

The authors suggests that in countries with low per capita income, rigorous anti-corruption measures may not be financially feasible due to budgetary constraints. However, the author points out that as per capita income surpasses a certain threshold, the optimal level of supervisory input increases, indicating a positive correlation between economic development and the effectiveness of anti-corruption efforts.

Regarding methodology, Zhang et al., (2023) construct a static economic model comprising citizens, government, and employees. The model considers factors such as tax revenue, wages, corruption space, and the probability of corruption detection to analyze the behavior of citizens, supervisors, and officials. By optimizing the government's benefit function under various scenarios, the study elucidates the impact of economic conditions on the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures.

The analysis extends to countries with heterogeneous officials, where the presence of both honest and corrupt officials complicates anti-corruption efforts. The findings of Zhang et

al., (2023) suggest that in middle-income countries with varying levels of corruption, partial corruption may persist despite anti-corruption initiatives. This phenomenon highlights the difficulties associated with eliminating corruption in such settings.

Zhang et al.'s (2023) findings shed light on the complex interplay between corruption, economic development, and anti-corruption policies, providing policymakers with a framework for developing effective anti-corruption strategies and promoting sustainable development. In this case, when dealing with the viewpoint of Zhang et al., (2023) and the context setting of Brazil (the context of this thesis), it is possible to highlight the need for tailored anti-corruption strategies that account for economic conditions and the heterogeneity of each country.

In dialogue but starting from the Hungarian context, by analyzing empirical corruption, Szànto et al., (2012) identify typical network configurations and stable corruption patterns, shedding light on the evolution of corruption networks in the country. The work delves into the intricacies of corruption transactions through the lens of the principal-agent-client model, focusing on ideal-typical corruption scenarios such as bribery, extortion, embezzlement, and fraud.

The methodology used in the author's research involves delineating these corruption transactions as directed graphs, illustrating the relationships between the principal agent, and client. It is interesting to note that the reflections of Szànto et al., (2012) examine various motivations behind corruption transactions, including the reduction of risks and transaction costs, and explore how these transactions are embedded within personal, business, political, and institutional networks.

Focusing on the same country some years later, Czibik et al., (2016) conducted a detailed analysis of corruption coverage in the Hungarian media, focusing on four online news portals: Magyar Nemzet Online (MNO), Népszava, Heti Világgazdaság, and Origo. The study period ranged from 2004 to 2013, during which a total of 34,068 articles were analyzed. The authors noted variations in the content and political leanings of these portals, ranging from right-wing to center-left orientations.

The analysis revealed an increase in the coverage of corruption-related keywords over time, with notable peaks around the 2010 general elections. The most frequently occurring keyword was "corruption", followed by "embezzlement", which was particularly significant compared to other countries. Czibik et al., (2016) suggest a

heightened focus on embezzlement in Hungarian media coverage. The study also examined the prominence of political figures and parties in corruption narratives.

The findings underscored the complex interplay between media coverage, political events, and public discourse surrounding corruption in Hungary. Thus, the approach of Czibik et al., (2016) focusing on key words linked to corruption, is in line with the proposal of this thesis and provides valuable insights into the media landscape and its role in shaping perceptions of corruption within the country.

Furthermore, the authors distinguish between the personal and institutional embeddedness of corruption transactions and highlight the role of actors' in shaping complex corruption networks. Therefore, the research serves as a source of inspiration through case studies, showing the diversity and complexity of corruption networks while emphasizing the influence of regulatory frameworks, institutional conditions, and actors' calculations on the manifestation of corruption transactions.

By combining these scholarly and methodological perspectives, we gain a thorough understanding of corruption portrayal in the media, recognizing its multiple natures and the interaction of institutional, political, and technological aspects. This theoretical amalgamation, which combines empirical research, theoretical frameworks, and contextual studies, provides unique insights into the dynamics of corruption discourse in the current media landscape.

Synthesizing these scholarly contributions illuminates the nuanced relationship between media representation and political corruption. By elucidating the strategies employed by the media to frame corruption narratives, these studies underscore the pivotal role of media visibility in shaping public discourse and perceptions of political integrity.

In this subchapter linked with the following three subchapters to be presented in this thesis contribute to the theoretical framework backdrop of modern corruption scandals, it becomes apparent that media wield significant influence over how these events are understood and brought to light. Given the increasing interconnectedness of society through digital platforms, the instantaneous nature of news dissemination, and the intensification of competition in the information sector, there exists a rapid transmission of information pertaining to political scandals, which will also be covered in the next chapters of this section.

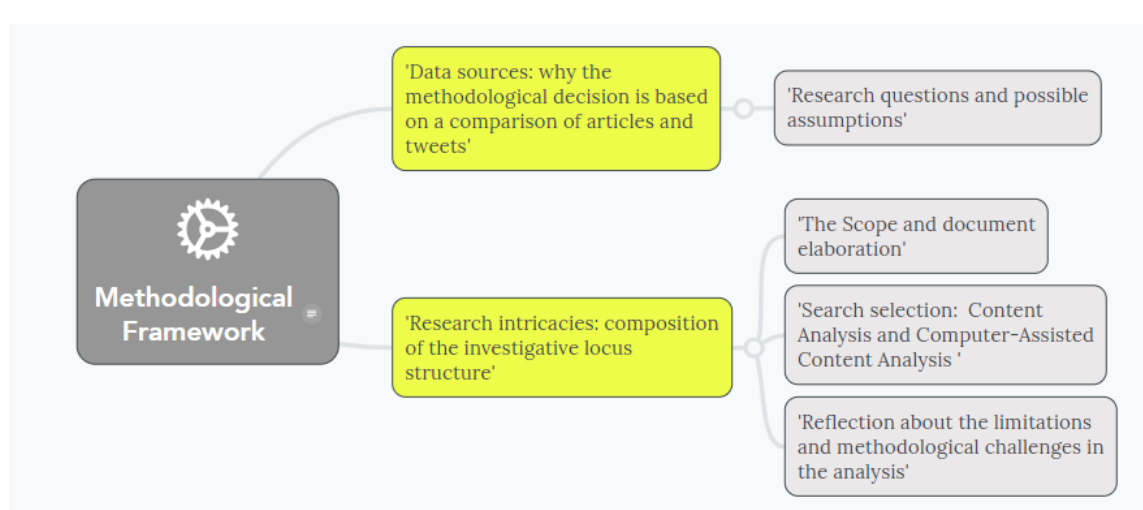
3. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical chapters previously presented contemporary research trends ranging from studies of corruption in the media to the Brazilian context focus of this case of study. Thus, corruption is reflected both in the pandemic crises and in engagement and political polarization, besides that the phenomenon has been an even in electoral decisions. An example of this scenario is the demonstrations of 2013, the electoral debates of 2014, the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff in 2016, and the election of Bolsonaro in 2018, which fit the factors outlined by Corruption and Media.

The research is justified by the idea to comprehend the prevalence of the "culture of corruption" within Brazil's media, highlighting its implications for public discourse and political representation, and holding significance for theoretical inquiry and interdisciplinary collaboration, enriching our understanding of contemporary socio-political. By contrasting journalistic articles from news portals with tweets authored by Brazilians and delineating corruption across various categories, the study seeks to shed light on the relationship between media framing and public perceptions of corruption. Through qualitative and quantitative data, it's possible to see how corruption is portrayed in two different means of communication in Brazil, to stimulate a reflection on the current context of the country, new technologies, and the media.

The following subchapters (Figure 6) seek to outline the structure of the research corpus, exploring the methodology, in order to point out and justify the framework that makes up the main choices, methodologies, software, categories, subcategories, and content. Then, the subchapter *"The scope and data sources: why the methodological decision is based on a comparison of articles and tweets."* and the compliment *"Research questions and possible assumptions"*, the subchapter *"Research intricacies: composition of the investigative locus structure"*, followed by the branche *"Document elaboration"* and after this framing is approached the *"Search choice: Content Analysis and Computational Analysis in Human Assistance"* and in the end, *"Reflection about the limitations and methodological challenges in the analysis"*.

Figure 6 - Methodological framework



Created by the author from research data.

As a result, this chapter is a key part of the work's composition because it outlines the methodological understanding of the analysis, which highlights the relationship between corruption and the Brazilian media, contributing to academic discussions, enriching studies and research that seek to shed light on the relationship between the phenomenon and the media.

3.1 Data sources: why the methodological decision is based on a comparison of articles and tweets.

As endorsed in the theoretical basis, when analyzing news portals and tweets, we come across two scenarios that interact with each other and complement each other. This comparison is significant in the media environment because, on the one hand, we have portals as sources of information that generate content for the population on the basis of *agenda-setting*, on the other hand, social platforms like Twitter⁵⁸ provide an open space

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that Twitter changed its name to X in July 2023, toward the end of this study. The research used the names Twitter and Tweets for recognition purposes.

for discussion, especially an environment for debate and wide circulation of public opinion.

Twitter and news articles are two distinct ways to disseminate information, each with unique characteristics. While Twitter provides quick and interactive communication, news articles provide a more detailed and structured approach with in-depth analysis and context. Both mediums have complementary roles in covering events and issues, providing a comprehensive and multifaceted view of events.

Therefore, this research takes into account that, tweets and news articles serve as an information channel in the context of corruption due to their influential capacity to shape public perception and discourse (Charron et al., 2019; Thompson, 2005). While news articles provide a detailed and structured narrative, tweets offer immediate and interactive insights, reflecting public opinions in real-time (Boyd and Ellison, 2007).

Both mediums play roles in disseminating information about corruption cases, promoting transparency, and promoting public security (Castells, 1997). Moreover, they facilitate civic engagement and social mobilization, increasing awareness of corruption issues and encouraging accountability from involved authorities and institutions (Norris, 2011).

On the one hand, the information portals corroborate the construction of the narrative, choosing daily agendas through scheduling, based on factors such as editorial opinion, target audience, and newspaper line. So, these vehicles provide an interpretation of reality (Thompson and Guareschi, 2002). Whereas mass scheduling is processed through the social filter that promotes information (Feezell, 2018).

On the other hand, social platforms contribute to the promotion of news articles and also expand the possibilities for discussions on digital media. These platforms contribute to *agenda-setting* via news by promoting sharing through groups that tend to be organized and that allow scheduling through these connections (Feezell, 2018). Thus, the way of framing the news reflects individuals and political realities (Gamson, 1992).

Thus, the rise of social media has enabled the ability to construct public opinion polls by analyzing large text-based datasets (Cody et. al., 2016). What stands out in the case of some platforms, such as Twitter, which in recent years has been the focus of much research, especially when it comes to social and linguistic areas (Park and Paroubek, 2010; Cody et. al., 2016).

From another perspective, Twitter is a social network with few barriers when it comes to participating in public debates (Paiva et al., 2017; 2016). As an open platform, Twitter is

used as a public space for interaction and can also serve as a press release for advertisements that dialog with media coverage, contributing to the process of constructing the media agenda (Amado and Tarullo, 2015).

Therefore, as mentioned earlier, the interest in portals and Twitter is based on the construction of news and its impact from the vehicle's point of view. This is because, while portals focus on standardized information according to the daily agenda and schedule, public tweets express the position of citizens who have received certain information and expressed their opinions through the social page.

In this sense, as information about corruption circulates through news portals and tweets, the visibility and dissemination of information occur, contributing to the construction of public opinion, which, consequently, expands discussions on the phenomenon, having as its main premise the instantaneous flow of information. After all, this construction of information is linked to information generated by the various actors in the network (Soares and Recuero, 2017).

Consider the idea that the media highlight issues and place them in public space (Park, 2012). It is known that news portals and social platforms coexist and integrate, despite the way the content is shared and received by the public. Thus, the current communication environment features an intense media flow that also aims to meet the individual requirements of a social context (Williams and Delli Carpini, 2011).

Given the fact that, the two modes of communication, news articles, and tweets work together, they become two vehicles for analysis. Taking into account not only the interaction but also, the two media are linked, but not dependent, but coexisting in order to move the communication gear when it comes to corruption. As a result, analyzing articles and tweets becomes a significant starting point for this theory. In addition, there is still no research in the academic sector that covers these two approaches to dialoguing with corruption like this work.

3.1.2 Research questions and possible assumptions

The delineation of corruption portrayal for understanding the multifaceted nature of this phenomenon and its implications within different contexts. To promote this qualitative and quantitative content analysis, 6.780 articles and 2.036 tweets published during the year 2021 were analyzed. Thus, this section raises three questions, assumptions, and

briefly draws a conclusion concerning the current trend between news articles in portals and tweets, focusing on corruption.

- *Is there a tendency in the way in which the narratives surrounding corruption in journalistic articles from news platforms contrast with the discourse on corruption observed in the tweets of Brazilians?*

→ Assumption: With corruption in focus, the storylines that appear in both vehicles center on the effects and resolution of wrongdoing, talking to each other, thus, there is no difference.

- ✓ In summary, the research seeks to examine the disparities between the coverage of corruption in news articles published by news portals and the discourse found in tweets generated by the portals and tweets. It aims to elucidate the differences in approach, identify key themes addressed, highlight prevalent categories, and explore how corruption influences the respective biases in information dissemination. As a result, it is possible to verify that there is a contrasting difference between the two means of communication when comparing each category.

- *How do recurring⁵⁹ themes about corruption differ between journalistic articles on news platforms and tweets by Brazilians on Twitter?*

→ Assumption: In the case of two media that interact, the recurrences are the same, and also the narratives are the same.

- ✓ Through these distinctions, the repetitions within each category are explored to ascertain the factors that resonate with each means of communication, be it articles from news portals or tweets. In the results, a tendency was observed for recurrences on news portals to diverge and converge from tweets, shaped by the

⁵⁹ Themes that repeatedly /consistently surface across both news articles and tweets.

categories and subcategories, which dialogue with the next question, which finishes the cycle of the methodological questions.

- *How is the trend of the portrayal of corruption delineated across categories, including (1) locations, (2) areas/editorial offices, (3) politicians, (4) political parties, (5) scandals/operations, (6) investigations, and (7) how do these categories interact with the phenomena through recurrent subcategories?*

→ Assumption: the tendency of emerging categories is equal considering that the news should cause an alignment of discussions in tweets and vice versa.

- ✓ Investigating how corruption is depicted across locations, editorial offices, politicians, political parties, scandals, operations, and investigations provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics surrounding corrupt practices. When analyzing these categories and their interactions with recurrent subcategories, such as geographical variations, institutional affiliations, and thematic focuses, this research aims to unravel the relationships between corruption and its contextual nuances. As a result, in each category and subcategory, a trend emerges that attempts to answer this issue.

Given that, during a case study analysis, the author identifies the problems and hypotheses for the study, which guide the discoveries and main aspects (Fidel, 1984; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). With these questions and assumption, the thesis seeks to understand the trend of how corruption is portrayed, which allows for a comprehensive analysis of its prevalence, patterns, and impacts, thereby informing policy interventions, promoting future reflection questions such as transparency, and accountability in addressing corruption at various levels of society.

It is noteworthy that this research does not aim to quantify corruption, measure corruption or assess press freedom. Instead, it endeavors to bridge the gap between corruption and the media by examining information portals and the tweets of Brazilians, thereby offering insights into public perceptions of the phenomenon as portrayed in the media. While this

study represents a pioneering effort in its field, drawing inspiration from previous works, to temper expectations due to the inherent limitations of analyzing two interacting communication channels.

As mentioned earlier, the research posits a potential disparity between the two communication environments, suggesting that the portrayal of corruption in news portals diverges from the perspectives expressed by Brazilians in their tweets. The following chapter will provide a detailed overview of the study's structure, facilitating a deeper comprehension of the questions and assumptions posed.

In conducting the study, the provisions of the code of *Ethics of the International Sociological Association (ISA)*⁶⁰, which guarantees high scientific standards for research and data protection.

3.2 Research intricacies: composition of the investigative locus structure

Based on the questions that define the case study and the extensive theoretical basis of the literature review, presented, this empirical investigation uses the *Content Analysis* method, complemented by *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis (CACA)*. These methodologies were employed to systematically compile and structure both quantitative and qualitative data extracted from news articles and tweets. Bearing in mind that a decisive factor in a case study is to establish limits, in which individual units can be studied from various aspects, whether qualitative, quantitative or, as is the case in this thesis, both (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

With this perspective, '*Brazilian Corruption Map: A Case Study of the News Websites and Tweets*' corresponds to a case study due to its singular and detailed approach to corruption and media. By investigating news articles and tweets as sources of information about corruption in Brazil, the study meticulously analyzes the recurrences, convergences, and divergences between these two communication channels.

Through the examination of qualitative and quantitative data, presented in detail through tables, the research adopts a narrative and analytical approach, comparing and reflecting on each category of analysis. After all, the case study enables a thorough examination of the processes, relationships, and phenomena under consideration (Ventura, 2007).

⁶⁰ The International Sociological Association is a scientific and professional organization founded in 1949 as an organ of Unesco, bringing together national organizations from 109 countries.

Furthermore, the extensive and complex framework of data sources, encompassing contemporary authors, and the contextualization of the scenario through graphs, demonstrate the depth of the investigation. By seeking to understand the media bias between the two channels, the study aims to provide valuable insights into the representation of corruption in the Brazilian media, thus characterizing itself as a comprehensive and multifaceted case study.

Content Analysis involves drawing conclusions from the examination of textual materials by posing questions that solicit varied responses. This process establishes a framework assumption, subsequently validated through evidence extracted from textual influences (Krippendorff, 2018; Denzin and Lincoln, 2011). The trajectory undertaken constitutes this subsection, shedding light on the quantitative and qualitative methodologies and methodological trajectories that culminated in the findings of this case study.

Through content analysis, the text provides researchers with insights into the phenomena, meanings, consequences, and extratextual occurrences at play (Krippendorff, 2018). This process involves delineating defining characteristics, fields, units, and the overall organization of the analysis (Franco, 2020).

In a *Content Analysis* investigation, conclusions are derived from examining existing text through questions designed to elicit various responses, thus establishing a series of hypotheses tested against evidence gleaned from textual influences (Krippendorff, 2018). Thus, material evaluation can be performed manually or by the researcher to confirm the authenticity of the raw results. (Bardin, 1977).

Content Analysis commences with the study of verbal, oral, or written messages, delineating defining characteristics, fields, units, and the overall organizational structure of the analysis (Franco, 2020). From this, using this methodology, categories emerge from the content based on responses that necessitate a journey from material analysis to theory (Franco, 2020).

Qualitative research embodies a transdisciplinary field aimed at uncovering a plethora of facts, individuals, environments, phenomena, locations, and contexts comprising the object of study, imbuing the perceived data with meaning through the author's attentive interpretation and translation facilitated by scientific competence (Chizzotti, 2003). In a realm where qualitative research flourishes by embracing new investigative approaches that prioritize human experience over rigor and objectivity (Chizzotti, 2003).

To complement the content analysis, the *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis* stands out as a meticulously applied empirical social analysis technique (Bos and Tarnai, 1999). This analytical approach encapsulates a "mechanized" or "automated" variant of thematic analysis, wherein the role of computers is pivotal in enhancing analytical capabilities (Mergenthaler, 1996). Here, computers serve as indispensable tools for managing data in computer-assisted content analysis (Bos and Tarnai, 1999).

For this reason, in this work, as in other studies that combine communication studies, sociology, and political science, quantitative data are used to support the comparison presented in the qualitative narrative, in other words, the two methods go hand in hand to plan the corpus. Taking into account that when dealing with qualitative research, there are a number of open questions, based on a specific topic, acting as a broad perspective (Braun et al., 2021, 2021; Braun and Clarke, 2013).

From this, the questions raised in the work endorse the idea that one of the advantages of online qualitative research is the flexibility of the wide range of questions of interest to social researchers. construction of meanings (Braun et al., 2021). Be aware that the depth of qualitative data has the capacity to provide complex data, although not all qualitative research data are nuanced; in this case, there are always answers, whether they are superficial or not (Braun et al., 2021).

3.2.1 The Scope and document elaboration

Preparing the research material is one of the most key procedures since it establishes the scope and objectives that will lead the entire investigation. Thinking about that, after the initial review of the material, a study period of one year was established, from January 1 to December 31, 2021, with the research objective of capturing the representation of corruption in the media through articles published by news portals and the tweets of Brazilians published on Twitter.

The selection of these two communication platforms stems from their role in facilitating the dissemination of information within the public sphere. Portals serve as conduits for providing detailed information, while tweets actively contribute to shaping public opinion, aligning with Habermas's notion of the public sphere (1984). This underscores the significance of the public sphere as a vital arena for engaging in discussions surrounding societal matters, as highlighted by Soares and Recuero (2017).

In this sense, for this work, articles from the online news portals *Brasil de Fato*, *Carta Capital*, *G1*, and *Veja* were collected during the study period using the *SentiOne*⁶¹ software, as well as public tweets on the tweet pages of these respective means of communication, in order to quantify and document the frequency and occurrence of corruption in Brazil. In terms of the benefits of AI software resources, *SentiOne* used for data collection during study.

From this framework of data collected by *SentiOne*, a total of 6.780 articles from online news portals⁶² from *Brasil de Fato*, *Carta Capital*, *G1*, and *Veja* and 2.036 tweets from @brasildefato @cartacapital, @g1 and @VEJA, the respective original platforms (Table 1). In the realm of convergent media, news portals are linked to Twitter pages, fostering not only the seamless dissemination of information between these platforms but also cultivating a dynamic interchange between them. Considering that posts by Brazilians featured on news portals' Twitter feeds are accessible to the public, individuals with a Twitter account can readily engage and comment, thereby enhancing the participatory nature of information dissemination.

Table 1 - Sources of data collection: news portals and Twitter

News portals	News articles	Tweets
Brasil de Fato	https://www.brasildefato.com.br/	@brasildefato
	760	39
Carta Capital	https://www.cartacapital.com.br/	@cartacapital
	1015	273
G1	https://g1.globo.com/	@g1
	3364	802
Veja	https://veja.abril.com.br/	@VEJA
	1641	922
Total	6.780	2.036

⁶¹ SentiOne is a social media analytics software that uses data analytics, artificial intelligence, and machine learning to monitor, collect and analyze customer conversations on social media, forums, blogs, news sites, and other channels. online. In this study, data gathering resources were employed.

⁶² The difference between each portal is not considered by the research, despite the science of the difference between each communication vehicle.

The choice of media was driven by technical considerations, as these platforms are rooted in the fusion of traditional mass media with evolving digital technologies. Portals, guided by their editorial policies, adhere to social media protocols to disseminate information effectively to the public. Conversely, Twitter serves not only as a conduit for information flow but also fosters an environment conducive to open discourse and the exchange of ideas. It plays a pivotal role in shaping public opinion in a broad and democratic manner, facilitating discussions on various topics.

In essence, there exists a dynamic interchange between these two media platforms, fostering active engagement from the populace. This symbiosis aligns with *agenda-setting* theory, positing that media outlets wield influence over public attention. Moreover, it sheds light on how Twitter has, to some extent, reshaped this attention flow (Hrenechen and Gandini, 2018). Consequently, as we delve into the discourse surrounding corruption across news portals and tweets, our aim is to initiate a dialogue on the portrayal of corruption within these portals and its subsequent interpretation, translation, and dissemination.

This contributes to an information cycle between the two media. On the portals, we uncover how corruption is transmitted to the population, and on Twitter, the opinion of the population is echoed in relation to the translated information about the phenomenon. In a way, the news on the portals follows the logic of instrumentalizing journalism, which aims to satisfy certain interests. Thus, corruption is reported because of the search for certain goals, favoring the private interest over the public one, "news media become part of the political struggle and the decision-making process, reflecting the often-contingent interests of groups, individual politicians, and individual businesspersons." (Mancini et al., 2016, p. 17).

Based on a set of ideas that define and integrate our communication channels, the first reason for choosing the portals was the popularity of these online vehicles in Brazil and their accessibility (Figure 7).

Figure 7 - News Portals



Created by the author from research data.

The second reason is the *PageRank* indexed by Google, which makes an algorithmic calculation from 0 to 10, composed of links evaluated according to the number and weighting of the links. This rank is based on the idea that well-written content gains value, authority as content and relevance when it is above 07. In the analyzed vehicles, *Brazil de Fato* Google *PageRank*: 7/10, cPR value: 7.0/10; *Carta Capital* with Google *PageRank*: 9/10, cPR value: 9.2/10; *G1* has Google *PageRank*: 9/10, cPR value: 9.2/10; *Veja* has Google *PageRank*: 8/10, cPR value: 8.9/10.

Brasil de Fato, a news portal founded more recently, in 2003, was originally a weekly political newspaper. The portal is classified as a "popular view of Brazil and the world" and also has tabloids in some Brazilian states such as Ceará, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, and others.

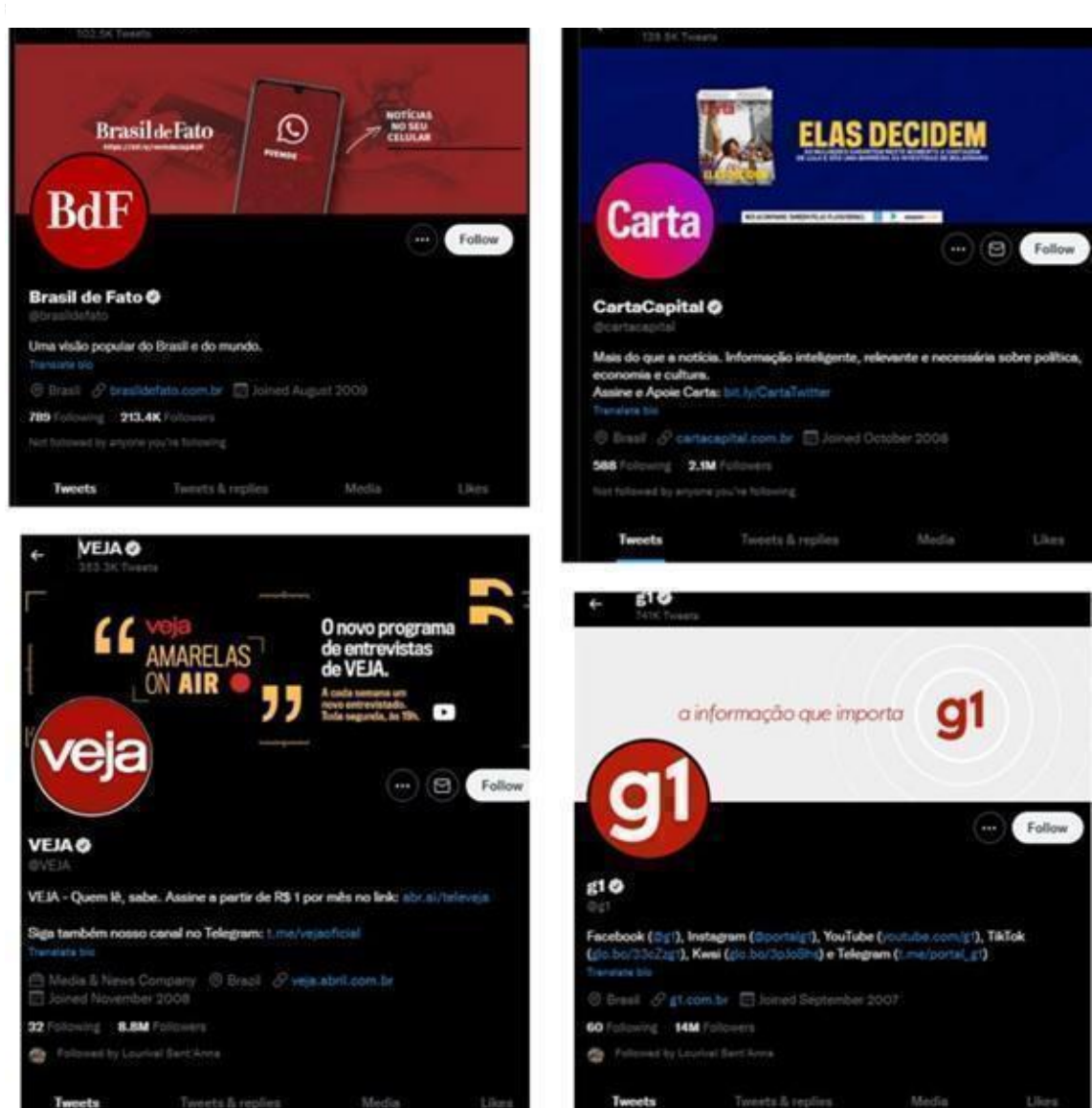
Carta Capital is classified as an "alternative to the one-size-fits-all thinking of the Brazilian press" and has a news portal and a quarterly magazine published by Publishing company Basset since 2001. *Carta Capital* was founded in 1994 and is characterized by an editorial line oriented toward leftist politics, is classified as an "alternative to the one-size-fits-all thinking of the Brazilian press" and has had a news portal and quarterly

magazine from Publishing company Basset since 2001. Founded in 1994, *Carta Capital* has the same editorial characteristics as Carta Capital and is characterized by a politically leftist line.

G1 is a news portal of *Grupo Globo - Central Globo* of newspapers, founded in 2006 with 5 editorial offices in Brazil with newspapers, magazines, radios, and news agencies. As mentioned above, the portal is a digital journalism content initiative that currently "has an average of more than 55 million monthly users, according to Comscore". Finally, the *VEJA* magazine portal, by *Editora Abril*, is classified as "Main information on politics, economy, health, technology, sport and culture". It is ranked in favor of economic liberalism and right-wing policies.

Another factor considered in the selection of media outlets was the dedication of the portals to maintain active Twitter pages with a substantial number of followers (over 200 thousand), thereby fostering engagement. This aspect serves as a counterbalance to the content hosted on their websites, recognizing that these followers constitute an audience that not only shapes opinions but also consumes them. At the time of the survey, *Brasil de Fato* had 213.4 thousand followers, *Carta Capital* 2.1 million followers, *G1* 14 million followers, and *Veja* 8.8 million followers (Figure 8).

Figure 8 - Twitters



Created by the author from research data 2

The pages illustrated above are official Twitter pages of the respective media outlets *Brasil de Fato*, *Carta Capital*, *G1* and *Veja* used as headquarters to collect Brazilians' tweets, which were published on these pages. Note that while the study highlights disparities between platforms and tweets to substantiate the selection of the research corpus, it is not within the scope of this work to delve into a detailed discussion of these distinctions. Consequently, the variations between each platform or Twitter profile are not taken into consideration.

Bear in mind that the primary objective of this study is to chart the depiction of corruption across news portals and public tweets, rather than delve into discussions regarding the

stance of portals vis-à-vis Twitter or engage in analyses focused on the editorial disparities among each portal or Twitter itself. Hence, this research acknowledges the existence of disparities between these platforms and defers the exploration of such variations to future investigations.

Given the diversity of data sources news portals and social media, it is worth noting in the methodological aspects of this research that the Brazilian media system has always had a strong and dynamic private sector that survived dictatorships and military regimes, as well as two characteristics: the weight of religious organizations and politicians' direct involvement in the media (Cunha and Araujo, 2018).

Another aspect that warrants attention within the methodological framework is the discrepancy in publication dates of news articles, as well as the distribution of tweets, which may impact the research findings. To address this, the numerical difference between portal articles and tweets is accounted for by utilizing percentages, ensuring more realistic results. Therefore, the data obtained in the survey in percentages closely aligns with the numerical values, as numerous categories were analyzed.

3.2.2 Search selection: *Content Analysis* and *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis*

To arrive at the content⁶³ of the structure, composed of 6,780 articles from news portals and 2,036 tweets⁶⁴ from Brazilian citizens based on sources from online communications, the research was inspired by the project "Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited", ANTICORRP⁶⁵ and linked to European Union grant agreement number 290529, which aimed to revisit and improve anti-corruption policies, focusing on reflecting on corruption in several areas, including the focus area of this work, corruption and the media.

Therefore, as we saw throughout the reflections in chapter 2, Theoretical Framework, some works served as a basis for this research in a pedagogical and systematic way, such as Mancini et al., 2016; Mancini et al., 2017, added to the methodology contribution focusing on two aspects "Human-Assisted Content Analysis: Methodology" and "Content Analysis" as used by Rita Marchetti (2016) and serves as a basis of inspiration.

⁶³ The author examined and translated every piece of text.

⁶⁴ The tweet data collection consists of posts written in portuguese by Brazilians on the respective pages of the newspapers analyzed.

⁶⁵ EU Grant Agreement number: 290529 Project acronym: ANTICORRP Project title: Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited.

Utilizing *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis* (CACA) to segment data collection on both portals and Twitter, only content related to corruption was targeted. The *SentiOne* software was employed to automatically search for content containing keywords associated with the phenomenon in Portuguese over a one-year period (refer to Table 2). The selection of these keywords aligns with the framework proposed by Rothstein and Varraich (2017), who emphasize the significance of framing concepts related to corruption under an overarching term, as advocated in the "umbrella concept" ⁶⁶approach (Rothstein and Varraich, 2017; Varraich, 2017). Therefore, the specific search of journalistic articles and tweets by Brazilians focused on seven keywords based on the Portuguese translation: Clientelism, Collusion, Corruption, “Money Laundering”, Nepotism, Embezzlement, Kickback, Bribery.

Table 2 - Search keywords linked to the concept of corruption

Clientelismo (Clientelism)	Conluio (Collusion)	Corrupção (Corruption)	“Lavagem de dinheiro” (“Money Laundering”)
Nepotismo (Nepotism)	Peculato (Embezzlement)	Propina (Kickback /bribe)	Suborno (Bribery)

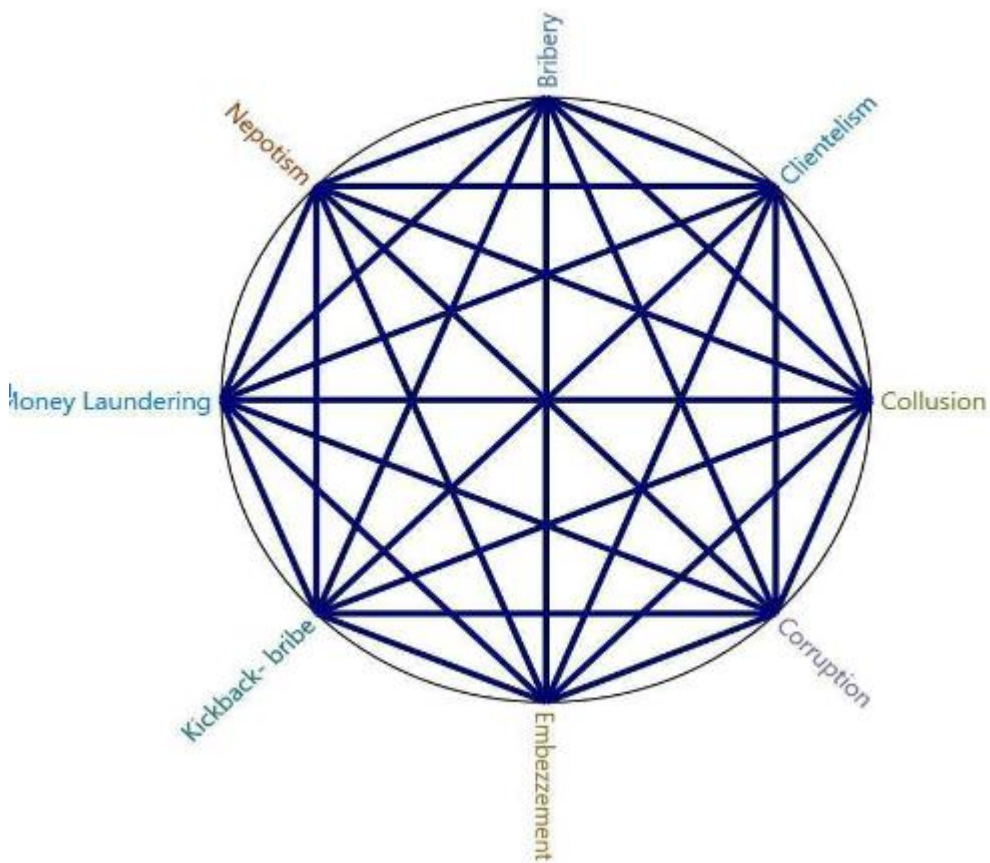
Created by the author from research data.

These words were used as a search tool to collect material on *the SentiOne* software, which collects and evaluates words related to corruption. The collection of material corresponding to these words, both in the news portals and in the tweets of the respective portals, contributes to better analysis and condensation of the delimitation, due to the

⁶⁶ The concept of "umbrella concept" addressed by Rothstein and Varraich (2017) refers to the practice of using a broad and comprehensive term or concept to encompass and frame a variety of related concepts or subtopics. Rather than dealing with each concept individually, the "umbrella concept" offers a more holistic framework for understanding and analyzing complex topics, allowing for a more integrated and comprehensive approach. This helps researchers better organize and interpret data relating to corruption, recognizing the interconnections and relationships between different elements within the study domain.

interaction and cooperation between the concepts, that's why they were words chosen for an effective search in the software used in mining (Figure 9).

Figure 9 - Interaction between key words linked to corruption



Created by the author from research with *N-vivo* software.

Next, the software *N-vivo*⁶⁷ and *T-Lab*⁶⁸ were used to structure the analysis and develop the categories from an empirical point of view. The collected data underwent a thorough process of reading, interpretation, contextualization, and categorization, in accordance with research structures outlined by Krippendorff (2018). Through this process, the data was dissected into smaller units, allowing for a nuanced understanding of its content. Findings were subsequently defined and categorized utilizing both qualitative and quantitative approaches to repetition.

It is worth noting in this methodological section that *T-Lab* is a textual analysis tool that assists users in exploring and understanding patterns in massive volumes of text data, but it is not an artificial intelligence (AI) solution in the broadest sense. Following the same idea, *NVivo* is a qualitative data analysis tool meant to aid in the examination of textual data, such as that seen in this study. As *NVivo* is a qualitative data analysis tool rather than an AI tool. While artificial intelligence frequently refers to systems that can learn, adapt, and do tasks without the need for human intervention, *T-lab* and *N-Vivo* are tools designed to aid researchers in manually evaluating and interpreting qualitative data such as text.

