



The reporter and the news story on TV: the coverage of the terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo*

O repórter e a reportagem na TV: a cobertura do atentado contra o Charlie Hebdo



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Abstract: this article compares *Jornal Nacional* (TV Globo) and *Le 20 Heures* (TF1) in their coverages of the terrorist attack on the French newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* on January 7, 2015, from the different forms of reporter performance in two different television cultures: the Brazilian culture, marked by subjectivation, and the French culture, marked by disembodiment.

Keywords: television; journalism; culture; Brazil; France.

Resumo: este artigo compara as coberturas dos programas *Jornal Nacional* (da TV Globo) e *Le 20 Heures* (do canal TF1) sobre o atentado terrorista ao jornal francês *Charlie Hebdo* em 7 de janeiro de 2015, a partir das diferentes formas de performance dos repórteres em duas culturas televisivas distintas: a brasileira, marcada pela subjetivação, e a francesa, pela descorporalização.

Palavras-chave: televisão; jornalismo; cultura; Brasil; França.

Introduction

The terrorist attack on *Charlie Hebdo* occurred on January 7, 2015. At 11:30 a.m., two heavily armed men dressed in black – later identified as brothers Said and Chérif Kouachi – invaded Charlie Hebdo’s newsroom. The action lasted just a few minutes and resulted in 12 deaths, including that of Georges Wolinski, 80, a legendary cartoonist. During the escape, one of the terrorists killed a policeman in cold blood. The images shocked the world. The population of Paris took to the streets to protest against terrorism. A wave of solidarity spread, with demonstrations in most of the great cities of the planet. The slogan “Je suis Charlie” took over the streets and social networks. Eighty thousand police officers were deployed in the hunt for the Kouachi brothers. Two days after the attack, they were located in a print shop 35 km from Paris, where they held hostages. After eight hours of siege, the police invaded the site and killed the two terrorists.

In this article, we analyze the coverage of the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* by two television news programs: *Jornal Nacional* (TV Globo, Brazil) and *Le 20 Heures* (TF1, France). By focusing our analysis on reporter performance, we sought to identify the differences between the two news programs, which have similar formats. To support the comparative analysis of the coverages, we relied on the telejournalism bibliography in Brazil and France. As Brazilian scholars, we, of course, have a deeper knowledge about *Jornal Nacional* and the Brazilian journalistic context and a more limited knowledge of the French context. In fact, this is just a first exercise on comparative analysis³.

Our aim is to analyze, from the coverage of the attack in the two news programs, the reporters’ performance in two different television cultures. In recent years in Brazil, there have been significant changes in the construction of the telejournalistic narrative, which began to ensure its effect of truth by subjectivation of reports and the performance of presenters, reporters and witnesses rather than by mediation detached from the narrated events. In this context, reporters have assumed more and more prominence in the construction of events. Such new performance has changed the testimonial status of the journalists’ job, which began to rely less on what

³ The writing of this text was stimulated by our participation in the international research program Patrimoines-Images-Médias-Identités (PIMI). It is a version of our communication in the Third PIMI Meeting at the University of Lyon in 2016. Our text brings a close dialogue with the presentations made by Itania Gomes and Juliana Guttman, from UFBA, in the first two meetings of PIMI (in Aix-en-Provence and Salvador) in 2015, as well as seeking to make some progress from contributions and other colleagues present at the events.

was witnessed and more on what was experienced by the reporters themselves. Thus, the body, the voice, the emotion and the engagement with the narrated event have gained centrality in television journalism.

We chose to analyze the coverage of the terrorist attack against *Charlie Hebdo* for the following reasons: a) it was an event of great worldwide repercussion, which caused a great commotion; b) the emotional potential of the event and the mobilization of affects by the reporting; and c) the possibility of observing different ways of narrating in television journalism in two countries.

For our analysis, we chose the following days to compose the corpus: January 7, 8, 9, 10 and 12, 2015. The justification for choice is as follows: a) *Jornal Nacional* features stories only on those days; and b) although *Le 20 Heures* is shown every day, including Sundays (January 11), *Jornal Nacional* is shown from Monday to Saturday⁴.

