



TOPICS AND VOICES IN TOCANTINS STATE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA: ECONOMY VISIBILITY AND THE GOVERNMENT'S SPEECH

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DO ESTADO DO TOCANTINS: A VISIBILIDADE
DA ECONOMIA E A FALA DO GOVERNO**

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DO TOCANTINS: A VISIBILIDADE DA ECONOMIA E A FALA DO GOVERNO**

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present article is to assess how development in Tocantins State was introduced and reported by press to society. Press reports, as symbolic assets, were taken as both instruments of symbolic struggles and power to influence and trigger changes. Thus, either development influences the press or the press acts in the trajectory and dynamics of development. The present research is an analysis of *Jornal do Tocantins'* coverage from 1988 to 2018; it analyzes the framing and source-voices found in 525 texts. It was observed that economy sectors accounted for the highest visibility rates, with emphasis on agribusiness reports. Moreover, other fields also had significant visibility, namely: social, environmental, infrastructure reports, among others. With respect to source-voices, large space was given to governmental reports, which were followed by specific subjects on specialized topics, mainly on economics. Overall, Tocantins-development coverages were broad and heterogeneous. However, they were differentiated; the economic sphere stood out among the other ones. The governmental sphere had the broadest speech space. Actually, given such a differentiation, the herein assessed newspaper can be seen as great social asset when it comes to regional development processes; it is far from being a simple observer that reports events.

Keywords: Development. Tocantins. Press. Source-voices.

INTRODUCTION

The great revolutions and transformations that have taken place in the world, in the economic, political, social and cultural fields, over the centuries, have led to the emergence of new ideas and to information exchange, as observed by Breton and Proulx (2002) and Giovannini (1987). It happened in the Protestant Reform, in the Italian Renaissance, in The French Revolution, in the Industrial Revolution and in political movements in Brazil, which could not be able to reach the dimensions they did without the press. According to the the defintion by Thompson: the press “is the spinning wheel of the modern world”. People “fabricate significanton webs to themselves” by accessing the communication means (THOMPSON, 1998, p. 20).

Communication became a knowldege field in studies about development carried out after the Second World War, when models focused on improving populations’ conditions and quality of life started being accepted. Achramm, one of the main scholars of this line of throught, concluded that communication opens room for a process of change resulting from knowledge, dialogue and mobilization. It works as instrument to change the development process, since it takes information and knowledge to people (SCHRAMM, 1970).

This topic triggered the interest of several researchers and it led to systematized studies about communication and/or development, from different viewpoints, but any of them were specifically focused on Tocantis States’ development, from the press’ perspective (CARNIELLO and SANTOS, 2013; CAVALCANTE and NOBREGA, 2017; CURADI and BRANDÃO, 2019; MOTA and CALLOU, 2001; PAULA, 2012).

Press history in Tocantins precedes the state’s creation and it shows the mainstream position embodied by journalists and communication vehicles that, along with separatist movements, were essential to widespread the separatist ideas at that time. Later on, it influenced the development of this region, which was seen as poor, lagging and isolated.

Cavalcante has shown that the press allowed the population to observe the political composition linked to the autonomy project set for Northern Goiás State in the 1950s. It worked as historical milestone to justify Tocantins’ creation, as well as encouraged the population to believe that the time for the region to leave isolation and find a way of progress had come (CAVALCANTE, 2003).



Jornal Tocantins (henceforth called JTO), which was launched on May 18, 1979 by journalist Jaime Câmara, was an important ally in the struggle to create this Brazilian State, back in 1988. Jaime Câmara was the president of Jaime Câmara Organization; he had the mission to be the spokesperson of the population living in Northern Goiás State. His organization, at that time, was the vehicle in charge of wide spreading the voice of communities in this region; moreover, it was the instrument to fight for the state's territorial division (SILVA and ROCHA, 2018).

This newspaper remained widespreading local, regional, national and foreign information after Tocantins' creation. It was the only daily newspaper in the state for many years. Nowadays, this newspaper no longer circulates in its printed version, but it remains in the population's daily routines in its digital version¹. This newspaper is the one with the longest circulation/activity time in the state: 42 years; it counts on a physical infrastructure composed of writing and editorial board, which comprises journalists, editors and photographers. It turned this newspaper into a relevant communication mean in the state.

We herein aimed at exploring Tocantins' development process in the first 30 years (1988-2018) after its creation, based on news reports published at JTO. It was done by identifying the topics prevailing in development-context subjects, as well as the source-voices found in the newspaper's agenda – we will further clarify what we understand by source-voices. The study hypothesis advocates that reports linked to the state mainly addressed economic development, although other development types were also addressed by it. All texts had local nature; with respect to agents and groups with representation power to talk about development, one can assume the prevalence of expert source-voices from the economic and governemntal fields.

As for theoretical and methodological fundamentals, the research followed the sense of press as producer of symbolic assets (BOURDIEU, 1989) that influences society and that is capable of making one see and believe, as well as of confirming or changing viewpoints and actions. Yet, its power is

1 It is important having in mind that, nowadays, there were new communication ways and means rather than printed newspapers. This process, at some extent, relativizes the most central position taken by JTO as symbolic producer. Either the digital newspaper or the network and configuration of practices capable of opening new spaces and occasions for news reports (WAISBORD, 2019) like platforms, the capillarity of digital platforms at different spheres of life, reorganize practices and cultural representations (POELL; NIEBORG; VAN DIJCK, 2019); they are found in professional practices by the press in Tocantins State, and by their consumers (readers). However, during the herein assessed period-of-time (1988 to 2018), JTO circulated in printed form; at that time, the new forms and means did not have the strength they have nowadays.

linked to its social function, since it works as knowledge and communication instrument to society.