Within this data framework, designed to align with the central objective, the task of mapping the recurrences of corruption representation across two distinct informational environments was segmented into eight primary categories, each containing various subcategories. This approach aims to comprehensively delineate the landscape of corruption in Brazil. The categories were divided according to the database, therefore, being segmented into categories and subcategories that emerge and follow according to the recurrence verified with data collection: (1) Keywords linked with corruption, (2) Areas, (3) Concept, (4) Places, (5) States, (6) Scandals and Investigations/ Operations, (7) Politicians and (8) Political Party. These categories dialogue with the questions raised by the research and were divided into small units, subcategories (Appendix I and II).

⁶⁷ NVivo is qualitative data analysis software that helps researchers and practitioners organize, analyze, and visualize qualitative research data, including data from interviews, focus groups, observations, online surveys, and social media. Users import data ranging from text to audio to video to images to identify patterns in the information using coding resources. However, unlike machine learning tools, NVivo is not designed to automatically learn from data or perform predictive tasks based on algorithms.

⁶⁸ T-Lab is a text analysis and text mining tool developed by Provalis Research; however it is not an artificial intelligence (AI) technology. This qualitative data analysis software that can analyze large amounts of qualitative data, including text, images, audio, and video. Thus, *T-LAB* provides text analysis functions, including statistical word and frequency analysis, word competition analysis, semantic network analysis, n-gram analysis, and sentiment analysis, and comparative text analysis.

To solidify and validate the research, Holsti's Reliability Coefficient (CR)⁶⁹ was calculated, which is a statistical metric that examines the reliability of codes assigned by human coders in Content analysis investigations. To assess this reliability, we tested 10% of each communication vehicle, 678 articles from portals, and 203 tweets, for a total of 881. The test results confirmed that there is agreement amongst the coders of this study, with an acceptable Holsti CR of 0.83 for the studied sample.

As described in the work *'Methodology of the Human-Assisted Content Analysis'* the articles and tweets were reanalyzed by a different set of human coders than the originals (Marchetti, 2016). The reanalysis of articles and tweets by a set of coders in the final stage of the study enhances the credibility and reliability of the findings, which makes this thesis even more interesting and complete, when dialoguing with the example tables (excerpts from news articles and tweets) evident throughout the next chapter - 'The Findings of the Dissertation'.

The categorization of segments based on responses embodies a methodological approach that harmonizes theoretical frameworks with empirical analysis. This ensures that the analysis is rooted in established theoretical concepts while remaining attuned to the intricacies and intricacies of the data. Consequently, this final stage elevates the work by discerning recurrences, convergences, divergences, and idiosyncrasies. It is worth noting that this categorization arises from content derived from responses, necessitating a transition from material analysis to theory (Franco, 2020).

3.2.3 Reflection about the limitations and methodological challenges in the analysis

Like any other research attempt, this study has limits that must be carefully considered within the methodological framework in order to protect the researcher's intellectual integrity.

First, the thesis endeavors to elucidate a nuanced perspective. Grounded in both qualitative and quantitative methodologies, and employing content analysis as its principal methodological approach, my research operates within the interdisciplinary domain of sociology, with particular ramifications in communication studies. Within this

⁶⁹ Holsti's Reliability Coefficient (CR) is a content analysis measure that assesses the consistency of coders' judgments or ratings. It measures the degree to which coders agree on the classification or coding of content. Holsti's coefficient varies between 0 and 1, with higher values suggesting greater agreement among coders.

framework, the outcomes, while incorporating both numerical and qualitative data, unveil a discernible trend rather than presenting themselves as strictly quantifiable in statistical terms. Consequently, the findings do not lend themselves to absolute statistical measurability, but rather serve to proffer suggestive evidential insights.

Second and foremost, the approach to data analysis adopted a relatively broad perspective, lacking specific scrutiny of individual elements within the dataset, such as biases, editorial styles, influential figures, and journalistic nuances prevalent in both news portals and tweets. This broad approach might have somewhat restricted the depth of analysis concerning the distinct characteristics of each media outlet.

Third, due to language disparities, all translations of foreign language materials (specifically Portuguese) present in both articles and portals were undertaken by the author, potentially introducing nuances in data interpretation. However, meticulous efforts were made to ensure the accuracy of the translations.

In fourth place, it is pertinent to note that the categories were predetermined prior to data collection within the software, without prior selection, in contrast to the emergence of subcategories during content mining.

Despite the deliberate selection of keywords for the search, a substantial number of articles and tweets necessitated individual analysis to facilitate mapping. While the research could have opted for a more extensive set of keywords, the selection was limited to just eight, striking a balance between efficient content mining and time constraints.

Furthermore, to clarify that this research does not involve sentiment analysis. Instead, it focuses on mapping and categorizing the portrayal of corruption across news portals and public tweets. The aim is not to delve into the sentiment expressed in individual pieces of content but rather to identify recurring themes and patterns within the broader data.

Lastly, while the study traverses the realms of sociology and political science, digital communication emerges as the primary point. Considering these aspects, this study is poised to make a significant contribution to the understanding of the subject matter, laying a robust foundation for future research endeavors.

4. THE FINDINGS OF THE DISSERTATION

This study aims to investigate the phenomenon of corruption through two distinct communication channels: journalistic articles disseminated by news portals and publicly tweeted messages authored by Brazilians over the span of one year. With the overarching goal of delineating the portrayal of corruption, this investigation positions communication as the primary framework, encompassing both traditional journalistic outlets and social media platforms. In this regard, since it is a case study, it contains multiple layers of analysis, facts, and events that are interpreted in a specific way, with an established relationship between society, individuals, actors, operations and corruption scandals (Cunha e Araujo, 2018).

Under this vision and methodological construction based on *Content Analysis* and *Computer-Assisted Content Analysis*, this thesis integrates quantitative and qualitative data components to shape its framework. These methodological case study choices are based on their ability to draw conclusions, trends and insights from textual analysis and address relevant questions surrounding corruption. Thus, the work endeavors to contribute to theoretical and academic inquiry in this domain and understand the interplay between corruption and media for unraveling the complexities of public discourse and advancing our understanding of Brazilian social dynamics.

For this purpose, the research is categorized to identify convergences, divergences, and repetitions within each medium in a pedagogical manner. When engaging with the media, we encounter the discourse propagated by news portals, which espouses journalistic and editorial standards, fostering authenticity, accountability, and truthfulness. This entails a manner of sourcing and expression that denotes the relationship between the media outlet and its sources (Amaral, 2016). Conversely, network society is predicated upon a social structure rooted in communication and information technologies, which generate, process, and disseminate information leveraging these networks (Castells and Cardoso, 2005), exemplified in contemporary social platforms like Twitter.

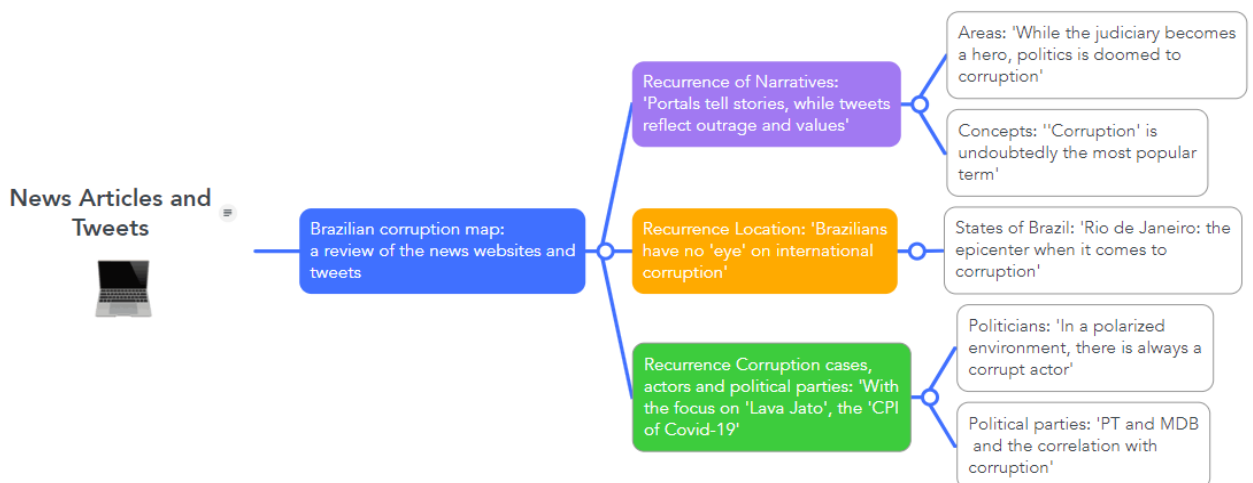
Within this dichotomous yet integrated perspective that underscores the mediatization of information, this research aims to contextualize this process alongside the notion that the construction of corruption is intertwined with production processes and meanings within the social and political spheres, with the media playing a significant role in framing

political scandals (Paiva et al., 2017). Consequently, the media emerges as an instrument for shedding light on this phenomenon (De Lima, 2006).

The conceptual framework aims to structure the research content in alignment with the predefined objectives. Accordingly, the investigation (Figure 10) commences by examining two distinct yet interconnected environments, (news portals and tweets), to delineate the portrayal of corruption in Brazil during the year 2021. Subsequently, the presentation of findings is segmented, initially spotlighting narrative consistencies, emphasizing thematic areas most closely associated with the phenomenon, followed by an exploration of the prevailing discourse.

The recurrence of corruption is dissected with respect to geographical locations, with a focus on both international and national contexts. Taken into account that, the analysis pivots to news portals and tweets, scrutinizing scandals, political actors, and parties for comprehensive insight into the portrayal and discourse surrounding corruption. Thus, to make the results of this study more didactic, the main division was based on the recurrence of narratives, location and finally recurrence of corruption cases, their actors and parties

Figure 10 - The findings of the dissertation



Created by the author from research data

Taking into account that case study offers a detailed examination of a sample, and therefore tends to offer insights and trends in a broad perspective (Flyvbjerg, 2011), this chapter and subchapters are divided as follows: *'Portals tell stories, while tweets reflect outrage and values'*, which provides an overview of the different narratives about in portals and tweets; followed by the subchapters *'While the judiciary becomes a hero, politics is the problem'*, discusses the main areas linked to corruption; and *'Corruption' is undoubtedly the most popular term'*, which discusses the most used concepts in portals and tweets.

Then the analysis enters the location with the subchapter *'Brazilians have no 'eye' on international corruption'*, which endorses the national and international scenario; a sequence dealing with regional corruption in *'Rio de Janeiro: the epicenter when it comes to corruption'*. Soon, corruption is addressed through scandals, investigations, and more recurrent operations in *'With the focus on 'Lava Jato', the 'CPI of Covid-19', gains space in the discussions; followed by the subchapters, 'In a polarized environment, there is always a corrupt actor', reflects on the recurrence of political actors involved with corruption; 'Parties - PT and MDB and the correlation with corruption' the recurrence of the parties involved with the phenomenon in some way.*

In relation to the assumptions raised in the methodology, (chapter 3.1), it is concluded that the two media interact, however, they differ in terms of narratives, categories, and subcategories, having some points in common. Thus, the findings presented below underscore a nuanced understanding of how corruption is portrayed and perceived across different media platforms, reflecting varying perspectives, agendas, and audience engagements. Such contrasting narratives offer valuable insights into the multifaceted nature of corruption discourse within the public sphere, emphasizing the importance of considering diverse sources and mediums in analyzing societal phenomena.

Certainly, as a result, a discernible trend emerges from the analysis of both news articles from online portals and public tweets, shedding light on the narratives surrounding corruption. However, it is evident that these narrative tendencies interact, albeit with notable differences and contrasts across various aspects. Consequently, the depiction of corruption within these two mediums diverges distinctly.

4.1 Portals tell stories, while tweets reflect outrage and values

In recent years, the media has provided a platform for the diversification of opinions and content, enabling citizens to engage with news in accordance with their beliefs and values (Charron and Annoni, 2021). This study conducts an analysis comparing journalistic articles published on news portals with public tweets by Brazilians, revealing disparities in narrative between the two communication channels. While news portals delve into the details of corruption, outlining the complexities of corrupt acts, actions, or processes, tweets tend to reflect public sentiment⁷⁰ by expressing outrage, indignation, and frustration toward the phenomenon, often attributing the country's crises to corrupt practices.

Returning to the literature, the analysis is situated within the discourse that underscores the significant role played by the press in investigating corrupt acts (Mancini et al., 2017), which subsequently influence the media landscape (Thompson and Guareschi, 2002) and shape public opinion (Damgaard, 2018). Drawing from these concepts and examining news portals with established editorial guidelines, journalistic articles follow a chronological narrative structure, detailing the cause-and-effect trajectory of corruption cases, often revisiting old scandals.

Thus, news coverage unfolds as a narrative that elucidates the intricacies of corrupt activities, tracing the story from its inception to its consequences in the aftermath of scandals and investigations. Corruption is depicted as an ongoing saga in the lives of Brazilians, akin to a soap opera unfolding gradually over time, with no clear resolution as it perpetuates a continuous cycle of events.

A discernible pattern emerges in the construction of the corruption narrative, characterized by distinct plotlines, involved actors, factual events, repercussions, and subsequent developments, culminating in judicial proceedings, verdicts, trials, or even the arrest and conviction of politicians. Moreover, beyond the initial reportage, there exists a persistent focus on post-arrest developments, including discussions on sentence reductions, house arrests, and other legal measures, underscoring the enduring nature of corruption-related discourse in the media.

⁷⁰ As stated in the methodology, the research does not conduct a sentimental analysis; rather, the phrases ethics, impunity, morality, honesty, and justice reflect public mood in the tweets.

As a result, newspapers embrace a recurring plot storyline that handles corruption in a 'storytelling' manner as part of a great story in order to expose those responsible. To this story is added the inclination of corruption to allude to a past scandal, as in the examined contents that highlight 'Mensalão'⁷¹, 'Petrolão'⁷² and the "Lava Jato"⁷³ operation, but there is also an openness to more recent ones such as the 'CPI of Covid-19' and the 'Rachadinhas'.

When it comes to the examination of keyword phrases associated to corruption and its expression in relation to corruption in the portals, there are often no recurring concerns regarding issues of ethics (12%), impunity (24%), morality (4%), and honesty (2.2%) to provide a counterpoint to corrupt action. Therefore, the articles focus on the issue of justice (58%), using the subcategory as the main means to solve corruption. In this case, the judiciary is called upon to resolve corrupt matters through punishment and investigation, leaving aside values such as morality, honesty, and impunity, which do not recur as counterpoints.

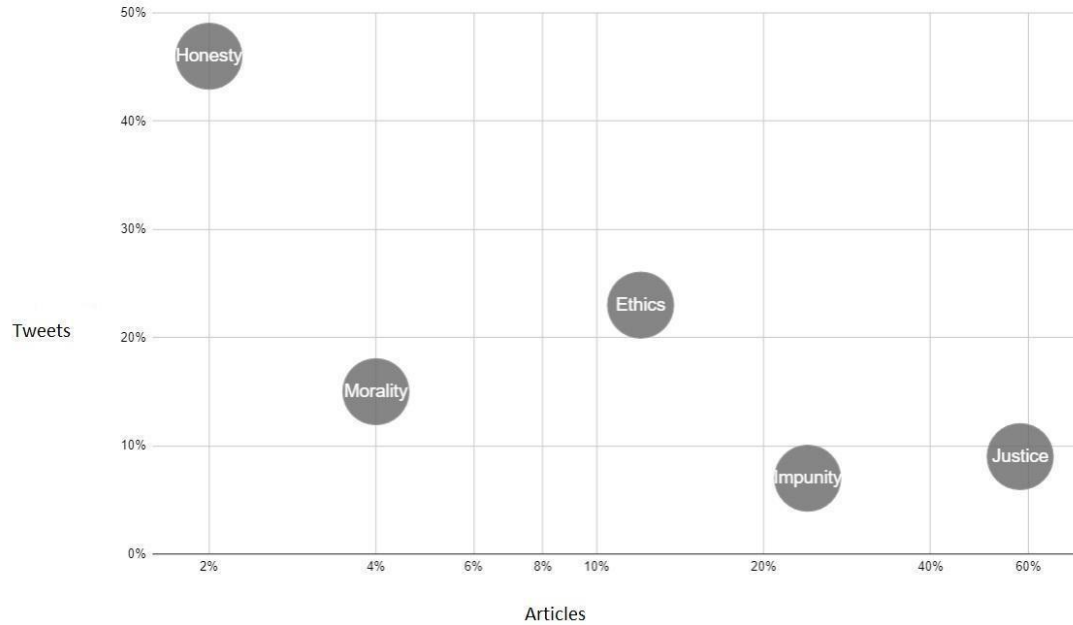
From another point of view, tweets that are an open space for the free expression of public opinion are committed to the theme of honesty (46%), ethics (23%), morality (15%), and justice (9%) in fourth place, followed by impunity (7%). This fact becomes significant at the moment when it reflects that, although the population is aware of the concern that social values assume in the face of corruption, the portals' presentation is not committed to these issues (Graph 8). This evidence dialogues with the fact that scandals provoke a symbolic meaning on the limits of public morality (Lull and Hinerman, 2000).

⁷¹ It is one of the biggest corruption scandals in Brazil between 2005 and 2012 in which several high-ranking members of the Brazilian government were involved, including the Workers' Party (PT) and its allies, who were accused of operating a scheme to bribe members of Congress in exchange for political support. 'Mensalão' means monthly payment.

⁷² Corruption scandal in the Brazilian state oil company - Petrobras that had great repercussions in 2014, a massive bribery scheme of oil company executives, politicians, and contractors. This ladder is one of the membranes of 'Operation Lava Jato'.

⁷³ The investigation into the scandal, known as Operation 'Lava Jato', was carried out between 2014 and 2021 by the Brazilian Federal Police and the Federal Ministry of State and led to the arrest of politicians and leaders, including current President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, who was sentenced to prison in 2018 and released in 2019. In recent years, the operation has been criticized for the partisanship of those involved.

Graph 8 - Emerging keyword analysis in articles and tweets



Created by the author from research data

Even when morality, honesty, ethics, and impunity are topics broached on news portals, they are often framed within the context of justice rather than addressing broader social values, as observed in tweets. In these instances, it becomes apparent that while tweets may espouse these values as expressions of complaint and dissatisfaction, the articles tend to shy away from engaging in discussions about combating corruption within society at large. In the hierarchy of media coverage, exposure to morally dubious and dishonest activities, such as corruption, typically sets off a chain of subsequent events (De Lima, 2008).

The divergent narratives encapsulated within the keywords further accentuate the contrasting nature between the two communication mediums, namely news articles and tweets (Table 3). While both sources address the issue of corruption, the distinct choice and emphasis on certain keywords underscore their unique perspectives and agendas. This divergence not only underscores the inherent differences between journalistic articles and

tweets but also speaks to the varied ways in which corruption is framed and interpreted within these platforms.

The discrepancy in keyword usage serves as a poignant reminder of the complex dynamics at play within the media landscape. It underscores how different platforms prioritize and shape narratives, reflecting the broader socio-political context and audience engagement strategies. By acknowledging and analyzing these disparities, we gain a more comprehensive understanding of how corruption discourse is constructed and disseminated within contemporary society, thus enriching scholarly discourse and societal awareness on this pressing issue.

Table 3 - Recurring excerpts on Portals and Tweets associated with: ethics, justice, honesty, impunity, morality

Keywords	Portals	Tweeter/X
Ethics	<p>"In addition to being an ethical crisis, as shown by the lurid reports of corruption in Prevent Senior at Covid's CPI"</p> <p>"ethical and legal violations make this path much more difficult"</p>	<p>"There is no ethics, there is no transparency in cases of corruption here, this is absurd!"</p> <p>"Trash the flag of ethics and morals to destroy the country's economy by stealing"</p> <p>"If they had governed with ethics, decency and transparency, they would still be in power today"</p>
Justice	<p>"Justice social and justice in the courts against corruption"</p> <p>"Corruption proven by the justice, purchase of congress in the monthly allowance and petrolão, embezzlement"</p> <p>"But he was not indicted by the justice in court, for being involved in corruption"</p>	<p>"Are you believing 100% in CPI criminal convicted in court? With family members arrested by the justice for bribery and corruption?"</p> <p>"A country without justice gives this"</p> <p>"And the end of perks, social justice, and justice in the courts?"</p>
Honesty	<p>"With corruption, the champions of honesty, when things progress, they will fall like dominoes!"</p>	<p>"Should end with corruption and elect honesty people"</p> <p>"There is no honesty here, only corruption it's necessary honesty"</p> <p>"Why not focus on honesty and leave corruption to the politicians?"</p>

Impunity	“When it comes to corruption, it has no technical relationship, but with the intention of guaranteeing impunity”	“Only crises, cases of corruption and impunity”
Morality	“efficiency, transparency, morality and ethics in the conduct of any and all corrupt public agents” "claiming that he had no morals"	“How does a corrupt politician have the morals to do this?” "Morals and good manners: Fail" "Or do you, being a military man, think that every soldier is free from any transgression of morals and law?" "All without morals for anything in front of society"

Created by the author from research data.

The role of justice in portals is not primarily characterized by an anti-corruption agenda, but rather by a tendency to utilize judicial processes as a means of penalizing corrupt actions. Conversely, the concept of scandal is often associated with the recurrent portrayal of corruption incidents in news portals, reinforcing the notion of yet "another corruption scandal",

Moreover, based on the analysis conducted, it is apparent that Brazilian Twitter users exhibit distinct reactions to corruption compared to the narratives presented in news portals. Tweets often seek to reflect public opinion by echoing the media discourse influenced by agenda setting. Conversely, the digital platform serves as a notable arena for discussing corruption, showcasing unique characteristics that contribute to the formation of a new societal repertoire among the Brazilian populace, which has been inundated with corruption-related content in the media in recent years.

According to the data, in the realm of news portals, the emphasis on fundamental societal values such as justice, morality, ethics, and honesty is notably less pronounced, with these themes appearing as secondary considerations within broader sections. This suggests a lack of priority or focus on these values in the portals' coverage of corruption, relegating them to the background of the discourse. In contrast, in tweets on corruption, there is a noticeable presence of talks about morals, ethics, honesty, and justice, indicating that the public is more aware of and concerned about these essential pillars in the battle against corruption.

Furthermore, news stories frequently combine talks of corruption with appeals to morals and ethics, emphasizing the public's expectation of transparency, integrity, and accountability from those in positions of authority. The language used in these stories usually communicates a genuine sense of indignation and disillusionment, reflecting widespread popular outrage at perceived moral failures and violations of confidence in politics.

From a communication perspective, these articles illustrate how media exposure to corrupt activities can shape public discourse and perceptions. The media's coverage of corruption scandals and judicial procedures has the potential to influence public opinion, spurring calls for greater responsibility and institutional reform. However, substantial media coverage of corruption may develop cynicism and destroy trust in institutions if corrupt behaviors continue unabated or if the media's ethical standards are judged to be lacking.

According to the table above drawn up based on the analysis, the tweets from Brazilians addressing corruption often employ pejorative adjectives and showcase intolerance, reflecting the populace's profound indignation towards the phenomenon within the country. These keywords and phrases express sentiments that are further underscored by the expressions of outrage and social condemnation evident in the tweets. Despite Twitter's penchant for brevity and succinctness, the platform serves as an open arena for individuals to voice their opinions, pass judgments on involved parties, and express agreement or dissent, particularly regarding past cases.

These tweets offer a window into public concern regarding ethics, justice, honesty, impunity, and morality, particularly within the context of corruption. Themes of irritation, despair, and outrage pervade the conversation, with people expressing unhappiness with the apparent lack of ethical norms and openness in corruption cases. There is a distinct demand for accountability and integrity in governance, as indicated by tweets calling for political leaders to be honest and transparent.

When analyzing the nexus between communication and corruption, these tweets highlight the importance of media in affecting public conversation and perceptions. The media's exposing of morally problematic behaviors, such as corruption, can spark public outrage and a call for justice. However, some tweets express skepticism about the effectiveness of judicial systems in combating corruption, calling into question the validity of legal proceedings and the efficacy of anti-corruption measures.

The voice of the people in the tweets turns into many narratives about the revolt of Brazilians against the various corruption schemes of recent years. In their posts, Brazilians appeal to the demand for social values, aiming to stop the country's inequality, crisis, and hunger. Thusly, in a way in the media, the results of scandals are significant due to the negative connotations that encompass these contents (Lull and Hinerman, 2000).

It can be said that through tweets, Twitter becomes an environment of values when it comes to corruption, due to the strategies of the media in relation to the subject. And in this sense, it contributes to the evaluation of morality through the inclusion and exclusion of content (Paiva et al., 2017). In this media atmosphere, tweets stand out for having a closer look at the aspirations of the Brazilian public in relation to the phenomenon, highlighting aspects of human nature such as indignation, strangeness, and even verbal violence. Thus, the analysis of tweets becomes of fundamental importance for studies and understanding Brazilian society under the sign of the phenomenon of corruption.

In conclusion, the articles underscore the relationship between media, corruption, and societal values, elucidating how media narratives can both uncover and perpetuate morally dubious conduct within the political sphere. They substantiate the notion that media exposure to corruption can wield significant influence, molding public perceptions and influencing the course of subsequent events. Conversely, tweets emerge as a pertinent platform for articulating viewpoints that either critique or validate narratives within the social realm, thereby influencing the construction of corruption's connotations in the media and shaping public opinion (Paiva et al., 2016; 2017), thus contributing to the phenomenon of civic engagement.

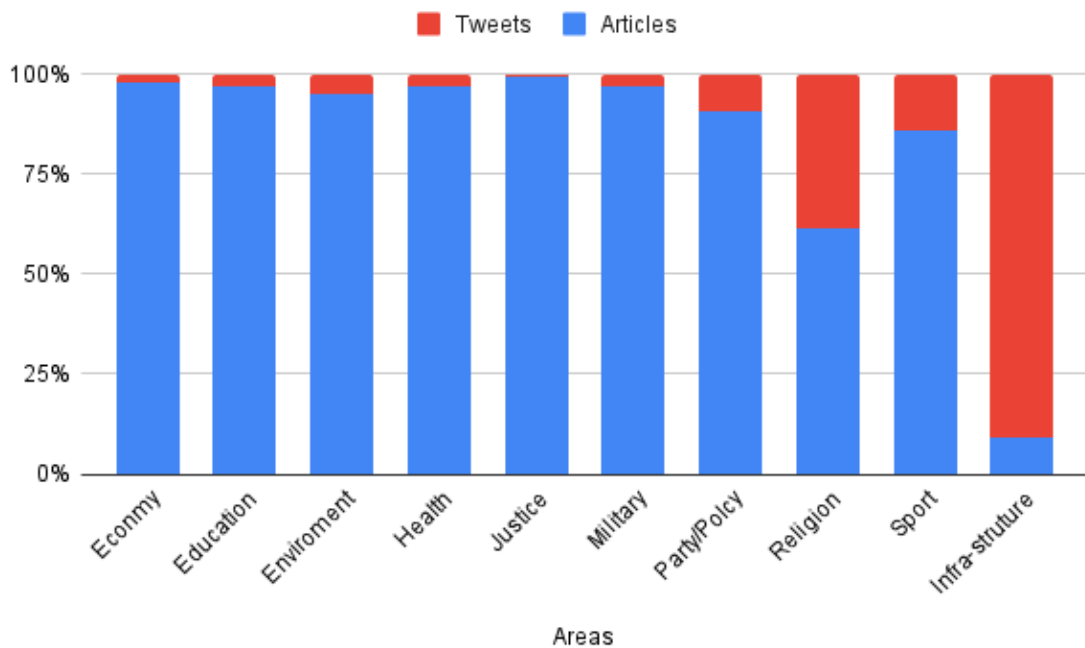
4.1.1 While the judiciary becomes a hero, politics is doomed to corruption

As discussed in the theoretical chapter, communication begins with the network of shared meaning created by the flow of information (Castell, 2005). As a result, understanding corruption requires understanding the areas⁷⁴ in which it occurs. In this way, a comparison is made between areas that deal with corruption in the two contexts explored in this study, in order to find the most recurring difficulties.

⁷⁴ The research considers the difference in the number of news and tweets when discussing the areas.

The analysis revealed a diverse portrayal of corruption across both news portals and Twitter, as depicted in Graph 9. While portals predominantly focus on corruption within judicial matters (31.6%) and health (30.6%), tweets reflect the perspectives of the Brazilian populace, with a notable emphasis on politics and parties (41.3%), often fostering polarization, as outlined in Table 4. This divergence underscores the multifaceted nature of corruption discourse and its varied interpretations within different media spheres. It is noteworthy that the media's information flow plays a pivotal role in shaping individual interests and perceptions regarding corruption, thereby influencing societal attitudes and behaviors (Charron and Schwenk, 2022).

Graph 9 - Areas of most recurrent approaches



Created by the author from research data

This observation highlights a notable discrepancy in content allocation between articles on news portals and tweets, underscoring the influence of *agenda-setting* dynamics. The substantial emphasis placed on specific areas within portal articles contrasts with the more varied distribution evident in tweets. This finding aligns with the concept of analysis,

which involves delineating defining characteristics, fields, units, and organizational frameworks for analysis (Franco, 2020).

This marked a trend in thematic questions for this thesis, which underscores distinct relationships within these communication channels. The contrast extends beyond thematic preferences to encompass the nature of the discourse itself. As evident in the theoretical section of this thesis, news portals tend to adopt a more formal and structured approach, often delving into detailed analyses of corruption cases within specific sectors. While, tweets, being more reflective of public opinion, exhibit a tendency towards polarization, with discussions revolving around political figures and parties, thereby amplifying societal divisions.

Given the mapping of the comparison in the two media through the search for keywords, the background of one of these areas has implications for the political atmosphere. Therefore, although the purpose of this session was not to discuss only politics with the analysis of the results open to other areas, with the results stayed it was obvious that all questions about the areas such as religion, military, economy, education, health, justice, environment, political parties / politics reflect the political environment when it comes to portals and tweets (Table 4).

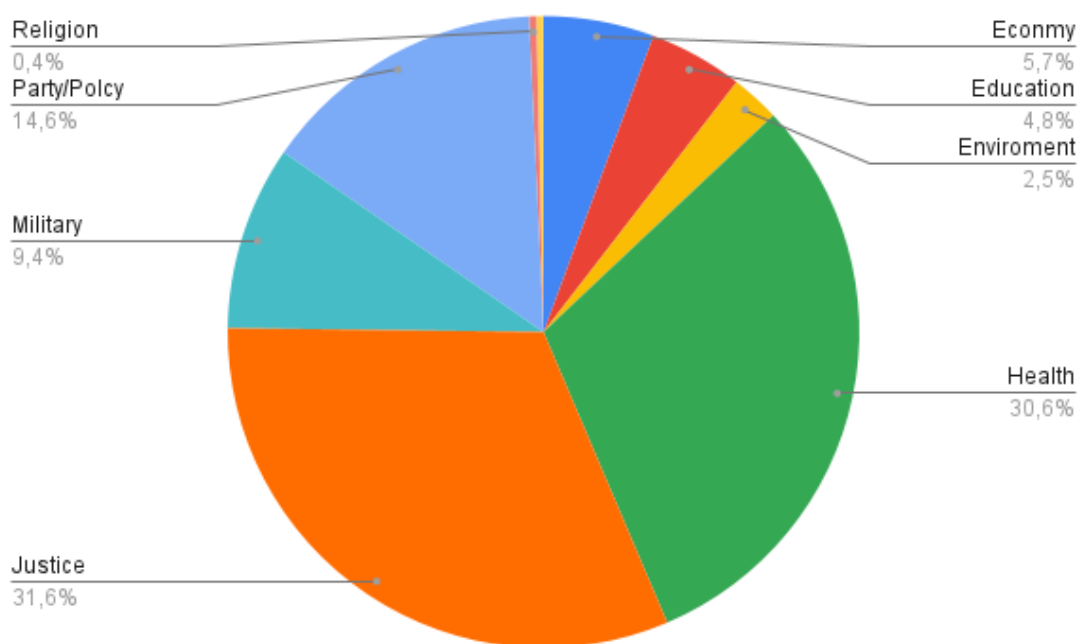
Table 4 - Repercussion areas: most recurrent subcategories

Subcategories by areas	Articles	Tweets
Economy	5,7%	3,2%
Education	4,8%	4%
Environment	2,5%	3,5%
Health	30, 6%	26,8%
Justice	31.6%	3,2%
Party and Policy	14,6%	41,3%
Military	9,4%	7,2%
Religion	0,4%	6,4%

Created by the author from research data considering the values of 6.780 (100%) articles and 2.036 (100%) tweets.

In the case of the portals concentrate their news in the areas⁷⁵ of justice (31,6%), almost in parity, health (30,6%), followed by politics/party (14,6%), military (9,4%), economy (5,7%), education (4,8%), and environment (2,5%), religion (0,4%). In the areas that deal with corruption in the published articles, the focus is on issues of justice that deal with the implementation of the law, and not in terms of justice against corrupt acts as in the tweets (Graph 10).

Graph 10 - Most recurring areas in articles



Created by the author from research data

⁷⁵ Note that dealing with emerging areas that deal with the topic of corruption is addressed in all subcategories, namely: Economy, Education, Environmental, Health, Justice, Military, Party/Policy, Religion, Sport, and Infrastructure.

These data reveal that news portals tend to focus more on issues related to justice and health when covering corruption cases. The concentration of news in these areas suggests a particular interest in legal and health issues affected by corruption. Specifically, the emphasis on justice indicates that news portals are more concerned with reporting investigations, judicial proceedings, and law enforcement in cases of corruption. This may include coverage of anti-corruption operations, trials of corrupt individuals, and discussions about legal reforms to combat corruption.

On the other hand, the lower presence of corruption-related news in areas such as economy, education, environment, and religion suggests that these topics are less frequently associated with corruption coverage in news portals. This may reflect editorial priorities or resource limitations within media organizations.

Justice, embodying 31.6% of the spectrum, serves as the cornerstone for holding perpetrators of corruption accountable, either through legal sanctions or judicial intervention. In this paradigm, justice acts as a pivotal mechanism for condemning corrupt practices. Thus, it is a recurring motif for justice to wield decisive influence in tackling instances of corruption, as evidenced by the following examples gleaned from portal analyses: "is linked to the decision of the Superior Court of Justice", "decision of the Justice", "prescription of crimes due to the delay of Justice", "Justice determines".

Thus, justice emerges as one of the most frequently invoked categories within portals spotlighting the stance of the Brazilian justice system amidst accusations, trials, investigations, and operations—an array of a key points in articles offering journalistic insights into tackling corruption cases. Particularly noteworthy is the observation that recent studies indicate a surge in court rulings concerning corruption cases involving the political and economic elite associated with the Brazilian state (Santos et al., 2021).

Within this framework, the judiciary transitions from being a mere player to assuming the pivotal role of the primary arbiter in resolving and penalizing corruption cases, setting itself apart from other journalistic content, and assuming the mantle of savior. However, within the polarized landscape of Brazil, devoid of input from both left and right ideologies, the judiciary would lack democratic legitimacy in its deliberations. Being a non-elected branch of government, it does not necessarily reflect the predominant societal will in decision-making processes (Santos et al., 2021).

The prominence of the justice category casts a spotlight on institutions such as the Supreme Court (STJ), State Judiciary, Federal Judiciary, Ministry of Justice and Public

Security, Attorney General, Minister of Justice, Labor Judiciary, and various other bodies and institutions tasked with adjudicating scandals and rendering decisions within the political arena. Although not prominently featured in the portals during this analysis in 2021, there exists an implicit engagement with journalistic directives aimed at implementing public policies against corruption or instituting anti-corruption measures within the judicial and legal domains.

When delving into the realms intertwined with corruption within the extensive content delineated by this study, the second most prominently featured subcategory emerges as health (30.6%), a domain intertwined with the backdrop of the pandemic crisis. Given that the country's health system crisis in 2021 is a pivotal concern within the overarching framework, it is evident that this domain finds extensive traction within the portals. Primarily, this can be attributed to the staggering number of fatalities in the country, secondary to the continual turnover of ministers and the political upheaval within the government, and tertiary due to corruption cases entwined with public health, thereby contributing to the 'Covid-19 CPI'.

Agendas for news associated with public health have garnered media attention as they intertwine with the political landscape. Consequently, issues pertaining to health within this context encompass corruption in healthcare resource allocation, misappropriation of funds intended for vaccine procurement, the repercussions of vaccine hesitancy, and the privatization of the Unified Health System (SUS)⁷⁶, the health budget, tenders and funds for hospitals, death rates due to Covid-19 are part of the repertoire of the health sector.

Therefore, the articles also shed light on the issue of corruption within the health sector, intertwining it with the numerous ministerial changes implemented by the government throughout 2021. Nelson Teich⁷⁷ assumed the role of Minister of Health in April 2020, however he served for little than a month due to the country's dire predicament. In May 2020, he was followed by former General Eduardo Pazuello, who served until March 2021, when he was replaced by cardiologist Marcelo Queiroga⁷⁸.

⁷⁶ The Unified Health System (SUS) is one of the largest public health systems in the world and aims to guarantee universal, integral and free access to health for all Brazilians. Therefore, privatization of the SUS, a system that is public and widely accessible to Brazilians, would mean transferring the management and provision of health services to private companies, which could have negative consequences for the population's access.

⁷⁷ Nelson Teich is a Brazilian oncologist and businessman who was Brazil's Minister of Health for a short period of time, from April 17, 2020 to May 15, 2020, during the COVID-19 pandemic.

⁷⁸ Marcelo Queiroga is a Brazilian cardiologist who currently held the position of Minister of Health of Brazil since March 2021, during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In third place among the subcategory's encompassing corruption is party/policy (14.6%), which delves into the political and party dynamics in Brazil concerning corruption in 2021. By documenting corruption cases involving politicians and political parties, this analysis report explores a spectrum of manipulations and investigations detailed in newspapers. The majority of these reports spotlight individuals with affiliations to political parties occupying public office, instances of corruption and bribery acceptance, and political interference in police investigations.

Subsequently, these narratives zoom in on investigations and corruption cases involving politicians aligned with specific parties or scandals implicating the party itself. Within this landscape, it is not surprising that such associations between political parties and corruption have escalated in the country, particularly following the 'Mensalão' and 'Petrolão' scandals.

