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# COVERAGE OF THE ELECTIONS OF APRIL, 1975 IN THE DIÁRIO DE NOTÍCIAS AND THE JORNAL NOVO: A STUDY CASE

**Cobertura de las elecciones de abril de 1975 en el *Diário de Notícias* y el *Jornal Novo*: un caso de estudio**

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**Abstract:** *The Portuguese Revolution of April 1974 ended 48 years of dictatorship. The political evolution that followed the coup gave rise to a revolutionary process, the On-Going Revolutionary Period, which gained momentum, after March 11, 1975, opening "the path to socialism". As a side effect, the state became the owner of almost all the press. The first democratic elections took place on April 25, 1975. For the first time in almost 50 years, the press had the opportunity to do the cover in an environment of freedom of expression. However, the media were not immune to the revolutionary process and the newspapers were affected by the struggle for control of the information. The purpose of this study is a first approach in order to understand the news process and strategies to cover the electoral campaign in the press. The methodology will rely on a comparative analysis of the journalist formats in *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal Novo*, chosen for the difference of each journalistic format and almost opposite editorial status.*

**Keywords:** *Democratic Elections, Press Coverage, Election Campaign, Diário de Notícias, Jornal Novo*

**Resumen:** *La Revolución portuguesa de abril de 1974 puso fin a 48 años de dictadura. La evolución política del golpe militar dio paso a un proceso revolucionario, Proceso Revolucionario en Curso, que cobró impulso, después del 11 de marzo de 1975, abriendo así "el camino al socialismo". Como efecto colateral, el Estado se convirtió en el propietario de casi toda la prensa, que pertenecía parcial o totalmente a empresas bancarias y grupos económicos. Las primeras elecciones democráticas tuvieron lugar el 25 de abril de 1975 y la prensa tuvo la oportunidad de cubrir este momento histórico en un ambiente de libertad de expresión. El propósito de este estudio es un primer abordaje para comprender el proceso de noticias y las estrategias para cubrir la campaña electoral en la prensa. La metodología se basará en un análisis comparativo de los formatos periodísticos en *Diário de Notícias* y *Jornal Novo*, justamente escogidos por la diferencia de dimensión y capacidad noticiosa y su estatuto editorial casi opuesto.*

**Palabras clave:** *Elecciones Democráticas, Cobertura de Prensa, Campaña Electoral, Diário de Notícias, Jornal Novo*

## 1. Historical contexts and developments and effects on the news media

On April 25 1974 a *coup d'état* put an end to 48 years of authoritarian rule in Portugal. Coming from the lower ranks of the military, the Captains Movement, later MFA (Movement of the Armed Forces), this was a coup fuelled by 13 years of colonial war and the belief that only a democratization of the regime would be able to put an end to it (Sánchez, 1993). Disobeying military orders and coming massively to the streets,

the Portuguese people's response, from the first moments of the coup, soon turned it into a revolutionary process (Rosas, 2004) where the military became also engaged agents (Palacios, 2003), alongside with political parties and grassroot movements (Santos, 1990; Bermeo, 1986; Durán, 1997; Ramos Pinto, 2013) devoted to questions concerning housing, land reform, workers or women's rights, among others.

On an institutional level, though, the military would maintain their presence until 1982, when the Revolution Council, institutionalized after the failed counter-revolutionary coup of March 11 1975, headed by the former President of the Republic, General Spínola, was extinct by a Constitutional revision (Rezola, 2007). But in the aftermath of the coup a Junta de Salvação Nacional (National Salvation Junta) was appointed and until the election of Mário Soares as President of the Republic in 1986, this office was hold by a military cadre: General Costa Gomes was appointed after the dismissal General Spínola, in late September 1974. The evolution of the process implied the alienation of Spínola, who was involved in several attempted counter-coups, and the emergence of the MFA as a preponderant political subject. Costa Gomes became the interim President of the Republic during the troubled times that followed and, eventually, General Ramalho Eanes became the first democratic president elected, in July 1976. Also a military cadre were the prime-ministers of the first six provisional governments - Palma Carlos, Vasco Gonçalves, Pinheiro de Azevedo – until the first constitutional elections on April 25 1976, when Mário Soares became the first civilian elected prime-minister.

In what concerns of the realm of the media, the transformation brought by the revolutionary process was significant. There were important alterations in legislation, ownership structure of media enterprises and political standing within the same enterprises. Firstly, because the revolutionary process ended with a censorship system that was had developed and perfected during the Estado Novo (the New State: the denomination of the dictatorship according to Salazar's political vision that began in 1930 and was consolidated by the 1933 Constitutional Law). The refusal of some newspapers to present their daily issue to the censorship office was followed by legislative action in order to regulate press freedom (cf. The Press law of 1975) that despite some attempts of regulation of the news flow (cf. the "Ad hoc Commission for the media", the "Jesuino Project" or "Military secrets Law") dismantled the previously existent censorship system.