The analysis begins by observing and taking notes of the characteristics of reporter performance in covering the attack to demonstrate the historical configurations of specific ways of producing telejournalism in Brazil and France. For us, the notion of television culture – or, more precisely, the understanding of television as a cultural form (WILLIAMS, 2016) – is fundamental. After all, as culture, television must be understood as something particular in the face of the multiple general processes of a society's symbolic production that enable and constitute its forms of enunciation and formats. The different forms of reporter performance in the reports are historical evidence of cultural (television, national and transnational) specificities. It is also on the horizon of a cultural study of television – which is not the purpose of this text – to analyze the programming structure and social experience of television viewers in television consumption. Here we are more concerned with showing how two distinct television cultures have produced reality effects in their television news.

***Jornal Nacional* and the subjectivity effect**

From September 1, 1969, from Monday to Saturday, *Jornal Nacional* began to occupy the 8 p.m. time. Two years after its premiere, the first national television program already had enough prestige to integrate the vanguard of Brazilian television journalism and to surpass the audience numbers of programs of popular appeal that characterized the Brazilian television at the time. *Jornal Nacional*

⁴The videos for the analysis were selected in the video search system of the websites of the two news programs: *Jornal Nacional* (<https://glo.bo/2zFtjYi>) and *Le 20 Heures* (<https://bit.ly/2DWdVR8>).

fulfilled the mission – so dear to the military regime – of informing and integrating Brazil through the news.

By investing in sophisticated features in TV news broadcasting, TV Globo became widely acclaimed for mastering the technology that guaranteed broadcast of its programming in a national TV network. The *Jornal Nacional*, a milestone of this pioneering spirit, became the model of the most suitable language to summarize the main events of the country and the world so that Brazilians viewers could satisfactorily consume them in just 25 minutes.

Designed to compete with *Repórter Esso* of TV Tupi, *Jornal Nacional* innovated by introducing direct sound, which made its stories more witness-based and realistic (BARBOSA; RIBEIRO, 2005, p 211-213). Throughout the 1970s, Globo invested in smaller, lighter cameras capable of direct sound and image recording, besides color introduction. As early as in 1976, the teams used portable units that allowed sending image and sound from the spot, without the need for film developing. The decreased time between coverage and broadcast contributed to the consolidation of a narrative format based on the performance of reporters, who began to act as both producers and presenters of their stories with on-the-spot coverage. Thus, the presence of the reporter at the scene of the events in Brazil gave the newscast a testimonial character, lending credibility to the narrative of television news and to the idea of being able to simultaneously be in and show different regions of Brazil and the world. In this way, the broadcaster's journalism consolidated itself with an aura of efficiency (BARBOSA; RIBEIRO, 2005, p.217). The opening of Globo's international offices in New York (1973), London (1974), Paris (1977) and Washington (1982) was a part of this process.

Since the early 2000s, this testimonial nature of Globo's television journalism has been accentuated by a change in reporters and presenters' language, which incorporated colloquialism as a value. As far as competition with popular police programs is concerned, charisma, affective closeness and greater informality in gestures and dialogues have become ways of promoting credibility. Instead of austerity in presenting the report, where a serious tone of voice, absence of sentimental notes and good locution were guarantees of objectivity, neutrality and journalistic impartiality, we observe the increasing use of informality. This change responds to the transformations of Brazilian television journalism under two tendencies: popularization and *infotainment* (GOMES, 2011). In search of a new, younger viewer, now also an active player in digital communication, journalistic programs have invested in new tones, such as those of humor, examples of which

are CQC and *Globo Esporte SP*, or journalistic research as an adventure, such as *Profissão Repórter*. On the other hand, in search of the popular classes, programs like *Balanço Geral* and *SBT Rio* invest in the presenter's aggressive performance, combining the virulent style of journalistic programs that were successful in the 1990s (such as *Aqui Agora*, *Brasil Urgente*, *Cadeia Neles* e *190 Urgente*) with a more compelling humor. This ended up, for example, reverberating in the termination of *RJTV1*, a direct competitor of those other journalistic programs (SACRAMENTO, PURO, 2015).