In fourth place when dealing with articles on news portals, yet equally significant, is Militarism, which also emerges as one of the categories intertwined with corruption (9.4%). To contextualize, the country has transitioned into a democracy relatively recently, following a period spanning twenty-one years⁷⁹ of militarism added to the controversial Amnesty Law.

Hence, the subcategory assumes significance, particularly amidst the notable support extended to the Bolsonaro government in recent years, which has, in a sense, amplified pro-dictatorship narratives on the eve of the 2022 democratic elections. The era of military dictatorship in Brazil prompts a discourse on corruption, punctuated by various aspects of the 1964 military coup.

Corruption surfaces when juxtaposing the contrasting landscapes of democracy and dictatorship, as exemplified by phenomena such as arrests made after and during the military regime, homicides occurring amid military intervention in Rio de Janeiro, and investigations implicating the military police and military justice in illicit activities. Consequently, the subcategory assumes importance, highlighting how the media, in certain instances, can challenge democracy, particularly when media control rests with elected officials who justify actions through the lens of internal colonialism. Such dynamics create societal tensions when elected governments deviate from democratic norms, as noted by Albuquerque (2019).

⁷⁹ Brazil suffered a military coup in 1964, which was a political-military coordinating movement that took place in Brazil on March 31, 1964, resulting in the deposition of then-president João Goulart and the establishment of a regime until 1985.

Moreover, spotlighting the correlation between corruption and military intervention underscores anti-democratic agendas. As elucidated in one of the articles, the realms of "politics, the state, and the economy in this tragic year of 2021" encapsulate the Brazilian landscape. Consequently, the economic category barely garners attention (5.7%), failing to adequately address the country's economic challenges within a context rife with corrupt dealings involving public agents and institutions.

Regarding the economy, the portals underscore the country's crisis, characterized in 2021 by high inflation⁸⁰, the devaluation of the Brazilian Real (R\$) accompanied by a surge in the dollar exchange rate, unemployment, and the ongoing pandemic crisis. Several articles feature expert recommendations on revitalizing and reinvigorating the nation's economy, highlighting the challenging circumstances facing the country. These include a modest growth rate of 1.1%, a substantial budget deficit, and sluggish economic expansion.

Following the economy, the next most prevalent category is education (4.8%), which addresses issues such as the misallocation of public funds within the education sector, the erosion of public policies, budget reductions, and controversies surrounding the Ministry of Education's actions. Notably, articles focusing on education raise concerns regarding potential irregularities flagged by oversight bodies in 2021, during Minister Milton Ribeiro's⁸¹ tenure.

Finally, among the subcategories that are less studied in the context of corruption is the environment (2.5%), in which crimes against the environment such as mining, illegal/ clandestine divisions, illegal exploitation of natural and water resources, and money laundering are highlighted. The articles on the portals explain that the 'Akuanduba Operation'⁸² involving former Environment Minister Ricardo Salles⁸³, among others, is the target of an operation by the Federal Police in the investigation of illegal timber smuggling.

⁸⁰ In January 2021, the Extended National Consumer Price Index (IPCA), which measures the country's official inflation, was 0.25%. In February, inflation rose to 0.86%, making it the highest rate in recent years, and in March, it rose to 0.93%.

⁸¹ Presbyterian pastor and professor of Brazilian philosophy who currently holds the position of Minister of Education of Brazil, since July 2020.

⁸² With reference to a deity of the indigenous peoples of the state of Pará, a region of the operation in which 35 search and seizure warrants were executed in seven states of the country. This operation was characterized by being one of the largest in the Amazon and focused on combating environmental crimes in this region.

⁸³ Jair Bolsonaro's former environment minister, Salles, was exonerated after 2021 and has been under investigation by federal police investigating the illegal export of timber from Brazil to the United States and Europe.

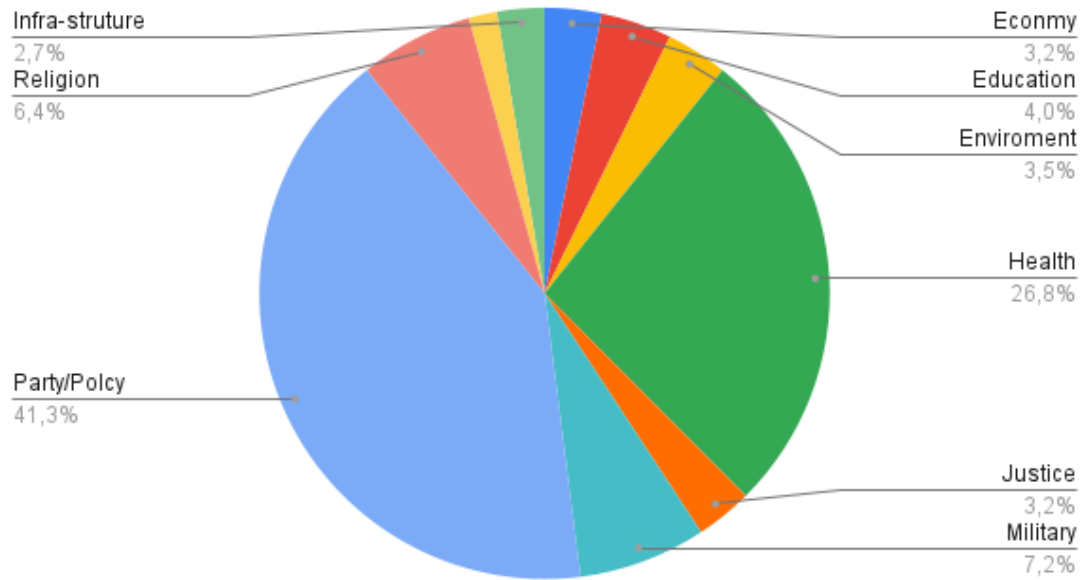
And religion (0,4%) and corruption are barely addressed in the news portals. As is well known, the environment of political corruption goes beyond the political category and is reflected in other areas. If the portals' tweets are mostly about the judiciary, it is different because it is about the perspective of Brazilian citizens.

It is noteworthy to observe that the findings from the portals contrast with the content of tweets in the sense that, within this environment saturated with corruption cases under discussion, the perspective of the portals predominantly advocates for justice as a means of retribution. Conversely, in tweets, this notion of justice as punitive action receives less endorsement, thereby allowing for the exploration of other thematic domains.

It is fundamental to comprehend how corruption manifests across various domains contingent upon the context in which it unfolds. In the realm of tweets, the subcategory centered on party and politics (41.3%) emerges as the predominant focus, followed by health (26.8%), military (7.2%), education (4%), religion (6.4%), environment (3.5%), economy (3.2%), justice (3.2%), infrastructure (2.7%), and sports (1.6%). These subcategories markedly diverge from those highlighted in the portals, primarily due to their more pronounced emphasis on addressing national concerns across diverse spheres (Graph 11).

These results suggest that public perceptions of corruption, as expressed in tweets, cover a variety of areas and sectors of society. The tweets reflect popular worry about corruption in a variety of domains, including politics, health, militarism, education, religion, the environment, economics, justice, infrastructure, and sports. This suggests that corruption is viewed as a pervasive and relevant issue affecting various elements of public and private life in the country.

Graph 11 - Most recurring areas in tweets



Created by the author from research data.

According to the graph, the most significant subcategory is Party/Politics (41.3%). Within this category, tweets express widespread frustration among Brazilians due to the relentless string of corruption scandals involving political parties and politicians, ongoing investigations and operations, as well as the complicity of various political entities. The discourse within these tweets squarely places blame on politicians and parties for the systemic corruption plaguing the nation, with a particular emphasis on its far-reaching consequences, including poverty and hunger.

Furthermore, the tweets underscore the populace's deep-seated dissatisfaction with the implicated parties and politicians, holding them accountable as the driving force behind Brazil's corruption woes. Consequently, Brazilians indict party politicians for the embezzlement of public funds, illicit procurement practices, and the deepening crisis within the healthcare sector.

Twitter emerges as a digital agora, amplifying the grievances and disillusionment of a nation grappling with political turmoil and eroding trust in its elected representatives. The platform serves as a mirror reflecting the uncertainties pervading society, while also fostering diverse opinions that spur citizen interaction and critical reflection, particularly concerning deeply held beliefs and values (Charron and Annoni, 2021).

Brazilian political parties, which were formerly an important element of the country's political discourse and electoral scene, are now embroiled in massive public outrage as a result of periodic corruption scandals, which have cost them credibility. Brazilians are highly suspicious of corruption instances like 'Mensalão' and 'Lava Jato', as evidenced by tweets.

The second most prevalent subcategory is Health (26.8%), focusing on the misappropriation of funds⁸⁴ within the healthcare sector. Key issues raised include the misappropriation of funds for vaccine procurement, the diversion of resources intended for the construction of field hospitals and healthcare facilities, and instances of overbilling related to 'Covid-19' treatment kits and hospital infrastructure projects. Tweets in this section highlight the negative impact of recurring corruption scandals on the nation's healthcare system, especially in light of the continuing epidemic, which exacerbates difficulty in receiving appropriate healthcare services.

While news portals expose scandals and misappropriations within the healthcare sector, tweets ignite fervent discussions concerning its decline. Hence, it becomes evident that health stands as one of the most pivotal subcategories within the 2021 pandemic context, encapsulating not only healthcare concerns but also the allocation of public resources towards this domain, eliciting widespread outrage among Brazilians.

Militarism (7.2%) emerges as a subcategory eliciting varied opinions within the Twitter discourse, as it intersects with issues of corruption and echoes the historical divide among the populace regarding support or opposition to past dictatorships, notably the military coup. Thus, tweets elucidate how the exposure of militarism feeds into the ideological struggle between democracy and dictatorship, assuming significance within the framework of democratic principles, juxtaposed against the troubling trend of some Brazilians' growing admiration for past coup event.

⁸⁴ In 2021, there were cases reported in the press and investigated by authorities reporting the diversion of funds intended for the purchase of personal protective equipment (PPE), respirators, medical supplies, medications, and other materials to combat Covid-19. In addition, there were also instances of respirators being purchased that were never delivered or that did not meet the necessary specifications for treating patients with Covid-19.

In certain situations, the tweets praise the military dictatorship, pointing out the lack of corruption during the country's totalitarian time and therefore expressly assuming the "need to create a national military front against corruption"; in another scenario, the veneration of the military intervention corresponds to the fight against corruption.

It is noteworthy to mention that despite the end of the dictatorship in 1985, tweets discussing militarism in the context of corruption often allude to the involvement of the armed forces, thereby underscoring the persistent association between militarism and corruption. This correlation gains prominence as the 2022 elections draw nearer, as evidenced by the escalating discourse surrounding the topic as: "the machine and created the ideological dictatorship to manipulate us." In this sense, then, militarism is in a sense split in the narratives, as it represents a bias in favor of democracy and against democratic institutions, thus expressing the ideological struggle on the social platform in dealing with corruption.

Corruption intertwined with religion (6.4%) serves as another interested point within the Twitter discourse, revealing both points of convergence and divergence against a political backdrop. Tweets often invoke 'God' as a means to beseech deliverance for Brazilians from the scourge of corruption and the grip of corrupt politicians, as exemplified in the excerpt that refrains from asking for forgiveness for their actions, asserting that "mercy is with God". Moreover, the fear of 'God' in dealing with human behavioral deviations is present in the narratives. In some cases, 'God' is also addressed in light of the corruption scandal and the exhaustion over its supposed reappearance on the national scene: "More corruption. Not even God can take it anymore".

Education (4%) emerges as a significant category, primarily due to its status as one of the sectors most profoundly impacted by corruption in Brazil. This influence manifests in two key dimensions: firstly, within the societal realm, where there exists a prevailing sentiment advocating for the neglect of education, thereby perpetuating a culture conducive to corruption; and secondly, within the economic sphere, evidenced by the deterioration and disintegration of schools and universities. Consequently, education in Brazil is widely as a domain extensively marred by the phenomenon, encapsulating both societal and economic ramifications, as the tweet points out, "only an education shock will save this country from misery".

The topics of the tweets related to the environment (3.5%) are squarely aimed at addressing the environmental issues stemming from corruption, particularly focusing on

the Bolsonaro government. This is evidenced by an excerpt highlighting that the "Ministry of Environment of the militiamen exists to favor land theft, illegal mining, illegal logging, and exportation." Thus, the discourse primarily revolves around the Amazon Forest and the rampant deforestation resulting from the illicit exploitation of natural resources, with notable emphasis on the involvement of Ricardo Salles, a former Minister of Environment implicated in corruption scandals.

Economy (3.2%) gains traction within tweets by attributing the nation's downfall to corruption, squarely placing blame on politicians for the misappropriation of funds fueling economic crises. Meanwhile, Justice (3.2%) is invoked in hopes of quelling the perpetrators, as exemplified by sections proclaiming that "justice comes". Notably, justice emerges as a point within news portals, emphasizing the idea of punishing corrupt acts. This aligns with the notion that corruption not only engenders feelings of inefficiency and injustice but also undermines the political legitimacy of the state, giving rise to systemic issues that permeate into the private sector. Additionally, it underscores the potential distortions generated by bribery (Rose Ackerman, 1997).

Regarding Infrastructure (2,7%), the tweets refer to the diversion of public funds into national infrastructure works. And finally, Sport (1,6%) is highlighted by raising issues of corruption in the 2014 World Cup⁸⁵ and in the CBF.

In summary, the analysis of articles within online portals reveals a notable disparity when compared to the discourse observed in tweets. While the portals predominantly advocate for justice as a means of addressing corruption within a context heavily saturated with such cases, tweets exhibit a less pronounced endorsement of punitive measures, allowing for the exploration of a broader range of thematic domains.

The findings underscore the extensive scope of public discourse on corruption as reflected in tweets, spanning a diverse array of societal domains and sectors including politics, health, militarism, education, religion, environment, economy, justice, infrastructure, and sports. This pervasive concern highlights corruption as a significant and pervasive issue impacting various aspects of public and private life within the country.

4.1.2 'Corruption' is undoubtedly the most popular term

⁸⁵ The 2014 World Cup in Brazil was the target of several allegations of corruption, particularly in relation to public spending and contracts for work related to the event.

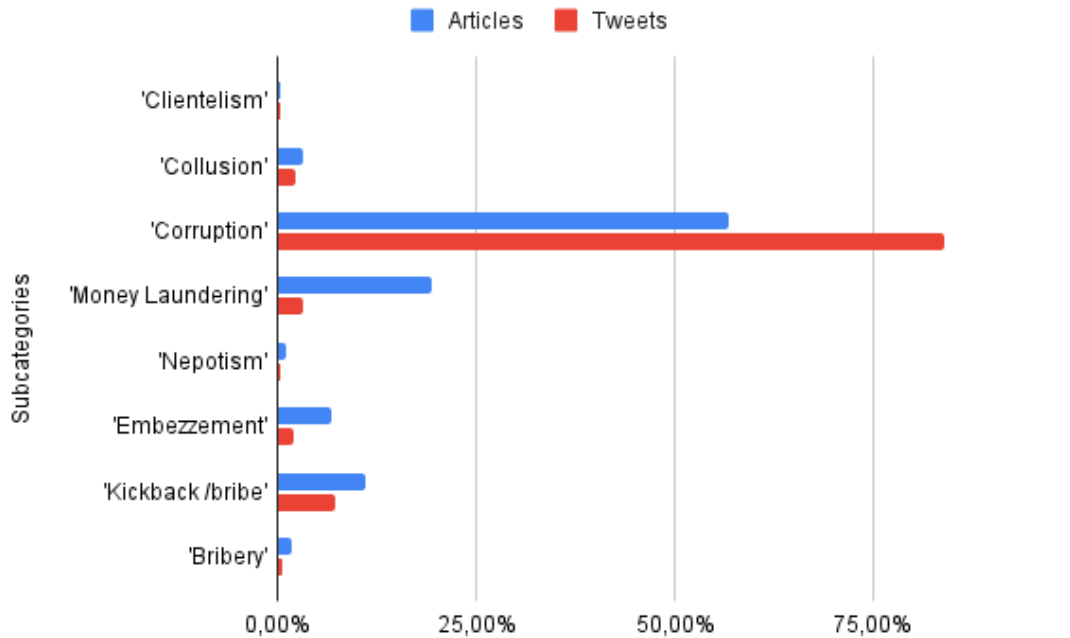
At the heart of the methodological inquiry lies a fundamental question, which puts corruption as a common thread that binds together the narratives found in both journalistic articles from news platforms and the discourse observed in the tweets of Brazilians. With data analysis, it becomes evident that the trend around corruption is mirrored across both news portals and tweets discussing the subject. As delineated in the methodology, corruption encompasses various concepts, each contributing to the contemporary understanding of the term, particularly within the media landscape.

Within this framework, comprehending the expansive scope of the concept, and the disparity between media representations and the public's perception, becomes a relevant factor. Despite the multitude of terms encapsulating the notion of corruption, along with the array of conceptual frameworks utilized to define it in Portuguese, this research works with the idea that a comparative analysis of the different types of corruption elucidates this complexity.

When examining the various conceptualizations of the term "corruption", and bearing in mind the notion of it being an 'umbrella concept' working on the theoretical review of this thesis, it was found that the use of the word⁸⁶ 'corruption' leads to the most recurring narratives in both media. As such, journalistic articles on news portals (56.7%) and tweets (83.9%) constitute significant portions of the discourse surrounding the 'Corruption' within the national repertoire of the social platform (Graph 12).

⁸⁶ By approaching the concepts, the research seeks to expose the main concept most used in articles on portals and public tweets, in order to understand whether the population uses the ramifications of the concepts as well as journalistic materials.

Graph 12 - Emerging concepts keywords



Created by the author from research data

'Corruption' emerges as the frontrunner in both digital environments, establishing itself as the primary focus for news portals. This emphasis underscores the pervasive nature of the phenomenon, encapsulating various forms of dishonest or illegal practices, or the abuse of positions of influence for personal gain or improper benefits. This prioritization of the term underscores its significant impact and relevance within the discourse.

The second category encompasses a process where money obtained illegally is camouflaged to appear of legal origin, constituting what is commonly known as 'Money Laundering' (19.3%). Additionally, subcategories such as 'Kickback/Bribe' (11%), 'Embezzement' (6.7%), 'Collusion' (3.2%), 'Bribery' (1.7%), 'Nepotism' (1%), and 'Clientelism' (0.4%) further delineate different facets of corrupt practices. These subcategories often come to the fore when legal proceedings, complaints, or investigations highlighted by news portals unfold, thereby revealing alternative interpretations of corruption within Brazilian society.

On the other hand, it's worth noting that a staggering 83.9% of tweets exclusively focus on 'corruption'. This overwhelming preference for the term suggests that the population consistently favors its usage over other variations like 'bribe/bribery', 'Kickback/bribe' (7.3%), 'Money Laundering' (3.1%), 'Collusion' (2.3%), 'Bribery' (0.7%), 'Embezzlement' (2.1%), 'Nepotism' (0.3%), and 'Clientelism' (0.4%). Despite their relatively low representation, these categories signify a departure from the simplistic bifurcation of terms observed in 2021 when describing the phenomenon.

The focus of the tweets made by the population on the platform pages shows that the word 'corruption' is not only the most popular word in the existing social narrative but also the main concern of the population when we compare it with the other subcategories because as verified, the contents promoted by Brazilians on Twitter support the outrage and denounce in relation to the term, unlike the contents that act through the portals.

To elucidate the analysis, a brief comparison is drawn between excerpts from news articles and tweets, thus highlighting the assertions made earlier (Graph 13). The passages cited in news articles on portals explore a broad range of corruption-related topics, including nepotism, fraud, bribery, drug trafficking and money laundering. These extracts reveal numerous aspects and occurrences of corruption, providing a full knowledge of the issues across a broad spectrum from arrests to trials. By tackling these issues, news portals contribute to raising public awareness and fostering discussions about corruption-related issues in Brazil.

Graph 13 - Excerpts from news articles and tweets: Emerging concepts keywords

Articles	Tweets
“intends to investigate cases of nepotism in the executive are underway”	“the administrative reform that will legalize the nepotism”
“the governance model based on corruption and clientelism.”	“Corruption kills and is a heinous crime!”
“removed on suspicion of fraud and corruption, resume his duties as advisor to the TCE-RJ”	“The country only generates corrupt people and corruption.”
“Denúncias de tentativas de suborno, a nova rotina na Câmara”	“Bribery: in the open!”
“the prisoner was arrested for drug trafficking, homicide and money laundering”	“Of course, it is possible to cancel the corruption and money laundering tests!”
“Scarce vaccine: the cynicism of Brazilians skipping the queue and thinking that others are always corrupt”	“Corruption is really a cultural aspect in this country”

Created by the author from research data.

Tweets from Twitter, on the other hand, provide a different perspective, reflecting Brazilians' opinions and beliefs about corruption in numerous parts of society. These tweets, which address topics such as nepotism, bribery, money laundering, and the widespread prevalence of corruption, express frustration, condemnation, and cynicism toward corrupt practices, emphasizing corruption as a deeply ingrained systemic issue in the country's culture. Collectively, these tweets reflect public mood and discourse around corruption in the country.

Based on the presented data and chapter, it can be concluded that both news articles on portals and public opinion expressed through tweets predominantly focus on corruption as a broad concept. While news portals address a variety of corruption subcategories such as money laundering, bribery, embezzlement, nepotism, among others, tweets overwhelmingly concentrate solely on corruption itself. This suggests that while journalistic media delve into various facets of corruption, the general public tends to simplify their perception, opting to use the generic term 'corruption' instead of its more specific ramifications. However, the presence of other subcategories in tweets indicates a growing awareness of different forms of corruption and an expansion of public discourse on the subject, representing an evolution in the understanding and discussion of corruption in Brazil in 2021.

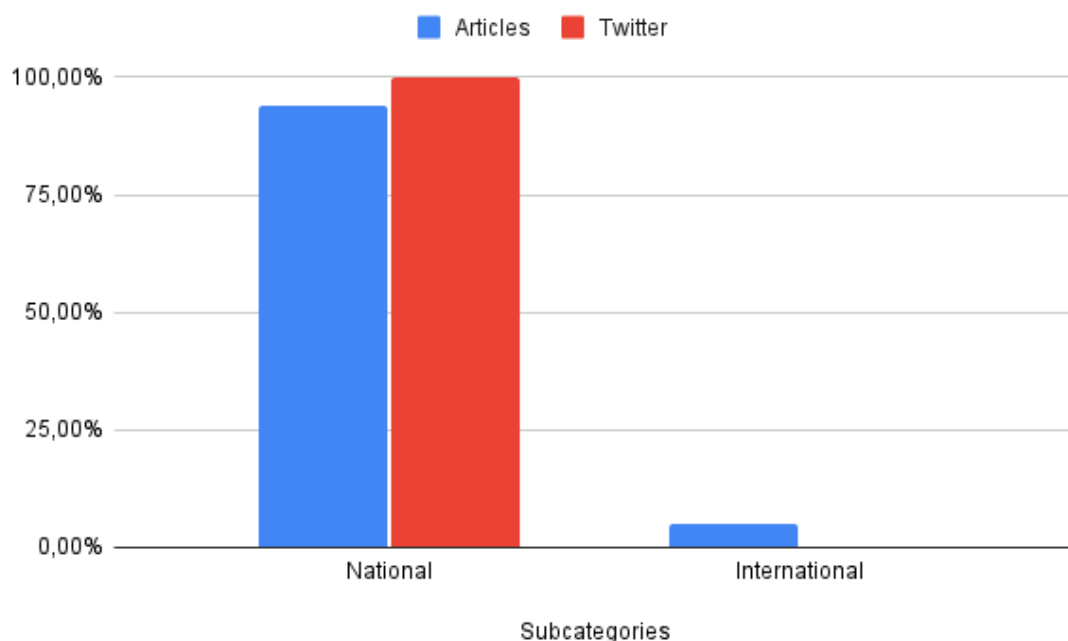
4.2 Brazilians have no 'eye' on international corruption

When one looks at the recurrence of corruption in the external and internal environments and compares the articles published on news portals and the tweets published on social platforms by Brazilians from these respective vehicles, one can understand that there is no accurate view of international corruption among Brazilians in the period studied, not even when one looks for a comparison between the two niches. Consider that, regardless of the legitimacy of the attention assigned to the issue by national and international society, it is a significant aspect of understanding and qualifying the impact of corruption in the country (Padula and Albuquerque, 2018).

Based on the collected data for a case study, it is evident that corruption takes precedence when addressing internal affairs within the country, as observed across news portals and Twitter. Articles focusing on corruption in Brazil account for 94.1% of published articles, while tweets on the subject make up 99.9% of the discourse. In contrast, when considering

the international context, the representation of corruption on portals (5.9%) and tweets (0.10%) reflects significantly lower indices (Graph 14). Thus, the disparity in indices between domestic and international affairs reflects the importance attributed to corruption as a central domestic issue for Brazilians, while corruption problems in other countries may not arouse the same level of interest or concern.

Graph 14 - Emergence of corruption in the national and international aspect



Created by the author from research data.

The existing contrast between the national and international scenes, as observed through the two modes of communication, aligns with the notion that the local media agenda, coupled with the vast territorial expanse of the country, contributes to the amplification of scandals and the phenomenon of "information cascade" (Demagaard, 2018a).

Thus, the emphasis of news coverage on domestic corruption rather than the international landscape stems from that the ramifications of scandals primarily reverberate within national borders. However, it is apparent that Brazil garners attention on the global stage

by disseminating news of corruption scandals occurring within the country, which receive widespread coverage internationally.

Conversely, based on the collected data, corruption abroad does not feature prominently in the narratives of the national environment. This occurs within a context where the country takes proactive measures in investigating and penalizing individuals involved in scandals, thereby attracting the scrutiny of the international media towards the region (Padula and Albuquerque, 2018).

In terms of international content trends, news mentioning corruption in countries such as Afghanistan, China, Colombia, USA, Spain, Kosovo, Syria, Chile, Russia, Ecuador, UK, Italy, Egypt, Colombia, Tehran, Australia, Finland, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, India, Peru, Sudan, Ecuador, Italy, France, Venezuela, China, Spain, Switzerland, Japan, and others constitute a minority.

These practices, impacting environments beyond Brazil, encompass bribery, tender fraud, misappropriation of public funds, and other illicit activities as reported by news portals. Despite international corruption exists in other countries, it did not appear significantly in the tweets of Brazilians during this one-year analysis period.

While news portals lead in coverage of this topic, in a globalized environment, international corruption tends to be of lesser concern in the public opinion expressed through tweets. This underscores the significant preoccupation of the population with the national scenario. It can be inferred that, given the profound impact of corruption at the national level, Brazilians may not prioritize the consequences of corruption in the international arena in the analyzed tweets.

Thus, the focus of tweets remains on national concerns, reflecting the perception that corruption is the root cause of structural and social problems in Brazil, as opposed to the international landscape. This observation highlights two aspects: firstly, that addressing corruption is a key for economic and social progress, particularly amidst the pandemic crisis and public disillusionment with corruption scandals and mismanagement of funds at the national level; and secondly, that attentive citizens are prioritizing the national fight against corruption as a step towards improvement.

The analysis of corruption through news portals and tweets indicates a greater focus on domestic corruption than international issues. While national media coverage amplifies scandals within Brazil's borders, international corruption receives less attention in Brazilian tweets. This reflects a prioritization of addressing corruption domestically as a

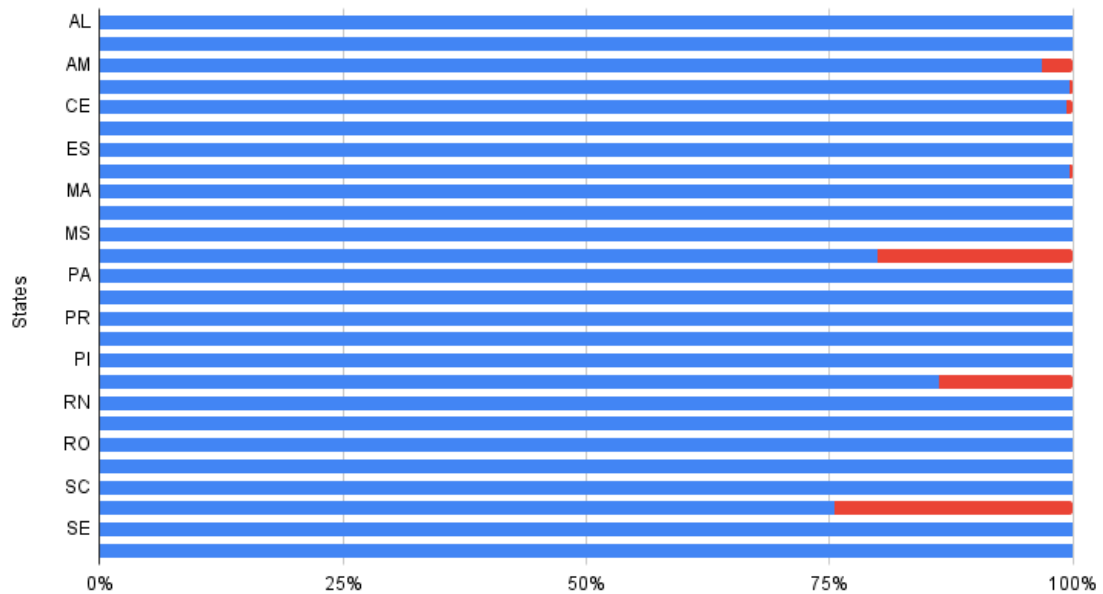
step towards national improvement, particularly amidst the pandemic crisis and public disillusionment with corruption scandals and mismanagement of funds.

4.2.1 Rio de Janeiro: the epicenter when it comes to corruption

Shifting from a global perspective to a national focus, and recognizing that corruption significantly impacts both news portals' agendas and tweets concentrated on the domestic sphere, attention turned to the distribution of corruption across the 26 states of Brazil. This analysis revealed a disparity in the prevalence of corruption mentions between portals and tweets, both in terms of distribution and volume. Nonetheless, a common trend emerged: the state of Rio de Janeiro emerged as a point for corruption news across both mediums, reflecting the heightened concern surrounding this issue among Brazilians on social media platforms.

Upon closer examination, journalistic articles mentioning the state of Rio de Janeiro accounted for 53.7%, with São Paulo following closely at 43.9%. Interestingly, this pattern shifted in tweets, with Rio de Janeiro representing 20.3% and São Paulo at 19.4%, thereby establishing a correlation between the leading positions in both digital environments, both situated in the southeast region of the country (Graph 15).

Graph 15 - Distribution by states in Brazil



Created by the author from research data.

It is interesting to note that these states⁸⁷ stand out as economic and political decision points of the country, due to their influence on the political and national scene, which in a way coincides with the media agenda (Table 5). Thus, the states stand out for both being involved in corruption cases and promoting anti-corruption investigations and operations, as well as influencing the national political agenda.

Table 5 - Brazilian States: Comparison between the most recurrent subcategories in articles and tweets

Subcategories	Articles	Tweets
Rio de Janeiro (RJ)	20.3%	53.7%
São Paulo (SP)	8.2%	43.9%
Paraná (PR)	15.6%	1,1%
Amazonas (AM)	7.1%	1.2%

⁸⁷ According to a survey by the Institute for Applied Economic Research (IPEA), São Paulo is the most populous state with the highest GDP and the highest economic activity index. And the state of Rio de Janeiro is important for being one of the centers of oil and gas, tourism and culture, in addition to being internationally known and home to financial and higher education institutions.

Created by the author from research data considering the values of 6.780 (100%) articles and 2.036 (100%) tweets.

When looking at news portals systematically, as shown in the graph and table, it appears that states have a stronger influence on news portals, both quantitatively and qualitatively, but in a far more varied fashion than tweets, where only a few states stand out. Thus, the distribution of content about corruption in the portals tends to be, and in some way almost all the states⁸⁸ of the country such as Rio de Janeiro (RJ), 20.3%, Paraná (PR) 15.6%, São Paulo (SP) 8.2%, Amazonas (AM) 7.1%, Distrito Federal (DF) 5.9%, Bahia (BA) 5.0%, Goiás (GO) 5.3%, Ceará (CE) 4.2%, Pará (PA) 3.7%, Mato Grosso (MT) 3.4%, Tocantins (TO) 3.0%, Pernambuco (PE) 3.0%, Piauí (PI) 2.9%, Santa Catarina (SC) 2.2%, Paraíba (PB) 1.8%, Alagoas (AL) 1.6%, Maranhão (MA) 1.6%, Roraima (RR) 1.3%, Rio Grande do Norte (RN) 0.9% (Graph 16). It is worth noting that these findings imply that corruption is a pervasive problem of national interest, although its coverage and perception can differ greatly depending on the media outlet.

⁸⁸ Given the large number of states and the country's vast territorial expanse, the study looks at the three states most often associated with corruption, which emerge in articles on news portals and in Brazilian tweets.

Graph 16 - Distribution of corruption keywords emergence by Brazilian states in news articles



Created by the author from research data

The table below provides a brief overview of how corruption is tackled and associated with the country's states, according to the articles. The excerpts highlight cases of corruption in several Brazilian states, including the embezzlement of salaries of ghost advisors at Alerj, investigations into 'Rachadinhas' of politicians in Rio de Janeiro, police operations in Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo authorized by the Federal Court of Curitiba, archiving of investigations into irregularities at the São Paulo Court of Auditors, and arrests related to the embezzlement of money in the construction of the Angra 3 in São Paulo, impeachment of a deputy in Paraná, and the geographic scope of investigations involving states such as Pará, Amazonas, Piauí, Ceará, Mato Grosso do Sul, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Paraná. These excerpts⁸⁹ reveal the breadth and variety of corruption cases in various government spheres and in different regions of Brazil (Table 6).

⁸⁹ Excerpts from news articles regarding corruption are related to corruption and its synonyms based on the methods utilized.

Table 6 - Excerpts from the links between Brazilian States and corruption in articles

Article
“as was called the embezzlement of salaries of ghost advisors of the then state deputy in the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj)”
“Investigated for the scheme of embezzlement of resources from the salaries of his advisors, the “Rachadinhas”, when he was a state deputy in the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro’
“Arrest warrants, authorized by the Federal Court of Curitiba, are served in Brasília, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo”
“The Public Ministry of São Paulo definitively archived an investigation opened last year against employees of the capital's Court of Auditors for alleged irregularities in positions and remunerations”
“Arrested in São Paulo, accused of embezzling money in the construction of the Angra 3 nuclear plant”
“Like the impeachment of deputy Francischini, from Paraná”
“In addition to the warrants in the capital of Amapá, individuals and companies with addresses in the states of Pará (Belém and Ananindeua), Amazonas (Manaus and Itacoatiara), Piauí (Teresina), Ceará (Fortaleza), Mato Grosso do Sul (Campo Grande, Paranhos and Aral Moreira), São Paulo (capital and Sorocaba); Rio de Janeiro (capital) and Paraná (Foz do Iguaçu and Londrina)”

Created by the author from research data.

The state of Rio de Janeiro (20.3%) emerges as one of the primary hubs for corruption cases in Brazil, characterized by its involvement in federal police operations, scandals, proceedings, and investigations, notably including coverage of the 'Rachadinhas' both regionally and nationally through the CPI's Covid-19. As endorsed by the excerpt from one of the articles “In Rio de Janeiro (RJ), one of the cities most devastated by the pandemic and with the economy in tatters”.

Compared to other states, Rio de Janeiro holds a distinct position within the national and international spheres. News articles often focus on political actors such as mayors and officials implicated in issues related to the misappropriation of public funds across sectors like health, education, transportation, and infrastructure. Given Rio de Janeiro's location

in the southeastern region, its geographical and strategic significance further underscores its role as a decision-making and its considerable impact on tourism. However, despite its allure, the state also leads to scandals, allegations, and corruption investigations.

From this perspective, several instances of recurrent themes related to the state were identified and analyzed. These include the 'Covid-19 CPI', extensively highlighted by news portals, as well as the 'Rachadinhas' scheme and various developments within the 'Lava Jato' operation in the state, such as the 'Triplex Case', alongside numerous investigative operations conducted by the Federal Police, such as 'Ponto Final Operation'⁹⁰, 'Bancarrota Operation'⁹¹, 'Escapulário Operation'⁹², 'Favorito Operation'⁹³, 'Vikare Operation'⁹⁴ among others.

With this series of corruption cases in the state, Rio de Janeiro emerges as a focal point in fueling the phenomenon, which also resonates with public opinion on platforms like Twitter. Subsequently, each of these factors is analyzed to assess their association with the state. In this context, the 'Covid CPI' emerges as the most discussed topic concerning the issues analyzed, shedding light on investigations related to the misappropriation of public funds concerning hospitals, vaccines, and healthcare funding deficits, with implications reaching federal policies in certain cases. Undoubtedly, the 'Covid-19 CPI' in Rio de Janeiro commands significant attention in disseminating news about corruption during a period marked by the state's crisis.

The reports point out that the president of the 'CPI da Covid', Omar Aziz⁹⁵ (PSD-AM), advocates the need for the Court of Audit to deepen the investigation of the CPI, especially in relation to the federal hospitals in Rio de Janeiro, where there is evidence of poor management. Thus, the articles repeatedly call for a deepening of the investigation, especially when it comes to the state hospitals of the federal government.

⁹⁰ Investigation carried out by the Federal Police of Brazil in 2017, to investigate the existence of a corruption scheme involving public transport companies in the state of Rio de Janeiro and local politicians, which resulted in the arrest of businessmen, among them, the former governor of Rio de Janeiro January, Sergio Cabral.

⁹¹ Operation that fulfilled 41 search and seizure warrants, in the states of the Federal District, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro between the years 2010 and 2018.

⁹² Linked to 'Cadeia Velha Operation', which investigated a corruption scheme involving political participants from the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj).

⁹³ Investigation which is part of the 'Lava Jato' operation, investigates deviations in contracts in the health area involving social organizations in Rio de Janeiro.

⁹⁴ Launched in 2017, investigated a corruption scheme among computer companies and public servants of the city hall of Rio de Janeiro, with the aim of dismantling a criminal organization that defrauded bids and contracts with the city hall.

⁹⁵ Omar Aziz has been one of the main names conducting investigations regarding the 'CPI' and has been the target of attacks due to his involvement in corruption cases.