We understand that symbolic products (news reports, notes, articles, columns, among others) published by the press, be them produced (or not) by journalists, communicate, describe, analyze and criticize from a positive viewpoint (or not), and make stands, among others. We also considered that these products are instruments used in symbolic struggles (BOURDIEU, 1989). Accordingly, either development influences the press, since it encourages news agendas, or the press acts towards development by widespreading information, forming opinion, changing thoughts and mobilizing people for this end: development (SCHRAMM, 1970).

We have analyzed 525 JTO's texts to answer the question about how the press in Tocantins State reported the local development process, what topics it had approached and who the actors and social groups that have had representativeness power to make their stands about Tocantins State's development were. In other words, we have worked with framing and source-voice analyses. These methodologies allowed identifying 38 framings in news reports and 39 source-voice categories².

The article was split into six sections, besides the present introduction. The next section regards the theoretical references, with emphasis on symbolic power and its association with development processes. Subsequently, we explain the framing analysis and present the framings of the research. We present the analysis of the framings in the third section. Then, in two sections, we clarify the analysis of source-voices, as well as present the research source-voice analysis. Finally, we provide some conclusions.

THE PRESS, SYMBOLIC POWER AND DEVELOPMENT.

The power exerted by the press matches the symbolic power that, according to Bourdieu, is capable of making one see and believe, of confirming or changing views of the world and the actions over it. This power is "invisible and it can only be exerted with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subjected to it or that they even exert it" (BOURDIEU, 1989, p. 7).

2 The present article is the specific analysis of data gathered by Lima (2021).



From this perspective, one can understand that the press had its power continuously legitimated and reinforced as it was demanded by society. This symbolic power, according to Bourdieu (1989), comprises a system that plays a social role by working as knowledge and communication instrument for man.

The rise of periodical press back in 1690, in England, opened room for public discussions about political subjects to enter the population's daily routines, as stated by Briggs and Burke (2004). It launched a new public space for debate. In the 18th century, Giovannini (1987) pointed out that the printed press was essential for the widespread of ideas by French Enlightenment; therefore, it was determining for the establishment of the rule of law and of the social order resulting from it.

Just as in the French Enlightenment, the press played important role in other moments of history. According to Lippmann (1922), who is considered the creator of the concept of public opinion, in the 20th century, social communication means are the main link between events and the images of these events in people's minds. Newspapers shared room with the radio and the television during the Second World War; they helped widespreading information worldwide.

After the 1929 liberal capitalism crisis, and the Second World War, between 1939 and 1945 – time when several social and economic changes took pace in the world –, discussions about development gained visibility and great relevance in the political and social context. Several countries aimed at accelerating economic growth to increase income and reduce poverty.

At that time, one could also witness the emergence of several studies focused on the development perspective. Among the classics, Rostow (1960) advocates that the concept of development is related to economic growth. Schumpeter (1982), in its turn, understands that economic growth is not a phenomenon to be economically explained, but that the economy, itself, without development, is grabbed by changes in the world around it.

Later on, the concept of development was broadened and gained new fields, based on a less economic and more social view. The Hindu economist Amartya Sen takes “freedoms of individuals [as] the basic constituent elements” of development (SEN, 2010, p. 32-33).



The press represents one of the instruments of democracy; it has close influence on the process of choices and decisions made by society. Schramm, by assessing communication within development, highlighted the basic social effect of free information, reinforced that the United Nations Commission on Human Rights placed information as one of the basic rights and that proper information flow is essential for the population to reach and to have the right conditions to join decision-making processes (SCHRAMM, 1970).

Carniello and Santos showed the understanding of development as part of social organization, besides its complexity, multiplicity and dynamics; thus, resilience and additions, from the prevailing economic viewpoint, imposed two challenges, namely: “understanding the conceptual and methodological implications of development” and “the disciplinary discussion about how each knowledge field approaches this topic”. This change in the way of seeing and measuring development contributes for other concepts to be elaborated and for them to promote inter-disciplinary procedures. Thus, development became a “complex process prone to historical variables related to culture, economy, territory and social relationships” (CARNIELLO; SANTOS, 2013, p. 325-327).

After all, the press and development are constituents of the social, political, economic and cultural life in modern societies. Moreover, they represent a two-way relationship. Assessing economic, social, cultural, environmental processes, among others, means taking into consideration both communication and the press.

THE FRAMING OF DEVELOPMENT SITUATIONS IN TOCANTINS

We herein considered the sense of framing as isolation of some basic-understanding frames applied to situations “in order to give meaning to events and to analyze special vulnerabilities these reference frames are subjects to”. The social agent follows “organization principles that rule events, the herein called framings”, at the moment of the social action of framing (GOFFMAN, 1986, p. 10). We understand framing as selecting activities observed in certain parts of reality to make them more perceivable, so that it becomes possible defining specific issues (ENTMAN, 1993).



Accordingly, we analyzed the framings, as well as source-voices, found in 525 JTO texts (news reports, interviews, opinion articles, editorials, comments and columns) that have composed the *corpus* of the present research. It is important highlighting that the *corpus* was set based on the newspaper's editions published during 30 years, from 1988 to 2018, always at the state's anniversaries (October 5th). Thus, editions that have circulated 10 days before and 10 days after this date were assessed.

All texts, either in the analysis of newspaper covers and inside the newspaper were observed. Reports presenting pre-defined keywords capable of recalling development matters were selected. In other words, titles, hat, lead, highlighted sentences, subtitles and photographs' legends (when there was any) were observed. Therefore, the following terms were sought: "development", "growth", "progress", "advancement", "resilience", "construction", "opennings" and "contruction sites". Texts that have presented these terms set the *corpus*.

At first, we float-read (BARDIN, 1977) the selected material to perceive, to get to know and to get familiarized with it. Then, we closely and attemptively read one third of the texts, which were well-distributed over the time cut, and assembled the framing matrix. After the matrix was ready (it encompassed 38 defined framing types), we started analyzing the news reports. We read each one of them seeking to identify the prevailing framing type in them. We classified them according to similarities to one of the 38 types. This procedure was feasible and met the research aim, because news reports are "built from principles that enable perceiving a situation or phenomenon from a certain perspective" (PEDROSO NETO, 2020, p. 5).