In *Jornal Nacional*, marks of this informality are in the presenters' body language and in the relation between gestures and the text read. In recent years, presenters have been gradually changing their performance. This can be seen in the increasing use of colloquialism, moments of intimacy, and more prominent use of dramatic resources, mainly facial expressions (such as looks and gestures), but also bodily ones, which can modify positively or negatively the reported event. Even with these changes that dialogue with the new tendencies of Brazilian journalism, *Jornal Nacional* has updated, but not abandoned, identity brands built over time: the modern and majestic scenario with the newsroom in the background, familiar to viewers since April 2000, keeps the bluish tones; the sound vignette, with various musical arrangements, has not changed the theme song; the presenters preserve and adjust doses of austerity and detachment, which have marked the news program since its debut and also ensure its status as the most important journalistic program in Brazil.

In the program's news reports, the changes are more structural. As evidenced by numerous recent studies, there are quite evident transformations of a discursive nature, especially with regard to reporters' performance: they, in a way, play less the role of intermediaries between the public and the fact and more of actors (FAUSTO NETO, 2012). Thus, journalists begin to draw attention to their own existence, the nature of their work, the way they approach interviewees, and to their own presence at the scene of events. The reporters' performances virtualize positions for the viewer, constituting spaces of subjectivity that contrast with the traditional normative discourse on telejournalistic practices. As Gutmann (2014) observes, the interlocutor can assume different and complementary subject positions in journalistic discourse: as a witness, in the sense of seeing, attesting, verifying, proving or even witnessing what is shown by television news; and as an accomplice, in the sense of sharing, consenting, cooperating or colluding, which implies the construction of an interaction via reporter engagement with the reporter's measurement figure. The

interlocutor in the position of accomplice presupposes that of witness. It is an accomplice witness. Another difference is in the sharing of a feeling, a view of the events. In the case of the coverage of the terrorist attack on the French newspaper, *Jornal Nacional*, through its reporters, called for the sharing of feelings of outrage, pity and sadness.

Let us now turn to the annotation of some excerpts from the *Jornal Nacional* coverage that evidence the effect of subjectivity as effect of reality in the telejournalistic enunciation process.

In the report of Tiago Eltz on December 7, 2015, the reporter synthetically recounts the *Charlie Hebdo's* trajectory, demonstrating that he had an editorial profile marked by irreverence and scathing political criticism. No matter whether the movement was left or right, feminist or conservative, the newscast seeks to demonstrate the contradictions and criticisms of what it understood as excessive or unnecessary. In this sense, the news program was systematically opposed to religious fanaticism.

The news story is presented inside a bookstore, with books, magazines and newspapers in the background. By reinforcing freedom of expression as a guarantee of the existence of journalism, there is implicitly huge distress for the gravity of the violation of a fundamental democratic right. Because of this, the reporter closes the story in a dramatic tone, recalling one of the most famous speeches of one of the cartoonists killed during the attack, Stéphane Charbonnier, known as Charb. Charb said: "I'd rather die standing than live on my knees." His words appears written on his photo, closing the story.

The next day, the program spends more time on the attack. Reporter André Luiz Azevedo comes live from Paris, with information on the capture of the perpetrators of the terrorist attack. He says, before the camera, that the French government will broaden the scope of the investigation. French troops were moving to the north of the country, in a region called Picardy, near Belgium, where the brothers Saïd and Chérif Kouachi were hiding. Then the reporter chronicles the events and appears on the scene to tell how the persecution of terrorists is done. The climate is one of fear. Some mosques and establishments frequented by Muslims were stoned. Finally, he provides brief details of the brothers' lives, showing how they were "regular young men" until they became involved with fundamentalist currents of Islam. He also tells how this mass murder abruptly interrupted the lives of Charlie Hebdo's journalists and cartoonists.