At that time, there was also an approach to the matters related to the 'CPI of Covid-19', which focused its attention on the internal investigation process, through the senators in charge of the Commission of Investigation, who informed the Union Accounting Office, looking at points of the report that depend on the investigations. Some articles focus about VTCLog⁹⁶'s contracts with the government for the distribution of medicines and the alleged attempt to buy the vaccine Covaxin⁹⁷ from Precisa Medications⁹⁸ and the Ministry of Health; the political interference in Conitec⁹⁹ (Commission of the Ministry of Health) that delayed the discussion of the protocol against the "Covid Kit"; and the investigation of the alleged corruption in the federal hospitals in Rio de Janeiro.

The VTCLog case linked to 'Operation Esculapio'¹⁰⁰ therefore this emerges as yet another corruption narrative in Brazil, entailing public health and resources allocated for combating the COVID-19 pandemic. The materials delve into the ongoing investigations, which have yet to reach a conclusion, only documenting the continued unfolding of the case.

It is noteworthy that the state's connection with corruption reveals nomenon, including his son Flávio and Bolsonaro's ex-wife Ana Cristina. In this regard, news reports from the state consistently feature the former president's family in relation to corruption. One of the articles indicates that the Supreme Court (STJ) has granted the defense of Flávio Bolsonaro (Patriota-RJ) the request to nullify the decisions made by the Rio de Janeiro judiciary concerning the investigation of the 'Rachadinhas' case.

Furthermore, articles covering this corruption scheme mention the involvement of ghost employees associated with another of Bolsonaro's sons, Carlos Bolsonaro¹⁰¹, highlighting instances where employees held positions incompatible with their roles. These reports also reference investigations aimed at scrutinizing the enrichment of Flávio Bolsonaro¹⁰²,

⁹⁶ Target in investigations by the Federal Police and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office for 'Operation Esculapio', in 2021, for an alleged corruption scheme in the purchase of medicines and also inputs by the Ministry of Health in the pandemic.

⁹⁷ 'Covid-19' vaccine was developed by Indian company Bharat Biotech.

⁹⁸ Covaxin's purchase contract with Precise Medications, after complaints of irregularities and political pressure for the acquisition of the vaccine.

⁹⁹ The National Commission for the Incorporation of Technologies in the Unified Health System, is a commission linked to the Ministry of Health of Brazil.

¹⁰⁰ Launched in 2021 to investigate a corruption scheme in the purchase of medicines and supplies by the Brazilian Ministry of Health during the COVID-19 pandemic.

¹⁰¹ There is a suspicion that he also benefited from a "split" scheme in his office at the City Council of Rio de Janeiro, when he held the position of councilor.

¹⁰² Elected in 2018 as senator for the state of Rio de Janeiro, a year later there were reports that he would have benefited from a 'Rachadinhas' scheme when he held the position of state deputy in the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj).

which targeted the salary of consultants in the politician's office at the time he held the position of state deputy in the Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj). Therefore, Bolsonaro's family plays a role in shaping the narrative associated with Rio de Janeiro, as a familiar figure linked to the former president emerges at various points in the analysis.

One of the issues discussed in relation to the 'CPI of Covid-19' is the summoning of Ana Cristina Valle¹⁰³, ex-wife of then President Bolsonaro, as a witness before the Investigative Committee. The reports confirm the testimony of lobbyist Marconny Ribeiro Faria, who claimed to have a connection with Ana Cristina and Jair Renan¹⁰⁴. Thus, the articles construct a narrative, conveying messages from the CPI, alleging that a lobbyist contacted Ana Cristina to influence the selection process of the Attorney General. Concerning Rio de Janeiro, the involvement of the Bolsonaro family in the 'Rachadinhas' corruption scheme is also highlighted. The case gained traction when the Public Ministry of Rio de Janeiro presented evidence implicating Ana Cristina in the misappropriation of public funds on behalf of her relatives. Prosecutors suspect that even after Ana Cristina left office, these officials continued to pay 'Rachadinhas,' with evidence suggesting that she utilized her own companies to launder money. It is explained that 'Rachadinhas' is a scheme where politicians illegally appropriate part of their employees' salaries, with many of these employees in Carlos' office being appointed by Ana Cristina and being her relatives.

It's noteworthy that Rio de Janeiro assumes a prominent position in the national discourse, even when corruption investigations involve municipal entities, such as in the case of the Rio de Janeiro City Hall. Portals echo the decision of the Superior Court of Justice (STJ) to close an investigation into the mayor of Rio de Janeiro, Eduardo Paes¹⁰⁵ (PSD), for allegations of passive corruption, bid rigging, and fraud in the works related to the 2016

¹⁰³ Ex-wife of Jair Bolsonaro, who in 2020 faced allegations of an orange candidacy scheme in Minas Gerais during the 2018 elections in which the corruption scheme would have been created to divert public resources from the electoral fund intended for the PSL campaign in Minas Gerais.

¹⁰⁴ Bolsonaro's fourth son, better known as 04, the Federal Police launched 'Operation Espúrio' in 2021, which investigates a money laundering and asset concealment scheme related to companies linked to Jair Renan Bolsonaro that received undue money and moved amounts without legal registration.

¹⁰⁵ The scandal involving Eduardo Paes refers to accusations of corruption, bid fraud and other crimes related to the construction of the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio de Janeiro. The Superior Court of Justice (STJ) decided to close an investigation into the mayor of Rio de Janeiro at the time, Eduardo Paes, for these alleged crimes. The accusations arose after the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) alleged that Paes organized the creation of a consortium with contractors to carry out the Olympic works.

Olympic Games. The complaint arose after the MPF accused Paes of orchestrating the formation of a consortium with contractors Queiroz Galvão and OAS¹⁰⁶.

In the context of this focus on the state, the reports also delve into the allegations made by the Public Ministry of Rio de Janeiro (MPRJ) against Maurício Demétrio. He was accused of orchestrating false operations against Rio de Janeiro mayoral candidate Eduardo Paes at the time, in an attempt to influence the city's election outcomes. Furthermore, he faced charges of compiling dossiers containing confidential information and soliciting bribes to undermine law enforcement efforts.

Rio de Janeiro also served as a backdrop for significant developments in the 'Lava Jato' investigation, including arrests, inquiries, and trials stemming from its progression. Articles detailing the 'Lava Jato' operation highlight actions such as the issuance of a house arrest order in Brazil for businessman Arthur Soares Filho¹⁰⁷, by the Federal Court in Rio de Janeiro. In a detailed narrative illustrating that the businessman resides in Miami, Arthur Soares Filho stands accused of allegedly paying bribes totaling US\$ 1 million to Paulo Melo, the former president of the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj), as reported by one of the portals "the cases involve corruption and money laundering offenses that are currently being investigated".

Still on the centralization of news in the state of Rio de Janeiro through the resumption of the ramifications of the 'Lava Jato' operation. The portals point to the maintenance of the preventive detention of Sergio Cabral¹⁰⁸, charged with passive corruption in Operation Ponto Final (investigation of the 'Lava Jato' trial in Rio de Janeiro), which involves a corruption scheme in the state's transportation sector.

It's noteworthy that the state serves as the backdrop for numerous anti-corruption operations led by the Federal Police, a fact corroborated by the articles highlighting the intense activity of the PF in the region and the outcomes of each investigation, particularly those related to the pandemic. These operations form part of major investigative efforts and currently hold a prominent position in combating corruption cases. One such operation is the 'Testamento Operation' carried out by the Federal Police, which

¹⁰⁶ OAS is a large Brazilian construction and development company. It is involved in several construction sectors, including infrastructure, energy, sanitation and real estate development.

¹⁰⁷ Accused of involvement in several corruption cases linked to Operation 'Lava Jato' for allegedly paying bribes to politicians and public officials in exchange for public works contracts.

¹⁰⁸ Former governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro arrested in 2016 by Operation 'Lava Jato' convicted of passive corruption, money laundering and criminal organization and other crimes.

uncovered suspected overbilling in Covid-19 testing in the city of Japeri (RJ), implicating offenses such as fraud, bid rigging, and embezzlement.

The 'Favorito Operation'¹⁰⁹, conducted by the Federal Police, delved into payments and the facilitated protection linked to contracts between Arthur Soares' companies and the Sérgio Cabral government. Additionally, there was the 'Bancarrota Operation', which targeted an alleged overcharge of R\$130 million for the printing of exams for the National High School Examination (Enem)¹¹⁰ around forty search and seizure warrants were carried out in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.

Although Rio de Janeiro takes the lead in corruption coverage in news portals, the state of Paraná (PR) also holds significance in representing this phenomenon, particularly as one of the epicenters of the 'Lava Jato' operation. This operation has garnered widespread attention in recent years due to the arrest of numerous politicians, including former President Lula. The articles featured on news portals from this state adopt a journalistic narrative centered around the 'Lava Jato' investigation and its ramifications, with specific emphasis on cases like the Triplex case and the 'CPI of Covid', 'Mensalão'¹¹¹, and 'ViKare Operation'¹¹².

Thus, in the articles, the state emerges as an ongoing impact of the 'Lava Jato' operation, with the city of Curitiba playing a central role in shaping the media narrative through its dichotomous coverage of imprisonments, trials, and social media discussions over recent years. The state's news pieces, which played a crucial role in judgments impacting Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva's convictions and subsequent release, spurred arguments throughout 2021, particularly following Judge Edson Fachin's opinion at the Federal Supreme Court (STF). Remembering that, this decision overturned all of Lula's convictions by the Federal Judiciary of Paraná in connection with the 'Lava Jato' investigation.

The media coverage of the 'Lava Jato' affair has put it in the spotlight, given the significance of these events, such as Lula's potential eligibility for the 2022 elections and

¹⁰⁹ The operation that investigated the payment and facilitated protection associated with the contracts between Arthur Soares' companies and the government of Sérgio Cabral was called "Favorite". On the other hand, the operation aimed at overbilling R\$130 million in printing tests for the National High School Exam (ENEM) was called "Bankruptcy".

¹¹⁰ Proof of admission to higher education in Brazil carried out by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira, linked to the Ministry of Education of Brazil.

¹¹¹ Political scandal that occurred in Brazil in 2005, during the government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The scandal involved the payment of bribes to parliamentarians in exchange for political support for the government. At the time, the case was investigated by the Federal Police and the Public Ministry, and resulted in a complaint filed with the Federal Supreme Court (STF) against more than forty defendants.

¹¹² Started in 2021, it acted in the diversion of public resources destined to the health of the State of Rio de Janeiro.

the Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region's (TRF-4) scrutiny of Sergio Moro's conviction. As a result, the accounts in the articles provide an outline of Lula's imprisonment.

According to the news reports, these charges concerning the land and apartment of Lula were upheld by the Judiciary of Paraná, suggesting a corruption scheme related to the purchase of land intended for the construction of the new headquarters of the Lula Institute, located in Atibaia, São Bernardo do Campo. This process, which has awaited a verdict since May 2020, unfolded amidst the developments of the 'Lava Jato' operation. The progression of the 'Lava Jato' operation is reflected in a series of reports that gradually uncover suspicions surrounding Lula. At times, these articles explore the operation from a different perspective, delving into allegations that the former judge in the case, Sergio Moro, displayed bias during Lula's trial. Such coverage continues to shape the narrative surrounding the operation and its key figures.

From the issues dealing with ministerial votes, it appears that Fachin defended the idea that the Federal Court of Paraná was incompetent when it ruled on Lula's cases. Especially considering that, Minister Gilmar Mendes¹¹³ reported Moro's¹¹⁴ suspicions and requested a vote before his colleagues, one of the issues explains that the "Second Panel, "at risk of violating due process of law"". The reports also mention that five of the eleven ministers voted to transfer the proceedings related to Lula from the Paraná Judiciary to the Court in the Center of the Country (DF).

Due to the profound impact of the decision and its reverberations throughout the agenda, matters pertaining to the state of Paraná consistently resurface within the landscape of the 'Lava Jato' operation. Reports indicate that the Federal Regional Court of the 4th Region (TRF-4), tasked with reviewing the 'Lava Jato' cases, nullified the arrest of former mayor Eduardo Cunha¹¹⁵. It is worth noting that Cunha, who was under house arrest at the time, was awaiting a judicial decision to remove his electronic ankle bracelet, although his passport remained confiscated. Additionally, the suspicion surrounding the execution of

¹¹³ Gilmar Mendes, as Minister of the Federal Supreme Court (STF), has criticized the posture of Sergio Moro, at the time a 'Lava Jato' judge, pointing out some alleged irregularities in his conduct by Moro, such as the leak of confidential information and coercive conduct in relation to the arrest of ex-president Lula.

¹¹⁴ In front of the 'Lava-Jato', Sergio Moro has criticized the decisions of the STF, involving the release of prisoners as the annulment of the convictions of former President Lula.

¹¹⁵ President of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and played a significant role in the impeachment process of former president Dilma Rousseff. Cunha was arrested in October 2016 for his involvement in corruption schemes, including bribes received in Petrobras contracts, as part of Operation Lava Jato. He was convicted of crimes of passive corruption, money laundering and currency evasion, among others. His arrest and conviction marked a turning point in the fight against corruption in Brazil.

the sentence of Antonio Palocci by 'Lava Jato' remains an issue of concern, especially in light of the recent decision by the Federal Court of Paraná.

Another matter under scrutiny in relation to the state, albeit unrelated to the 'Lava Jato' operation, involves reports from the Paraná State Audit Office (TCE-PR). These reports indicate that the TCE intends to initiate legal proceedings and investigate the accountability of public officials in the municipality who were allegedly involved in the illicit administration of the Covid-19 vaccine. Excerpts from articles suggest that the investigation implicates a mayor, three former mayors, and 26 council members from various municipalities in Paraná. This sheds light on a more contemporaneous perspective, although the pervasive dominance of 'Lava Jato' continues to monopolize the state's news coverage.

São Paulo ranks third among the states mentioned (8.2%), with a significant focus on the Covid-19 CPI. Reports predominantly highlight the mismanagement of funds allocated for pandemic control. A report from the São Paulo Prosecutor's Office indicates that the Ministry of Defense, responsible for these funds, often diverted resources intended for the Unified Health System toward unrelated expenditures. These articles underscore a corruption scheme tied to the misuse of public funds, currently under investigation by the Senate's CPI.

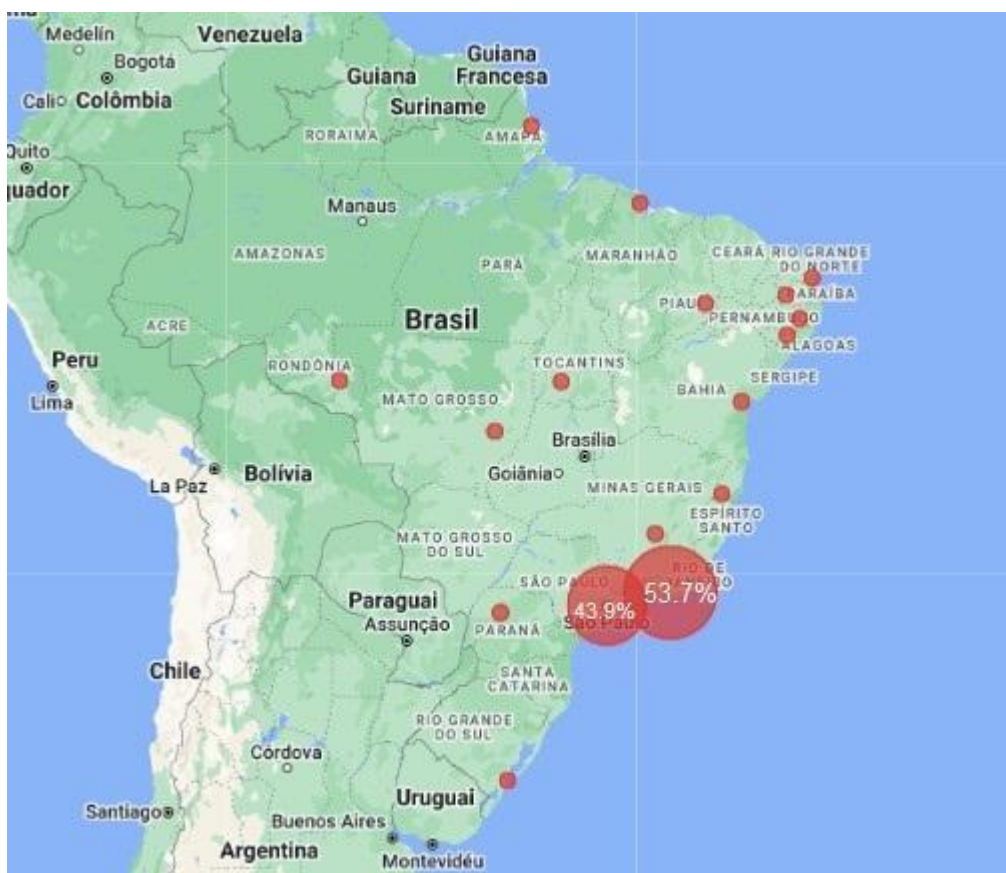
In this context, coverage of corruption in São Paulo revolves around updates from the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI), particularly regarding the Prevent Senior scandal. The CPI is probing Prevent Senior's actions in the state capital concerning Covid-19 management, specifically questioning discrepancies in reported cases and deaths attributed to the healthcare provider's billing practices. The articles mention that, the CPI suspects underreporting of Covid-19 cases by the company, along with failure to attribute deaths to the virus. Reports explicitly criticize these actions, stating, "what happened there was absurd in every way and criminal".

In relation to 'Lava Jato' in São Paulo stands out the archiving of the case of the Triplex apartment in Guarujá (SP), in which the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) recognized the statute of limitations of the accusations against former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in the trial related to the Triplex apartment in Guarujá, after the filing of the case, as the Federal Supreme Court (STF) understood in April 2021 that this and other trials against

the former president were not associated with corruption at Petrobras¹¹⁶ Focus Start of Lava Jato.

As observed, the news portals exhibit a predominant and well-distributed coverage of corruption, with a focus on Rio de Janeiro, Paraná, and São Paulo. Conversely, examining tweets to gauge Brazilian sentiment on corruption reveals a different distribution pattern. While not identical, the analysis underscores a notable emphasis on the southeastern region of the country, particularly Rio de Janeiro (53.7%) and São Paulo (43.9%), indicative of their central role in public discourse. Additionally, Amazonas (1.2%) emerges as a third point, reflecting an interest in environmental issues. Conversely, mentions of other states are scarce or nonexistent in Brazilian tweets on the subject (Graph 17).

Graph 17 - Distribution of corruption keywords emergence by Brazilian states in tweets



Created by the author from research data.

¹¹⁶ Petroleo Brasileiro S.A. is a publicly traded company, whose majority shareholder is the Government of Brazil, and is therefore a state-owned mixed economy company.

Analyzing the states on social media platforms, Brazilian tweets reflect widespread indignation at the misallocation of funds in each region. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro emerge as a discussions on corruption, largely due to documented cases of financial mismanagement, including embezzlement and its repercussions on the public sector. Consequently, the tweets¹¹⁷ underscore the population's frustration with institutional indifference and political apathy towards corruption (Table 7).

Table 7 - Excerpts from the links between Brazilian States and corruption on Twitter

Tweets
“he has been head of a criminal organization for 40 years, says Lava Jato in RJ”
“And so far there has been no corruption, in governors and mayors there have been some who have even been arrested, like the one in RJ.”
“The governor of São Paulo also does not want to delve deeper into corruption”
“If you do one operation like this a week, it will clean up RJ From the series "Corruption is over"”
“Let’s see who will fall apart, the bandit leader of Amazonas.... The whole family is caught up in corruption, bandits like that as president of the CPI”
"and the São Paulo forum are not interested in knowing the billions that were diverted by governors and mayors through the Northeast consortia of corruption"
“Amazonas should ask for security against corruption in politics that robs the people and enriches the colonel heirs of hereditary captaincies”

Created by the author from research data.

In the case of Rio de Janeiro (53.7%), the perspective diverges from that presented in news portals. Tweets consistently portray Rio de Janeiro as one of the most corrupt states, highlighting Brazilians' disillusionment with the ongoing crisis in the region, widespread poverty, and inadequate development in certain areas, with corruption being singled out as a significant contributing factor to these challenges.

There is a widespread belief that corruption is firmly embedded in Rio de Janeiro politics, with references to government officials purportedly directing criminal organizations for decades. The mention of ‘Lava Jato’ in Rio de Janeiro is a reaction to continuing anti-corruption investigations, implying a knowledge of the problem's gravity but also a sense

¹¹⁷ Excerpts from tweets regarding corruption are related to corruption and its synonyms based on the methods utilized.

of irritation with the lack of real results over time, when it comes to resolutions regarding corrupt acts.

Thus, Rio de Janeiro is described as a bankrupt state and a "played to the moths"¹¹⁸ state where corruption takes place at different levels. In this context, when states are referenced in tweets, they invariably reflect on the ramifications of corruption, aligning with perceptions of misappropriation of public funds, resource scarcity, and deviations that erode civil society.

The narrative in tweets often echoes sentiments associated with the state of São Paulo, engaging in a discourse that intersects with the discourse surrounding the state of Rio de Janeiro. São Paulo (43.9%) emerges as the second most frequently mentioned state on Twitter concerning corruption. The tweets center on former President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and the criticism directed towards leftist ideologies . This connection underscores not only public fatigue with corruption but also the association with the dictatorship and the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC).

Furthermore, there is frustration when it comes to the state of São Paulo's political leaders and criticism for failing to confront corruption effectively. The governor of São Paulo is mentioned, implying that local authorities are expected to combat corruption. However, this expectation is not being met.

Consequently, the representations depicted in tweets diverge from those portrayed in news portals, delving deeper into social issues and political dynamics. References to the southeastern region of Brazil are recurrent compared to other regions, as reflected by Brazilian sentiments on social media platforms. Consequently, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro emerge as a corruption scandals, largely due to their significance as political hubs and decision-making centers.

While it falls into the third category when dealing with tweets, the connection between corruption and the state of Amazonas (1.2%), situated in the northern region of the country, has largely been overshadowed in traditional media outlets, such as articles on portals. This is primarily attributed to the environmental neglect the country has witnessed in recent years. Therefore, most of the topics are associated with the issues of environmental corruption, mining, illegal gold-digging¹¹⁹, and land ownership, where

¹¹⁸ Portuguese expression consists of neglect.

¹¹⁹ The *grileiros*/gold-digging use of false documents to prove ownership of the land or resort to violence and threats to evict the real owners. The term derives in Brazilian from the use of crickets to simulate false documents of a rural property, as a way to deceive unsuspecting buyers.

Brazilians open up on the platform to discussions about complaints and outrage about the environmental situation.

The state of Amazonas, known for hosting part of the Amazon rainforest, ranks third in tweets related to corruption, underscoring the region's significance in terms of biodiversity. However, this distinction also makes it a target for corruption and various forms of exploitation highlighted in the tweets, including illegal land grabbing, deforestation, passive agriculture, and illegal logging.

There are references to political corruption in the Amazon region, including the condemnation of local officials who profit themselves at the expense of the people. It is worth noting that the return to the country's historical aspects, following the association of "heirs of hereditary captains" with corruption, reflects a critique of the concentration of power and wealth in certain families, emphasizing the need for transparency and accountability in regional politics.

According to the analysis, the tweets reflect Brazilians' outrage regarding environmental policies and discussions surrounding the misallocation of natural resources and public funds. One of the processes scrutinized is 'Operation Vertex'¹²⁰, which investigated the embezzlement of public funds in the healthcare sector through fraudulent contracts with companies supplying medicines to the government. Senator Omar Aziz (PSD), who chaired the CPI during the pandemic, had family members arrested for misappropriating public funds in the healthcare sector. Additionally, it is alleged that the governor, an ally of Bolsonaro, is implicated in these matters.

In conclusion, the analysis of corruption coverage across news portals and Twitter platforms underscores a clear prioritization of domestic corruption issues over international ones within the Brazilian context. The overwhelming focus on corruption within Brazil's borders, as evidenced by the disproportionately higher representation of domestic corruption in both news articles and tweets, reflects the pressing national concern and urgency to address internal corruption as a critical step towards national progress.

Notably, states like Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Amazonas emerge as significant focal points in public discourse on corruption, each highlighting distinct challenges and

¹²⁰ Investigation carried out in connection with the Federal Police and the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office with the aim of investigating irregularities in contracts signed between the private laboratory Vertex and the Ministry of Health that involved the purchase of a drug used in the treatment of patients with cystic fibrosis.

implications. While Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo draw attention due to documented cases of financial mismanagement and political corruption, Amazonas underscores the intersection of corruption with environmental exploitation, reflecting the multifaceted nature of corruption's impact on Brazilian society and highlighting the key to a comprehensive anti-corruption measure tailored to address diverse regional contexts.

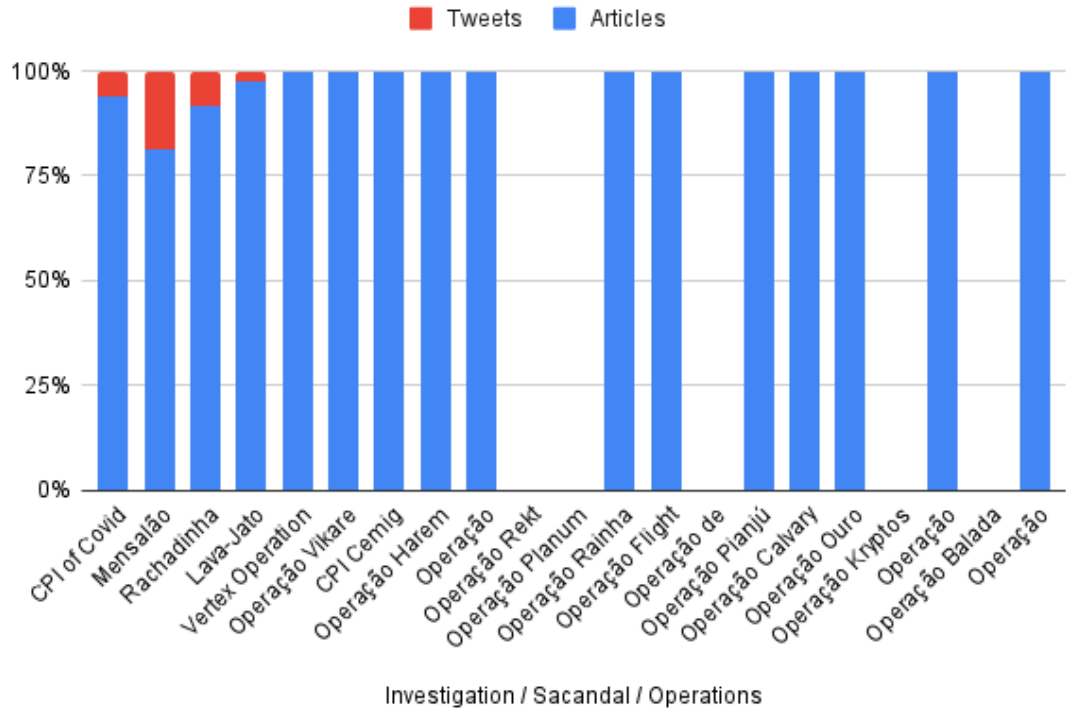
4.3 With the focus on ‘Lava Jato’, the ‘CPI of Covid-19’ gains space in the discussions

Through the integration of traditional journalism and social media, notably Twitter, this research endeavors to delineate the portrayal of corruption within these communication channels. By analyzing journalistic articles and public tweets authored by Brazilians, the study aims to identify disparities and commonalities in the narratives surrounding corruption.

As outlined in the theoretical foundation of this thesis, corruption scandals have long commanded significant attention within media coverage (Santos et al., 2021), influencing both public discourse and the narratives present in Brazilian tweets. The contrast between these two mediums becomes evident when juxtaposing the comprehensive coverage of scandals and investigations in news portal articles, which meticulously delve into the complexities of corrupt practices, elucidating cause-and-effect narratives. Conversely, on Twitter, the focus shifts towards assigning blame for the extensive ramifications of corruption scandals within the country and crises.

Despite these divergences in content, a discernible pattern emerges from the analysis, highlighting the recurrent prioritization of topics related to scandals such as 'Lava-Jato' and the 'CPI da Covid-19' (Graph 18). The distinct journalistic style in the articles and public opinion expressed in tweets contribute to the construction of the portrayal of corruption, especially when we look at each scandal that outlined corruption in Brazil over the period of one year (Table 8).

Graph 18 - Distributing corruption-related articles and tweets, with a focus on investigations, scandals, and operations



Created by the author from research data.

Furthermore, it is through these scandals that articles published on news portals and tweets play a key role in shaping public perceptions of corruption during events or scandals, diligently striving to unearth underlying causes and hold individuals accountable, and constructing narratives around social actors, sources, and their respective roles (Amaral, 2016).

Table 8 - Articles and tweets about corruption, with a focus on investigations, scandals, and operations

Scandals /Operations /Investigations	Articles	Tweets
‘CPI of Covi-19’	29,3%	40,5%
‘Mensalão’	2,4%	11,3%
‘Rachadinhas’	10,1%	18,5%
‘Lava Jato’	54,5%	29,7%

‘CPI Cemig’	1,1%	0,3%
-------------	------	------

Created by the author from research data considering the values of 6.780 (100%) articles and 2.036 (100%) tweets.

It is possible to note that the two complementary perspectives on the issue of corruption in Brazil, in the sample below (Table 9). While the articles highlight the role of news portals in exposing and investigating corruption scandals involving prominent political figures, emphasizing the importance of transparency and oversight by authorities, the tweets address the varied opinions and positions of the Brazilian population on the subject. In view of that, the tweets reflect a diversity of reactions, from outrage and condemnation of corrupt practices to skepticism about the effectiveness of anti-corruption measures and institutions

Table 9 - News articles and tweets - focus on scandals, operations and investigations

Articles	Tweets
“At the height of Lava-Jato, in 2016, Lula, already denounced by half of the band of contractors and operators who looted Petrobras”	“There was the lava jet wave and Bolsonaro's campaign promises: combating corruption”
“The entry of the former Lava-Jato hero into the dispute”	"The Lava Jato flags: collusion, judicial farce, attack on the rule of law"
“In addition to being arrested by the military regime, he has been arrested four other times since 2013, for alleged crimes involving Mensalão and the Lava Jato operation”	“The strategy for vulgarizing serious politicians has been this since Lava Jato”
“Bolsonaro government and voiced numerous criticisms of the president's actions in the pandemic during the Pandemic CPI”	“Will the circus CPI investigate the world too?”
“Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) to investigate possible omissions by the federal government in tackling the Covid pandemic”	"More smokescreen. Focus, people! CPI, embezzlement, corruption and thousands of Brazilians still dying as a result."
“Criticized the final report of Covid’s CPI because of the indictment of federal deputies”	"This Covid CPI is a joke."
“Federal Public Ministry against the senator of the Republic Flávio Bolsonaro, in the case of the cracks”	“Just one purchase would break the record for national corruption. Not to mention the confidential corporate card, and the cracks now in the 4 spheres of power”

“‘Rachadinha’ is a clear and blatant form of corruption”	"Step by step it becomes a country dominated by crime, contract murders, militias, crack politicians with ghost officials"
“During the trial of the Mensalão case, I adopted a repressive stance to condemn those against whom there was evidence beyond a reasonable doubt”	"With a corruption scandal (mensalão) that consisted of the transfer of funds from companies, which made donations to the PT"
“In addition to being arrested by the military regime, he has been arrested four other times since 2013, for alleged crimes involving Mensalão and the Lava Jato operation.”	"Involved in the biggest corruption scandal in the history of humanity (Petrobras and Odebrecht) and also in the 2nd biggest national corruption scandal (famous Mensalão)""

Created by the author from research data.

However, in news articles and tweets converge in underscoring the widespread concern about corruption and the need for action and transparency from the authorities and institutions responsible for combating this systemic issue. Thus, while news portals play a role in disseminating and investigating cases of corruption, the tweets reveal the perceptions and sentiments of the population regarding corruption and its impact on Brazilian society.

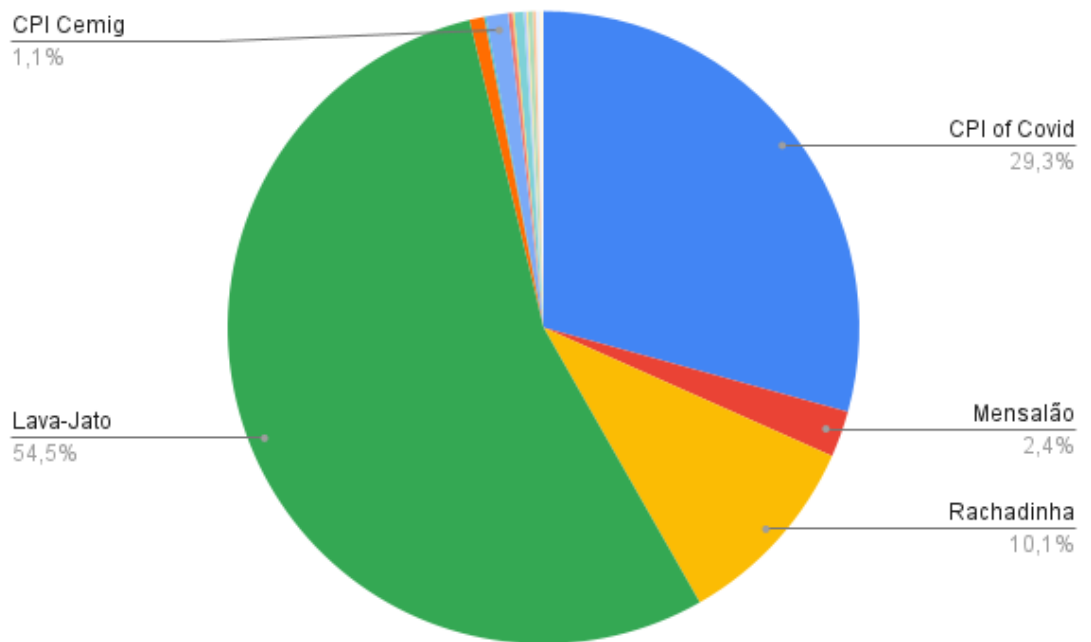
Based on the questions raised in the methodological session, the differences in content and style between the two mediums, indicating that although they may diverge, they still exhibit a consistent prioritization of certain corruption-related topics. The recurrent prioritization of specific corruption-related topics such as the 'Lava-Jato' and 'CPI da Covid-19' scandals. This fact, demonstrates how these trends of recurrence serve as a common thread linking the narratives across journalistic articles and tweets. In this perspective, the findings underscore the nuanced nature of corruption discourse and emphasize the need to consider both the similarities and disparities in how corruption is portrayed across various media platforms.

It is worth endorsing that, based on the analyzed data, discussing the phenomenon in Brazil in 2021 invariably involves delving into the realms of investigations and scandals. The reputation and values projected within the political landscape are tied to symbolic capital, with political scandals serving as a significant component of the symbolic capital constructed by the media (De Lima, 2008).

When we analyze only the scandals, investigations, and operations linked to corruption, within news portals (Graph 19), it's predominantly five primary topics of the Brazilian scene: the entrenched corruption within the 'Lava Jato' operation (54.5%), investigations

stemming from the 'CPI da Covid-19' (29.3%), the 'Rachadinhas' scandal (10.1%), the 'Mensalão' affair (2.4%), and the 'Cemig CPI' (1.1%).

Graph 19 - Emergence of scandals, investigations and operations in news articles



Created by the author from research data.

In the analysis of articles on news portals, years after its inception, 'Lava Jato' still commands the spotlight, accounting for 54.5% as the foremost investigative initiative combating corruption, a position further underscored by its impact on the transgressions unearthed within the operation itself. Launched in 2014, Operation 'Lava Jato' has since garnered widespread attention, resonating across media platforms, shaping public opinion, and engaging the populace (Kerche and Junior, 2018).

In this context, the portal's role shifts from being merely a reporting entity to a central player in discussions surrounding corruption within the country. When addressing corruption and Operation 'Lava Jato', portals appear to navigate between two poles, each championing agendas tied to news coverage. On one hand, events associated with and the unfolding narrative of the 'Lava Jato' case are exhaustively highlighted, exemplified by phrases such as "dismantling of the Lava Jato operation" and "Lava Jato claims to have recovered the public coffers." Conversely, verdicts stemming from the investigation

undergo scrutiny, with the biases of involved actors and convictions questioned, casting doubt on the motives and objectives of the operation, as evident in phrases like "the political character that punctuated the actions of the Lava Jato leaders is evident".

It can be asserted that in Brazil, the notion of corruption cannot be divorced from the 'Lava Jato' operation. Furthermore, the far-reaching impact of 'Lava Jato' on governance, given that President Bolsonaro's victory in the 2018 elections hinged upon his campaign rhetoric centered on combating corruption and staunchly defending the operation.

Another salient topic gaining traction on news portals pertains to the Supreme Federal Court's (STF) overturning all convictions of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva issued by the Curitiba Federal Court under Operation 'Lava Jato'. This decision is beginning to reverberate across news portals, spurred by arguments that the presiding judge lacked impartiality and concerns over the protracted duration of the operation, both of which have also influenced electoral outcomes in recent years.

'Operation Boca de Lobo'¹²¹ is also mentioned in the context of 'Lava Jato' when referring to the former governor of Rio de Janeiro, Luiz Fernando Pezão¹²², who was removed from his electronic ankle bracelet. Pezão was sentenced to 98 years in prison in one of the 'Lava Jato' trials in RJ, and according to the reports, the politician will respond in freedom. Another development in Operation 'Lava Jato' is the investigation conducted by the Federal Police against Aleksander Santos¹²³, then director of Flamengo¹²⁴, who is suspected of receiving and brokering bribes through sham contracts between his company and Galvão Technology.

Despite the successes achieved by Operation 'Lava Jato' during its investigation, articles on news portals reveal lingering doubts regarding the decisions made by certain prosecutors and judges involved in evaluating the probe. Additionally, the Petrobras

¹²¹ Another stage of Operation 'Lava Jato' was carried out in 2018, with the objective of dismantling a corruption scheme involving politicians and businessmen in Rio de Janeiro. Among the targets is the former governor of Rio de Janeiro, Sérgio Cabral, and the former president of the state Legislative Assembly, Jorge Picciani. The action had great repercussions in the national and international press, and once again highlighted the seriousness of corruption in Brazil.