So now, we will introduce the framings. It is essential clarifying that, in comparative terms, some are more similar to each other and others less; moreover, some are more recurrent in the texts and others less. Thus, it was important grouping them based on thematic axes: 31 of them were placed in 6 thematic axes and 7 were placed in one generic axis. We also made it clear that framings' definition, as depicted in the charts below, is a little limited due to spaces available for the writing, but they have their fundamental meanings. Complete definitions are found in Lima (2021).



Development and agribusiness axis. The following chart introduces an axis with 5 framings that, in their turn, highlight topics such as growth, investment matters, potentialities and problems, among others.

Chart 1 | Development and agribusiness axis (DesAgro)

- *Development and agribusiness: growth* (DesAgroCres). It approaches growth and economy reinforcement in Tocantins, based on agribusiness activities, mainly on agriculture and livestock. It highlights increase in production; sometimes, it introduces problems, mainly those referring to production flow.
- *Development and agribusiness: investments* (DesAgroInv). It introduces financial investments, projects and technical cooperation deals aimed at agribusiness development in the state. It points out producers' views and mechanisms to achieve development in this sector.
- *Development and agribusiness: others* (DesAgroOut). It gathers little recurrent framings. For example: changes in governmental agricultural policies, gains at accessible prices for consumers, Bills to favor this sector, among others.
- *Development and agribusiness: potentialities* (DesAgroPot). It introduces agriculture and livestock as the very economic basis of the state, as well as local potentialities. It also provides information about other agribusiness fields that favor development, such as fruit growing, and data on planted areas, on main cultures and species, as well as on production.
- *Development and agribusiness: problems* (DesAgroPbm). It approaches issues and barriers for the agribusiness development process in Tocantins.

Source: Adapted from Lima (2021)

Development and autonomy axis. This axis has 2 framings associated with issues linked to the state's consolidation, as well as to governmental actions, as introduced in the chart below.

Chart 2 | Development and autonomy axis (DesAut)

- *Development and autonomy: consolidation* (DesAutCons). It approaches changes observed in several fields and sectors, as well as the autonomy conquered from territorial division. It also compares the reality after Tocantins' creation to the time when the region belonged to Goiás State. Sometimes, it also presented critical opinions about the slow development process, and information about results that did not meet expectations.
- *Development and autonomy: governors* (DesAutGov). It presents analysis, evaluations, projects and perspectives about the creation and development process of Tocantins State, based on its current rulers and former-governors.

Source: Adapted from Lima (2021).

Economic development axis. The chart below gathers framings of the biggest axis, which comprises 9 framings associated with subjects regarding trading, economic growth, barriers to exports, industry, investments, revenues and work, among others, as follows:



Chart 3 | Economic development axis (DesEco).

- *Economic development: trading* (DesEcoCom). It approaches trading reinforcement and this sector's growth.
- *Economic development: growth* (DesEcoCres). It approaches the construction and evolution of the state's economic profile. It also presents the numbers and ventures accountable for boosting the economy. Sometimes, it contrasts economic to social development due to issues observed in fields such as health, as well as argues about the real development in the state.
- *Economic development: barriers* (DesEcoEntv). It approaches the need of capital to make development in Tocantins feasible, as well as how investments by the government are a way to attract investments.
- *Economic development: exports* (DesEcoExp). Fundamental principle: it introduces investments aimed at exports activities and this activity's growth in the state.
- *Economic development: industry* (DesEcoInd). It approaches actions focused on reinforcing the industry and on making it grow; support and incentives to this sector's growth in Tocantins; the state's potentialities, projects to attract investments, including international investments; barriers for this sector's development; demands and priorities.
- *Economic development: investments* (DesEcoInvs). It approaches governmental initiatives aimed at capturing resources for Tocantins' economic development, as well as incentives to companies in order to achieve business-sector growth. It introduces investments and actions aimed at making development projects feasible.
- *Economic development: others* (DesEcoOut). It introduces little recurrent framings by mainly approaching the very beginning of economic organization in the new state; as well as opportunities and services.
- *Economic development: revenues* (DesEcoRec). Fundamental principle: it approaches state revenue evolution.
- *Economic development: work* (DesEcoTrab). It approaches generated job positions, labor Market, formal job positions, and lack of job positions.

Source: Adapted from Lima (2021).

Development and construction sites axis. The chart below gathers 6 framings linked to the airport in the State Capital, to the North-South railroad, to the construction of electric power plants and roads, among other issues related to construction sites in the state.

Chart 4 | Development and construction sites axis (DesGdObr)

- *Development and construction sites: airport* (DesGdObrAer). It approaches the construction process and launching of the airport in the State Capital – Palmas City –, as well as reports investments, capabilities and benefits.
- *Development and construction sites: North-South railroad* (DesGdObrFNS). Fundamental principle: It approaches the project, construction schedule (construction site stages) and launching – North-South railroad.
- *Development and construction sites: others* (DesGdObrOut). It introduces little recurrent framings about projects and construction sites aimed at regional development; launchings and infrastructure improvements.
- *Development and construction sites: problems* (DesGdObrPbm). It approaches lack of roads and of the necessary infrastructure for development. It provides claims, asphalt paving and the construction of bridges.
- *Development and construction sites: roads* (DesGdObrRod). It approaches the construction of roads and bridges, as well as the maintenance of road networks, improvements in roads' infrastructure; end of the isolation.
- *Development and construction sites: electric power plants* (DesGdObrUHE). It regards projects, bindings, construction site schedules and power plant launching, as well as investments and power production, job positions and development brought to the region and to the country. Sometimes, it approaches issues associated with environmental and social impacts of construction sites.

Source: adapted from Lima (2021).