On the 9th, reporter André Luiz Azevedo brings an end to the story: the brothers had been found and killed. Although resources such as voice-over narration,

infographics showing the brothers' escape route, photos of them and images of chase and gunshots were used, the articulating center of the reenactment is the reporter's presence at the scene of events. He comments that one of the brothers would have said he would not surrender: "I would rather die as a martyr." The closing images show the final moments of the action of catching the criminals, after eight hours holding hostages inside a print shop. André Luiz Azevedo concludes: "The shooting lasted thirty seconds and ended up with the terrorists dead".

On the 10th, the same reporter elaborates on the prosecution of criminals and their motivations. After this live entry, André Luiz Azevedo announces a new story, made by Cecília Malan, about some relief with the death of the terrorists, but the maintenance of a maximum state of alert in the country. Then she interviewed a Brazilian tourist to learn about the climate lived in France. At times, the reporter shows up on the scene, talking to the interviewees and closing the story with questions about national security: "How did those investigated by the French police had obtained weapons and perpetrated an attack like this?" She thus seeks answers about risk control and re-establishment of order. However, as in the other reports, while her voice in the narration chains events and proposes meanings and sensations about them (fear, risk, insecurity, distress, relief), her presence in the scene seeks to reinforce the reality effect of the reporting. In these moments of direct broadcast, television offers itself as a link between senders and recipients by situating them into the same space-time dimension – that of the broadcast itself. It is in this temporality constructed by TV that viewers can experience the broadcast of the fact as if it were the fact itself.

On the 12th, *Jornal Nacional's* last report of the attack was made by Pedro Vedova. The emotional tone is even more compelling. Presenter Renata Vasconcellos recalls the demonstration of the previous day and introduces the story about "the same democratic climate" that took the streets of Paris. This report clearly brings elements of the process of "acting" the event. The report takes place at the foot of the Marianne statue, a figure that represents the French Republic, showing various expressions of solidarity: a young woman taking pictures, a man preferring silence and reflection, mother and daughter united in the rendering of a homage. In this report, there is a kind of communion through television, synchronizing our daily life with that of other social groups and producing a sense of "being together", so as to make viewers see, feel and experience what is reported.

In dealing with American television journalism, Weaver (1993) states that television news stories are endowed with a "personal voice", which associates

a personality with the narrative. Stories in the Brazilian TV news follow the North American standard and are built with reports and testimonies of staff and people outside, which are structured sequentially with a quest to dramatize the news and personify it with characters. Another type of personification accomplished by news stories is that of the reporter. Currently, as Gutmann (2014) observes, this type of characterization has competed with a second way of performatizing the news, through the assumed configuration of a persona that now uses his/her body not only as a strategy for certifying a supposedly impartial report, but as expressive device of interpretation of the statement. If previously the rule was to present as a ventriloquist of the fact, from the 1990s the reporter's body is increasingly also explored as a place of performatization of the narrated event. Unlike the ventriloquist reporter, who stands as a mere point of passage of speech through the reduction of gestures and rigid expressions, enunciations devoid of modalizations, etc., television news presenters and reporters have used the body as a discursive modifier of their statements (GUTMANN, 2014).

Traditionally, the journalistic narrative is seen as having as its central element the production of an effect of real (MOTTA, 2007). It seeks to make the public recognize the facts narrated as truths and as if they were talking about themselves, without the mediation of a journalistic subject that narrates them. Thus, this effect is legitimized from the exploitation of strategies that aim to anchor the phenomena presented by the journalistic narrative as a present time production. Thus, what is seen in the news is not reality itself, without the interference of someone who reports something that he/she saw in the world from certain choices that aim to organize a narrative in search of certain effects of meaning. This leads Motta (2007) to consider that objectivity, a fundamental parameter for many journalistic products, is undoubtedly a rhetorical-argumentative strategy.