¹²² Luiz Fernando Pezão is a Brazilian politician who was governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro between 2014 and 2018. He was also vice-governor of the state, having assumed the office after the resignation of Sérgio Cabral in 2014. In 2018, Pezão was arrested by the federal police. He was accused of being involved in a corruption scandal in which millions of reais were embezzled from the state's public coffers. Following a decision by the Supreme Court of Justice (STJ), he was released the following year, but he continued to be investigated. In 2020, he was sentenced to 98 years in prison for corruption, money laundering and criminal association.

¹²³ Former director of football for Flamengo, a football club in Brazil, quoted in 'Covid-19 CPI' in connection with the controversy surrounding the September 2020 match between Flamengo and Palmeiras for the Brazilian championship.

¹²⁴ Brazilian soccer time.

scandal resurfaces in these articles, putting in evidence that was sparked, by the conclusion, a billion-dollar agreement intended to bring closure to another investigation. It also emerges from the articles that, the Brazilian company stands accused of misleading investors with false information, concealing the corruption scheme exposed by Operation 'Lava Jato'.

The 'CPI da Covid-19' (29.3%) emerges as a key subcategory under contemporary scrutiny, unraveling numerous corruption scandals within the context of the pandemic. Shedding light on investigations spanning a total of 80 indictments involving individuals and companies, the 'CPI da Covid-19' illuminates the abuse of political power to the detriment of public health, as depicted in journalists' articles. From this vantage point, the parliamentary investigation assumes a role in resolving cases, as evidenced by excerpts such as "according to the CPI of Covid-19, allegations of bribes in the purchase of vaccines have surfaced" and "the findings of the Pandemic CPI have unveiled significant revelations".

In this unfolding scenario, investigations tied to the 'CPI of the Pandemic'¹²⁵ have progressed on multiple fronts. The first pertains to vaccine acquisition, highlighting federal negligence in procurement and concerns regarding overbilling of immunizers, alongside the contentious issue of early Covid-19 treatment and the second front revolves around financial interests (Ventura and Perrone-Moisés, 2021). Hence, when news portals address the 'Covid CPI', they shed light on the involvement of politicians and public servants in corrupt practices. The ongoing nature of the investigation underscores these concerns, amplifying the resonance of emerging facts and adding further layers of political noise to the commission due to its contemporaneous relevance.

In a significant turn of events, the Bolsonaro government assumes a prominent role in the narrative surrounding the CPI of Covid-19, thereby becoming a central actor in the legal and political ramifications, consequently fueling the recurrence of this subcategory. It is noteworthy that the CPI plays a pivotal role in Brazilian society by revisiting information pertaining to governmental negligence in combating the pandemic (Ferrante et al., 2021). One of the notable testimonies featured on news portals in relation to the CPI of Covid involves a deputy from the DEM-DF, who alleges that Barros, a deputy affiliated with Jair Bolsonaro, had knowledge of corruption in the procurement of the Covaxin vaccine.

¹²⁵ CPI of Covid-19.

Another individual within the Bolsonaro family embroiled in corruption allegations and purportedly tied to the 'Covid CPI' is the former sister-in-law of the president, Andrea Siqueira Valle¹²⁶. Audio recordings have surfaced wherein she alleges that her brother, André Siqueira Valle, who served as an advisor, was dismissed for failing to adhere to certain financial demands.

It is worth noting that the CPI of Covid, faced with the unfolding of the facts, sent a letter to then President Jair Bolsonaro demanding clarification that he attributed irregularities to Ricardo Barros¹²⁷ in the negotiations for the purchase of Covaxin. As cited in one of the articles on the portal, "CPI sends a letter to Bolsonaro demanding a response to the allegations of corruption related to vaccines", pointing out that Bolsonaro indicated at the time that he would not respond to the letter.

The 'CPI da Covid-19' delve into political corruption amidst a pandemic crisis, it unveils the politicization within the healthcare domain and governmental missteps, particularly highlighted in corruption allegations surrounding the Covaxin negotiations. Another figure featured prominently in news portals in relation to corruption is the former Director of Logistics at the Ministry of Health, Roberto Ferreira Dias, who faced arrest during his testimony before the 'CPI da Covid' following accusations of soliciting bribes amounting to US\$1 per vaccine dose. Excerpts from reports indicate that "Omar Aziz ordered the arrest of the former Ministry of Health director on charges of perjury before the CPI, the President of the Covid CPI".

The news portals highlight the CPI's indictment of Rio Grande do Norte Governor Fátima Bezerra (PT) regarding the failed procurement of 30 ventilators under a contract with the *Nordeste Consortium*¹²⁸. In a similar vein, the Covid CPI delves into the 'Rachadinhas' in certain reports, particularly when implicating Bolsonaro and his family, drawing connections between these manipulations. Considering the coverage of both the Covid CPI and the 'Rachadinhas' scandals, it can be argued that, overall, these two

¹²⁶ Andrea Siqueira Valle is the sister of Ana Cristina Valle, ex-wife of President Jair Bolsona. She was mentioned in 'Covid-19's CPI' because of the business she founded, Pousada Pedra Bonita, in Teresópolis, Rio de Janeiro. Although she was summoned as a witness in August 2021, her testimony was postponed after her defense filed a habeas corpus in the Federal Court of Justice (STF) asking to remain silent and not have to answer questions from the CPI.

¹²⁷ Brazilian politician belonging to the Progressive Party (PP). He was a federal deputy for the state of Paraná and former Minister of Health in the Michel Temer government. Barros was mentioned for his achievements during the pandemic in the 'CPI da Covid-19'.

¹²⁸ The Consortium between the 9 states of the Northeast for sustainable growth and social development.

subcategories exerted significant pressure on the Bolsonaro government, especially when compared to cases such as 'Lava Jato', 'Mensalão', and 'Covid CPI'.

The illicit practice of diverting remuneration by public officials is named 'Rachadinhas' and, therefore, is treated as illegal. The 'Rachadinhas' system (10.1%) gives rise to 'ghost employees' who are appointed using cabinet funds without fulfilling their duties associated with a political office. This fictitious employment arrangement involves the agent responsible for the fraudulent hiring receiving a portion of the total salary and possibly gaining direct access to bank accounts or receiving deposits through intermediaries (Silveira and Camargo, 2022).

In this context, 'Rachadinhas' emerged as one of the most recurrent themes in capital cities in 2021, with a focus on suspected politicians, political detainees, individuals under persecution, and those convicted. It is worth noting that the "transfer of funds can result from either a demand directed at a person in a threatening manner" (Silveira and Camargo, 2022, p. 49). Consequently, news portals extensively covered investigations and allegations involving prosecutors and the Public Prosecutor's Office aimed at addressing 'Rachadinhas' crimes across the country.

Hence, 'Rachadinhas' form part of the country's corruption landscape, being perpetrated systematically by small groups in cities and even by senators and deputies. As a result, accusations against this corruption system are becoming increasingly frequent in the Brazilian context, leading to its normalization in the news. Considering the reference to the movement of the judiciary and the legislature to investigate and solve the crimes.

Flávio Bolsonaro's involvement in the 'Rachadinhas' scheme is a recurring theme within this subcategory. It sheds light on the alleged corruption scheme in which Bolsonaro's ex-wife is also implicated. One excerpt state, "Ana Cristina Valle was the first to order the corruption scheme known as 'Rachadinhas' in the offices of Flávio and Carlos, which had the approval of Jair Bolsonaro". The Bolsonaro family's involvement is recurrently highlighted, particularly in cases of 'Rachadinhas' involving family members, notably the children, and "Flávio Bolsonaro is investigated for the scheme of diversion of resources from the salaries of his advisors, the 'Rachadinhas'" scheme.

The 2020 trial references Flávio Bolsonaro's involvement in the 'Rachadinhas' scheme, where he became a suspect in diverting part of his office officials' salaries for personal gain, alongside Fabrício de Queiroz, his chief of staff and alleged operator of the embezzlement, money laundering, and criminal organization scheme. Articles also note

that a former advisor to Senator Flávio Bolsonaro confessed to participating in the purported fraud in Flávio's office during his tenure as a deputy, as "a former advisor to Senator Flávio Bolsonaro admitted to having participated in the alleged fraud in Flávio's office when he was a deputy".

Ranked fourth is the 'Mensalão' scandal (2.4%), which served as a precursor to other corruption scandals like 'Petrolão' and 'Lava Jato', with a focus on political actor such as Lula and the investigations during his first term. 'Mensalão' is remembered for triggering subsequent scandals, as evident in phrases like "Mensalão, petrolão and local scandals involving PT members", "before that, there was the case of the mensalão" and "the mensalão and Lava-Jato were points outside the curve".

The 'Mensalão' articles also cover the conviction of former federal deputy Valdemar de Costa Neto, who was found guilty by the Federal Supreme Court (STF) of passive corruption and money laundering "due to allegations of exchanging money for congressional support during former President Lula's administration." Reports indicate that after two years, STF Minister Luís Roberto Barroso "granted a pardon in 2016 and decided to release the former congressman", subsequently aligning him as an ally of Bolsonaro.

Lastly, another investigation that received minimal coverage on portals, at just 1.1%, is the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) aimed at investigating fraudulent non-bidding contracts in the management of the Energy Company of Minas Gerais (Cemig). Established in 2021, the CPI leveled accusations that Cemig was utilized to favor political allies of the governor of Minas Gerais, Romeu Zema.

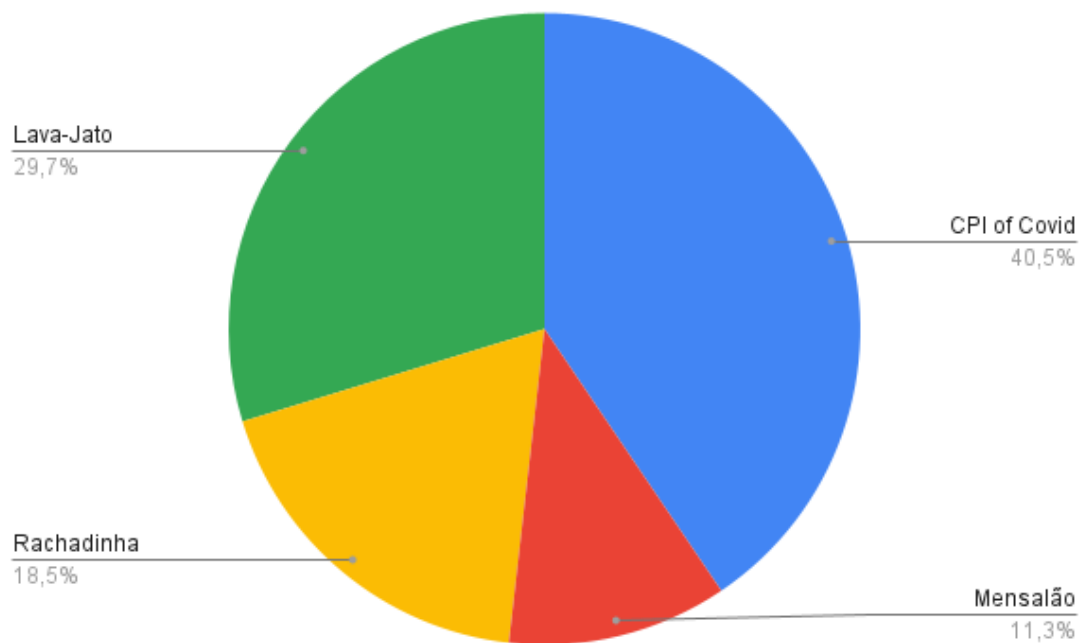
In essence, corruption as exposed in the media often entails scandals of significant repercussions, as sociologist J. B. Thompson (2000, p. 13) asserts, defining 'scandal' as actions involving transgressions that become known to society, deemed serious enough to elicit a public response. As previously noted, the majority of corruption mentions in Brazil in 2021 revolve around scandals and corrupt incidents. The subject matter is extensive, spanning from misappropriation of public funds to match-fixing, and has increasingly resonated across the country in recent years, with portals focusing on two major corruption cases: the 'CPI da Covid-19' and 'Lava Jato'.

The primary distinction between portals and tweets lies in their approach to addressing these scandals. Ultimately, Brazilians in tweets express their indignation towards the numerous corruption cases and the erosion of trust in institutions, particularly by venting

their frustrations over the resultant corruption scandals. Consequently, scandals and investigations on Twitter occupy the forefront of people's attention, reigniting discussions on a platform that facilitates debates, ideologies, and political stances.

Hence, the narratives on Twitter prominently feature the 'CPI of Covid' (40.5%), the 'Lava Jato' operation (29.7%), 'Rachadinhas' (18.5%), and the 'Mensalão' (11.3%), making these cases the most prevalent in Brazilian tweets (Graph 20). This perspective resonates with the theory that political scandals, particularly those centered on corruption, drive engagement in political journalism (Paiva et al., 2016). This is especially true when considering that a scandal requires a communication channel for its dissemination (Paiva et al., 2016; Thompson, 2005; Azevedo, 2010).

Graph 20 - Emergence of scandals, investigations and operations in tweets



Created by the author from research data.

Corruption is a significant issue in Brazil, as seen by scandals like 'CPI da Covid', 'Lava Jato', 'Rachadinhas', and 'Mensalão'. These scandals highlight the scope and depth of corruption in several sectors of Brazilian society, including politicians, public officials, and business owners. Furthermore, the extensive coverage of these crises in both

traditional and social media demonstrates significant public interest and the need for transparency and accountability in government management.

In contrast to the journalistic articles, where 'Lava Jato' dominates the content analyzed by the portals, the Covid parliamentary investigative committee (40.5%) emerges as one of the most discussed topics on Brazilian social media platforms, particularly given its investigation amidst the pandemic crisis. The commission aims to scrutinize omissions and irregularities in the actions of the federal government, with President Jair Bolsonaro as the central political figure.

The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry on the pandemic is a prevalent theme on social platforms, with tweets such as: "the CPI is there, we will soon discover the size of the damage in the theft of vaccines", "only now will the CPI denounce all those involved in the cases that will from corruption to genocide", and "If it weren't for the CPI it would be millions more". However, the effectiveness and impartiality of this investigation are questioned by Brazilians, especially considering that some politicians who are members of the CPI are implicated in corruption cases.

Some hashtags¹²⁹ is triggered and the following excerpts from the tweets confirm this idea "politicians accused and investigated for corruption are part of the CPI on the platform. A CPI without credibility whose purpose is to disturb the government", "this CPI is not working, among others reasons due to the low level of its members, some defendants for corruption and with family members in jail".

The CPI began a full disclosure of the facts in April¹³⁰ 2021, the commission had a great impact on a delicate moment in the country. Therefore, the analyzed tweets try to denounce the social and structural problems of the country in terms of corruption, pointing out the problems faced by Brazilians during the pandemic, and especially the problems faced in the health sector due to the lack of structure of hospitals and clinics in the context of the pandemic.

The parliamentary commission of inquiry into the pandemic emerges on the social platforms with the following tweets "the CPI is there, we will soon discover the size of the damage in the theft of vaccines", "only now will the CPI denounce all those involved

¹²⁹ #CPIdoCirco.

¹³⁰ According to information from Agencia Senado, on the CPI of Covid-19', the president of the Senate, Rodrigo Pacheco, read in April the application for the creation of the CPI of Covid, presented by Senator Randolfe Rodrigues (Rede-AP), which stipulates that this commission parliamentary inquiry with objective of investigating actions and omissions of the federal government in the face of the pandemic.

in the cases that will from corruption to genocide" and "if it weren't for the CPI it would be millions more".

The tweets express outrage over the deaths resulting from the lack of hospital and clinic infrastructure, the diversion of funds meant for life-saving vaccinations, and even the absence of consultation and education in criticizing the management of Bolsonaro regarding the misuse of public funds in the health sector. In this regard, the population, as depicted in the tweets, attributes blame to corruption and collectively acknowledges it as one of the factors exacerbating the pandemic situation.

The association between the 'CPI da Covid-19' and corruption in the tweets underscores the ideological struggles evident in the discourse. Posts referencing the 'CPI da Covid-19' illuminate the dichotomy between supporters of the Bolsonaro government, who favor its pandemic response strategies such as anti-vaccination campaigns, opposition to mask-wearing, and resistance to isolation measures.

Conversely, there's a segment of the population advocating for virus prevention measures endorsed by the World Health Organization (WHO). Tweets advocating for more effective virus-fighting measures, coupled with political opposition to the government, are encapsulated in the excerpt: "Bolsonaro and his doormats and submissive appointed to ministers and political positions, are candidates for prison for lack of vaccines, deaths from Covid 19, valued dollar, reckless and irresponsible economic policy, inflation, increased unemployment and hunger and who knows even for corruption".

In summary, discussions on the 'CPI of Covid-19' in tweets highlight the promotion or neglect of sanitary measures to combat the virus, therefore, there is a duality between corruption in the two biases, and corruption is correlated, when dealing with everything from the vaccination campaign to the resources destined to health. The 'CPI - Covid' is criticized for being part of a corruption scheme and influencing games, according to some tweets: "Why did they leave everything because of a fake and political CPI? Accomplices", in addition to the deviation of the states. Thus, positions on the CPI divide opinions, highlighting the pro-government and anti-government political aggravation and the remaining fatalities of the lack of structure in the health system and government administration.

With national as well as international implications, Operation 'Lava Jato' (29.7%) commenced in 2014 and extended until 2021. It entailed operations conducted by the Federal Police in Brazil, executing search and seizure warrants, and making arrests with

the objective of investigating and uncovering a money laundering scheme known as Petrolão. However, despite the ramifications of the operation, questions arise regarding its modus operandi due to the jurisdictional aspects of certain decisions. Sections discussing the impartiality of the operation are exemplified by: "The flags of the Lava Jato: colluded, judicial farce, attack on the rule of law, torture, corruption", "There is no impediment for Lava Jato to enter politics", "What did Lava Jato / Moro do for Brazil?" and "every big lie needs a background of truth. The strategy for vulgarizing serious politicians has been this since Lava Jato".

Indeed, Operation 'Lava Jato' stands as one of the most extensive corruption investigations in Brazil's history, notwithstanding the controversies and criticisms articulated in tweets regarding a multitude of contentious matters. In some articles, Operation 'Lava Jato' has been lauded in recent years as "the largest anti-corruption operation in recent memory", with the 285 criminals convicted by the investigation serving as a testament to a significant step forward in combating corruption. However, it is worth noting that some Brazilians hold reservations about the operation, citing perceived weaknesses. They call it a 'Lava Jato' and even say, "I have said that the 'Lava Jato' has only brought losses".

Thus, the operation is also called for having contributed to some gaps and partial performances of some judges, "while the 'Lava Jato' exposed corruption, politicians and judges did everything to sweep it under the carpet". As some news articles endorse, 'Lava Jato' had its heyday with broad popular support, but the investigators' excesses were questioned by both the judiciary and the population, which contributed to the exposure of omissions, damages, and influence peddling related to the operation.

Despite the years, it has been observed that the issue of "Lava Jato" divides the opinions of Brazilians on social platforms, consolidating the narrative of anti-corruption investigations, but also questioning the partiality of those responsible for this operation. Despite the passage of years, it's evident that the topic of 'Lava Jato' continues to polarize opinions among Brazilians on social media platforms, both solidifying the narrative of anti-corruption investigations and raising questions about the impartiality of those responsible for the operation. Consequently, opinions remain divided to some extent, with limited elaboration on the issue at present. In essence, 'Lava Jato' is either applauded or scrutinized in tweets, with little in-depth discussion compared to news portals. At times,

tweets addressing the operation only serve as brief exchanges between supporters of Lula and Bolsonaro.

The third scandal highlighted in tweets in 2021 is the 'Rachadinhas' (18.5%), linked to the arrest of Fabrício Queiroz, a former advisor to Flávio Bolsonaro. Queiroz was implicated in the 'Rachadinhas' scheme within the Legislative Assembly of Rio de Janeiro (Alerj), involving the diversion of staff salaries through the use of ghost employees. This scandal is reflected in tweets like: "Rachadinha it is corruption that enriches more politicians in the country". The tweets highlight the fact that the politicians involved in the raids are not punished, which underpins the lack of credibility of the organizations and institutions, as confirmed in the excerpt "the coup plotters are all raiding with impunity", especially when citing the Bolsonaro family and Queiros.

The 'Rachadinhas' become the subject of a discussion in which the Bolsonaro family's relationship with corruption is central, in some tweets, this can be evidenced as follows: "Bolsonaro and his children are all militiamen and thieves are all involved in 'Rachadinhas' and the corruption of vaccines", "we are going to investigate and put Bolsonaro and his children in jail for the 'Rachadinhas'", "not counting the corporate card in secrecy, and the 'Rachadinhas' now in the 4 spheres of power of the Republic". The 'Mensalão' scandal (11.3%), despite the absence of new developments in 2021 since the trial concluded in 2012 and the convictions of the accused have been served, continues to be referenced in tweets. This scandal revolved around a vote-buying program involving parliamentarians during the first term of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, with particular emphasis on the involvement of the Workers' Party (PT), in the program, which involved "buying Congress with the monthly allowance". In addition, the following excerpts summarize the return of the monthly allowance to the focus of corruption "To get an idea of the extent of corruption in the current government, the total value of the process of the monthly allowance was 50 million." and "What corruption?" Mensalão? Gasoline? Lists of kickbacks from Odebrecht?".

The popularity of scandals such as 'CPI of Covid', 'Lava Jato', 'Rachadinhas', and 'Mensalão' on Twitter demonstrates societal concern about corruption and its impact on governance. This resonance with political scandals is consistent with previous notions about the role of political journalism and the importance of communication channels for scandal spread. In the end, the analysis of news portals and tweets sheds light on the perspectives and discussions surrounding corruption scandals in Brazil. News websites

provide comprehensive coverage and analysis of scandals such as 'Lava Jato', 'CPI da Covid-19', 'Rachadinhas', 'Mensalão', and 'Cemig CPI'. Twitter, on the other hand, acts as a forum for public outrage and debate, with users voicing their displeasure with corruption cases and calling political institutions into question. Despite their different techniques, both mediums highlight the pervasive role corruption plays in shaping public discourse and political narratives in Brazil.

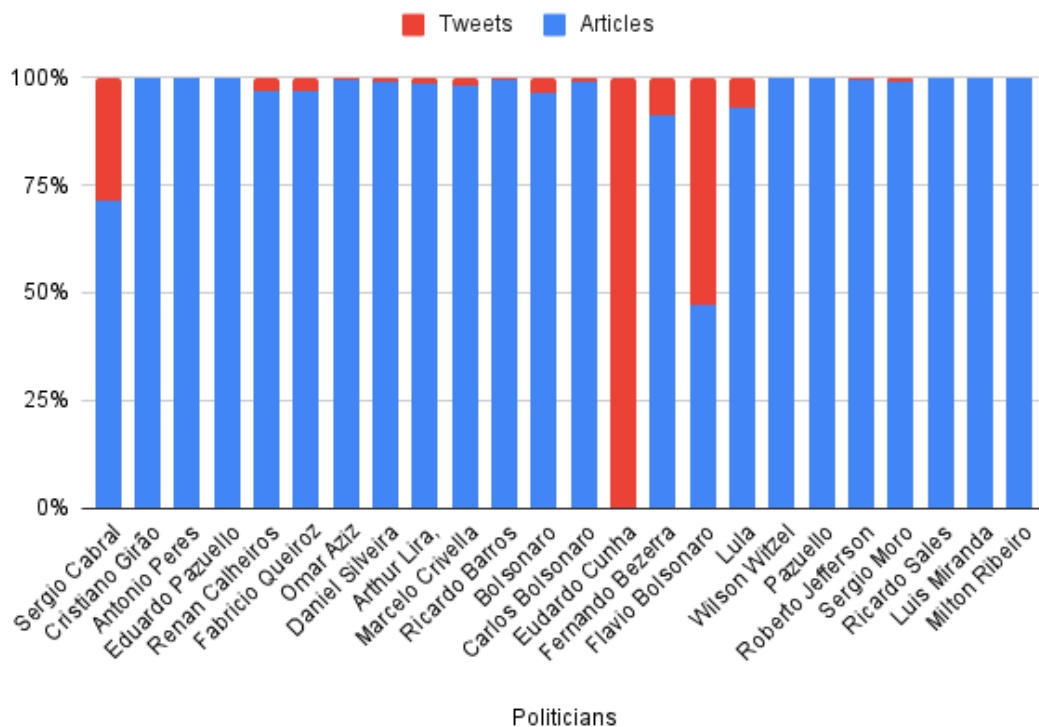
4.3.1 In a polarized environment, there is always a corrupt actor

Traversing scandals, investigations, and operations, it is necessary to deepen our understanding of the actors participating in these acts on the Brazilian scene in 2021. Political actors play a pivotal role in the depiction of corruption. In a landscape where advancements in technology have facilitated the broader dissemination of private conduct among political leaders and public figures, media entities have emerged, amplifying the visibility of events (Thompson, 2005). This prompts a discourse on the engagement of political actors in corrupt practices, fueling exhaustive journalistic coverage that meticulously chronicles scandals, while tweets, characterized by their openness, facilitate societal judgment of such phenomena.

According to Cunha and Araújo's (2018; Cunha, 2014) research, news coverage of corruption often highlights power dynamics and complicity in achieving specific goals. From this perspective, and taking into account the methodological proposal of this thesis, it is possible to observe the density of connections and recurrences of the circles of power that exist in national interactions, as well as the trend assumed by this analysis in relation to scandals, operations and investigations, and political actors involved in corruption.

The portrayal of political figures implicated in corruption resonates more prominently in news portals, reflecting the portals' narrative approach to the phenomenon and their analysis of which actors are entangled in corruption within Brazil (Graph 21). Examination reveals a wider spectrum of politicians linked to corruption in news portals, contrasting with tweets, where such mentions are limited, likely due to the platform's polarization between supporters of Lula and Bolsonaro (Table 10).

Graph 21 - Brazilian politicians linked to corruption



Created by the author from research data

Table 10 - Most frequent politicians linked to corruption in articles and tweets.

Politicians	Articles	Tweets
Bolsonaro	49,7%	50,4%
Lula	17,8%	34,5%)
Sergio Moro	10,8%	2.6%

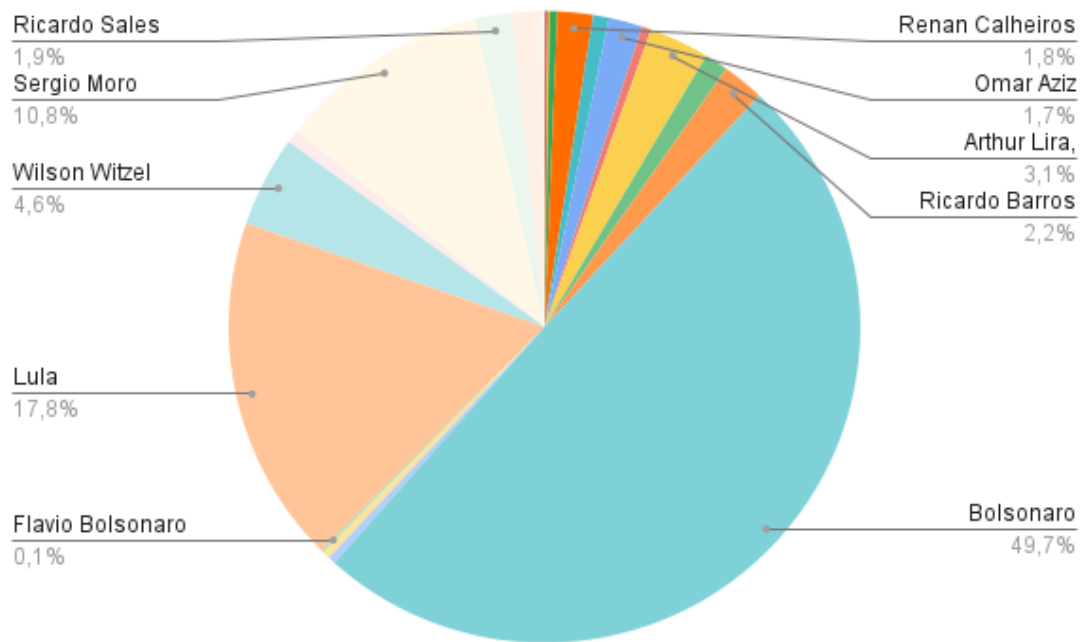
Created by the author from research data considering the values of 6.780 (100%) articles and 2.036 (100%) tweets.

As shown below (Graph 22), in the portal's corruption transits in each politician¹³¹, the most cited in 2021 being Bolsonaro (49,7%) and Lula (17,8%), followed by Sérgio Moro

¹³¹ Despite the meticulous search, the research works with the emergence of six politicians in the articles on the portals and six in the tweets.

(10,8%), Wilson Witzel (4,6%), Arthur Lira (3,1%), Ricardo Barros (2,2%), Ricardo Sales (1,9%), Renan Calheiros (1,8%), Omar Aziz (1,7%) and Flávio Bolsonaro (0,1%).

Graph 22 - Main politicians mentioned in news articles related to corruption



Created by the author from research data.

These findings show that Bolsonaro was the primary topic of conversation regarding corruption on news portals in 2021, followed by Lula and other politicians. The high percentage of mentions of Bolsonaro indicates a significant level of public interest and concern about corruption in the current government. On the other hand, Lula's presence demonstrates that corruption remains a pressing issue for lawmakers across the ideological spectrum in Brazil.

Bolsonaro (49.7%) was elected in 2018 under the banner of defending 'Lava Jato', promoting the fight against corruption and against "old politics". The concentration of narratives about corruption related to politics is one of the most recurrent themes in the news portals analyzed in 2021. In the majority of articles, Bolsonaro is linked with corruption within the government, particularly in the context of investigations into the CPI of Covid-19 and the 'Rachadinhas' system. These cases involve accusations of his

family's involvement and allegations of prevarication due to his failure to act in the Covaxin case and the corruption investigation concerning former Environment Minister Ricardo Salles¹³².

Another significant issue intertwined with corruption allegations is the deterioration of the relationship between Bolsonaro and Moro. Amidst this discord, Former Justice Minister Sérgio Moro has raised allegations suggesting that Bolsonaro improperly interfered in the operations of the Federal Police. These accusations sparked a contentious debate, fueling intensified attacks against Moro across various news portals. Additionally, these developments prompted the government to unveil an anti-corruption package¹³³, positioning itself amidst the escalating political turmoil and public scrutiny surrounding these allegations.

One of the journalistic article's points to this attack between Bolsonaro and Moro, saying that as "Even with all the freedom, he never showed service [at the head of the Justice Ministry] of Justice] except the beginning of the mandate, to intrigue", Bolsonaro said, Bolsonaro in an indirect reference to the former minister". In this way, the opening of portals to Bolsonaro's speeches is observed, due to his rustic, engaging, and direct narrative about Moro, which in some ways scores points with both his supporters and political opponents.

Bolsonaro's association with corruption stems from his active promotion of the issue, advocating for the perpetuation of an agenda centered on tackling the phenomenon. This thematic focus is consistently reflected in news articles across the portals, which meticulously detail Bolsonaro's involvement, actions, legal proceedings, and specific instances. However, it's notable that these narratives often prioritize reporting factual events over delving into the broader implications or proposed policies aimed at combating corruption, which are frequently sidelined within the articles.

When it comes to actors who appear on news portals, Lula (17.8%) emerges as another prominent figure in the realm of corruption. Within journalistic articles, he is linked to the 'Lava Jato' operation, with narratives delving into his personal history and connections to corruption. These articles present a comprehensive account of Lula's life, exploring both new developments and revisiting past cases associated with 'Lava Jato', including

¹³² Former Environment Minister Ricardo Salles is involved in a possible corruption scheme for the illegal export of wood, investigated by 'Operação Akuanduba'.

¹³³ The anti-corruption package was introduced by the federal government, led by President Jair Bolsonaro, as part of a broader initiative to combat corruption in the country.

the unfolding of his legal conviction. In this sense, the "Corruption scandals of the political and business class, that culminated in the arrest of former President Lula in April 2018 by the 'Lava Jato', is a flagrant case of judicialization of the policy that gives space to the use of hardball to enemies the law" (Santos et al., 2021 p. 134).

The news reports offer a comprehensive analysis of the repercussions stemming from Lula's arrest between April 2018 and 2021. The articles shed light on various aspects of the politician's involvement in corruption scandals, notably the Triplex Guarujá case, where Lula was accused of receiving illicit benefits from the contractor OAS¹³⁴, while serving as Minister of State. These narratives delve into the details of the allegations, examining the legal proceedings and their implications on Lula's political career and public image. Also, the alleged bribery of PT in exchange for the company's preference in Petrobras contracts, the conviction of former President Lula for corruption and money laundering in the Atibaia plant case.

In these articles, the focus is on the articles that highlight the conviction of the 13th Federal Court of Curitiba in the first instance in February 2019, in which the accusation was made of having benefited from bribes from construction companies in the renovation of the construction site in Atibaia. In line with this account, it is confirmed that in March 2021, the Minister of the Federal Tribunal (STF) annulled all the alleged convictions, stating that "with the decision, Lula regained his political rights and became eligible again".

In this analysis of the country's actors and corruption, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva emerges as a central figure linked to corruption scandals. Consequently, his name consistently appears in narratives concerning these scandals, serving as a means to maintain media coverage and engage readers with the latest developments in the politician's controversies. It is worth recalling that at the time (2021), any decision, even on the international stage, invariably sparked significant attention and discussion.

Former judge Sergio Moro (10.8%) is frequently mentioned in the articles because the connection with his role in the sentencing of Lula in the Triplex case in Curitiba and other related proceedings within Operation 'Lava Jato'. These references often highlight allegations of bias in Moro's decisions, particularly regarding his handling of Lula's case.

¹³⁴ After the corruption schemes revealed by Operation Lava Jato, the contractor OAS started the year 2021 with a name change to Metha. Being one of the main contractors involved in the scandal of bribes to politicians and directors of Petrobras that had the objective of exchanging contracts with the state-owned company.

Moreover, the reports consistently point out the controversial nature of Moro's transition from the judiciary to a political appointment, as he was invited by Bolsonaro to serve as the Minister of Justice following the 2018 elections.

The subsequent guidelines indicate that the former Justice Minister has levied several accusations against Jair Bolsonaro, including allegations of interference in the Federal Police, interventions in investigations at the Supreme Federal Court (STF), and involvement in the 'Rachadinha' scandal. It is noteworthy that during a certain period, Bolsonaro and Moro engaged in mutual criticism in the media, which formed part of the evolving narrative reflected in the news portals: "The presidential candidate and former judge Sergio Moro (Podemos- PR) countered the accusations made by President Jair Bolsonaro", or even "former judge Sergio Moro left the Ministry of Justice accusing President Bolsonaro of interfering with the Federal Police".

The articles highlight that the politician who joined the Podemos party in 2021 is vying for a political position. Similar to Bolsonaro and Lula, Sergio Moro is also featured for his involvement in corruption, which is meticulously examined by the news portals in a pragmatic and systematic manner. Amidst the sparring between these two political actors, the portals delve into corruption issues in the country and Moro's emphasis on tackling this problem. It's noteworthy that in this context, the former judge has positioned himself as a political contender and is aspiring to be one of the candidates for the 2022 elections. Another significant figure in the news is Wilson Witzel (4.6%)¹³⁵, he former governor of Rio de Janeiro, who faced impeachment proceedings in 2021. Witzel's impeachment, though not covered in this survey, garnered substantial attention due to his alleged involvement in corruption, administrative failures, the requalification and subsequent disqualification of the social health organization Institute Unir Health, and the hiring of OS Iabas¹³⁶ to construct and manage field hospitals during the pandemic. Reports indicate that the 'Covid-19 CPI' has accused the former governor of benefiting from a corruption scheme during the pandemic. The CPI identified strong suspicions of misusing public funds in federal hospitals in Rio during Witzel's tenure, adding to the scrutiny surrounding his administration's actions, as endorse the excerpt of articles "during Wilson Witzel's

¹³⁵ Wilson Witzel (PSC), former governor of Rio de Janeiro, is accused of passive corruption and money laundering.

¹³⁶ The operation preceded 'Operation Placebo', which pointed to evidence that Witzel knew of fraud in the health area and thus there was also revocation of the disqualification of the OS, which is also under investigation.

government, the CPI identified strong suspicions of misuse of public funds in federal hospitals in Rio."

Arthur Lira (3.1%) had garnered attention in news portals due to accusations of passive corruption and allegations brought against him by the PGR (Public Prosecutor's Office) . The parliamentarian stands accused of receiving bribes from the contractor Queiroz Galvão¹³⁷, in exchange for the PP's (Progressive Party) support for retaining Paulo Roberto Costa. These allegations have sparked considerable public interest and have underscored concerns about corruption within Brazil's political landscape, as can be seen in the excerpt of the article "The parliamentarian allegedly received bribes from the contractor Queiroz Galvão, in exchange for the support of the PP for the retention of Paulo Roberto Costa on the board of Petrobras".

Federal Deputy Ricardo Barros (2.2%) appears to be involved in the Covaxin scandal, according to statements made at 'CPI by Covid-19'. The reports refer to the testimony of MP Luis Miranda (DEM-DF) on 'Covid CPI', who stated: "that the name cited by President Bolsonaro (without a party) as responsible for the scheme for the purchase of the Indian vaccine Covaxin with an overpriced price is that of Deputy Ricardo Barros (PP-PR)". In addition, the reports mention Barros as a defendant in the Electoral Tribunal for bribery in Copel contracts.

In agreement with the analysis that focuses on 'Lava Jato', the 'CPI of Covid-19', and political actors. It is worth noting that corruption-related items in Brazilian news portals throughout 2021 provide a detailed image of the issues and complexities confronting the country's political landscape. With figures like as Jair Bolsonaro and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva at the helm of the debate, corruption remains a key topic, reflecting widespread public concern and the need for greater openness and accountability in governance.

The strained relationship between Bolsonaro and former Justice Minister Sergio Moro, along with the emergence of corruption allegations and legal challenges, epitomizes Brazil's power, ethics, and justice dynamics. As the country struggles with the aftermath from high-profile scandals and a loss of public trust, it is becoming increasingly important to implement comprehensive changes aimed at cultivating integrity, strengthening democratic institutions, and preserving justice and accountability.