Development and natural resources axis. The chart below gathers 5 framings that, altogether, depict development associated with natural resources.

Chart 5 | Development and natural resources axis (DesRNat)

- *Development and natural resources: water* (DesRNatHid). It presents the rivers that cross the state, mainly Tocantins and Araguaia rivers, as favorable for development in the transportation, agriculture and power generation sectors. Sometimes, it provides contrary positions to projects based on damage they could cause to the environment.
- *Development and natural resources: minerals* (DesRNatMin). It approaches the state's mineral potentialities, the need of in-depth studies aimed at better using these resources, given the favorable scene for their exploration; it also points out the location of the main reserves and the exploratory companies.
- *Development and natural resources: problems* (DesRNatPbm). It associates environmental issues with agribusiness projects, as well as with projects from other fields, and with big construction sites.
- *Development and natural resources: sustainability* (DesRNatSus). It conditions the exploration of natural richness to environmental preservation. It approaches actions and projects aimed at sustainable development.
- *Development and natural resources: tourism* (DesRNatTur). It introduces the state's natural potentialities aimed at tourism development and environmental preservation; actions focused on boosting and reinforcing this sector, without putting aside the environmental preservation issue; this activity's growth.

Source: adapted from Lima (2021).

Social development axis. The chart below introduces the 4 framings composing the social development axis by approaching matters regarding inequality, population, opinions and quality of life.

Chart 6 | Social development axis (DesSoc)

- *Social Development: inequalities* (DesSocDesg). It associates population growth to increase in social issues; it compares improvements in certain fields to impairments felt in others. It also approaches difficulties, mainly in health, despite the reached improvements.
- *Social Development: population* (DesSocPop). It approaches the state's growth based on the number of inhabitants presented in IBGE's census, as well as the most populous age groups.
- *Social Development: opinions* (DesSocOpn). It provides the opinions and testimonies by important characters, mainly politicians, about Tocantins' development. Most opinions were positive, but, sometimes, there were testimonies concerned with the economic crisis and with "low" growth.
- *Social Development: Quality of life* (DesSocQV). It regards the stories of people who came to the region seeking for a better life; actions aimed at pro-life improvement in Tocantins; it introduces the broadening of and improvements in services and, sometimes, it recalls the still existing efficiency and the need of improvements.

Source: adapted from Lima (2021).

Several development framings axis. Subsequently, we introduce 7 isolated framings that were gathered based on thematic axes about different subjects linked to development.



Chart 7 | Several development framings axis (DesDvs)

- *Cultural Development* (DesCult). It approaches cultural expressions, folk and religious traditions, cultural diversity, hard time building a cultural identity in the state; ways to get autonomy in this sector.
- *Development, education and research* (DesEduPesq). It introduces education and research as development allies, targets, numbers, history of struggles for public and free higher education, sometimes, it approached issues and bottlenecks that still stop the state to reach good-quality education.
- *Development and elections* (DesElei). It introduces governors' plans, candidates' propositions aimed at the state's development; it also approaches parties and voters' role in the state's growing process.
- *Development others* (DesOut). Residual category that gathers little recurrent framings. Example: events to honor Tocantins' anniversaries; events aimed at discussing socioeconomic development; the relevant of human capital; among others.
- *Development, planning and ordering* (DesPlanOrd). It approaches legal frameworks – constitutional context, principles driving political-administrative actions, planning and activities aimed at better using the state's development, population participation in public planning processes.
- *TO's development in the historical context* (DesTOHist). It recalls the history of struggles behind the regions' delay conditions by contextualizing Tocantins' creation process and its impact on local development. It shines light on Northern populations' saga to create Tocantins' State; it introduces territorial division as positive aspect, it was favorable for regional development.
- *Urban development and housing* (DesUrbHab). It regards land issues in urban areas, the legalization of rural areas, lack-of-housing issues and land invasions, urbanistic projects, urban issues.

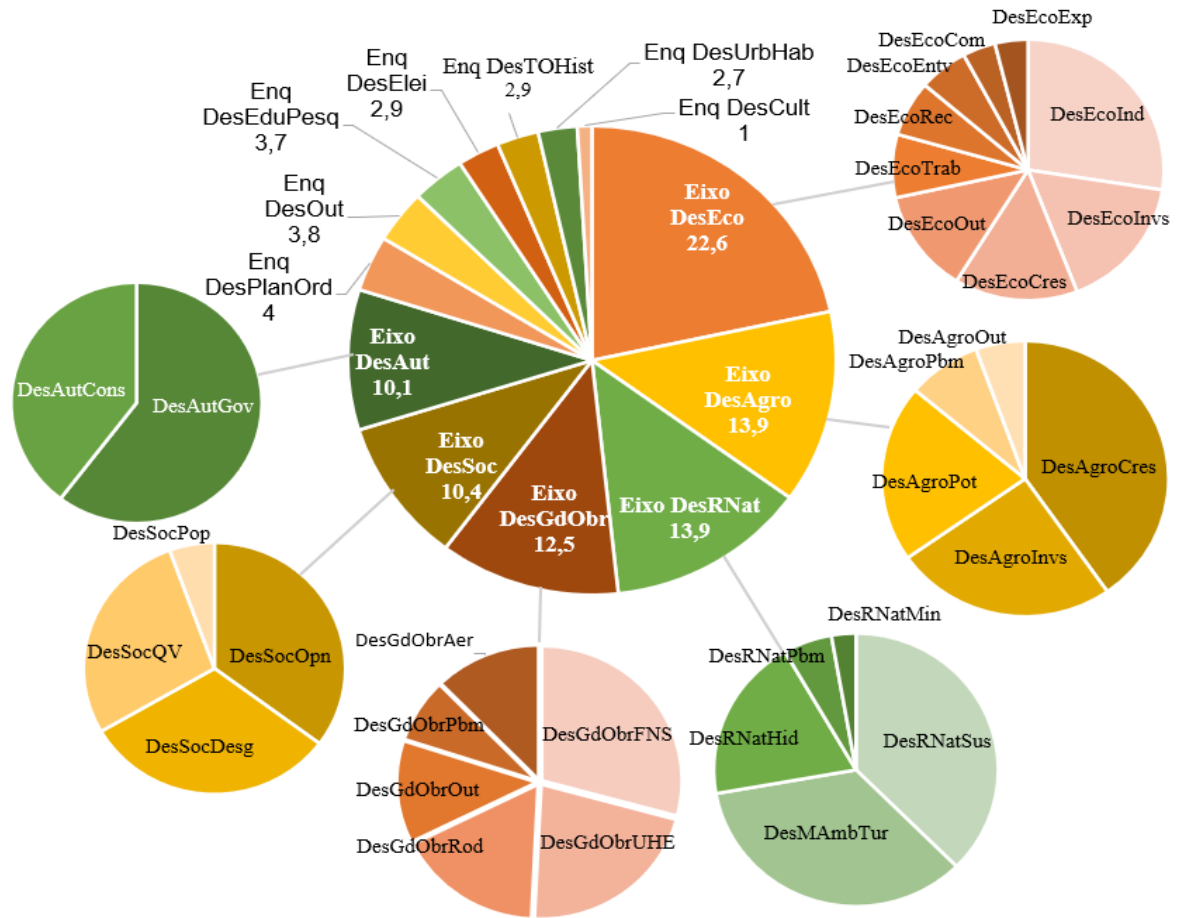
Source: adapted from Lima (2021).