Specifically on television journalism, Umberto Eco (1989) stated that the production of truth in these narratives does not take place by "not looking" at the camera, since it suggests that the fact occurs independently of it, in a presumed relation of transparency between the filmed and the lived, recorded and reality. From this perspective, "not looking" would be an effect of truth at the level of utterance, whereas "looking" would reveal the truth of enunciation. What we observe contemporaneously is a new form of production of the effect of real: by the effect of subjectivity. Véron (1983) pointed out a complexity for this relationship: the fact that television news reporters look directly at a camera carries within itself an intention of reference, unlike the soap opera characters who exploit "not looking"

as an operation of fictionalization. According to Véron, the “eye in the eye” present in the television news narrative is a structuring condition of TV, although it marks television news more emphatically. The author says that the “eye contact” is the truth produced by the phatic function, whose goal is to keep in touch with the recipient, and for this, tests the channel with such phrases as “see”, “are you there”, “mind you”, “look” (Vernon, 1983). Progressively, as Véron points out (2003), the expressive function, which reflects the enunciator’s mood, his/her emotions and sensations, becomes fundamental in the construction of the telejournalistic narratives and affects the way of constructing credibility of the utterance, its referential aspect, defined as an identification mark of informative discourse. The expressiveness of the television news narrative is certainly marked by reporters’ performance as personas: by performance, therefore.

As we have observed throughout the *Jornal Nacional* coverage, the telejournalistic scene is occupied by other subjects, who undoubtedly assume a rhetorical function of authenticating witnessed reality, but also put themselves or are placed on the scene, that is, incorporate roles and play the game of telejournalistic enactment. They are witnesses of events, but are also mobilized and outraged with what happened in the country. However, what is most evident in the construction of reports is the process of “acting the event” (FAUSTO NETO, 2012). Reporters leave their traditional role of intermediation between public and event to privilege their presence and experience as an event. They seek to “presentify the facts according to constructions that involve beyond the production of the scene”, to “show oneself in the scene”, on the part of reporters (FAUSTO NETO, 2012, 218). In other words, “the narrator is not just a reporter, the one who tells us about something that happened to third parties, but also an actor as he includes himself in the reported action, which signals in the direction of a kind of poetic inversion for the same effect intended: authenticity of reports (GUTMANN, 2014, p 118). By becoming a character of the story and participating in the enactment of the event, the reporter is not divested of his mediating place. In this configuration, the truth effect to be reinforced is given by the active presence of the reporter himself at the scene of events (LAGE, 2015). That is to say, the effect of truth is reinforced by a value other than that of the detached record, but by the “real life effect” (ARFUCH, 2010, p. 68).

As Leonor Arfuch (2010) affirms, the pre-eminence of the experiential is articulated with the obsession for the certification of testimony and of “real time”, by the image that goes live before and to the television camera, by the “truly happened”. This “real-life effect”, often characteristic of new forms of self-writing in

contemporary culture, is different from the one identified by Roland Barthes (2004). The effect of real, the hallmark of realistic narrative, involves the detailed description of events, scenarios, characters and situations, in order to increase the internal verisimilitude. Recalling Hal Foster's (2014) idea that the "return of the author" coincides with the "return of the real", we understand that this real-life effect turns out as desire; a supplement of a lack, which is the real itself. In this way, experience, especially in its testimonial dimension of narrative, assumed a value of authenticity that guarantees a greater effect of real life, by speaking of oneself in the first person, in an account of what one lived (ARFUCH, 2010, p. 67).

***Le 20 Heures* and the disembodied news report**

The events that marked the beginning of 2015 in France – the attack on the offices of the French satirical weekly newspaper *Charlie Hebdo*, which left 12 dead on January 7; a police officer was killed in Montrouge on January 8; and the next day, four people were killed in an attack on a Jewish shop – generated reactions, sociopolitical analyses and comments related to the attacks themselves and, in particular, the target, the actors and their methods. From the earliest days, if not the first few hours, the measures taken by the government and regional, municipal and local authorities focused on opposing complex social dramas, a collective response of a scale comparable to the violence of the attacks and the shock felt by many. This reaction took the form of demonstrations in the regions and Republican marches organized by the Ministry of Interior in Paris on January 11 to honor the victims of the *Charlie Hebdo*'s shooting.

At the same time, in the public sphere, millions of people in France spontaneously adopted the slogan "I am Charlie", which appears in a box in white letters on a black background on the newspaper's website, accompanied by translations into several languages. In addition, international reactions spread very quickly, from heads of state to anonymous people and French expatriates around the world. Thus, whether formally or informally, on the streets or on the Internet, nationally or internationally, the events of January 2015 provoked an impressive wave of reactions.