When dealing with the most common politicians on Twitter, the perspective changes, because the discourse on corruption has the media as a stage, in terms of constructing the

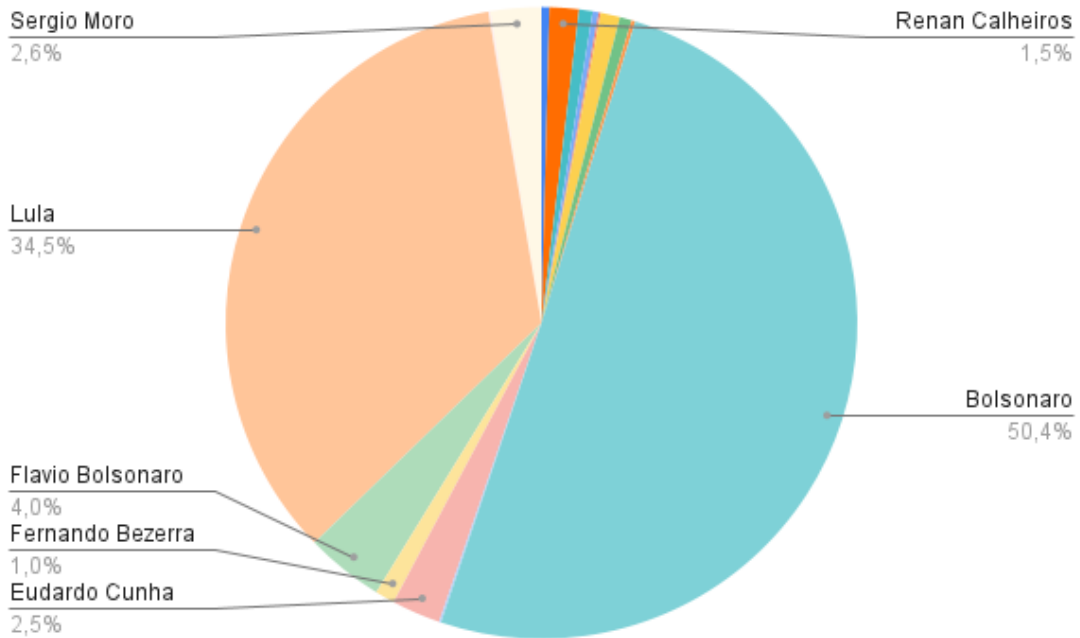
¹³⁷ The contractor Queiroz Galvão was the target of the new phase of the 'Lava Jato' operation.

narrative in an electoral climate and also elaborating a dislike between those who are in power and those who crave power, which is ensured by the social platform. Therefore, it becomes clear that corruption and its daily maintenance in the 'media' is linked to criteria such as the actors involved, the repetitions, and the consequences that are part of the social construction of corruption in Brazil, given the divergences of arguments, opinions, and representations that mobilize discursive disputes (Paiva et al., 2016).

The examination of political actors associated with corruption in tweets offers insights into Brazil's political landscape in 2021, with a particular focus on Bolsonaro (50.4%) and Lula (34.5%) as key figures intertwined with the phenomenon. Notably, both figures are positioning themselves for the upcoming 2022 elections, amplifying the significance of their presence in public discourse (Graph 23). However, beyond these prominent figures, the mention of other politicians such as Flávio Bolsonaro (4%), Sergio Moro (2.6%), Eduardo Cunha (2.5%), and Renan Calheiros (1.5%) contributes to shaping the electoral narrative. This underscores the multifaceted nature of political discussions on social media platforms, reflecting the diverse array of perspectives and interests among Brazilian citizens as they navigate through complex political dynamics and considerations ahead of the forthcoming¹³⁸ elections.

¹³⁸ According to reports, the scenario begins in 2021 and ends in 2022, with the presidential election.

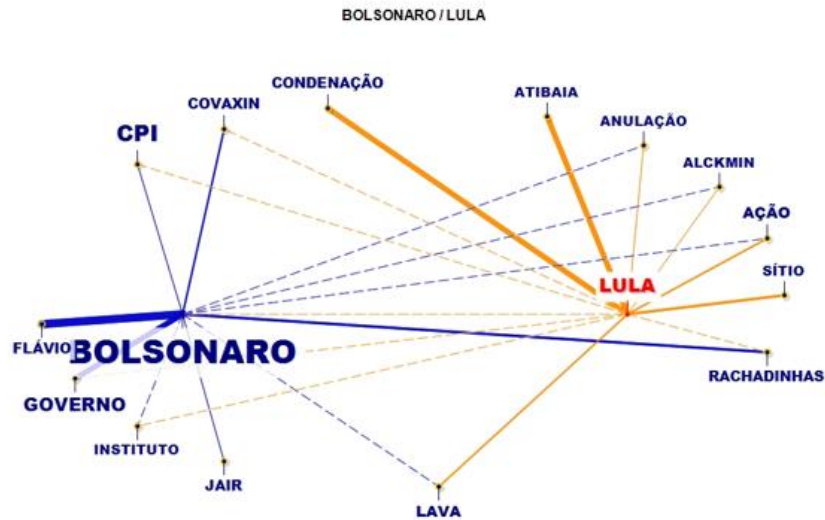
Graph 23 - Main politicians mentioned in tweets related to corruption



Created by the author from research data.

Much like the enduring struggle between good and evil, right and wrong, which has long divided the population in social page, this dichotomy is reflected in tweets within the polarized Brazilian landscape on the cusp of the 2022 elections (Figure 11). Consequently, the polarization is palpable, primarily revolving around Bolsonaro and Lula, both prospective candidates for the upcoming elections, whose actions and rhetoric effectively shape the discourse among the Brazilian populace. This polarization is particularly pronounced in discussions surrounding corruption within Brazilian tweets on various platforms throughout 2021, underscoring the ongoing ideological clash between supporters of Lula and Bolsonaro (Table 11).

Figure 11 - Emergence of political polarization linked to corruption: Bolsonaro and Lula



Created by the author from research data.

Table 11 - Excerpts from Lula and Bolsonaro's engagement with corruption in tweets

Tweets	
Bolsonaro	Lula
“Bolsonaro is corrupt, this money could go to health and education, but Bolsonaro in his, putting it in his pocket“	"Lula has committed undeniable cases of corruption and is now trying to manipulate national and international public opinion”
“Bolsonaro is a corrupt, hypocrite, mediocre and talkative”	“corruption is great in military governments I cannot wait to re-elect 13 LULA as president"
“here are the good citizens tired of corruption in the governments of PT and voted for Bolsonaro for a Brazil”	“The thief Lula has always been the head of corruption in PT governments, this is undeniable!”

Created by the author from research data.

From an alternate standpoint, Bolsonaro's supporters emphasize Lula's entanglement in corruption scandals, particularly citing the former president's arrest in 2018 amidst corruption probes like the Triplex case, 'Petrolão', and 'Mensalão'. Consequently, Bolsonaristas express their aversion towards both Lula's political party, the PT, and the

prospect of him assuming the presidency in the 2022 elections. In view of that, political discourse serves as a means of "emotional management" (Balázs, p. 227, 2021), underscoring the strategic use of communication to influence public sentiment.

As depicted in the figure, Bolsonaro supporters consistently express their disdain for Lula in tweets referencing him. Topics like the Atibaia siege, judicial convictions resulting in prison sentences, legal proceedings involving the former president, and the 'Lava Jato' scandal are frequently discussed. Consequently, quotes incriminating Lula are prevalent in polarized discussions, with excerpts such as: "One of the reasons why the Lula government was running was giving bribes to everyone" and, "Only Lula had more than 70 million blocked".

In contrast, Lula's supporters tend to highlight Bolsonaro's alleged involvement in corruption, particularly focusing on his family's ties to the 'Rachadinhas' scandal, particularly implicating Flavio Bolsonaro, as well as allegations related to the Covaxin vaccine and the 'Covid-19 CPI'. This underscores the aversion of Lula's supporters towards corruption, framing it as a systemic issue within the Bolsonaro administration. The excerpts cited in Brazilian tweets illustrate how corruption issues in 2021 are exacerbated by Bolsonaro's alleged involvement in corrupt activities, such as "Jair Bolsonaro achieved the feat of showing that we have problems much worse than corruption", "Interference in the PF to rid Flavio Bolsonaro's face in the 'Rachadinhas' schemes are not corruption, right!?" and "this money could go to health and education, but Bolsonaro is putting it in his pocket".

According to the collected data, Bolsonaro (50.4%) emerges as the most frequently mentioned politician, embodying a divisive figure characterized by both disdain regarding corruption allegations and fervent support as a potential savior in combating corruption. On one hand, "Bolsonaro out" is also present in the mentions of the politician, expressing the discontent of some sectors of the population in relation to the government and thus the reference to the impeachment of the politician. The mention of Bolsonaro and his government as mismanagement in which there is "a sea of mud and corruption in this Bolsonaro mismanagement" is ever present, the former president is criticized for his management, but also for his behavior in the face of corruption in the pandemic and her family involvement in politics.

It is noteworthy that the aggressive character takes on a metaphorical sense, even though it is present in the heated discourse surrounding political corruption, as "It no use hitting

Bolsonaro, he won't fall even with corruption", the criticisms also refer to his personality, classifying him, for example, as "hypocrite, mediocre and talkative". Bolsonaro receives criticism of his government during Covid-19, "Bolsonaro when he leaves behind the shield of the military, he could be pressured for the same reason, and due to the negligence and negligence that made possible the death of more than 270 thousand people" and consequently, hold him responsible for his irresponsible political stance in dealing with the pandemic.

In another perspective, some tweets praise Bolsonaro as a good manager and cite him against corruption, supporting the politician's position to PT: "here are the good citizens tired of corruption in the governments of PT and voted for Bolsonaro for a Brazil.". The tweets in favor of the politician thus, fall back on the idea that Bolsonaro will rid the country of PT corruption by becoming an anti-corruption leader. On Twitter, Bolsonaro is repeatedly referred to by his supporters under the hashtags¹³⁹ as a savior and myth who saved the country from corruption. This way, Bolsonaro is glorified as a myth and messiah with ideals against corruption, supported by his supporters and the military sector.

In the second place, Lula (34.5%) is also mentioned in tweets, evoking a dual response from users, both applauding and criticizing him, much like Bolsonaro. Lula's mentions often revolve around his past presidency and the corruption scandals that marred his tenure, particularly those tied to Operation 'Lava Jato' and 'Petrolão'. Additionally, historical contexts are sometimes revisited to underscore the involvement of political actor in past scandals as in the article: "A triplex, an institute, an apartment in São Bernardo do Campo, a property in Atibaia overthrew Lula. A vaccine overthrows Bolsonaro".

On the one hand, it is clear from the tweets that Lula's supporters exempt him from corruption and scandal, underlining the idea of the political coup as follows: "the hope of the guardians of the law had disappeared with the coup". And they advocate supporting PT in the 2022 elections, and "Lula as president".

In another moment, some tweets criticize Lula for his involvement in corruption during his term: "The thief Lula has always been the head of corruption in PT governments, this is undeniable!" In this sense, Lula is not seen as a candidate, but according to the tweets of the former prisoner "Lula has committed undeniable cases of corruption and is now

¹³⁹ #BolsonaroOrgulhoDoBrasil and #BolsonaroPresidenteAte2026.

trying to manipulate national and international public opinion by trying to project the image of a good man and statesman".

It's intriguing to observe a polarized duality in the critique of Lula, where praise for Bolsonaro often comes at the expense of Lula, and vice versa. This dynamic is indicative of the charged political atmosphere leading up to the 2022 pre-election campaign. Additionally, the resurgence of neutral sentiments regarding the 2022 elections is noteworthy, as comments on tweets express a shared disapproval of both Bolsonaro and Lula, citing their involvement in corruption. This lack of differentiation underscores the public perception of both politicians as flawed administrators, the following excerpts support the statement, "Lula and Bolsonaro are liars and equal". And therefore, the choice of presidential candidate in 2022 in the future would rather be "neither Lula nor Bolsonaro, both have already done much damage to Brazil" corruption!".

Flavio Bolsonaro (4%) is prominently mentioned due to his alleged involvement in the 'Rachadinhas' scheme, which surfaced in 2020 following an investigation by the State Ministry. This inquiry revealed irregular financial transactions benefiting his advisor, Fabrício de Queiroz, a close associate of the Bolsonaro family. Tweets often reference Flavio in connection with this scandal, with some explicitly accusing him of corruption: "Flavio Bolsonaro used millions in cash to buy real estate and wash away corruption." In addition, some tweets name Flavio as one of the factors responsible for the interference in the Federal Police: "Interfering in the PF, to get rid of Flavio Bolsonaro's face in the dragnets, is not corruption, is it!!!"

Sergio Moro (2.6%) is criticized for his performance as a judge in operation 'Lava Jato' and his bias towards impartiality, "there are still idiots who believe in the 'Lava Jato' bandits and in the biggest thief of Brazil, Sergio Moro". On the other hand, the politician and judge are highly praised for his role as a judge in the fight against corruption, "Sergio Moro will always be a national hero for the people who do not tolerate corruption".

Eduardo Cunha (2.5%) attracts attention because of his involvement in corruption and money laundering charges coming from Paraná's 'Lava Jato' investigation. Throughout 2021, comments focus on his release from prison following a ruling by the Federal Supreme Court (STF) that allowed him to complete the remainder of his term under home arrest because to the COVID-19 outbreak. And for this reason, the fact shocks Brazilians with comments on the social platform. Cunha was indicted in 2016 after lying in the CPI of Petrobras and resumed his political rights: "We have a new Eduardo Cunha!".

Fernando Bezerra (1%), a prominent figure in Jair Bolsonaro's administration, found himself embroiled in allegations of bribery dating back to 2012, during his tenure as Minister of National Integration in Dilma Rousseff's government. Although he ranks as the third most mentioned politician, his involvement in corruption scandals is relatively limited in comparison to other political actors. In the Brazilian context of 2021, where corruption allegations have dominated headlines and public discourse, Bezerra's past accusations serve as a reminder of the country's complex political landscape and the enduring challenges in combating corruption.

Finally, the brief citations on Renan Calheiros (1,5%); Renan Calheiros (MDB-AL) is listed as the CPI rapporteur on the pandemic, the parliamentary probe, but who is also a politician complicit in corruption, according to tweets "the complaints against Renan Calheiros are old".

The depiction of corruption in tweets reflects the deeply fractured nature of Brazilian politics in 2021. Bolsonaro supporters frequently cite Lula's involvement in corruption cases, including as the Triplex case and 'Lava Jato', to discredit his role as a political leader. In contrast, Lula's supporters want to focus on Bolsonaro's alleged corruption, highlighting scandals such as the 'Rachadinhas' and the handling of the Covid-19 outbreak. This divided dynamic reflects the tense atmosphere leading up to the 2022 elections, when both parties compete for popular support while coping with corruption allegations. As a result, the representation of corruption in tweets not only reflects Brazil's controversial political climate, but also emphasizes the critical need for openness, accountability, and ethical governance in order to confront the prevalent issue of corruption.

4.3.2 PT and MDB¹⁴⁰ and the correlation with corruption

Starting from scandals, investigations, and operations linked to corruption involving various politicians, it is necessary also address the role of political parties in this context. By doing so, we close a cycle in the narrative construction about corruption,

¹⁴⁰ In 2018, the name and acronym of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) was changed to the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB).

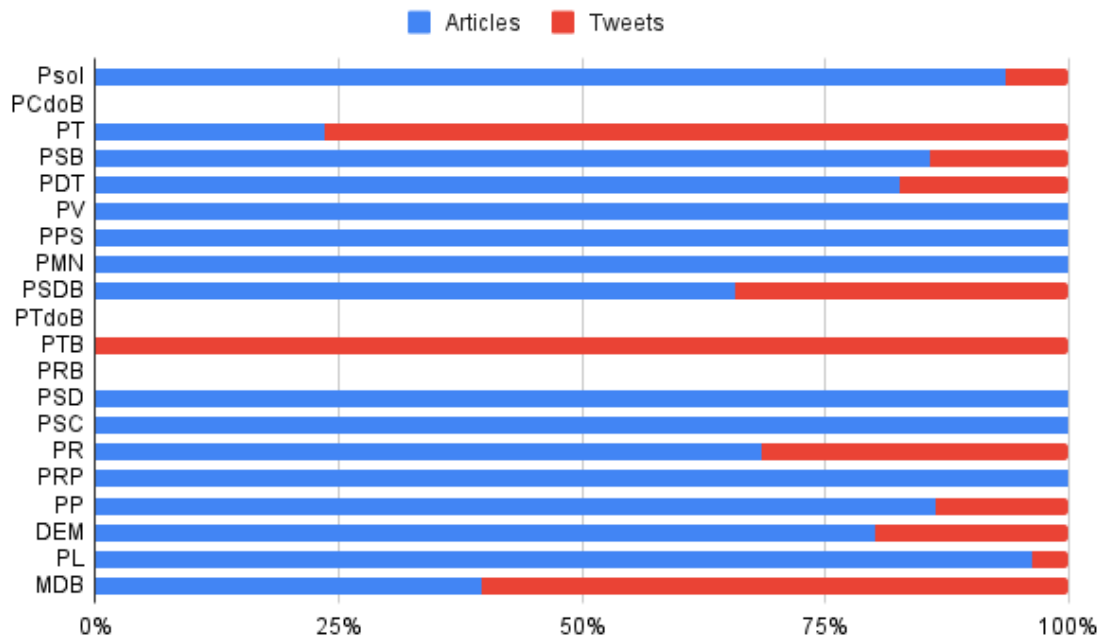
comprehending not only the individuals involved but also the institutional structures that enable or facilitate such illicit practices. Given that corruption persists as a pressing concern within Brazilian politics, it has garnered substantial media attention, illuminating the entanglement of politicians and political entities across the ideological spectrum. In this milieu, the Brazilian media frequently presents evidence of political parties' recurrent involvement in practices such as bribery to fund electoral campaigns and the exchange of favors and public offices for political backing.

While party affiliation traditionally signifies a dedication to initiatives aimed at representing societal interests and advancing objectives aligned with political ideologies (de Albuquerque and Ribeiro, 2002), political parties have increasingly faced scrutiny for their handling of corruption-related issues in recent years. Indeed, discussions surrounding corruption have intensified amidst various mobilizations and the prevailing national political climate (Paiva et al., 2017).

In Brazil, with its 33 political parties registered with the Supreme Court, these parties not only represent various segments of society but also grapple with issues related to corruption. Analysis of news portals reveals that the Workers' Party (PT) is prominently featured in both journalistic articles and tweets published by Brazilians, emerging as the most frequently cited party in connection with corruption. Following closely behind is the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB, formerly PMDB).

The dataset graph 24 illustrates the distribution of the most frequently mentioned parties throughout the year 2021, encompassing a consideration of twenty political parties in the country. It is fundamental to underscore that the study focuses on mentions of the political parties involved in corruption rather than individual politicians affiliated with those parties. Consequently, the research reveals an ongoing association between operations, investigations, scandals, and political parties (Graph 24).

Graph 24 - Brazilian political parties linked to corruption in news articles and tweets



Created by the author from research data.

The Brazilian political landscape is characterized by a complex network of party arrangements and strategic alliances, as noted in the previous subchapter. In articles, prominent figures such as Jair Bolsonaro, and Lula are constantly seeking political support to bolster their positions and aspirations (Table 12). However, in tweets Brazilians express deep distrust and indignation towards the main political parties, especially the PT, PSDB, DEM, and MDB, due to numerous corruption scandals involving these parties. The general perception is that these parties have failed to deliver on their promises and ensure ethical integrity in politics, fueling a sense of disgust and an urgent need for change.

Table 12 - Articles and tweets - mention of political parties

Articles	Tweets
“Podemos, the party that Sergio Moro chose to join, has a speech in strong defense of Operation Lava”	“What morals and credibility do someone from PT have?”

"The former president invited the senator to join the PT."	"Those who support the PT and Lula legitimize all this nonsense. Brazil can't take it anymore."
"63 deputies who followed the federal government's position in at least 70% of the votes, this is a picture closer to the government's liberal agenda, such as MDB, PSDB, Novo, PL, PP and DEM"	"The PT had 16 years to solve the problem and they preferred to STEAL us! What morals and credibility does anyone from the PT have?"
"The MDB advised "no" and the PSDB, in a stance considered suicidal by analysts, recommended "yes", with Bolsonaro and Lira."	"My thoughts were centered on removing the PT from power"
"Bolsonaro is a candidate for re-election, Lula is a PT pre-candidate, and Moro could be a hypothesis for Podemos; Doria probably from PSDB"	"Corrupt hack talking about fighting corruption. PSDB thanks you"
"The current president of the Senate left the DEM for the PSD and was sent to the Palácio do Planalto"	"DEM and MDB are Siamese brothers mired in corruption"

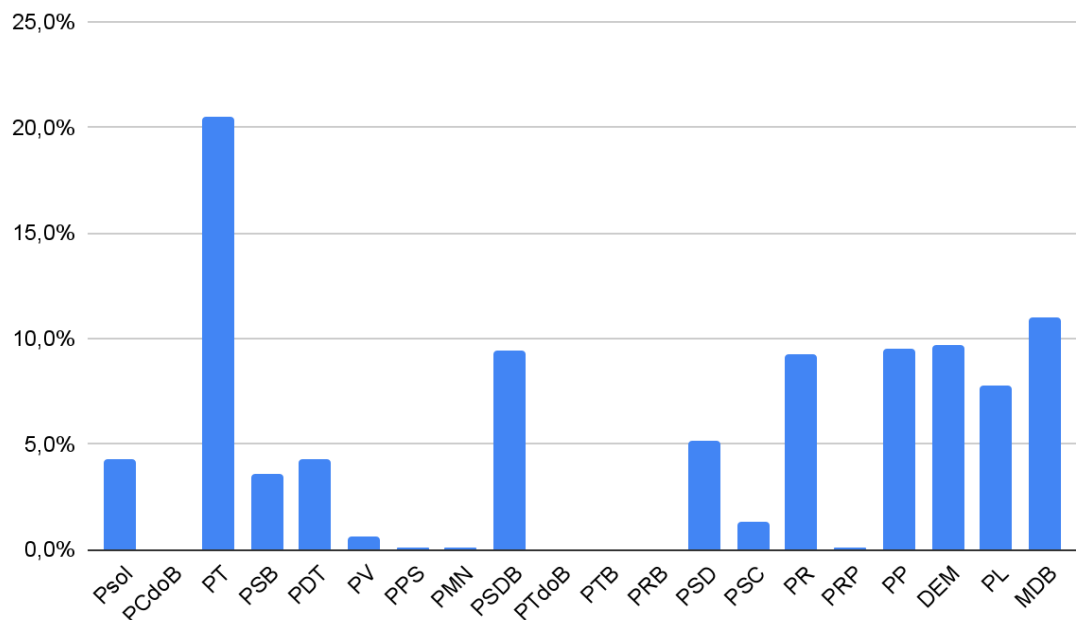
Created by the author from research data.

Therefore, while the articles deal with political parties's articulations and the involvement of parties in corruption. In the tweets analyzed, taking the excerpts above as an example, there is a clear perception that these parties have failed to fulfill their promises and to guarantee ethical integrity in politics, with accusations of embezzlement of public resources and other corrupt practices. These expressions highlight the profound impact that corruption scandals have had on citizens' trust in political institutions and the search for greater transparency and accountability on the part of those in power.

In a broader context, news coverage of corruption inherently involves discussions about political parties on various portals, as there is hardly any mention of the phenomenon without it being linked to these parties (Graph 25). While the distribution of party mentions is extensive (in comparison to Twitter, for instance), certain patterns emerge on news portals. The Workers' Party (PT) stands out as the most frequently mentioned, accounting for 21.2% of mentions, followed by the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB) at 11.4%, Democrats (DEM) at 10%, Popular Party (PP) at 9.8%, Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) at 9.7%, Republican Party (PR) at 9.6%, and Liberal Party (PL) at 8.1%. The Social Democratic Party (PSD) accounts for 5.4% of mentions, while others collectively make up 14.6%.

Moreover, it is intriguing to observe that parties are often cited in clusters within this context. One such grouping is related to the 'Mensalão' scandal, which involves mentions of the PL, PP, PT, PMDB (MDB), and PTB

Graph 25 -Main Brazilian political parties linked to corruption in news articles



Created by the author from research data.

These data represent the distribution of mentions of different political parties on Brazilian news portals during 2021, when analyzing the topic of corruption. They indicate the frequency with which each party is mentioned in relation to the total number of mentions about corruption on news portals. For example, the Workers' Party (PT) is the most frequently mentioned party, representing 21.2% of all mentions about corruption on news portals. This suggests that the PT was frequently associated with cases or discussions about corruption throughout 2021. Likewise, the other parties listed also have their respective frequencies of mention, which may indicate the degree of involvement or

public interest in relation corruption associated with these specific parties during the period analyzed.

Although several years ago party loyalty was unstable and slow (Kinzo, 2005), when analyzing corruption associated with political characters in a polarized context, research shows that support for political characters recurs to the detriment of party politicians, in a context where PT is still a recurring party of quotes on the social platform.

The PT is at the forefront among the mentioned parties, encompassing topics ranging from the 'Mensalão' scandal in 2016 to the ongoing 'CPI of Covid'. References to the party often arise in discussions about corruption investigations involving certain political actors, notably highlighting its connection with Lula, particularly pertinent in light of the 2022 elections and the scandals surrounding his arrest. This underscores the notion that the PT's resurgence to power is a central theme, particularly evident in discussions surrounding Lula's release from prison, such as in an excerpt from an article "PT must try to return to power" .

Consequently, the party's association with political scandals permeates the articles cited on news portals. Regarding Operation 'Lava Jato', much attention is directed towards the Supreme Court's decision to overturn former President Lula's conviction by the Paraná judiciary. This connection to the PT emerges prominently in numerous articles, as seen in excerpts such as: "The former president was accused by the Ministry of State of having received bribes from the contractor OAS. The alleged benefit of BRL 2.2 million is said to have come from a slush fund account intended for PT in exchange for the company's favoritism in contracts with Petrobras."

Discussing about PT, the 'Lava Jato' operation emerges as one of the principal themes, evident in the reenactment of trials, investigations, detentions, and retrospection of the operation's impact. Additionally, the Operation 'Lava Jato' is instrumental in shedding light on the involvement between the PT and various businessmen, as highlighted in award-winning investigative indictments.

Consequently, these indictments occupy a significant position concerning the PT, encompassing political entanglements and bribery allegations. For instance, an investigation launched in 2016 revealed allegations wherein former Senator Delcínio de

Amaral¹⁴¹ was reportedly informed of construction companies negotiating the payment of 30 million reais¹⁴² in bribes to both the PT and the PMDB, as reported by news portals. The reports revisit the Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPI) aftermath, particularly with the news of the passing of Duda Mendonça¹⁴³, a former representative of the Workers' Party (PT), in 2021. These reports revive discussions surrounding the 'Mensalão' scandal, noting that Mendonça's lawyers had previously asserted their unawareness of the illegal origin of the funds received by the PT at the time.

Thus, the 'Mensalão' is remembered as "at the time of the PT Mensalão scandal" or "one of the biggest corruption scandals since re-democratization, affecting PT cadres", giving the idea that the fact has affected the party since 2006. It is worth mentioning that, from the Brazilian perspective, the 'Mensalão' scandal allowance has certainly changed the perception of PT voters from that year on (Venturi Junior, 2006), which can be seen in news articles years later.

Additionally, the 'Mensalão' scheme is resumed with the conviction of former federal deputy and informant in the 'Mensalão' Roberto Jefferson¹⁴⁴, refreshing the memory of the readers about the corruption system in which he participated. "Jefferson said he received millions of reais from the PT without reporting it to the Electoral Tribunal, and revealed the involvement of then Chief of Staff José Dirceu¹⁴⁵ and the treasurer of PT, Delúbio Soares¹⁴⁶, in the system."

In fact, the evidence in the articles associated with the PT reached its peak and caused attrition between the years 2002-2006, which escalated to the point where the leaders of the PT left their positions, as in the case of José Dirceu, the chief of staff, and deputy Jose

¹⁴¹ Delcínio de Amaral was a Brazilian political figure who served as a member of the National Congress. He was involved in corruption-related investigations, including allegations of bribery negotiations with construction companies.

¹⁴² Brazilian currency.

¹⁴³ Duda Mendonça was a renowned Brazilian publicist, known for his work in political campaigns. He was involved in the scandal known as 'Mensalão', which involved allegations of bribes being paid to politicians by the Workers' Party (PT). Mendonça passed away in 2021.

¹⁴⁴ In 2021, former deputy Roberto Jefferson was arrested by the Federal Police in the digital militias inquiry, which is a continuation of the investigation related to anti-democratic acts. Jefferson, a supporter of President Jair Bolsonaro (without a party), published a video on social networks saying that there would be no election if the photo was not printed. Considering that in Brazil, the electronic ballot box system (electronic vote collector) was implemented in 1996.

¹⁴⁵ Involved in Operation 'Lava Jato' and was convicted of corruption and money laundering in 2018, with the sentence increased to 30 years in prison. He was arrested and served part of his sentence in a closed regime, but was later authorized to serve the rest of his sentence under house arrest.

¹⁴⁶ Delúbio Soares was a Brazilian politician and prominent member of the Workers' Party (PT). He became known for his role as treasurer of the PT during a critical period, especially during the 'Mensalão' scandal.

Genoino¹⁴⁷, during the first term of the Lula government, and therefore this "corruption crisis helps explain, above all, why the PT, a party that had grown with the electorate since its inception, had such a sharp decline in party identity" (Paiva et al, 2007, p. 395). 'Petrolão' is another scandal extensively covered by the portals, with the PT directly implicated in some instances. Apart from the cases highlighted by the portals, such as the infamous "PT Squad"¹⁴⁸, where Lula was accused of heading a criminal organization aimed at diverting funds from Petrobras and other public sector companies, reports referencing the PT mention Lula's acquittal due to lack of evidence of illegal activity, resulting in the closure of the trial. Recent scandals involving the party seem to be linked to the Covid CPI, notably concerning the involvement of politicians in scandals related to the misappropriation of funds earmarked for the healthcare sector, including for the purchase of respirators.

In the articles, MDB (11.4%) emerges as the second party associated with corruption. In recent years, members of the MDB have been investigated and convicted in corruption cases, including their involvement in the 'Mensalão' scandal from 2003 to 2005 and Operation 'Lava Jato,' which investigated corruption cases at Petrobras and other state-owned enterprises, implicating politicians from different parties.

The MDB's involvement in the corruption scandal was further confirmed by investigations into the payment of bribes to Renan Calheiros¹⁴⁹ in connection with the Belo Monte hydroelectric project. According to the articles, award-winning judicial indictments in 2016 revealed alleged payments to the PMDB, bribes related to Dilma Rousseff's 2010 election campaign, and funds directed to politician Jose Sarney's group within the PMDB."

The party is also implicated in the 'Mensalão' case involving Valdemar Costa Neto¹⁵⁰ (PR-SP), who is accused of receiving money in exchange for his support in Congress during the Lula government. Therefore, the scandal, which also involved parties from the

¹⁴⁷ Convicted in the 'Mensalão' trial, a corruption scandal involving the purchase of parliamentary votes in exchange for political support during the administration of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

¹⁴⁸ The expression "PT gang" is often used by critics of the Workers' Party (PT) to refer to party members who have been convicted of corruption and other crimes.

¹⁴⁹ Involved in one of the best-known scandals involved accusations of receiving bribes in connection with the Belo Monte hydroelectric plant project. Calheiros was investigated for allegedly receiving illegal payments from contractors involved in the project. This case highlighted the long history of political corruption in Brazil and the need for greater transparency and accountability in government.

¹⁵⁰ One of the prisoners of the 'Mensalão' Valdemar Costa Neto announces Bolsonaro's affiliation to the PL in 2021.

'allied base' that continue to form the so-called 'big center'¹⁵¹: PL, PP, and PTB were among the most affected, along with members of the then PMDB (now MDB).

The MDB also gains attention in connection with the Canela City Hall 'Rachadinha', where investigations uncovered a corruption scheme involving fraudulent purchases. This scheme implicated councilors and the secretary of the Municipal Construction Department. Additionally, reports indicate the existence of an alleged 'Rachadinha' scheme, where BRL 20,000 per month was allegedly collected from city hall employees, further highlighting the gravity of the situation, endorse one of the excerpts from one of the articles "they would be required to forward up to 10% of salaries to the MDB party." When it comes to 'Covid's CPI', the new reports articles mention search and seizure investigations conducted at *Global Gestão em Saúde* and *Importa Medicamentos*, companies based in the state of São Paulo. The portals highlight the testimony of entrepreneur Francisco Maximiano, owner of Precisa, who appeared before 'Covid's CPI' amidst suspicions of orchestrating the purchase of substandard computers and cell phones to facilitate money laundering. According to the Federal Police investigation, "part of the amounts were transferred to Milton Lyra, who is being investigated for bribing MDB politicians". The portals also cover corruption allegations within Transpetro, where the MDB is implicated, as discussed by Dallagnol¹⁵² and the Supreme Federal Court in Curitiba.

The Democrats (DEM), accounting for 10% of mentions, are reminded of their involvement in the 'Mensalão' scandal, with reports recalling investigations into the "Pandora's Box"¹⁵³ affair. In 2009, TV Globo aired footage showing Arruda receiving a bag containing R\$ 50 thousand from Durval Barbosa, former Secretary of Institutional Relations of the Federal District and whistleblower of the monthly allowance system within the DEM. This exposé revealed a bribery scheme orchestrated by the Chief Executive to sway district deputies in exchange for political support. Recordings depicted Durval Barbosa receiving illicit funds from former Governor Jose Roberto Arruda.

¹⁵¹ Known as 'centrão' in Brazil.

¹⁵² Dallagnol is a Brazilian lawyer and politician who belongs to Podemos and is currently a federal deputy for Paraná.

¹⁵³ The "Pandora's Box" investigation was a political scandal that occurred in the Federal District, Brazil, in 2009. The case came to light when TV Globo showed images of José Roberto Arruda, then governor of the Federal District, receiving a bag containing money from the hands of Durval Barbosa, former Secretary of Institutional Relations of the DF and whistleblower of the monthly allowance scheme in the Democratic Party (DEM).

Remembering that, Durval Barbosa¹⁵⁴ Durval Barbosa served as the whistleblower for a corruption system that exposed illegal activities within the federal district government, including the payment of bribes and the misappropriation of public funds in exchange for public works contracts. Added to the fact that, in the 'Mensalão' scandal, connections to the Liberal Front Party (PFL) and the Democrats (DEM) were also uncovered.

According to the articles, the negotiations surrounding the Covaxin vaccine by the Jair Bolsonaro government did not directly implicate the Democratic Party (DEM), but rather the leader of the government in the Chamber of Deputies, Federal Deputy Ricardo Barros, who is a member of the political party. Consequently, the party is also mentioned in the Covid CPI due to the alleged involvement of certain politicians, particularly during the investigative phase, in a corruption scheme related to the procurement of the Covaxin vaccine by the Bolsonaro government (who was then without a party). According to one report, Ministry of Health official Luis Ricardo Miranda, head of the import sector, and his brother, federal deputy Luis Miranda (DEM-DF), testified before the Covid CPI, claiming to have warned President Bolsonaro about corruption in the vaccine procurement process.

The party is additionally referenced in the Covid CPI owing to purported engagement of specific politicians, notably during the investigative phase, in a corruption scandal linked to the procurement of the Covaxin vaccine by the administration of Jair Bolsonaro (who was unaffiliated with a party at the time). As per a report, Ministry of Health official Luis Ricardo Miranda, overseeing the import sector, along with his brother, federal deputy Luis Miranda (DEM-DF), provided testimony before the Covid CPI, asserting that they had alerted President Bolsonaro about corruption within the vaccine acquisition procedure.

Regarding the Republican Party¹⁵⁵ (currently PR PL) with a 9.6% share, numerous reports pivot around the decision by Judge Marco Antonio Martin Vargas of the 1st Electoral Zone of São Paulo State to uphold the State Ministry's complaint. According to the articles, Kassab allegedly accepted R\$16.5 million in bribes from JBS between January 2014 and December 2016. The culmination highlighted by the articles sources is the

¹⁵⁴ The investigation into Pandora's Box implicated several Federal District politicians and businessmen, including members of the DEM.

¹⁵⁵ It should be noted that the "PR" - Party of the Republic (currently known as the Liberal Party - PL).

conviction of Valdemar Costa Neto¹⁵⁶, remembering that in the 2012 'Mensalão' trial, the Federal Supreme Court (STF) endorsed the case for passive corruption and money laundering.

Additionally, ministers imposed a fine of R\$1.08 million, along with a sentence of 7 years and 10 months in prison. Particularly noteworthy in these reports is the period when Costa Neto presided over PL and faced accusations of receiving bribes in exchange for supporting former President Lula in the National Congress. Added to this fact the articles inform that José Antunes Sobrinho¹⁵⁷, partner of Engevix¹⁵⁸, declared in the framework of Operation 'Lava Jato' that Costa Neto and the PR (currently PL) received at least R\$ 2.5 million in bribes for the Furnas contracts between 2007 and 2011."

The 'CPI da Covid' also highlights the party's image by highlighting the corruption system within the Ministry of Health involving fraud in the negotiations for the vaccine Covaxin, Precise Medicines, and the laboratory Bharat Biotech¹⁵⁹. The party appears when quoted by Minister Luis Miranda (then DEM-DF), who at the time sent messages to an advisor talking about corruption in the Ministry of Health in the procurement of vaccines, highlighting the party as follows: "I have proof and witnesses. (...) Do not forget to notify PR. I do not want anyone to say afterward that I imploded the Republic."

Regarding PL (8.1%), one of the articles mentioned that in "One of the most difficult moments for the then PL was the 'Mensalão' scandal", which flared up in 2005 and hit the party's leader, then deputy Valdemar Costa Neto¹⁶⁰. Remembering that, he was accused of receiving money in exchange for supporting then-President Lula's government in Congress, a situation that also implicated the party's president at the time, then-deputy Valdemar Costa Neto, who was accused of accepting money in exchange for supporting the Lula administration in Congress.