PREVAILING TOPICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT AGENDA OF TOCANTINS STATE: ECONOMY.

We summed the number of texts to each framing, and multiplied this result by 100; then, we divided this number by the total number of news reports comprising the research *corpus* (525) in order to find the space occupied by each development type in JTO. Thus, we identified the rate of each group and, consequently, we found the subject most and least prevailing in Tocantins' development agenda. Accordingly, we have acted in the thematic axes – Graphic 01.



Graphic 1 | Framings and thematic axes



Source: adapted from Lima (2021).

The high occurrence of economic-nature texts (191) confirmed our initial hypothesis that the economic development perspective would prevail. In total, 14 of the 38 framings were added to the *Economic development* and *Development and agribusiness* axes; together they were found in 37% of contents published by the herein assessed newspaper.

We have observed that this newspaper also highlighted other development types, such as the social one. Development was reported within several contexts that were expressed by framings in axes DesRNat, DesGdObr, DesSoc, DesAut and by those in framings DesPlanOrd, DesOut, DesEduPesq, DesElei, DesTOHist, DesUrbHab, DesCult. This finding has confirmed the hypothesis that there would be other aspects in the news reports about development in Tocantins, although economic issues would prevail in them.

Our hypothesis that news reports addressing this topic would mostly approach local issues was also confirmed, since we are talking about a regional newspaper. All 38 framings were found in texts about development in Tocantins State.

Framings in the *Economic development* axis were observed in 119 news reports (22.6%); it was the largest group and the one with the largest number of news reports about. The following framings were observed in this group: *Economic development: industry* (DesEcoInd), with 28 texts (5.3%); *Investments* (DesEcoInvs), with 17 texts (32%); *Growth* (DesEcoCres), with 15 texts (2.9%); *Others* (DesEcoOut), with 13 texts (2.5%); *Work* (DesEcoTrab), with 8 texts (1.5%); *Revenue* (DesEcoRec), with 7 texts (1.3%); *Barriers* (DesEcoEntv), with 6 texts (1.1%); *Trading* (DesEcoCom) and *Exports* (DesEcoExp), both with 4 news reports (0.8%).

Framings in axis *Development and natural Resources* (DesRNat) were found in 72 texts (13.9%). This axis resulted in the following framings: *Development and natural resources: sustainability* (DesRNatSus), with 27 news reports (5.1%); *Tourism* (DesRNatTur), with 25 news reports (4.7%); *Water* (DesRNatHid), with 14 news reports (2.7%); *Problems* (DesRNatPbm), with 4 news reports (0.8%); and *Minerals* (DesRNatMin), with 2 news reports (0.4%).

Framings in axis *Development and agribusiness* (DesAgro) were also observed in 72 texts (13.9%). The following framings composed this group: *Development and agribusiness: growth* (DesAgroCres), with 29 texts (5.5%); *Investments* (DesAgroInvs), with 18 texts (3.4%); *Potentialities* (DesAgroPot), with 15 texts (2.9%); *Problems* (DesAgroPbm), with 6 texts (1.1%); and *Others* (DesAgroOut), with 4 texts (0.8%).

Framings in axis *Development and construction sites* (DesGdObr) were found in 65 texts (12.5%). This group was formed by the following framings: *Development and construction sites: North-South railroad* (DesGdObrFNS), which accounted for the largest number of texts, 19 (3.6%); *Electric power plants* (DesGdObrUHE), with 14 texts (2.7%); *Roads* (DesGdObrRod), with 11 texts (2.1%); *Airport* (DesGdObrAer) and *Others* (DesGdObrOut), both with 8 texts (1.5%) each; and *Problems* (DesGdObrPbm), with 5 texts (1%).

Axis *Social development* (DesSoc) was observed in 54 texts (10.4%) and it resulted in the following framings: *Social development: opinions* (DesSocOpn), with 19 texts (36%); *Social development: inequalities* (DesSocDesg), with 17 texts (3.2%); *Social development: quality of life* (DesSocQV), with 15 texts (2.9%); and *Social development: population* (DesSocPop), with 3 texts (0.6%).

Axis *Development and autonomy* (DesAut), in its turn, was found in 53 texts (10.1%). This group recorded the following frequencies: *Development and autonomy: governors* (DesAutGov), with 32 texts (6.1%); and *Development and autonomy: consolidation* (DesAutCons), with 21 texts (4%). This axis, along with the other ones, summed 80.1% of the whole selected material.