As we have pointed out from the beginning, our article does not aim to increase, as many have done, the controversy "of being or not being Charlie" (BIDAR, 2015, FASSIN, 2015, TODD, 2015), but tries to comment on the reporter's place in the reports on the attack in TF1's *Le 20 Heures*. *Le 20 Heures*, on TF1 and France 2, has an average audience of 10 million people. As a result of the attack, newscasts

had a significant increase in the audience, reaching 14 million viewers on January 8 and 16 million on January 11, 2015 (ACHILE; MOUDYLENO, 2016, 219). This demonstrates how *Le 20 Heures* continues to be an institution, the privileged place of national information that the French often refer to as a reliable source, but also as a symbolic form of “national unification”, as Augé (2007) argues. According to this author, *Le 20 Heures* reminds us that every rite is supported by a myth and that the myth of the television newscast is the history of the world, an endless story in which the same characters manifest themselves continuously in a variety of events. The author is referring to the narrative structure of stories told, centered on the tension between good and evil and the search for the moral lesson. In addition, *Le 20 Heures* is a format based on the ritual of being in front of the television to watch the main news of France and the world at 8 pm. It is a format shared by several public and private French broadcasters, with subtle variations.

French news programs are very conventional. The status of the announcer (as presenter, reporter or commentator) has little scope for variation. It is a kind of program whose function is to inform, while at the same time it is a product called a flow program, that is, only knowing one broadcast without ever being rebroadcast, in principle (LOCHARD; BOYER, 1995, p.94).

The topics that can be addressed are mainly political, economic, social, cultural and sporting issues, the proportions of these areas being quite different from one to the other. As for the mode of organization, it consists of a speech alternation pronounced as a whole, by a speaker that is seen on the screen (especially in the presentation and in the comments) and by those who speak, more often, in voice over or voice off (as in news reports). The French news programs multiply the use of voice-off narration, bringing the presenter or reporter as a narrator of the images. This serves what Umberto Eco (1989) called a transparent relationship with reality, emphasizing the production of the effect of real by the presumably immediate, urgent proximity with the facts⁵. What counts in persuasive language is the feeling of truth that gives rise to interlocution. Thus, as Missika (2006) observes, in journalism, truth is an effect of meaning, and making appear true (the truthful) is a narrative strategy. Among journalistic strategies of production of truth, according to the same

⁵ Voice off indicates when we know who is the character that speaks, but he/she does not appear in the scene. It may be a narration or a scene whose character is outside an environment and we only hear his/her voice. Voice over is used when, in addition to not seeing the character, we do not know who is speaking. It is most commonly used in narrations of the so-called “voice of God”, which is an omnipresent and omniscient narrator that accompanies the whole story but is not one of the active characters in the plot. We noticed that voice over is more characteristic in the French news programs.

author, three are classic and important. First, there is the force of persuasion linked to the institution, as in *Le 20 Heures* and *Le Monde*: it is true because it is written in the newspaper, because it was said in that TV program. Then there is the power of the collective: every media says the same and deals with the same issues. Finally, there is the familiarity of form: the televised subject responds to the rules of formats and codes that are so many signs of objectivity, independence, transparency and trust that make it appear to be true. Also according to Missika (2006), a typical TV news begins with background images in which the reporter produces voice-off inserts on the subject, followed by interviews with witnesses and/or experts, to finish with a *signature* where the journalist is the image to complete and cite the media he/she works for, proof that he/she is right on the spot and that it is not a news agency subject. The duration of the subject is also coded. The simple and repetitive nature of these formal indicators builds the relationship of trust.