Finally, the Social Democratic Party (PSD), with a 5.4% vote, is linked to the scandalous indictment of former Rio de Janeiro Governor Sérgio Cabral¹⁶¹. The articles highlight

¹⁵⁶ Valdemar Costa Neto is a Brazilian politician involved in the "Mensalão" scandal, convicted of passive corruption and money laundering in 2012 by the Federal Supreme Court. He was leader of the Liberal Party and the Republic Party, playing a prominent role in national politics.

¹⁵⁷ José Antunes Sobrinho is a Brazilian businessman and was one of the targets of Operation Lava Jato, an investigation that revealed a large corruption scheme involving politicians and businessmen

¹⁵⁸ Company of the consultative engineering segment of Brazil.

¹⁵⁹ Bharat Biotech is an India-based pharmaceutical and biotechnology company.

¹⁶⁰ Valdemar de Costa Neto was one of the main players in the scandal known as the "Mensalão," a corruption scheme involving the payment of bribes to parliamentarians in return for political support from the federal government between 2003 and 2005.

¹⁶¹ Sergio Cabral was accused of leading a scheme to embezzle public money, receiving bribes in exchange for public contracts favorable to private companies. His conviction is considered one of the most

that, this indictment disclosed that in 2014, the PSD along with the Solidarity Party received approximately R\$32 million to endorse the candidacy of Luiz Fernando Pezão for the Rio de Janeiro state election.

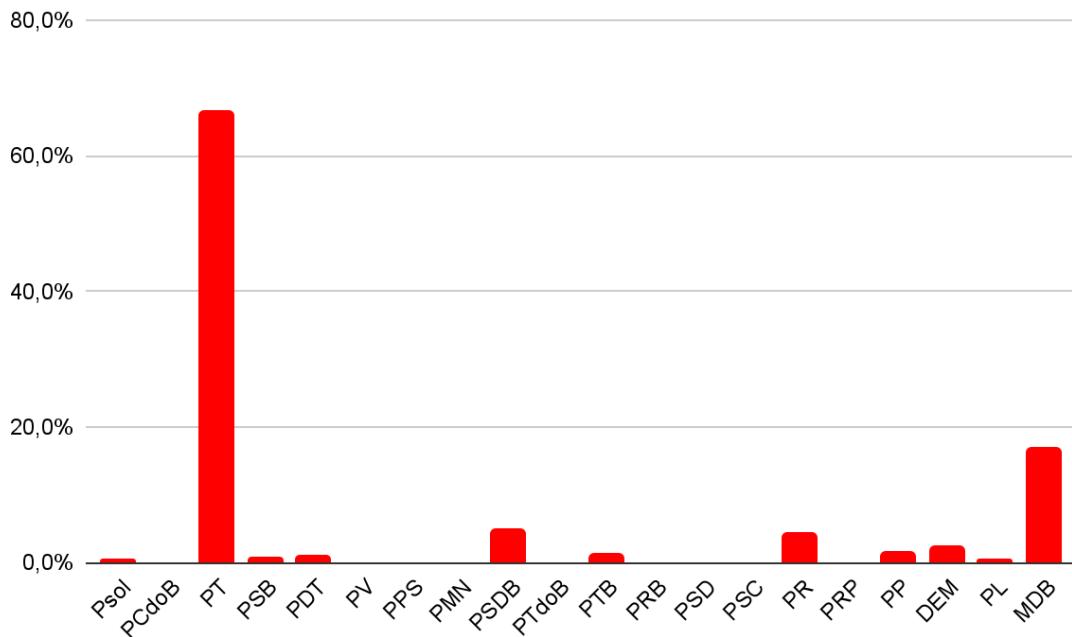
As observed across news portals, the intertwining of corruption and political parties has become a pervasive aspect of the Brazilian landscape in recent years. Academic studies indicate that the electorate has developed a nuanced relationship with political parties due to the multitude of corruption scandals unfolding in the country (Kinzo, 2005; Paiva et al., 2007). Despite declining trust in parties such as the PT and the PMDB in recent years, a general dissatisfaction among voters with the political establishment persists (Paiva et al., 2007).

This reality intersects with the evident narrative construction in tweets, where the social platform serves as a channel for expressing social discontent and ideological confrontations. Consequently, when political parties are discussed on Twitter, the platform becomes a stage for discussions centered on the alleged involvement of these parties in corrupt practices.

Political parties perform a role in shaping perceptions of corruption within the tweets analyzed in 2021. The Workers' Party - PT (66.6%) emerges as the most frequently mentioned party on the digital platform, followed by the Brazilian Democratic Movement - MDB (16.7%), the Republican Party - PR (4.3%), the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy - PSDB (4.9%), and the Democrats - DEM (2.4%). These findings underscore the prominence of certain parties in discussions surrounding corruption. Moreover, this analysis reveals that tweets predominantly adopt narratives centered on corruption, with the Workers' Party leading among the twenty-one parties examined, garnering over half of the mentions (Graph 26).

emblematic in the context of the Lava Jato operation, one of the largest corruption investigations in Brazilian history.

Graph 26 - Main political parties mentioned in tweets linked to corruption



Created by the author from research data.

It is evident that political parties are not commonly referenced in the posts, with the Workers' Party (PT) being the primary focus of discussion in public tweets. From this standpoint, the tweets predominantly center on the PT, revisiting scandals that transpired during the party's tenure in government and highlighting individuals convicted of corruption within PT administrations.

The tweets endeavor to underscore the history of scandals such as 'Mensalão' and 'Petroão', eliciting strong reactions against the party: "What we want is for the PT to leave the fight". In this sense in some cases, there is a narrative that resorts to the party's lack of honesty, credibility, and ethics, which is highlighted several times to judge it in the following way: "The incompetence and corruption of PT will be remembered".

The party is depicted as a "culmination", and in certain instances, the administrative shortcomings of the party are underscored. It is noteworthy that the mention of the party contrasts with references to Bolsonaro as president, aiming to draw a comparison between corruption scandals involving the Workers' Party in the past and the current Bolsonaro government highlighting once again the polarity that exists in the country: "not for nothing Bozo is the result of this dissatisfaction with the PT!".

Taking this into account, the Workers' Party (PT) emerges as the frontrunner among parties embroiled in corruption scandals, underscoring the polarized landscape of 2021. This polarization is evident in the tweets from allies of the Bolsonaro government and supporters of the PT in the lead-up to the 2022 elections. Consequently, what becomes apparent in the tweets is that despite the party's past entanglement in significant corruption cases, there exists a rhetorical push for the party's resurgence in the electoral arena as a means to counter Bolsonarism, as "rest, the PT is much better than Bolsonaro". In a manner, the political party is gaining traction on Twitter because it is the most quoted in 2021.

The second most commonly referenced party in tweets in connection with corruption is the Brazilian Democratic Movement - MDB (16.7%). The party is often depicted as part of the political center when linked to corruption. It's noteworthy that the party receives relatively minimal mention in the tweets, if we compare it with the political party mentioned above, yet instances do emphasize the involvement of Fernando Bezerra (MDB-PE) and Sergio Cabral¹⁶² (MDB) in corruption scandals. Former governor of Rio de Janeiro, Sérgio Cabral had a strong influence on the MDB during his tenure and is therefore known for the party's involvement in corruption schemes.

The Republican Party - PR, (4.3%), (which is currently called the Liberal Party - PL), is mentioned as being involved in 'Rachadinhas', "the "crimes" of the current PR are political intrigues rather than actual crimes". It also mentions the involvement of Bolsonaro's children with the party. Consequently, certain tweets allude to President Bolsonaro's children, who have faced accusations of participating in "Rachadinhas" schemes during their time as city councilors in Rio de Janeiro.

In certain tweets, the Party of Brazilian Social Democracy- PSDB¹⁶³ (4.9%) is frequently associated with scandals involving tuition fees and its historical ties to the military dictatorship. This connection stems from the presence of members within the party who supported and participated in the military regime's governance. Moreover, there are discussions highlighting the relationship between the PSDB and the 'PODEMOS'¹⁶⁴ party, shedding light on potential collaborations or shared ideologies between the two

¹⁶² Sérgio Cabral was a member of the MDB and governed the state of Rio de Janeiro between 2007 and 2014.

¹⁶³ There is the involvement of members of the PSDB at different times in recent history in Brazil, for example, the case of "Mensalão Tucano", which involved the embezzlement of public resources in electoral campaigns of the party in the state of Minas Gerais, and also in the case of investigations of the 'Lava Jato' operation, which investigated deviations in public works of which one of the parties involved is the PSDB

¹⁶⁴ 'PODEMOS' is a relatively new party on the Brazilian political scene, founded in 2015.

political entities that are bought in the tweets because they are associated with corruption jointly, as in the highlighted section: "PODEMOS is the shamed PSDB".

Another party mentioned in the tweets with involvement with corruption is Democrats - The Democratic Party (DEM) with a 2.4% share is mentioned for its alleged involvement in corruption, among other parties. This is exemplified by the following excerpt from one of the tweet "the big's of MDB, PSDB, DEM, PP, PSL, PTB". In certain posts, the political entanglement of Fernando Bezerra Filho (DEM-PE) in corruption is highlighted. Ultimately, it is evident that the predominant focus on a specific party in the tweets reflects the prevailing political polarization, characterized by allegiance to the Bolsonaro government or opposition to it, particularly represented by the PT. Consequently, the opinionated tweets of 2021 serve as a preview of the dynamics expected in the 2022 elections, while also reflecting widespread public discontent with the party and the prevailing corruption scandals in the country.

As we observed in the extended analysis of tweets linked to political parties about the representation of corruption, we may conclude that, the analysis of tweets provides valuable insights into the intersection of political discourse and public perception, particularly regarding corruption and party affiliations. Throughout the discourse, the Workers' Party (PT) emerges as a central focus, both due to its historical prominence and its association with corruption scandals. This centrality underscores the enduring polarization within Brazilian politics, epitomized by the contrasting narratives surrounding the PT and the Bolsonaro government. Despite the PT's past involvement in corruption cases, there is a discernible push for its resurgence, reflecting a broader ideological divide among Twitter users.

This polarization is further exemplified by the discussions surrounding other political parties, such as the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), Republican Party (PR), Party of Brazilian Social Democracy (PSDB), and Democrats (DEM), each of which faces its own set of accusations and controversies. The predominance of such conversation highlights Twitter's importance as a platform for constructing political narratives and organizing public opinion, providing insight into the forces that may affect the 2022 elections. Finally, these opinionated tweets reflect the public's general displeasure with political parties and the ongoing fight against corruption in Brazilian politics.

Bringing the thesis's exhaustive examination to a close, the relationship between political corruption and media portrayal in Brazil becomes perceptible, especially through the lens of political parties and their involvement in numerous scandals and probes. The dominance of corruption-related discourse, particularly among parties such as the Workers' Party (PT), emphasizes the importance of political narratives in shaping public perception and debate, both on social media platforms such as Twitter and in traditional news outlets.

Furthermore, the long-term legacy of Operation 'Lava Jato', combined with the continued examination of prominent heavyweights such as Bolsonaro and Lula, serves as a harsh reminder of the devastating impact of corruption on Brazilian politics and society. Based on the data and the study scenario for 2021, it is possible to conclude that, as Brazil prepares for the 2022 elections, these findings indicate that corruption will continue to be a major issue, reflecting broader societal concerns and aspirations for transparency, accountability, and ethical governance.

CONCLUSIONS

In the analysis of both news articles from online portals and public tweets, a discernible trend emerges, shedding light on the narratives surrounding corruption. However, it is evident that these narrative tendencies interact, albeit with notable differences and contrasts across several aspects. The recurrent instances of this contrast are notably observed within categorized subgroups, magnificently highlighting the disparity in narrative between tweets and articles, while also accentuating subtle points of similarity. Base on the works of Cunha (2009; 2014; 2015; Cunha and Araujo, 2018), Figueiras (2017), and Serrano (2016) explicitly dialogue with the reflections of Thompson (2000; 2013), offering insights into the media's effect on political scandals and its 'modus operandi', enriching our theoretical understanding of corruption representation in media discourse.

From the analysis of the data, distributed among 6.780 journalistic articles and 2.036 tweets, it is clear that the wide scope of corruption in the media is undeniable. This validates the initial premise that corruption is intricately woven into the fabric of social construction and media interaction, as evidenced by its portrayal in news portals and social media platforms.

This interconnectedness underscores the significant role that media plays in shaping public perceptions and discourse surrounding corruption. Despite the evident interaction between news portals and social media platforms like Twitter, each medium offers a distinct perspective shaped by its unique objectives and purposes. However, both platforms tend to sidestep discussions related to public politics, potentially as a means to mitigate the risk of corruption.

Within news portals, corruption narratives often unfold akin to a storytelling framework, where journalism emphasizes traditional elements such as the investigation process, the impact of the corruption case, the uncovering of scandalous activities, and subsequent legal proceedings such as trials or convictions. In this narrative framework, justice assumes a central role as the agent of punishment and eventual resolution of the corrupt practices. This storytelling approach mirrors the findings of previous scholars such as Park (2012) and Marwick and Boyd (2011), who highlight the role of traditional media in shaping public perceptions of corruption through narrative framing and storytelling techniques.

Conversely, the social media platform Twitter emerges as a vibrant stage where discussions unfold, depicting the upheaval and indignation surrounding corrupt practices, corruption scandals, and implicated political figures. Corruption, viewed as a significant contributor to a nation's crises and societal malaise, takes center stage in these conversations, with political corruption often serving as the focal point of discussion. In contrast to conventional news portals, Brazilian tweets delve into a quest for ethical standards, emphasizing integrity and justice. However, they also echo a narrative of outrage concerning the mismanagement of public funds, which could otherwise alleviate societal woes during periods of crisis.

The contrast of traditional and social media outlets emphasizes the changing landscape of public discourse on corruption. According to Tufekci (2014) and Proferes et al. (2021), social media platforms like Twitter offer citizens a unique opportunity to express their issues and create collective narratives. This shift in communication dynamics emphasizes the growing role of social media in amplifying different perspectives and rallying public opinion on pressing issues such as corruption.

The analysis clearly indicates that both journalistic articles and tweets garner significant attention at the national level, although international corruption is not disregarded. Notably, there is a greater emphasis on the country's internal corruption issues when compared to international ones. This concentration of corruption-related news on the national stage can be attributed to the relatively lower coverage of international corruption scandals by the media.

Furthermore, the states of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo emerge as integral components of the national corruption narrative, with recurring cases from the southeastern region featuring prominently in both news portals and tweets. This regional concentration underscores the historical and socio-economic significance of these states within Brazil's political landscape (Barros and Dos Santos, 2022).

Regarding the discourse surrounding corrupt concepts such as keywords as Clientelism, Collusion, "Money Laundering", Nepotism, Embezzlement, Kickback, Bribery, the term "Corruption" resonates widely among the population on tweets, according to the data analyzed. However, while news portals tend to focus on traditional aspects of corruption, tweets reflect a broader understanding that encompasses manifestations of corrupt behavior. This nuanced comprehension is evident in the vocabulary used, with terms like collusion, money laundering, and embezzlement forming part of the public discourse on

both platforms. This convergence of language shapes the media agenda, contributing to a comprehensive analysis of corruption-related issues in Brazil.

Within news portals, corruption assumes a legal dimension, casting the judiciary as a pivotal actor in addressing corrupt practices. In cases of scandal, these platforms often depict the judiciary as the arbiter, providing solutions and judgments. Conversely, Twitter serves as a battleground of opinions where corruption is predominantly linked with political parties and politics, echoing the findings of previous research. This alignment underscores the overarching influence of political dynamics in shaping public discourse on corruption. Furthermore, the platform fosters a discursive dispute among users, reflecting the multifaceted nature of corruption narratives in online spaces (Paiva et al., 2016).

In the context of corruption scandals, Lava Jato stands out as a significant episode, preceding the ongoing investigation of the CPI of 'Covid-19'. This observation resonates with the work of Cunha (2009; 2014; 2015) and Serrano (2016), who have extensively discussed the impact of such scandals on Brazilian politics and society. Moreover, the prominence of political figures like Lula and Bolsonaro in corruption narratives aligns with Thompson's concept of the "politics of trust" (2000; 2013), underscoring how scandals erode public trust in political leaders, as elucidated by Mancini (2006).

Additionally, the recurrence of political actors implicated in corruption scandals, as highlighted in both news portals and Twitter discussions, reflects the systemic nature of corruption, echoing the findings of previous research by Figueiras (2017) and Cunha and Araujo (2018). Furthermore, the association of corruption with political parties, particularly the PT and MDB, underscores the complex interplay between politics and corruption, a theme extensively explored by scholars like Varraich (2014) and Breit and Vaara (2014). Thus, while specific parties may be implicated in corruption scandals, it is fundamental to recognize corruption as a systemic issue affecting multiple parties, as emphasized by the theoretical frameworks discussed in this study.

Thus, despite differences in approach, both news portals and Twitter demonstrate interactivity and mutual influence in the construction of narratives about corruption. Both media tend to avoid discussions about public policies as a way to combat corruption, highlighting the need for greater focus on future preventive and educational actions. It is possible to conclude that corruption is deeply rooted in social construction and media interaction in Brazil.

Added to this, it is important to understand the limitations of this study. To illustrate, the research can mostly concentrate on information gathered from public tweets and online news portals, which makes it challenging to include all viewpoints and views regarding corruption in Brazilian society. As with all research, methodological restrictions, such as the choice of keywords and the length of the analysis period, can also have an impact on the results and interpretation of the data. Therefore, this conclusion assumes knowledge of these limitations, and therefore, it is necessary to engage in additional research on the topic of corruption and how it is portrayed in the media.

Considering the data collected, the gap in the discussion against corruption in both media, through public political action or even education to prevent the phenomenon is relevant. As a result, Brazil takes effective efforts to prevent and combat corruption, such as encouraging transparency in government activities, strengthening anti-corruption organizations, and boosting public awareness about the value of ethics in society.

POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS FUTURE RESEARCH

From a wide view, it is clear that the media plays an important role in constructing, distributing, and propagating narratives about corruption, impacting public decision-making processes. While web portals assist knowledge diffusion and comprehension, platforms such as Twitter promote discussions and individual perspectives. It is indispensable to recognize that these mediums complement rather than exclude each other, synergistically contributing to the formation of corruption narratives in the daily lives of Brazilians.

In this context, the findings resonate with contemporary literature affirming the significant influence of the media on corruption-related discourse (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019). Moreover, they underscore the role of communication channels in making complex issues comprehensible to the public (Berti et al., 2020), empowering individuals to engage in discussions and advocate for accountability (Tumber and Waisbord, 2019). Furthermore, corruption prompts critical reflections on societal norms and governance structures (Thompson and Guareschi, 2002; Tumber and Waisbord, 2019).

Future research avenues should delve into systematic examinations of corruption-related information dissemination in Brazil's mediatized society. Topics warranting exploration include the *agenda-setting* process, narrative construction, the absence of a concerted public action agenda against corruption, perceptions of impunity, and the proliferation of information facilitated by new technologies and social media platforms like Twitter. These avenues, emerging from the current study, offer fertile ground for comprehensive investigations into corruption within the evolving media and technological landscapes, thus contributing to a deeper understanding of this pervasive societal challenge for future generations.

- According to the *agenda-setting* theory (Habermas, 2016; Da Rocha, 2007; Bruns and Highfield, 2015), which explores the dynamics of public space and communication, the findings of this study underscore the prominence of certain categories and subcategories as primary topics in each medium. However, to inquire whether the media agenda's formulation is influenced by external factors, as the media often operate with the intention

of fostering apathy and silence, which can hinder civic and social engagement (Gamson et al., 1992).

- In both journalistic articles from online portals and content on Twitter, there is a noticeable absence of anti-corruption approaches in Brazil, indicating a gap in research and coverage on this topic. Future research should address this gap, exploring existing anti-corruption approaches and examining potential cultural influences on media representations. Moreover, establishing connections between anti-corruption efforts and their outcomes, as opposed to focusing solely on investigations and arrests, warrants further exploration in both chosen mediums.

- Another noteworthy aspect, closely related to the previous theme, is the prevailing sense of impunity for corrupt activities, which surpasses the discourse on anti-corruption policies. The discussions on Twitter regarding the perceived injustice, social condemnation, and institutional inefficiency contribute to the erosion of political and judicial legitimacy, fostering insecurity and distrust in institutions. Given the widespread use of social media platforms in Brazil, for academic research to address these concerns, emphasizing the link between media portrayal of corruption and the perpetuation of impunity, thereby engaging with the underlying culture of corruption prevalent in the country.

- News portals adopt a chronological and logical approach in presenting corrupt events and narratives, highlighting key actors, institutions, and developments. This underscores the pivotal role of the press in investigating corrupt practices and shaping public opinion (Mancini et al., 2017; Damgaard, 2018; Thompson and Guareschi, 2002). Conversely, while portals focus on information dissemination, Twitter fosters discussions, contributing to the perpetuation of certain agendas. This phenomenon underscores the mediatization of corruption, wherein information is constructed through a network of actors within the social context (Soares and Recuero, 2017), shaping public perceptions and discourse (Williams and Delli Carpini, 2011).

- The concept of "information cascade" (Damgaard, 2018, p. 3) holds particular significance in this study, highlighting the profound impact of media information in

shaping societal perceptions and attitudes towards corruption. Therefore, for academia to address the detrimental effects of mass information dissemination, especially concerning corruption scandals, within a technologically advanced society with widespread access to social platforms.

- Acknowledging the media's role as a mediator that facilitates discussions, it becomes evident that public opinion often takes a backseat, assuming that the elite controls the flow of information through media channels (Damgaard, 2018).
- Future research endeavors should delve deeper into the implications of emerging information technologies. In an era where the information landscape is inundated with media communications, understanding the significant volume of publications and their impact is paramount (Thompson, 2005).
- Examining the intertwined relationship between corruption and media integration underscores the influence of rapid and instantaneous messaging facilitated by technology (Gamson et al., 1992). Hence, to expand the discourse on the benefits and drawbacks of new technologies in managing corruption scandals, particularly concerning the proliferation of "Fake News" and its swift dissemination and impact on individuals. Managing the flow of information and predicting its consequences remain challenging tasks (Thompson, 2005; Thompson and Guareschi, 2002).
- The issue gains prominence within the context of the prevalence of "Fake News" within the Brazilian media landscape and globally. Although not the primary focus of this study, prioritizing research on the link between "Fake News" and media corruption, given its significant influence on public opinion and electoral decisions both nationally and internationally.
- As social platforms and their relationship with corruption information come under scrutiny, to consider the evolving policies of platforms like Twitter. Recent changes in Twitter's communication practices, especially since its transition to a private company, merit attention, with a focus on understanding how such changes impact visibility and

information dissemination, as discussed by the Australian Institute of International Affairs and Demartini (2023).

- Highlighting the stance of executives like Elon Musk, who advocate for freedom of expression on social platforms while emphasizing the need to address offensive and harmful content, underscores the ongoing policy changes aimed at moderation, monetization, tackling fake accounts, and preserving press freedom. Given Twitter's pivotal role as a decision-making tool, such policy shifts are of paramount importance in shaping public discourse (The Guardian).

REFERENCES

- Abramo, C. W. (2005). Swampy perceptions: The difficulty of measuring corruption. *New Studies CEBRAP*, 33-37. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-33002005000300003>
- Agência Senado. (2019, December 12). Redes sociais influenciam voto de 45% da população, indica pesquisa do DataSenado. <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2019/12/12/redes-sociais-influenciam-voto-de-45-da-populacao-indica-pesquisa-do-datasenado>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Albuquerque, A. (2010). Mídia e Eleições, ou a Dupla Face da Representação Política. *Revista Eletrônica de Ciência Política*, 1(1). <http://dx.doi.org/10.5380/recp.v1i1.18541>
- Albuquerque, A. D. (2009). As três faces do quarto poder. XVIII Encontro Anual da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação. Belo Horizonte, COMPÓS.
- Almeida, R. D. (2019). Bolsonaro presidente: Conservadorismo, evangelismo e a crise brasileira. *Novos Estudos CEBRAP*, 38, 185-213. <https://doi.org/10.25091/S01013300201900010010>.
- Amado, A., & Tarullo, R. (2015). Tuitear para agendar: El uso de Twitter como gacetilla de prensa en la comunicación gubernamental. *Revista Mexicana de Opinión Pública*, 19, 127-145. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rmop.2015.02.003>
- Amaral, M. F. (2016). Fontes testemunhais, autorizadas e experts na construção jornalística das catástrofes. *LÍBERO*, (36), 43-54. ISSN 1517-3283.
- Amaral, M. S., & Pinho, J. A. G. D. (2017). Ideologias partidárias em 140 caracteres: Uso do Twitter pelos parlamentares brasileiros. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 51, 1041-1057. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7612155837>.
- Anger, I., & Kittl, C. (2011, September). Measuring influence on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on Knowledge Management and Knowledge Technologies* (pp. 1-4). <https://doi.org/10.1145/2024288.2024326>
- Anessi-Pessina, E., Barbera, C., Langella, C., Manes-Rossi, F., Sancino, A., Sicilia, M., & Steccolini, I. (2020). Reconsidering public budgeting after the COVID-19 outbreak: Key lessons and future challenges. *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management*, 32(5), 957-965. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JPBAFM-07-2020-0115>.
- Arellano-Gault, D. (2019). *Corruption in Latin America*. Routledge.
- Australian Institute of International Affairs. (2023, July 6). Elon Musk, Twitter, and the Role of Free Speech in International Social Media. <https://www.internationalaffairs.org.au/australianoutlook/elon-musk-Twitter-and-the-role-of-free-speech-in-international-social-media/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

- Azevedo, F. (2010). Corrupção, mídia e escândalos midiáticos no Brasil. *Debate*, 2(3), 14-19.
- Baran, S. J., Davis, D. K., & Striby, K. (2012). *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future*.
- Barberia, L. G., & Gómez, E. J. (2020). Political and institutional perils of Brazil's COVID-19 crisis. *Lancet (London, England)*, 396(10248), 367. doi: 10.1016/S0140-6736(20)31681-0.
- Bardin, L. (1977). *Análise de conteúdo*. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- Barros, A. D. N. F., dos Santos, M. R. L., Melo, I. D. A., dos Santos, M. P. D., & da Silva, S. M. (2022). Are politically connected firms in Brazil worried about anti-corruption disclosure? *Journal of Accounting in Emerging Economies*, 12(2), 300-317. ISSN: 2042-1168.
- Barros, A. D. N. F., Rodrigues, R. N., Miranda, L. C., & dos Santos, M. R. L. (2019). Last big corporate scandals in Brazil: Why Investors did not see it in the Annual Reports? *Revista Mineira de Contabilidade*, 20(1), 76-87. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21714/2446-9114RMC2019v20n1t06>.
- Bauhr, M., & Nasiritousi, N. (2012). Resisting transparency: Corruption, legitimacy, and the quality of global environmental policies. *Global Environmental Politics*, 12(4), 9-29. https://doi.org/10.1162/GLEP_a_00137. Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Berglez, P. (2013). *Global journalism: Theory and practice*. Peter Lang Publishing Group.
- Bhattacharyya, S., & Hodler, R. (2015). Media freedom and democracy in the fight against corruption. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 39, 13-24. ISSN: 2042-1168.
- Bhattacharyya, S., & Hodler, R. (2015). Media freedom and democracy in the fight against corruption. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 39, 13-24. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2015.03.004>.
- Brei, Z. A. (1996). Corruption: difficulties for definition and for a consensus. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 30(1), 64-a.
- Breit, E. (2010). On the (re) construction of corruption in the media: A critical discursive approach. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 92(4), 619-635. DOI: 10.1007/s10551-009-0177-y.
- Berti, C., Bratu, R., & Wickberg, S. (2020). Corruption and the media: A research agenda for studies of corruption, 107-117. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781789905007.00015>.
- Breit, E., & Vaara, E. (2014). Corruption and the media: Infotainment, moralization, dramatization, and conversationalization. In *Organizations and the Media* (pp. 48-61). Routledge. ISBN9780203068052.

- Boas, T. (2013). Mass media and politics in Latin America. *Constructing democratic governance in Latin America*, 4, 48-77. Available in: https://people.bu.edu/tboas/media_LA.pdf. Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Bohn, S. R. (2012). Corruption in Latin America: Understanding the perception-exposure gap. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 4(3), 67-95. ISSN: 1868-4890 (online), ISSN: 1866-802X.
- Bonifácio, R., & Fuks, M. (2017). Desvendando a relação entre corrupção e participação política na América Latina: Diagnóstico e impactos da exposição a atos corruptos sobre a participação política. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, 25, 27-52. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1678-987317256302>.
- Bourdieu, P., Curto, D. R., Domingos, N., & Jerónimo, M. B. (1989). *O poder simbólico* (Vol. 6). Lisboa: Difel.
- Bohara, A. K., Mitchell, N. J., & Mittendorff, C. F. (2004). Compound Democracy and the Control of Corruption: A Cross-Country Investigation. *Policy Studies Journal*, 32(4), 481-499. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-0072.2004.00077>.
- Bos, W., & Tarnai, C. (1999). Content analysis in empirical social research. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 31(8), 659-671. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355\(99\)00032-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0883-0355(99)00032-4).
- Boyd, D. M., & Ellison, N. B. (2007). Social network sites: Definition, history, and scholarship. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 13(1), 210-230.
- Budak, A. (2010). Facebook, Twitter and Barack Obama: New media and the 2008 presidential elections. Georgetown University.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., Boulton, E., Davey, L., & McEvoy, C. (2021). The online survey as a qualitative research tool. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 24(6), 641-654. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13645579.2020.1805550>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Brazilian Media Survey 2015. Available in: <https://aerp.org.br/geral/pesquisa-brasileira-de-midia-2015-2/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Brunetti, A., & Weder, B. (2003). A free press is bad news for corruption. *Journal of Public Economics*, 87(7-8), 1801-1824. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727\(01\)00186-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(01)00186-4). Accessed: March 1, 2024.
- Bruns, A., & Highfield, T. (2015). Is Habermas on Twitter?: Social media and the public sphere. In *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics* (pp. 56-73). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315716299>.
- Bruns, C., & Himmler, O. (2016). Mass media, instrumental information, and electoral accountability. *Journal of Public Economics*, 134, 75-84.

Campbell, J. L., & Göritz, A. S. (2014). Culture corrupts! A qualitative study of organizational culture in corrupt organizations. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 120(3), 291-311. DOI 10.1007/s10551-013-1665-7.

Canel, M. J., & Sanders, K. (2007). Morality Tales. Political Scandals and Journalism in Britain and Spain in the 1990s1. *Sphera Pública*, (7), 233-236. ISSN: 1180-9210.

Carreirão, Y. D. S. (2007). Identificação ideológica, partidos e voto na eleição presidencial de 2006. *Opinião Pública*, 13, 307-339. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-62762007000200004>.

Carvalho Júnior, O. L. D. (2013). Visibilidade midiática e carreiras parlamentares: análise comparativa entre deputados do Brasil e da Alemanha. *Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores em Comunicação Política*, 1-32.

Castells, M. (1997). An introduction to the information age. *City*, 2(7), 6-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604819708900050>.

Castells, M. (2015). *A comunicação na era digital. O poder da comunicação*. São Paulo: Paz e Terra.

Castells, M., & Cardoso, G. (2005). *A sociedade em rede: do conhecimento à acção política*.

Ceron, A. (2015). Internet, news, and political trust: The difference between social media and online media outlets. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 20(5), 487-503. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12129>.

Chandra, S., Khan, L., & Muhaya, F. B. (2011, October). Estimating Twitter user location using social interactions--a content based approach. In *2011 IEEE Third International Conference on Privacy, Security, Risk and Trust and 2011 IEEE Third International Conference on Social Computing* (pp. 838-843). IEEE. DOI: 10.1109/PASSAT/SocialCom.2011.120.

Charron, N., Lapuente, V., & Annoni, P. (2019). Measuring quality of government in EU regions across space and time. *Papers in Regional Science*, 98(5), 1925-1953. <https://doi.org/10.1111/pirs.12437>.

Charron, N., & Annoni, P. (2021). What is the influence of news media on people's perception of corruption? Parametric and non-parametric approaches. *Social Indicators Research*, 153(3), 1139-1165. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-020-02527-0>.

Charron, N., & Schwenk, J. (2022). Inclusive candidate selection and corruption: evidence from Spanish regions. *West European Politics*, 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2022.2132026>.

Chizzotti, A. (2003). A pesquisa qualitativa em ciências humanas e sociais: evolução e desafios. *Revista Portuguesa de Educação*, 16(2), 221-236.

Cody, E. M., Reagan, A. J., Dodds, P. S., & Danforth, C. M. (2016). Public opinion polling with Twitter. arXiv preprint arXiv:1608.02024. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1608.02024>.

CNN. Brasil encerra 2021 com 412.880 mortes no ano por Covid-19. Available in: <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/saude/brasil-encerra-2021-com-412-880-mortes-por-Covid-19/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Choy, M., Cheong, M., Laik, M. N., & Shung, K. P. (2012). US presidential election 2012 prediction using census corrected Twitter model. arXiv preprint arXiv:1211.0938. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1211.0938>.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Successful qualitative research: A practical guide for beginners. *Successful qualitative research*, 1-400.

Corrupção ataca R\$ 1,48 bilhão destinados ao combate à COVID-19. Estado de Minas. Disponível em https://www.em.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2020/06/11/interna_politica,1155732/corruptao-ataca-r-1-48-bilhao-destinados-ao-combate-a-Covid-19.shtml. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Corruption Perception Index. Available in: <https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

“Covidão” já atinge governos de sete Estados e valor investigado chega a R\$ 1,07 bilhão. BBC Brasil. Available in: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-53038337>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Cunha, I. F. (2014). Visibilidade da cobertura jornalística da corrupção política e indicadores de opinião pública. *Cobertura jornalística da corrupção política: sistemas políticos, sistemas mediáticos e enquadramentos legais*, 260-294.

Cunha, I. F. (2015). Da ‘desdemocratização’ da Europa: democracia, media e corrupção política. *Intercom: Revista Brasileira de Ciências da Comunicação*, 38, 37-63. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1809-5844201512>.

Cunha, I. F. (2009). A cobertura televisiva de Partidos, Candidatos e Temas nas Legislativas. *Os Media e as Eleições. Europeias, Legislativas e Autárquicas de*, 95-132.

Cunha, I. F., & Araújo, B. (2018). As notícias sobre corrupção e as redes de sociabilidade: um estudo exploratório em Portugal, Brasil e Angola. *Observatorio (OBS*)*, 12(2), 90-107. ISSN-e 1646-5954.

Czibik, Á., Pápay, B., Szántó, Z., & Tóth, I. J. (2016). Computer assisted content analysis of the print press coverage of corruption in Hungary.

Da Rocha, H. C. L. (2007). Habermas e a teoria do jornalismo: a manipulação ideológica no jornalismo como distorção sistemática da comunicação. *Revista Contracampo*. <https://doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v0i16.395>.

Da Silva, A. J. B., & Larkins, E. R. (2019). The Bolsonaro election, antiblackness, and changing race relations in Brazil. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, 24(4), 893-913. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12438>.

Damgaard, M. (2018). Cascading corruption news: explaining the bias of media attention to Brazil's political scandals. *Opinião pública*, 24, 114-143. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-01912018241114>.

Damgaard, M. (2015). Corruption: Multiple margins and mediatized transgression. *Ephemera: theory & politics in organization*, 15(2). ISSN 1473-2866 (Online), ISSN 2052-1499 (Print).

Damgaard, M. B. (2018). *Media leaks and corruption in Brazil: the infostorm of impeachment and the "Lava Jato" scandal*. Routledge.

De Albuquerque, A. (2000). Um outro "Quarto Poder": imprensa e compromisso político no Brasil. *Revista Contracampo*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v0i04.414>

De Albuquerque, A., & Ribeiro, M. D. (2002). Propaganda política e a construção da imagem partidária no Brasil. *Civitas-Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 2(2), 309-326. ISSN: 1519-6089.

De Albuquerque, Afonso. Protecting democracy or conspiring against it? Media and politics in Latin America: A glimpse from Brazil. *Journalism*, v. 20, n. 7, p. 906-923, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917738376>.

De Lima, V. A. (2006). *Mídia: crise política e poder no Brasil*. Editora Fundação Perseu Abramo.

Demeter, M. (2017). Control, communication, and the voice of the leader. A control-character analysis of the 2016 US presidential debate. *KOME: An International Journal of Pure Communication Inquiry*, 5(1), 40-64. DOI: 10.17646/KOME.2017.13.

Dikmen, S., & Çiçek, H. G. (2023). Fighting against corruption and bribery in public procurements during the Covid-19 pandemic. In *The ethics of bribery: Theoretical and empirical studies* (pp. 309-328). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2011). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. sage.

Eigenstuhler, D. P., Pacassa, F., Kruger, S. D., & Mazzioni, S. (2021). Influência das características dos países na disseminação da Covid-19. *Revista Gestão Organizacional*, 14(1), 172-191. <https://doi.org/10.22277/rgo.v14i1.5715>.

e Souza, C. S. (2019). Making sense of corruption by Bo Rothstein and Aiysha Varraich. *Corvinus Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 10(2), 195-200. <https://doi.org/10.14267/CJSSP.2019.2.11>.

Einspänner, J., Dang-Anh, M., & Thimm, C. (2014). Computer-assisted content analysis of Twitter data. ISSN1526-3169.

Empresa Brasil de Comunicação. Mais de 40% dos brasileiros usam a internet como meio de comunicação. Available in: <https://memoria.ebc.com.br/noticias/brasil/2014/12/mais-de-40-dos-brasileiros-usam-a-internet-como-meio-de-comunicacao>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Fazekas, M., & Tóth, I. J. (2016). From corruption to state capture: A new analytical framework with empirical applications from Hungary. *Political Research Quarterly*, 69(2), 320-334. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912916639137>.

Feezell, J. T. (2018). Agenda setting through social media: The importance of incidental news exposure and social filtering in the digital era. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(2), 482-494. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591291774489>.

Feres Júnior, J., & Sassara, L. D. O. (2016). Corrupção, escândalos e a cobertura midiática da política. *Novos estudos CEBRAP*, 35, 205-225. <https://doi.org/10.25091/S0101-3300201600020011>.