Texts with framings that did not belong to a certain axis recorded varied frequency: *Development, planning and ordering* (DesPlanOrd), with 21 texts (4%); *Development others* (DesOut), with 20 texts (3.8%); *Development, education and research* (DesEduPesq), with 17 texts (3.7%); *Development and elections* (DesElei), with 15 texts (2.9%); *TO's development in the historical context* (DesTOHist), with 15 texts (2.9%); *Urban development and housing* (DesUrbHab), with 14 texts (2.7%); and *Cultural Development* (DesCult), with 5 texts (1%).

As it can be observed, JTO mostly presented news reports about *Economic development*; the newspaper emphasized agendas about industry reinforcement during the three decades after its creation, as well as subjects about investments both by the government and by the private sector to reinforce the local economy, and highlighted this sector's growth process in a region seen as underdeveloped.

From JTO's perspective, natural resources also favored local development, as evidenced by framings composing the *Development and natural resources* axis. Sustainability was the most recurrent topic in this axis, but it only really got to the state's development agenda at the end of its first decade, back in 1996. Framing *Development and natural resources: tourism* emerged in the agenda in 1998, one decade after Tocantins' creation.

Although agribusiness was part of only one economic sector – it could be in the *Economic development* axis –, it gave birth to axis *Development and agribusiness*, due to the large amount of texts about it in several framings. Accordingly, framing *Development and agribusiness: growth* recorded the highest frequency; 2005 was the year when most was talked about agribusiness growth. Framings *Development and agribusiness: investments* and *Development and agribusiness:*



potentialities were also significantly approached during this time, mainly due to financing processes provided by FNO³ and Prodecer III⁴.

Although little recurrent, the first records of texts based on the *Development and agribusiness: problems* framing only emerged in 1995; they got back the mainstream at some other moments to point out factors essential for this sector's activity advancements towards development. There is also the *Development and agribusiness: others* framing, which was less frequent over the herein assessed period-of-time.

With respect to axis *Development and construction sites*, framing *Development and construction sites: North-South railroad* was the most frequent one. Thus, when it comes to construction projects aimed at Tocantins' development, the North-South railroad was the project with the largest room in the media. Framing *Development and constructions sites: electric power plants* also gained significant room in the assessed newspaper. The first records about this topic in the press date back to 1997. However, it was in 2001 that the highest frequency of texts about these framings was recorded, mostly because of the operationalization of the first turbine at Luís Eduardo Magalhães Hydroelectric Power Plant, also known as Lajeado Plant.

Just as 2001 was a very significant year for the development of the electric power sector, texts published in the press have shown that it was also a relevant year for the air infrastructure and logistics in the state, as it can be observed in the *Development and construction sites: airport* framing. This topic just emerged at two different moments: in 1993, when the construction of the airport had started; and in 2001, due to the launching of its project and the starting operations of Brigadeiro Lysias Rodrigues Airport.

Framing *Development and construction sites: roads* was also quite frequent. It approaches road infrastructure projects as the way to improve and facilitate production flow and, consequently, Tocantins' development. Friendship Bridge Fernando Henrique Cardoso, which was built over UHE Lajeado, in Palmas City, launched in 2002, was an outstanding project.

Yet, regarding this axis, other construction projects were widespread by the assessed newspaper, but they were less frequent and were recorded in framing *Development and construction*

3 Financial Constitutional Fund for the North

4 Japan-Brazil Cooperation Program for Development in *Cerrado*

sites: others. They concerned news reports about Praia Norte Harbor and the Araguaia-Tocantins waterway that, although being largely discussed and highlighted by the press, never got to be put in place.

Less frequently, framing *Development and construction sites: issues* depicts the difficulties resulting from development due to lack of proper infrastructure. Based on studies about the news reports, this topic was added to an agenda that was mainly motivated by claims for roads.

Axis *Social development* resulted from framings about social issues within the Tocantins' development context. Framing *Social development: opinion*, which gathers comments by political, economy and popular characters about the state's socioeconomic development, was the most frequent one. Subsequently, *Social Development: inequality* emerges and depicts contrasts and inequalities related to social issues in Tocantins. On the other hand, there was framing *Social development: quality of life*, which regards social development and improvements in the quality of life of Tocantins residents. The social issue was the least reported one, because framing *Social development: population* was the least frequent one.

Framing *Development and autonomy: governors* was the most recurrent one in axis *Development and autonomy*. It was quite well distributed in time and was appointed based on a well-distributed way, overtime. However, it recorded the highest frequency at four different moments: 1994, 1995, 2011 and 2017. Framing *Development and autonomy: consolidation* emerged in a more significant way in 1997.

As aforementioned, seven other framings related to development in Tocantins State were observed, but they did not form an axis, because they were little recurrent. Although there was the record of news reports framed as *Development, planning and ordering* in 1988, when the state was created – mainly when it comes to plans and preparations for the launching of the capital of the recently launched state –, it was in 2011 that it reached the highest frequency. It happened because of the press itself; i.e., it resulted from actions linked to the “Agenda Tocantins” project, which was a governmental initiative in partnership with JTO to elaborate and implement the Multi-Year Plan by the state government.

Framing *Development others* was found in almost the whole assessed period-of-time; it approached subjects addressed in any of the other framings. Framing *Development, education and research* emerged at some points during this period, but it was more significant in the 2017 series, due to the state-anniversary agenda.



Texts with framing *Development and elections* were presented in some moments of the herein assessed period, and more frequently in election years, with emphasis on 1990, 1998 and 2018. News reports motivated by elections mostly highlight governmental plans aimed at development.

Framing *TO's development in the historical context* emerged at certain moments, with emphasis on 1993, 1994, 1997, 2001 and 201. This topic's schedule was observed in special newspaper sections due to Tocantins' anniversary.