The January 8 edition of TF1's *Le 20 Heures* began with the wave of excitement aroused by the attacks on *Charlie Hebdo's* newsroom. The first images shown to the viewer were those of the minute of silence observed in many cities of the French territory, a moment of meditation taken advantage of by the cameras in the cities of Poitiers, Rennes, Lons-le-Saunier, Bordeaux, Mont-de-Marsan, Toulouse and, of course, Paris, where people gathered in front of the Notre-Dame cathedral, and joined hands in a symbolic gesture of solidarity and national unity. Similar images were proposed in the capital and in Marseille, Montpellier, Mougins, Limoges, Chinon, Val Thorens, Nantes and Ajaccio. The newscast also dedicated space to the death of municipal police officer Clarissa Jean-Philippe, shot by Amedy Coulibaly, the same morning in Montrouge, in an action associated with the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks.

On January 11, Sunday, the day of highest audience, after 7 hours of live coverage on TF1, the newscast showed images of the great demonstration in Paris that mobilized more than 4 million people, followed by brief reports on the manifestations in various cities across the country.

Compared to the *Jornal Nacional* report, in TF1's *Le 20 Heures* there is virtually no reporter on the scene to construct the event. That is a feature of the news program, shifting the credibility of the information to the source. In this sense, the reporter does not assume a prominent position. On the contrary, we identify as dominant characteristic the presentation of the news without the presence of the reporter, who only appears through the narration. The idea is thus to report the facts without personifying them, presenting them as close to reality as possible, without

the reporter's physical mediation on the screen. In Brazilian television journalism, on the contrary, the reporter's presence denotes a process of investigation, determination and search for the truth. It thus confers authority on the reporting. It seems to us that, in the French television news, "the credits announced at the beginning of the story by the presenter and at the end, with the character generator, are already enough to ensure the legitimacy of the information presented (TRINDADE, 2008, p.45).

In *Le 20 Heures*' coverage during the studied period, reporters only appear before the cameras in live broadcasts. In recorded news stories, reporters make themselves present mostly through voiceover narration. Few are the instances when the reporter appears interviewing someone, and when it does happen, only part of his/her body appears (usually the arm). It is interesting to note that this disembodiment of the report seeks a reality effect marked by the more direct access (as if without mediation) to the event. The report, without the apparent reporter, would become a place of passage for direct contact with reality. Thus, the news program reinforces its enunciative authority (through impartiality, transparency, commitment to truth). Thus, journalism positions itself as a "window into the world", producing information about a reference that is external to it. Many social fields have a specific domain over the world experience, making their discourse become opaque, incomprehensible, or insurmountable to most of those who are not part of such a field. Journalism, in agreement with Fausto Neto (2012), is characterized by the production of a transparency of a discourse that appears to be widely understood, which reinforces its authority to make know, to get to see and know the social reality produced by journalistic procedures in certain enunciative materialities, institutions and sociocultural contexts.

Contrary to the Brazilian television news, *Le 20 Heures* counts on a critical journalism, marked by the presence of specialists from several areas of knowledge commenting them and the presenter's as a commentator as well. As Evelyne Cohen (2013) observes, from the 1960s on, a new formula for television news presentation was applied in an attempt to gain more precision and objectivity. It was up to the presenter to call the reports, change the subjects and news, moderate the debates. Since that decade, journalists or official guests are given responsibility for comments on the events. According to the author, from that moment on, it is constituted in the French television journalism the idea that it is up to the report to show the happenings, the facts, but not necessarily to explain or contextualize them. This is, therefore, the role of invited experts, who come to occupy the benches of the news programs in debates mediated by the presenters. With the generalization of debate and thematic information, there is a strong competition between the specialized

journalist (or the specialist, more broadly) and the reporter, who until then was fully identified and recognized as fundamental to television information. Since then, in French television journalism, the street loses priority to the studio as a place of observation of events (BRUSINI; JAMES, 1982).

TF1's *Le 20 Heures*, at least in the context of our analysis, seeks to adapt critical opinion journalism to the current information model, without any significant interference by the mediator with the way information is assimilated by the viewer. The exceptions are interviews conducted on the show, which seem to be remnants of a dominant television journalism practice in the mid-1980s, as Evelynne Cohen notes (2013). During the analyzed period, in all editions there were invited commentators, which is explained by the severity of the attack and the distress it caused.