The freedom of the press generated a sense of news practice, driven for factuality. The atmosphere of new political events gave way to the reconfiguration of the journalistic agenda, marked by a variety of sources (Lima, 2014). The newspapers and particularly the radio and TV became a natural means of announcing attacks on the revolution, undermining of the defeat of "the enemies" and other kinds of "threats", whether real or imaginary. The nationalization of the banks and insurance companies that ensued

the failed counter-revolutionary coup in March 1975 changed the ownership structure of Portuguese newspapers completely: the great majority of them owned, totally or partially, by banks, were nationalized with the status of “intervened”. Exceptions to this process were Lisbon’s daily *República* and Porto’s *Primeiro de Janeiro* (Cabrera, 2006; Lima, 2014).

Amid this process, the role of the media was frequently conceptualized as primordial a political tool, which gave rise to several cases of conflict in news outlets such as radio *Renascença* or newspapers like *República* (Mesquita, 1994a; Ribeiro 2002; Santos, 2005). The preponderance of the military by April 1975, when people in Portugal were called, for the first time in 48 years, to freely elect, with universal suffrage, a Constitutional Assembly aimed at producing a Constitution that would replace the Estado Novo. The elections were a central political matter, given that a pact had been signed between most Political parties and the MFA (Pacto MFA- Partidos) reinstating the latter’s role in Portuguese society independently of the electoral process results. Outside of the pact remained parties like the Monarchist Popular Party (PPM), despite having been present at the table of negotiations, and leftist parties that nonetheless would run in the elections: MES, UDP, FEC (m-l), PUP and LCI.

Thus, the elections were central in the political process and a major subject for the press. According to CNE (the National Electoral Committee), 14 political organizations were present in the poles. This committee would publish all the voting numbers on *Diário da República* (the official bulletin) in May 19, 1975, and, according to it, the most relevant results were the Socialist Party (PS) with 38%, the Social Democrat Party (PPD) with 26%, the Communist Party (PCP) with 12%, the Democratic Social Center (CDS) with 8%, the Popular Democratic Movement - Democratic Electoral Committee (MDP- CDE) 4%, the Democratic Popular Union (UDP) and the Association for the Defence of Macau’s Interests (ADIM), both with less than 1%, but that managed to elect one representative each. These parliament representatives would vote the Constitutional Law of 1976, only with the exception of the CDS. The results were seen by some as a surprise, given the low percentage of the Communist Party and radical left-wing organizations.

The news framing of these results depended on the political perspective. The following examples are from the newspapers analysed in this study. *Diário de Notícias* headline enhanced the victory of the left-wing tendency: “The socialist way confirmed” and “The Alliance People –MFA was the winner”, while *Jornal Novo*’s headline was “Victory of the progressive forces”, but also “Elections – The People in votes” and the interview to Mário Soares: “The results will change the government”. The evaluation of the results could either stress a victory of the Left or, arithmetically speaking, the majority of social democracy represented by the PS and PSD, in a more centre oriented

perspective. Either way, the following period would be a fight for the legitimacy of the electoral results.

## **2. Case study: the elections of 1975 in the *Diário de Notícias* and the *Jornal Novo*, a comparative approach.**

The analysis of the elections of 1975 in *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal Novo* tries to tackle a comparative analysis of two editorial formats, but also seeks to understand how two newspapers with different, almost opposite characteristics, treated this journalistic event of maximum newsworthiness. The elections of April 25, 1975 were the first to allow the democratic vote after the downfall of the dictatorship that had been in place for 48 years, during which the media were controlled by a very strict censorship apparatus. Thus, the first free elections deserved a prominent place in the pages of the Portuguese press, and considering the news hierarchy, they became a top subject in the covers' headlines. In this sense, this study approaches journalistic procedures and categorizes and quantifies the news in order to understand the effects of composition, hierarchy of news and journalistic genres used to convey the editorial strategies of *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal Novo*. The journalistic genres complemented by the sources present in the news may provide a deeper understanding of each newspaper on an organizational level, but, eventually, the hypothesis of different editorial stands.

In 1975, *Diário de Notícias* was the largest Portuguese newspaper. It had been launched by Eduardo Coelho and Quintino Antunes, in 1864 and this centennial daily was the first example of a news project in Portugal and quickly became an example of success. It lasted for more than a century and its daily printed edition was ended in 2018. Its growing importance was recognized by the Estado Novo dictatorship and this newspaper became state-owned and its editorial staff was carefully controlled by a faithful editorial board, entrusted by the political regime.