With respect to framing *Urban development and housing*, the years of 2015 and 2018 have stood out. Most of the selected material regards Palmas, and the first records about it happened due to land invasions at the beginning of the capital's implementation period.

Finally, framing *Cultural development* emerges at lower frequency; it was scheduled at celebration times, such as state anniversaries.

Thus, we could conclude that most texts published by JTO about the development context regarded the economic sector. However, there are other fields or sectors in its publications, as well as some diversity of framings.

SOURCE-VOICES IN NEWS REPORTS ON DEVELOPMENT IN TOCANTINS

Journalists' sources are people who look for, or who are sought by, journalists because they have and provide information, data, opinions, viewpoints, testimonies, among others. This process forms the news reports to be outspread. They are "those who have something to say and inform, social action producers – noticeable acts and speeches" (CHAPARRO, 1996, p. 148). They have strong influence on Journalists' decisions within the process to produce news (GANS, 1980).

Sources can be institutional, unofficial, provisional, passive, active, known and unknown (GANS, 1980). Citations by the consulted and heard sources in news reports can be straight forward when they are fully transcribed in quotes, or paraphrased, when the source's information and/or position is reproduced by the journalist, itself (SOUSA, 2001).

Thus, in order to analyze sources found in coverages on Tocantins' development, we will only take into account the direct citations; in other words, those that were quoted, since they show that the journalist has published opinions or original sentences by sources cited in the texts, that will be from now on called 'source-voices'.



Accordingly, we read all texts and recorded the source-voices found in each one of them. We have already clarified that we surveyed 525 texts. Subsequently, we grouped them based on some similarity features. Thus, we formed 39 source-voice categories. In total, 297 publications from the whole *corpus* (57%) did not present source-voices. We have made it clear that the categories' description, as introduced in the chart below, is limited, due to lack of space for writing. Each category elaborated by Lima (2021) hold complete data about source-voices: name, occupation, position, among others.

Chart 8 | Source-voices

<i>Association of Municipalities in Tocantins</i> (FvATM)	<i>Others</i> (FvOut)
<i>Trading</i> (FvComer)	<i>Politicians</i> (FvPolit)
<i>Economists</i> (FvEcon)	<i>Population</i> (FvPopulares)
<i>Businessmen</i> (FvEmpr)	<i>Mayor</i> (FvPref)
<i>Electric power</i> (FvEnerElet)	<i>President of the legislative assembly</i> (FvPrAL)
<i>Specialized</i> (FvEspec)	<i>President of the federal congress</i> (FvPrCamFed)
<i>Students</i> (FvEstu)	<i>President of the city council</i> (FvPrCamMun)
<i>Former-governors</i> (FvEx-Gov)	<i>President of the Republic</i> (FvPrRep)
<i>Former-ministers</i> (FvEx-Min)	<i>Farmers</i> (FvProdRur)
<i>Governors</i> (FvGov)	<i>Professors</i> (FvProf)
<i>State governor</i> (FvGovEst)	<i>State secretaries</i> (FvSecEst)
<i>Federal government</i> (FvGovFed)	<i>Municipal secretaries</i> (FvSecMun)
<i>Financial institutions</i> (FvInstFinan)	<i>Cultural sector</i> (FvSegCult)
<i>Physicians</i> (FvMed)	<i>Industrial sector</i> (FvSegInd)
<i>Ministers</i> (FvMinist)	<i>Tourism sector</i> (FvSegTur)
<i>Livestock organizations</i> (FvOrgAgro)	<i>Without spokesman</i> (FvSem)
<i>Handcrafting organizations</i> (FvOrgArts)	<i>Farm workers</i> (FvTrabRur)
<i>Jaime Câmara Organization</i> (FvOrgJCam)	<i>University</i> (FVUniv)
<i>Recyclable material organizations</i> (FvOrgMatRec)	<i>Valec</i> (FvValec)
	<i>Deputy governors</i> (FvVice-Gov)

Source: adapted from Lima (2021).



GOVERNMENTAL AND SPECIALIZED SOURCE-VOICES DOMINATE THE SPACE

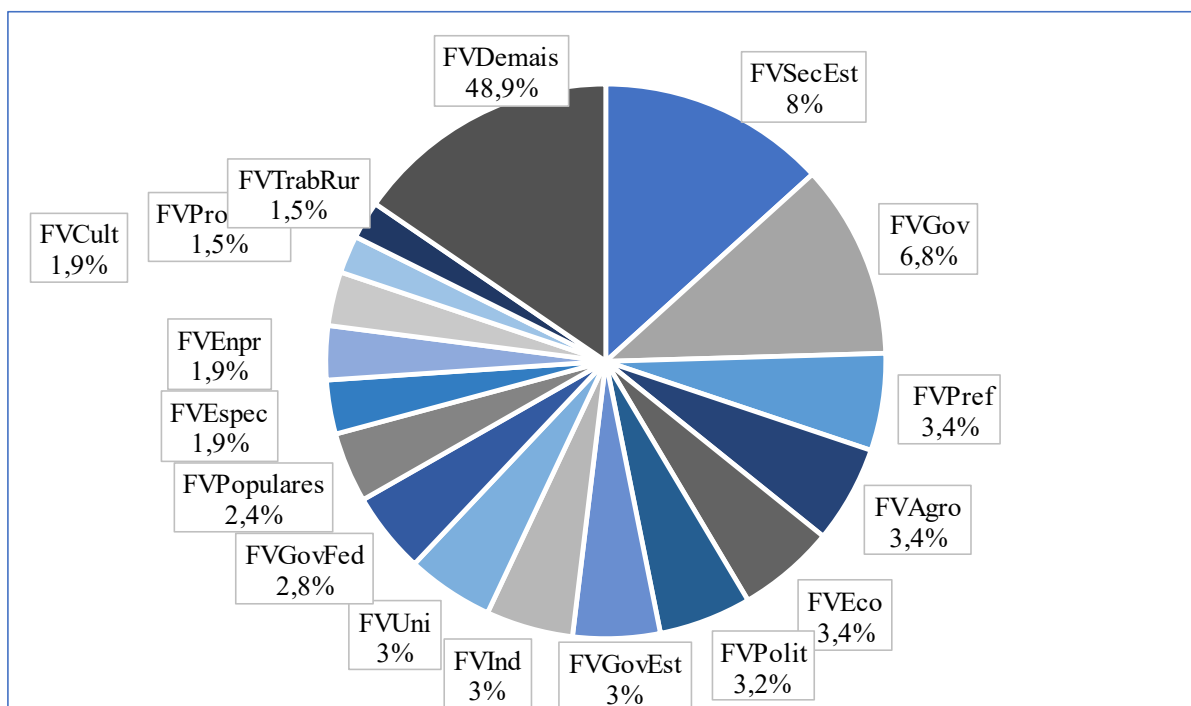
Source-voices from the governmental sphere were mostly presented by JTO in news reports about the Tocantins' development topic. This finding confirms our hypothesis and can be observed in categories *State secretaries, Municipal secretaries, Governors, Mayors, State government, Federal government, President of the Republic, Ministers, and Deputy governors*. These source-voices considered official were observed in 142 publications (27%).