Fernandes, C. M., de Oliveira, L. A., Coimbra, M. R., & dos Santos, D. L. V. (2021). Comunicação política e midiática: o embate de Bolsonaro com a imprensa. *Intexto*, 98933-98933. <https://doi.org/10.19132/1807-8583202152.98933>.

Fernandes, G. A. D. A. L., & Pereira, B. L. S. (2020). Os desafios do financiamento do enfrentamento à COVID-19 no SUS dentro do pacto federativo. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 54, 595-613. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-761220200290>.

Ferrante, L., Duczmal, L., Steinmetz, W. A., Almeida, A. C. L., Leão, J., Vassão, R. C., ... & Fearnside, P. M. (2021). How Brazil's President turned the country into a global epicenter of COVID-19. *Journal of Public Health Policy*, 42(3), 439-451.

Ferraz, Claudio; FINAN, Frederico. Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(2), 703-745. <https://doi.org/10.1162/qjec.2008.123.2.703>.

Fidel, R. (1984). The case study method: A case study. *Library and Information Science Research*, 6(3), 273-288.

Figueiras, R. (2017). A construção mediática da corrupção política: opinião e informação sobre os casos BPN, Freeport e Face Oculta nos noticiários televisivos portugueses. *Observatorio (OBS)*, 11*(3), 78-105. <https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS11320171026>.

Filgueiras, F. (2008). Marcos teóricos da corrupção. In *Corrupção: ensaios e críticas*. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 353-361.

Florêncio Filho, M. A., & Zanon, P. B. (2020). Covid-19 e corrupção: políticas de controle em face às medidas emergenciais. *Revista Pensamento Jurídico*, 14(2).

Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4, 301-316.

Folha de São Paulo. Recuperado de <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2020/03/tvs-e-jornais-lideram-indice-de-confianca-em-informacoes-sobre-coronavirus-diz-datafolha.shtml>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Fontes, G. S., & Marques, F. P. J. (2022). Defending democracy or amplifying populism? Journalistic coverage, Twitter, and users' engagement in Bolsonaro's Brazil. *Journalism*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849221075429>.

Foucault, Michel. (1979). *Microfísica do poder*. 22ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal.

France, G., & Kukutschka, R. M. (2019). *Kyrgyzstan: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption*. Transparency International.

Franco, M. L. P. B. (2020). *Análise de conteúdo* (Vol. 6). Autores Associados.

Franklin, L. A., de Almeida Mendes, W., & Franklin, E. C. S. (2021). Covid-19 e suspeitas de corrupção: fragilidades da Administração Pública Brasileira. *Revista de Ciências Humanas*, 3(21).

Freedomhouse. Brasil. Disponível em: <https://freedomhouse.org/country/brazil/freedom-net/2021%20PARTLY%20FREE%20PARTLY%20FREE%20como%20uma%20escala%20de%2063/100>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Frolova, I., Antonova, I., Khamitova, L., Zakirova, L., & Chukmarova, L. (2017). Studies the social media on corruption issues through content analysis. *Revista ESPACIOS*, 38(49).

Gamson, W. A., Croteau, D., Hoynes, W., & Sasson, T. (1992). Media images and the social construction of reality. *Annual review of sociology*, 18(1), 373-393. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.18.080192.002105>.

Giddens, A. (1989). *A constituição da sociedade* (Vol. 458). São Paulo: Martins Fontes.

Gimmler, A. (2001). Deliberative democracy, the public sphere and the internet. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 27(4), 21-39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0191453701027004>.

Gomes, V. B., Fernandes, C. M., & de Oliveira, L. A. (2022). Analogias populistas na narrativa presidencial:: contrapontos à ciência na pandemia da COVID-19. *Razón y Palabra*, 26(115), 134-151.

Gomes, W., Fernandes, B., Reis, L., & Silva, T. (2009). "Politics 2.0": a campanha online de Barack Obama em 2008. *Revista de Sociologia e Política*, 17, 29-43. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-44782009000300004>.

Gray, C.W., & Kaufmann, D. (1998). Corruption and development. *Finance & Development*, 18(1), 7-10.

Grupo Globo - statistics & facts. Statista. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/topics/8265/globo/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Guerreiro, C., & Almeida, R. D. (2021). Negacionismo religioso: Bolsonaro e lideranças evangélicas na pandemia Covid-19. *Religião & Sociedade*, 41, 49-74. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0100-85872021v41n2cap02>.

G1. Datafolha: 53% dos brasileiros acham que corrupção irá aumentar nos próximos meses. Available in: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2022/03/29/datafolha-53percent-dos-brasileiros-acham-que-corrupcao-ira-aumentar.ghtml>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Guttmann, A.. Jan 5, 2023. Press freedom index in Brazil 2015-2022.| Statista. Between 2018 and 2022, the press freedom index of Brazil plummeted, going from 68.79 to 55.36. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/955768/press-freedom-index-brazil> Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Habermas, J. (1984). Habermas: Questions and counterquestions. *Praxis International*, 4(3), 229-249.

Habermas, J. (2010). *Mudança estrutural da esfera pública: investigações sobre uma categoria da sociedade burguesa* (DL Werle, trad.). São Paulo, SP: Unesp.

Habermas, J. (2016). Comunicação política na sociedade mediática: o impacto da teoria normativa na pesquisa empírica. *Líbero*, (21), 9-21.

Habermas, Jürgen (1981) *The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. 2, Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hall, S. (2003). Introduction to media studies at the centre. In *Culture, media, language* (pp. 104-109). Routledge. ISBN: 9780203381182.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0 521 54308 8.

Hajdu, M., Pápay, B., Szántó, Z., & Tóth, I. J. (2018). Content analysis of corruption coverage: Cross-national differences and commonalities. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(1), 7-21. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323117750673>.

Habermas, Jürgen (1990) *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hedman, U. (2016). When journalists tweet: Disclosure, participatory, and personal transparency. *Social media+ society*, 2(1), 2056305115624528.

Heywood, P. (1997). Political corruption: Problems and perspectives. *Political studies*, 45(3), 417-435. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.00089>.

Heywood, P. M. (2007). Corruption in contemporary Spain. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 40(4), 695-699. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096507071119>.

Hindman, D. B. (2012). Changes in community power structures. In *Changing the News* (pp. 118-135). Routledge.

Hirschman, A. O. (1983). *De consumidor a cidadão: atividades privadas e participação na vida pública*. Brasiliense. ISBN: 9788520334485.

Hrenechen, V. C. D. A. T., & Gadini, S. L. (2018). O papel do Twitter no agendamento jornalístico em mídia regional no Paraná. *Novos Olhares*, 7(2), 64-77.

Hunter, W., & Power, T. J. (2019). Bolsonaro and Brazil's illiberal backlash. *Journal of democracy*, 30(1), 68-82. DOI: 10.1353/jod.2019.0005.

Huntington, S. P. (1991). How countries democratize. *Political science quarterly*, 106(4), 579-616.

Innis, H. A. (2022). *Empire and communications*. University of Toronto Press.

Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (Ipea). Available in: www.ipeadata.gov.br/Default.aspx. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Instituto Tecnologia e Sociedade (ITS). Ataques ao jornalismo se alastraram nas redes. Available in: <https://itsrio.org/pt/publicacoes/ataques-ao-jornalismo-se-alastraram-nas-redes/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Intercept. EXCLUSIVO: rachadinha de Flávio Bolsonaro financiou prédios ilegais da milícia no Rio, mostra investigação do MP. Available in: <https://www.intercept.com.br/2020/04/25/flavio-bolsonaro-rachadinha-financiou-milicia/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

International Sociological Association's (ISA). Available in: <https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/about-isa/code-of-ethics/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Jahanbakhsh, K., & Moon, Y. (2014). The predictive power of social media: On the predictability of US presidential elections using Twitter. arXiv preprint arXiv:1407.0622. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.1407.0622>

Jha, C. K., & Sarangi, S. (2014). Social media, Internet and corruption. *Information Economics and Policy*, 39, 2-42.

Johns Hopkins Coronavirus Resource Center. Available in: <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/map.html>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Jucá, I., Melo, M. A., & Rennó, L. (2016). The political cost of corruption: Scandals, campaign finance, and reelection in the Brazilian chamber of deputies. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 8(2), 3-36. SSN: 1868-4890 (online), ISSN: 1866-802X.

Jürgens, P., Jungherr, A., & Schoen, H. (2011, June). Small worlds with a difference: New gatekeepers and the filtering of political information on Twitter. In *Proceedings of the 3rd international web science conference* (pp. 1-5). <https://doi.org/10.1145/2527031.2527034>

Jungherr, A. (2014). Twitter in politics: A comprehensive literature review. SSRN 2865150. DOI: 10.1080/19331681.2015.1132401.

Jungherr, A., Schoen, H., & Jürgens, P. (2016). The mediation of politics through Twitter: An analysis of messages posted during the campaign for the German federal election 2013. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 21(1), 50-68. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12143>.

Katz, E., and P. F. Lazarsfeld. (1955). *Personal Influence: The Role Played by Individuals in the Flow of Mass Communication*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Key Jr, V. O. (1935). *The Techniques of Political Graft in the United States*. The University of Chicago. DOI: 1935. 10656181.

Kerche, F., & Júnior, J. F. (2018). *Operação Lava Jato and Brazilian Democracy*. Editora Contracorrente.

Kim, Y., Gonzenbach, W. J., Vargo, C. J., & Kim, Y. (2016). First and Second Levels of Intermedia Agenda Setting: Political Advertising, Newspapers, and Twitter During the 2012 US Presidential Election. *International Journal of Communication*, 10, 20. DOI: 1932–8036/20160005.

Kinzo, M. D. A. (2005). Political Parties in the Electorate: Public Perceptions and Party Bonds in Brazil. *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 20, 65-81. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0102-69092005000100005>.

Kiouis, S. (2001). Public trust or mistrust? Perceptions of media credibility in the information age. *Mass communication & society*, 4(4), 381-403. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327825MCS0404_4.

Klitgaard, R. (2017, June). On Culture and Corruption. Paper presented at the Public Integrity and Anti-Corruption Workshop at Nuffield College, Oxford, June (Vol. 13, p. 2017). Available in: <https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/2018-05/BSG-WP-2017-020.pdf>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Kreiss, D. (2016). Seizing the Moment: The Presidential Campaigns' Use of Twitter During the 2012 Electoral Cycle. *New Media & Society*, 18(8), 1473-1490. DOI: 10.1177/1461444814562445.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Sage Publications.

Kiss, B. (2005). *Marketing Culture and the Celebrity Politician: The Restyling of Politics*. ISSN 1788-1064.

Kiss, B. (2021). Double Ressentiment: The Political Communication of Kulturkampf in Hungary. *Politics and Governance*, 9(3), 227-236. ISSN: 2183-2463.

Lagunes, P., Michener, G., Odilla, F., & Pires, B. (2021). President Bolsonaro's Promises and Actions on Corruption Control. *Revista Direito GV*, 17. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2317-6172202121>.

Latinobarometro. Available in: <https://www.latinobarometro.org/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Lennerfors, T. T. (2009). The Vicissitudes of Corruption: Degeneration, Transgression, Jouissance. *Business & Society*, 48(3), 406-419. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0007650309332154>.

Li, J., Chen, W. H., Xu, Q., Shah, N., Kohler, J. C., & Mackey, T. K. (2020). Detection of Self-reported Experiences with Corruption on Twitter Using Unsupervised Machine Learning. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 2(1), 100060. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2020.100060>.

Lopes, M. S., Albuquerque, G., & Bezerra, G. M. L. (2021). "2018, a Batalha Final": Lava Jato and Bolsonaro in an Anti-corruption and Anti-system Campaign. *Civitas-Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 20, 377-389. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1984-7289.2020.3.37248>.

Lull, J., & Hinerman, S. (2000). En búsqueda del escándalo. *Estudios sobre las culturas contemporáneas*, (10), 61-93. ISSN: 1405-2210.

Madeira, M. J., & Pereira, C. M. (2012). Introductory Note. *Revista de Política Social*, 45, 12-16.

Magnagnagno, O. A., Luciano, E. M., & Wiedenhöft, G. (2022). Impact of Information System Institutionalization on Corruption in the Brazilian Public Health System. *Transforming Government: People, Process, and Policy*. ISSN: 1750-6166.

Maia, A., Costa, Y., Santos, A., Nascimento, I., & Melo, G. (2020). Transparency of Data on Emergency Procurement for COVID-19 Combat. In Congresso USP. São Paulo. Available in: <https://congressosp.fipecafi.org/anais/20UspInternational/ArtigosDownload/2891.pdf>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Mancini, P. (2018). Political Scandals as a Democratic Challenge: "Assassination Campaigns": Corruption Scandals and News Media Instrumentalization. *International Journal of Communication*, 12, 20. DOI: 1932-8036/20180005.

Mancini, P. (2021). Mediated Corruption Scandals: A Possible Typology. *Civitas-Revista de Ciências Sociais*, 20, 390-398. <https://doi.org/10.15448/1984-7289.2020.3.37878>.

Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., & Zoltan, S. (2016). Case Studies on Corruption Involving Journalists: Conclusion. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-7612175197>.

Mancini, P., Mazzoni, M., Cornia, A., & Marchetti, R. (2017). Representations of Corruption in the British, French, and Italian Press: Audience Segmentation and the Lack

of Universally Shared Indignation. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 22(1), 67-91. DOI: 10.1177/1940161216674652.

Marchetti, R. (2016). *Methodology of Human-assisted Content Analysis*. Available in: <http://anticorrp.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/D6.1.11.pdf>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Marwick, A. E., & Boyd, D. (2011). "I Tweet Honestly, I Tweet Passionately": Twitter Users, Context Collapse, and the Imagined Audience. *New Media & Society*, 13(1), 114-133. DOI: 10.1177/1461444810365313.

Mazzoni, M., Marchetti, R., Barbieri, G., Mincigrucchi, R., & Stanziano, A. (2022). *Media and Corruption in Western Balkan Countries*. COLLANA DI DIRITTO E SOCIETÀ, 10320, 54-78. ISBN: 978-88-351-2688-1.

Manfredi-Sánchez, J. L., Amado-Suárez, A., & Waisbord, S. (2021). Presidential Twitter in the Face of COVID-19: Between Populism and Pop Politics. *Comunicar: Media Education Research Journal*, 29(66), 79-90. ISSN-1134-3478.

Matias-Pereira, J. (2002). *State Reform and Transparency: Strategies for Controlling Corruption in Brazil*. Available in: <https://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/940>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

McLuhan, M. (1994). *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. MIT Press.

McClain, C., Widjaya, R., Rivero, G., & Smith, A. (2021). *The Behaviors and Attitudes of U.S. Adults on Twitter*, Pew Research Center: Internet, Science & Tech. United States of America. Retrieved from <https://policycommons.net/artifacts/1894717/the-behaviors-and-attitudes-of-us/2644730/> on 23 Apr 2023. CID: 20.500.12592/2zr78m.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36(2), 176-187. <https://doi.org/10.1086/267990>.

McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1993). The Evolution of Agenda-Setting Research: Twenty-five Years in the Marketplace of Ideas. *Journal of Communication*, 43(2), 58-67.

McCombs, M. E., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. H. (2013). *Communication and Democracy: Exploring the Intellectual Frontiers in Agenda-setting Theory*. Routledge. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203810880>.

McDermott, M. L., Schwartz, D., & Vallejo, S. (2015). Talking the Talk but Not Walking the Walk: Public Reactions to Hypocrisy in Political Scandal. *American Politics Research*, 43(6), 952-974. DOI: 10.1177/1532673X15577830.

McQuail, D. (1987). *Mass communication theory: An introduction*. Sage Publications, Inc.

Miguel, L. F., & Biroli, F. (2010). *Media, Representation, and Democracy*. Editora Hucitec.

Ministry of Communications. Research Shows that 82.7% of Brazilian Households Have Internet Access. Available in: <https://www.gov.br/mcom/pt-br/noticias/2021/abril/pesquisa-mostra-que-82-7-dos-domicilios-brasileiros-tem-acesso-a-internet>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Miranda, L. F. (2018). Unifying the Concepts of Corruption: An Approach Through the New Methodology of Concepts. *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, 237-272. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-335220182507>.

Monari, A. C. P., de Araújo, K. M., de Souza, M. R., & Sacramento, I. (2021). Legitimizing Anti-Science Populism: Analysis of Bolsonaro's Arguments on COVID-19 Vaccination on Twitter. *Liinc em Revista*, 17(1), e5707. <https://doi.org/10.18617/liinc.v17i1.5707>.

Mullen, M. (2006). Coming to Terms with the Future He Foresaw: Marshall McLuhan's "Understanding Media".

Mullen, M. (2009). Space Bias/Time Bias: Harold Innis, "Empire and Communications".

Neto, J. S., Dias, E. C., & Caleffi, R. (2015). Entre Bourdieu e Foucault: relações de poder nos campos político e comunicacional. *Revista Tuiuti: Ciência e Cultura*, (50), 55-70.

Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited*. Cambridge University Press.

Ortiz, R. (1988). *A moderna tradição brasileira* (pp. 28-28). São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.

Padula, A. J. A., & Albuquerque, P. H. M. (2018). Corrupção governamental no mercado de capitais: Um estudo acerca da operação Lava Jato. *Revista de Administração de Empresas*, 58, 405-417. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-759020180406>.

Paiva, A. L., Garcia, A. S., & Alcântara, V. C. (2016). Representações e Disputas Discursivas sobre a Corrupção no Brasil: uma Análise Crítica na Rede Social Twitter. In IX Encontro de Estudos Organizacionais da ANPAD. *Anais do ENEO*, Belo Horizonte.

Paiva, D., Braga, M. D. S. S., & Pimentel Jr, J. T. P. (2007). Eleitorado e partidos políticos no Brasil. *Opinião pública*, 13, 388-408. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-62762007000200007>.

Paiva, A. L. D., Garcia, A. S., & Alcântara, V. D. C. (2017). Disputas discursivas sobre corrupção no Brasil: uma análise discursivo-crítica no Twitter. *Revista de Administração Contemporânea*, 21, 627-647. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-7849rac2017160163>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Pardo, I. (Ed.). (2017). *Between morality and the law: Corruption, anthropology and comparative society*. Routledge.

Park, C. S. (2012, September). How the media frame political corruption: Episodic and thematic frame stories found in Illinois newspapers. Paper Originally Prepared for the

Ethics and Reform Symposium on Illinois Government (September 27-28, 2012). Available in: https://paulsimoninstitute.siu.edu/_common/documents/whats-in-the-water/water-illinois/park.pdf. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Pak, A., & Paroubek, P. (2010, May). Twitter as a corpus for sentiment analysis and opinion mining. *LREc* (Vol. 10, No. 2010, pp. 1320-1326). Available in: https://lexitron.nectec.or.th/public/LREC-2010_Malta/pdf/385_Paper.pdf. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Parmelee, J. H. (2013). Political journalists and Twitter: Influences on norms and practices. *Journal of Media Practice*, 14(4), 291. https://doi.org/10.1386/jmpr.14.4.291_1. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Pereira, C., Medeiros, A., & Bertholini, F. (2020). O medo da morte flexibiliza perdas e aproxima polos: consequências políticas da pandemia da COVID-19 no Brasil. *Revista de Administração Pública*, 54, 952-968. <https://doi.org/10.1590/0034-761220200327>.

Proferes, N., Jones, N., Gilbert, S., Fiesler, C., & Zimmer, M. (2021). Studying reddit: A systematic overview of disciplines, approaches, methods, and ethics. *Social Media+ Society*, 7(2), 20563051211019004.

Recuero, R. D. C., & Soares, F. B. (2021). O Discurso Desinformativo sobre a Cura da Covid-19 no Twitter: Estudo de caso. *E-Compós: Revista da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação*, 24, 1-29. <https://doi.org/10.30962/ec.2127>.

Reis, F. W. (2008). Corrupção, cultura e ideologia. In *Corrupção: ensaios e críticas* (pp. 328-334). Belo Horizonte: UFMG.

Reporters without borders. (n.d.). Pesquisa analisa tuítes que atacam a mídia brasileira. Retrieved from <https://rsf.org/en/survey-analyses-tweets-attacking-brazil-s-media>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Rizzica, L., & Tonello, M. (2015). Exposure to media and corruption perceptions. Bank of Italy Temi di Discussione (working paper) no. 1043. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2757071>.

Robinson, J. A., & Acemoglu, D. (2012). Why nations fail: The origins of power, prosperity and poverty (pp. 45-47). London: Profile.

Rose-Ackerman, S. (1997). The political economy of corruption. *Corruption and the global economy*, 31(60), 54.

Rose-Ackerman, S. (2005). The challenge of poor governance and corruption. *Especial 1 DIREITO GV L. Rev.*, 207.

Rose-Ackerman, S. (2008). Corruption and government. *International peacekeeping*, 15(3), 328-343. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13533310802058802>.

Rose-Ackerman, S. (2021). Corruption and COVID-19. *EUNOMÍA. Revista en Cultura de la Legalidad*, (20), 16-36. <https://doi.org/10.20318/eunomia.2021.6061>.

Rothstein, B., & Varraich, A. (2017). *Making sense of corruption*. Cambridge University Press.

Rubim, A. A. C. (2000). A contemporaneidade como idade média. *Interface-Comunicação, Saúde, Educação*, 4(7), 25-36. Available in: <https://www.scielo.org/pdf/icse/v4n7/03.pdf>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Rubim, A. A. C. *Espetáculo, política e mídia*. VII Encontro Anual da Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação – COMPÓS, 2002. Available in: <http://bocc.ufp.pt/pag/rubim-antonio-espetaculo-politica.pdf>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Saad-Filho, A., & Boffo, M. (2021). The corruption of democracy: Corruption scandals, class alliances, and political authoritarianism in Brazil. *Geoforum*, 124, 300-309. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.02.003>.

Salge, C. A. D. L., & Karahanna, E. (2018). Protesting corruption on Twitter: Is it a bot or is it a person?. *Academy of Management Discoveries*, 4(1), 32-49. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amd.2015.0121>.

Santos, E. R., Castro, H. C. D. O. D., & Hoffmann, F. (2021). A democracia brasileira e seus inimigos. *Revista Katálysis*, 24, 127-138. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1982-0259.2021.e73472>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Santos, N. F. D., & Cesar, C. M. (2022). Covid and populism in the news: how Brazilian media outlets approach the issue of populism during the pandemic. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 17, 536-561. <https://doi.org/10.25200/BJR.v17n3.2021.1426>.

Santos, R. M., Ciocari, D., & de Moraes, T. P. B. (2020). O clã Bolsonaro e o Twitter: comunicação política e influência na rede social. *Mediapolis–Revista de Comunicação, Jornalismo e Espaço Público*, (10), 65-81. https://doi.org/10.14195/2183-6019_10_5.

Savigny, H. (2002). Public opinion, political communication and the internet. *Politics*, 22(1), 1-8.

Scheffer, D. (2020). Is It a Crime to Mishandle a Public Health Response?. *Council of Foreign Relations*, 22.

Schwartzberg, R. G. (1967). *La campagne présidentielle de 1965*. FeniXX.

Seleim, A., & Bontis, N. (2009). The relationship between culture and corruption: A cross-national study. *Journal of Intellectual capital*, 10(1), 165-184. ISSN: 1469-1930.

Seligson, M. A. (2002). The impact of corruption on regime legitimacy: A comparative study of four Latin American countries. *Journal of politics*, 64(2), 408-433. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2508.00132>

Seligson, M., & Zéphyr, D. (2008). Democratic Values in Haiti, 2006-2008. AmericasBarometer Report.

Senado Noticias. CPI da Covid é criada pelo Senado. Fonte: Agência Senado. Available in: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/noticias/materias/2021/04/13/senado-cria-cpi-da-Covid>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Serrano, E. (2016). Jornalismo e justiça na cobertura da corrupção política. Available in: https://research.unl.pt/ws/portalfiles/portal/3068055/CIC_Digital_Estrela_Serrano_Jornalismo_e_justi_a_na_cobertura_da_corrup_o_pol_tica.pdf. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Sinha, A. (2019). The networked public: how social media is changing democracy. Rupa Publications India Pvt. Limited.

Silva, C., Leal, P. R. F., & de Oliveira, L. A. (2020). Das eleições de 2014 ao impeachment de 2016: as estratégias de Dilma Rousseff (PT) e de Aécio Neves (PSDB) no contexto de personalização da política. *Conexão-Comunicação e Cultura*, 18(36). Available in: <https://repositorio.ufjf.br/jspui/handle/ufjf/6725>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Silveira, R. D. M. J., & Camargo, B. C. (2022). Novas e velhas leituras sobre a corrupção: o caso da "rachadinha". *Revista do Instituto de Ciências Penais*, 7(1), 46-72. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.46274/1809-192XRICP2022v7n1p46--72>.

Soares, F. B., & Recuero, R. (2017). Opinião pública no Twitter: análise da indicação de Alexandre de Moraes ao STF. *Logeion: Filosofia da Informação*, 3(2), 18-37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21728/logcion.2017v3n2.p18-37>.

Souza, C. S., & Silva, E. (2020). Convergence between Corruption and the Coronavirus Pandemic in Brazil. KKI Policy Brief, Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade. Available: https://kki.hu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/E-2020_96_brazil.pdf. ISSN 2416-0148. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Souza, Cibele Silva e. The personalization of politics and image construction processes: strategies of Dilma Rousseff and Aécio Neves in the 2014 Elections and 2016 Impeachment. Master's Dissertation Federal University of Juiz de Fora. 2018. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufjf.br/jspui/handle/ufjf/6725>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Sousa Lima, R., & Marques Serrano, A. L. (2022). Social network analysis against corruption: a study of the public budget related to the Covid-19 pandemic. *Revista de Contabilidade e Organizações*, 16. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.11606/issn.1982-6486.rco.2022.191515>.

Statista. Number of Twitter users in selected countries in Latin America as of January 2021. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/977791/number-Twitter-users-in-latin-american-countries/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Statista. Future expectations regarding corruption in Brazil from 2019 to 2021. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/760568/public-opinion-fight-corruption-brazil/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Statista. Platforms used to access or follow digital news in Brazil in 2020. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1178606/platforms-digital-news-consumption-brazil/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Statista. Press freedom index in Brazil from 2015 to 2022. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/955768/press-freedom-index-brazil/#:~:text=Press%20freedom%20index%20in%20Brazil%202015%2D2022&text=Between%202018%20and%202022%2C%20the,and%20the%20Caribbean%20in%202022>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Statista. Share of respondents who think corruption has increased over the past year in Brazil as of 2019. Available in: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/760268/public-opinion-corruption-brazil/>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Stiglitz, J. (2012). *The Price of Inequality*. New York: Norton.

Szàntò, Zoltán, István János Tóth, and Szabolcs Varga. (2012). The social and institutional structure of corruption: Some typical network configurations of corruption transactions in Hungary. In: Vedres B and Scotti M (eds) *Networks in Social Policy Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 156–176. Available in: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Zoltan-Szanto/publication/297163125_The_social_and_institutional_structure_of_corruption_Some_typical_network_configurations_of_corruption_transactions_in_Hungary/links/571f682008aefa64889a73e4/The-social-and-institutional-structure-of-corruption-Some-typical-network-configurations-of-corruption-transactions-in-Hungary.pdf. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Tella, R. D., & Franceschelli, I. (2011). Government advertising and media coverage of corruption scandals. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3(4), 119-151. DOI: 10.1257/app.3.4.119.

Teremetskyi, V., Duliba, Y., Kroitor, V., Korchak, N., & Makarenko, O. (2021). Corruption and strengthening anti-corruption efforts in healthcare during the pandemic of Covid-19. *Medico-Legal Journal*, 89(1), 25-28. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00258172220971925>.

The Guardian. Elon Musk's Twitter is fast proving that free speech at all costs is a dangerous fantasy. Available in: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2022/nov/28/elon-musk-Twitter-free-speech-donald-trump-kanye-west>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Thompson, J. B. (1998). *A mídia e a modernidade* (Vol. 8). Petrópolis: vozes.

Thompson, J. B. (2013). *Ideology and modern culture: Critical social theory in the era of mass communication*. John Wiley & Sons.

Thompson, J. B. (2005). The new visibility. *Theory, culture & society*, 22(6), 31-51. DOI: 10.1177/0263276405059413.

Thompson, J. B., & Guareschi, P. A. (2002). O escândalo político: poder e visibilidade na era da mídia.

Thompson, John B. (2000). *Political Scandal: Power and Visibility in the Media Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thompson, J., & Político–Poder, O. E. (2000). visibilidade na era da mídia.

Thompson, J. B. (1993). The theory of the public sphere. *Theory, culture & society*, 10(3), 173-189.

Transparency International. Available: <https://www.transparency.org/en/countries/brazil>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Tribunal de Contas da União (TCU). Available in: <https://portal.tcu.gov.br/imprensa/noticias/gastos-militares-no-combate-da-Covid-19-podem-ter-sofrido-desvio-de-finalidade.htm>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Tufekci, Z. (2014a). Social movements and governments in the digital age: Evaluating a complex landscape. *Journal of International Affairs*, 1-18.

Tufekci, Z. (2014). Big questions for social media big data: Representativeness, validity and other methodological pitfalls. In *Proceedings of the international AAAI conference on web and social media* (Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 505-514). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1609/icwsm.v8i1.14517>.

Tufekci, Z. (2018). How social media took us from Tahrir Square to Donald Trump. *MIT Technology Review*, 14, 18.

Tufekci, Z. (2017). *Twitter and tear gas: The power and fragility of networked protest*. Yale University Press.

Tumber, H. (2004). Scandal and media in the United Kingdom: From major to Blair. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(8), 1122-1137.

Tumber, H., & Waisbord, S. (2019). Media and scandal. In *The Routledge companion to media and scandal* (pp. 10-21). Routledge. ISBN 9781351173001.

Tumber, H., & Waisbord, S. R. (2004). Introduction: Political scandals and media across democracies, volume I. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(8), 1031-1039. DOI: [10.1177/0002764203262340](https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764203262340).

Turcotte, J., York, C., Irving, J., Scholl, R. M., & Pingree, R. J. (2015). News recommendations from social media opinion leaders: Effects on media trust and information seeking. *Journal of computer-mediated communication*, 20(5), 520-535. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12127>.

Treisman, Daniel. (2000). “The Causes of Corruption: A Cross-National Study.” *Journal of Public Economics*, 76(3), 399–457. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727\(99\)00092-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0047-2727(99)00092-4).

Tromble, R. (2021). Where have all the data gone? A critical reflection on academic digital research in the post-API age. *Social Media+ Society*, 7(1), 2056305121988929. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305121988929>.

Varraich, A. (2014). Corruption: An umbrella concept. ISSN1653-8919.

Van Dijk, T. (2012). *Discurso y Contexto. Una aproximación cognitiva*. Barcelona: Gedisa. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2005.03.001>.

Vaidya, S. (2005). Corruption in the media's gaze. *European Journal of Political Economy*, 21(3), 667-687. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2005.03.001>.

Ventura, D. D. F. L., Perrone-Moisés, C., & Martin-Chenut, K. (2021). Pandemic and crimes against humanity: the "inhuman character" of health catastrophe management in Brazil. *Revista Direito e Práxis*, 12, 2206-2257. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2179-8966/2021/61769>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Ventura, M. M. (2007). O estudo de caso como modalidade de pesquisa. *Revista SoCERJ*, 20(5), 383-386.

Venturi Junior, G. (2006). A opinião pública diante da crise. *Teoria e Debate*, 19(66), 20-26. Available in: <https://repositorio.usp.br/item/001542381>. Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Villoria, M., Jiménez, F., & Revuelta, A. (2014). Corruption perception and collective action: The case of Spain. In *Corruption in the contemporary world: Theory, practice and hotspots* (pp. 197-222). Available in: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Manuel-Villoria/publication/281404674_CORRUPTION_PERCEPTION_COLLECTIVE_ACTION_THE_CASE_OF_SPAIN/links/55e579fc08aebdc0f589d3cd/CORRUPTION-PERCEPTION-COLLECTIVE-ACTION-THE-CASE-OF-SPAIN.pdf Accessed: March 1, 2024.

Von Alemann, U. (2004). The unknown depths of political theory: The case for a multidimensional concept of corruption. *Crime L. & Soc. Change*, 42, 25. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:CRIS.0000041035.21045.1d>.

Warren, M. E. (2014). The meaning of corruption in democracies. In *Routledge handbook of political corruption* (pp. 42-55). Routledge. ISBN 9781315739175.

Waisbord, S. (2000). *Watchdog journalism in South America: News, accountability, and democracy*. Columbia University Press.

Weber, M. H., & Abreu, C. R. (2010). Debate político-eleitoral na televisão: jogo de cena e dispositivo estratégico. In *Mídia, representação e democracia no Brasil-estudos sobre comunicação política*. Hucitec, 1.

Williams, B. A., & Carpini, M. X. D. (2011). *After broadcast news: Media regimes, democracy, and the new information environment*. Cambridge University Press.

Yardi, S., & Boyd, D. (2010). Dynamic debates: An analysis of group polarization over time on Twitter. *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 30(5), 316-327. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02704676103800>.

Zhang, M., Zhang, H., Zhang, L., Peng, X., Zhu, J., Liu, D., & You, S. (2023). Corruption, anti-corruption, and economic development. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 10(1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01930-5>.

APPENDIX I

Categories	Description
1. Areas	Background areas of subjects involving corruption, mapping of the most recurrent. In the case of editorial portals or central themes of the material and in tweets the central focus of the publication.
2. Keywords linked with corruption	Words linked to the word corruption most recurrent and evident. In this case, the word must be associated with corruption and its seven concepts.
3. Concept	Most recurring concepts of corruption evident in data. These concepts dialogue with the idea of the ‘umbrella concept’.
4. Party/Policy	Map the parties that appear recurrently linked to corruption, both on portals and in Brazilian tweets.
5. Politicians	Faced with the wide universe of political actors, the research seeks to map the main political characters linked to corruption and how these characters are cited by journalistic and political subjects.
6. Scandals and Investigations/ Operations	Distribution of Scandals, Investigations and Operations related to corruption in order to understand which are the most recurrent in the country and how these subcategories are addressed.
7. Place	Focus on the national or international scene
8. States	Distribution of materials by Brazilian states, in order to verify where the phenomenon is more recurrent. In total, the country has 26 states, so the intention is to map the repercussions in the main states

APPENDIX II

Code book

Categories:

Categories
1. Areas
2. Related words
3. Concepts of corruption
4. Party
5. Political Actors
6. Scandals / Investigations / Operations
7. Place
8. States

Subcategories:

1. Areas	1.1 Econmy	
	1.2 Education	
	1.3 Enviroment	
	1.4 Health	
	1.5 Justice	
	1.6 Military	
	1.7 Party/Polcy	
	1.8 Religion	
	1.9 Sport	
	1.10 Infra-struture	
2. Related words	2.1 Ethic	
	2.2 Honesty	
	2.3 Justice	
	2.4 Moralty	
	2.5 Ethic	
3. Concepts of corruption	3.1 'Clientelism'	3.5 'Nepotism'
	3.2 'Collusion'	3.6 'Embezzement'
	3.3 'Corruption'	3.7 'Kickback /bribe'
	3.4 'Money Laundering'	3.8 'Bribery'
4. Party	4.1 Psol	
	4.2 PCdoB	
	4.3 PT	
	4.4 PSB	
	4.5 PDT	
	4.6 PV	
	4.7 PPS	
	4.8 PMN	
	4.9 PSDB	

	4.10 PTdoB
	4.11 PTB
	4.12 PRB
	4.13 PSD
	4.14 PSC
	4.15 PR
	4.17 PRP
	4.18 PP
	4.19 DEM
	4. 20 PL
	4.21 MDB

5. Political Actors	5.1 Sergio Cabral
	5.2 Cristiano Girão
	5.3 Antonio Peres Alves
	5.4 Eduardo Pazuello
	5.5 Renan Calheiros
	5.6 Fabricio Queiroz
	5.7 Omar Aziz
	5.8 Daniel Silveira
	5.9 Arthur Lira,
	5.10 Marcelo Crivella
	5.11 Ricardo Barros
	5.12 Bolsonaro
	5.13 Carlos Bolsonaro
	5.14 Eudardo Cunha
	5.15 Fernando Bezerra
	5.16 Flavio Bolsonaro
	5.17 Lula
	5.18 Wilson Witzel
	5.19 Pazuello
	5.20 Roberto Jefferson
	5.21 Sergio Moro
	5.22 Ricardo Sales
	5.23 Luis Miranda
	5.24 Milton Ribeiro

6. Scandals / Investigations / Operations	6.1 CPI of Covid
	6.2 Mensalão
	6.3Rachadinha
	6.4 Lava-Jato
	6.5 Vertex Operation
	6.6 Operação Vikare
	6.7 CPI Cemig
	6.8 Operação Harem
	6.9 Operação Desmico
	6.10 Operação Rekt

	6.11 Operação Planum
	6.12 Operação Rainha de Copas
	6.13 Operação Flight Level
	6.14 Operação de guerra
	6.15 Operação Pianjú
	6.16 Operação Calvary
	6.17 Operação Ouro Branco
	6.18 Operação Kryptos
	6.19 Operação Inventário
	6.20 Operação Balada
	6.21 Operação Esculápio

7. Place	7.1 International
	7.2 National

8. States	8.1 Acre (AC)
	8.2 Alagoas (AL)
	8.3 Amapá (AP)
	8.4 Amazonas (AM)
	8.5 Bahia (BA)
	8.6 Ceará (CE)
	8.7 Distrito Federal (DF)
	8.8 Espírito Santo (ES)
	8.9 Goiás (GO)
	8.10 Maranhão (MA)
	8.11 Mato Grosso (MT)
	8.12 Mato Grosso do Sul (MS)
	8.13 Minas Gerais (MG)
	8.14 Pará (PA)
	8.15 Paraíba (PB)
	8.16 Paraná (PR)
	8.17 Pernambuco (PE)
	8.18 Piauí (PI)
	8.19 Rio de Janeiro (RJ)
	8.20 Rio Grande do Norte (RN)
	8.21 Rio Grande do Sul (RS)
	8.22 Rondônia (RO)
	8.23 Roraima (RR)
	8.24 Santa Catarina (SC)
	8.25 São Paulo (SP)
	8.26 Sergipe (SE)
	8.27 Tocantins (TO)