Final considerations

A fundamental difference between *Jornal Nacional's* and *Le 20 Heures's* coverage is in the ways journalists in the Brazilian newscast occupy the scene and act on it, reporting to the camera, but also talking to each other and filming themselves; no longer acting as mere intermediaries between an event and the viewers as in the French television news, but acting and showing as part of the scene and the event to the point of acting as witnesses of what is happening and assuming an attestation role through the compassion with the situation experienced by the French in the terror attack on *Charlie Hebdo*.

In *Jornal Nacional*, reporters are no longer “spokespersons of the facts”, “storytellers” or “eyewitnesses of history” to become actors of events. In fact, what radically changes here is the testimonial condition: from eyewitnesses (who report what they saw in the world through the reporting) they begin to give testimony about their experiences of covering a certain situation during the narrating. The story's narrative began to be based on personal experience, the experience of the event as a value of truth and real life effect. Moreover, as we have seen, this transformation does not take place in *Le 20 Heures*. Indeed, in the history of French television journalism, there is the transformation of the opinion model into the informative model. However, we know that there is still much to explain about such great differences in the constitution of television reports. In addition to different television and journalistic cultures, there are different cultures. That is, it is not possible to deny the historical insertion of journalism and television – as well as of all symbolic production – in culture. How to observe the differences in format without considering the relations between the media, society and culture? It seems to us impossible and,

at the very least, simplistic to ignore such dimensions in the analysis of television journalism or any other order of products in the field of cultural production.

Agreeing with Véron (1983), it seems to us that the French news programs follow the classic formula of the documentary. In it, for example, following the images commented by voiceover, themes are often separated by subtitles. This does not exist in television news, but the use of voice-off and voice-over is extremely frequent. This formula was used for a long time to construct information before the advent of television, and was adapted by it in the early days of television news. But from the moment the gaze of a presenter-announcer fixed on the viewer becomes the pivot around which the news of the television is organized, a whole series of discursive operations is possible. These operations will be marked by the fact that the presenter glances his eyes at something beyond the viewer: sometimes he stops looking at me. The temporary suspension of the eye axis thus acquires the status of a connector: it marks a transition, an important articulation in the sequencing of the narrative of television reports. In contrast, the Brazilian news programs follow another trend, identified by the same author (VERON, 2003): the use of language expressiveness, through performatization of the reporters' sensations and emotions.

On the other hand, in addition to national specificities, we can not fail to consider that normative discourses on journalistic practice, their values, behaviors and formats circulate globally, associated with a prescriptive set of ideas of modern Western democracy (freedom of expression, public sphere, commitment to truth, vigilance and fourth power). Both *Jornal Nacional* and *Le 20 Heures* seek to produce a sense of belonging to nationality, of community imagined by the discourse of national unification of television news: to deal with the main news of the country of origin and the world (AUGÉ, 2007; BARBOSA; RIBEIRO, 2005).

We briefly pointed out, within the limits of our contribution at this time, the differences in format between television journalism in France and Brazil. What seems to be in common is the need to produce a reality effect through television imagery. If the question of truth, in television news, is of the order of enunciation and an effect of meaning, the role of the images that compose it fails to be the predicted one, i.e., a mechanical document of the real. Francois Jost (2004: 84), in this sense, considers that "television news, despite intending to speak of reality, has often reduced it to the visible, so much so that, sometimes, the existence of events depend on their ability to be visualized". After all, it is precisely through the actual procedures of visualization of the real that television news "makes see" certain events and "makes believe" certain statements as true. The enunciative procedures used by the two

analyzed news programs are seemingly radically different. *Jornal Nacional* invests in the reporter as an actor of the event, who not only appears on the scene, but also leads the scene. In contrast, in *Le 20 Heures*, the reporter has the function of giving access, through the television medium, to the sources in the construction of events. The reporter here is a mediator in that he is absent from the screen but is a facilitator of the public's contact with the event. Confidence in the television narrative in *Jornal Nacional* is not due to the reporter's corporal absence, but to the investment in the reporter's presence on the scene, to guarantee a "real life effect" to the reported event.

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