Source-voices from the economic sector and experts also had large space to talk about development. Groups in the economic field, for example, were observed in 61 texts (11.5 %): *Industrial sector, Entrepreneurs, Trading, Agricultural organizations, Farmers and Rural workers*.

Representatives from the political sphere were found in 22 texts (4.1%). This group is formed by the following source-voices: *Politicians, Presidents of the federal congress and Presidents of the legislative assembly*.

Individually, category *State secretaries* was the most often observed one 42 citations in the publications (8%). It was followed by group *Governors*, with 36 occurrences (6.8%). Subsequently, there were the following source-voices: *Mayors, Agricultural organizations and Economists*, with 18 citations (3.4%) each. Then, there were *Politicians*, with 17 occurrences (3.2%); *State government, Industrial segment and University*, with 16 occurrences (3%) each; *Federal government*, with 15 occurrences (2.85); *Population*, with 13 occurrences (2.4%); *Specialized, Entrepreneurs and Cultural sector*, with 10 occurrences (1.9%) each; and *Farmers and Rural workers*, with 7 occurrences (1.5%). The other 23 herein identified groups corresponded to less than 1.4% of citations in publications – Graphic 02.

Graphic 02 | Most frequent source-voices



Source: adapted from Lima (2021).

The prevalence of *State secretaries*, *Politicians* and *Mayors* was observed in the early years of Tocantins state, from 1988 to 1998, but this period also showed groups from *Livestock organizations*, *Electric power companies*, *Universities*, *Experts*, from the *Industry sector*, from *President of the city council* and *Financial institutions*.

From the second decade of Tocantins' State onwards (1998 to 2008), there was higher frequency of the agribusiness sector, of *Livestock organizations*, as well as of new actors, such as those from the *Tourism sector*. Infrastructure and energy sector, and constructions projects in the state, also shone light on state source-voices known as *Valec* and *ANEEL*, and of power generation companies, *Electric power*. This period also presented records of source-voices from *Ministers*, *Governors*, *Financial institutions*, *Mayors*, *Municipal Secretaries*, *Politicians*, *State Secretaries*, the *Industry sector*, *Others*, the *President of the Republic*, *Specialized*, *Former-governors*, the *Cultural sector*, *University*, *Economists*, *Presidents of federal congress*, *Former-ministers*, *Jaime Câmara Organization*, *Trading*, the *Federal government*, *Farmers*, *Population*, *Businessmen* and *Deputy Governors*.



From 2009 on, there was a whole variety of source-voices in the newspaper, with emphasis on the *Population* group, and on others that did not enter the administrative economic and political agenda, such as the *Cultural sector, Handicraft organizations, Recycling materials organizations and Physicians*. At that time, there was also the participation of source-voices that did not compose these groups: *Others, State secretaries, Industry sector, Universities, Specialized, Mayors, Farm workers, Governors, State governor, Politicians, Federal Government, Farmers, Agricultural organizations, Jaime Câmara Organization, Businessmen, Former-governors, Professors, Trading, Students, Municipal secretaries, Former-governors and President of the legislative assembly*.

Finally, the source-voices mostly belonged to the state and politics sphere; they were followed by representatives from the economic sector.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We have analyzed Tocantins' State development from the press viewpoint, based on texts published by JTO. We have observed topics about the development context that were mostly approached, as well as the source-voices that had gained larger room to express their opinions about this topic. We have recorded the strong visibility of economic sectors in the development process, given the high volume of news reports, articles and editorials published about them, such as the social, environmental and infrastructure topics, among others, as well as the low visibility given to some other topics.

With respect to source-voices, the research has shown the large space given by the newspaper to governmental characters. This finding allows stating that source-voices in JTO were those that had more representativeness power to express their opinion about the development topic. This group was followed by experts, mainly from the economic field.

Overall, given the herein recorded results, we can state that the newspaper coverage on Tocantins State's development from 1988 to 2018 was broad and heterogeneous, since it has approached several aspects of it, subjects and phenomena; moreover, it opened room to different social segments. However, the economic sphere got to be more exposed to society, as well as the governmental sphere, that got to talk closer to society through the press.



We highlighted that JTO is a social agent in the regional development process if one takes into account press texts as symbolic assets with the power to influence and boost changes. It has provided to society a whole set of information to allow it getting to know, to think, to assess and to interact about the state's development, but in a little differentiated and hierarchical way. In other words, it is far from being a simple observer that reports events. It is an active agent in the symbolic space of discussion, struggles, confrontations and alliances about Tocantins' development.

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