Despite the transformations occurred during the Marcelo Caetano's period (1968-1974), under the leadership of a new director, Fernando Fragoso (Cabrera, 2006), the newsroom remained dated and little receptive to innovation (Correia, Baptista, 2009). As a result, *Diário de Notícias* was not well regarded by the head of the National

Salvation Junta and its direction board was soon “saneada” (purges were common after the Revolution and in the press as in many companies, the boards that were faithful to the dictatorship were expelled and sometimes imprisoned) and, by June 25, had been replaced by José Ribeiro dos Santos and José Carlos Vasconcelos (Gomes, 2014), after a process of enquiry of the newsroom. Gomes argues that the main goal of this editorial direction was to clean the collaborationists with the former regime that were a strong facet in this newspaper. This new team was also replaced, now by Luís de Barros and José Saramago, whom, according to Gomes, practiced a “journalism at the service of the revolution and the MFA” (2014: 299-300). After the peak of the PREC, the following team in charge of the newspaper, Vítor Cunha Rego and Mário Mesquita, would try to dismantle that editorial guidance, in a rebranding effort to change the partisan purpose into one of a more pluralist nature (2014). *Diário de Notícias*, however, would never be able to shake of the criticism of being a newspaper aligned with the political power, as Gomes also notices (2014). From an editorial point of view, in the edition of April 4, 1975, and matching the period of this study case, DN would state that its purpose was to “serve the Portuguese People and the truth, against the enemies of the Portuguese People, and the lie” and by so, rejecting the idea to submit to “particular interests” (Apud Gomes, 2014: 58).

After the Revolution of April 25, 1974, the *Diário de Notícias* kept the top position in terms of runs (100,000), which, according to Cavaco (2012: 424) was announced in the header from 1923/25 until 1976: “the greatest circulation and expansion of all the Portuguese newspapers.” The DN was a broadsheet newspaper and had a great diversity of news. The first page had many news and the size of the headlines was variable, but there was a clear difference between the central subjects of the daily agenda and smaller ones. The news might include a photograph or infographics and, as a rule, besides the title and lead, there was also a text, a configuration that was possible thanks to its size. The inclusion of varied and abundant news was only possible thanks to the newsroom, which in Lisbon and according to Gomes (2014: 85), had more than 60 journalists, in 1975.

In the elections’ month, and in a broad perspective, the *Diário de Notícias’* cover included a variety of subjects. Still, being DN a newspaper of record, the political and the international agenda were obvious choices, but politics as an editorial section must be regarded in a comprehensive sense. Other topics in the headlines’ cover were the ones related to the military that even though one wouldn’t, in general, consider under Politics, in this particular case, they might be regarded as such, since they owned the political power through the Conselho da Revolução (Revolution Council). The union demonstrations and strikes, given the revolutionary moment that was in place at the time, were also frequent and can be framed in the same perspective. Thus, the coverage of the election campaign reached the first page, but its place was shared by the other issues on the daily line-up.

In terms of daily agenda, *Jornal Novo*, included the topics also addressed by *Diário de Notícias*, but the journalistic approach was considerably different, given the dimensions and purpose of this evening paper. *Jornal Novo* was one of several newspapers published in the aftermath of the revolutionary period with the purpose to counteract the dominant and particularly active feature of the press under state intervention, in which political organizations and editorial boards impinged a radicalized left-wing editorial orientation (Lima, 2014). Thus, newspapers such as *O Jornal*, *Jornal Novo*, *Tempo e Luta* sought to even the effects of the revolutionary mood and, in turn, to present an alternative editorial stand.

*Jornal Novo* was launched on April 17 by Artur Portela Filho, whom in the first editorial pointed out the newspaper mission: "Journalism of action, intervention, clarification, the *Jornal Novo* refuses violence, sectarianism, segregation. We know why we fight and also what we fight against, but we know the best way to fight is the competent and calm participation in the building of our future." This daily avowed itself as a socialist, but in a moderate perspective. The project of *Jornal Novo*, aiming to contradict the trend of state-owned press, came from a group in charge of the most powerful association of employers at the time, CIP, the Portuguese Industrial Confederation, who, according to João Figueira (2007), had a political rather than a commercial goal for this newspaper. This idea stems from the fact that CIP closed a rentable newspaper when, politically, it was considered that there was no longer need for it, in the aftermath of the cool down of the revolutionary project (Figueira, 2007:217).

Since *Jornal Novo* began its edition in mid-April, the coverage of the electoral campaign was necessarily smaller than in *Diário de Notícias*. However, the differences between the two newspapers don't result only from the temporal gap. The *Jornal Novo* was an evening paper, that was published until 1979. It was in a tabloid in size and had a low number of pages, which limited the printing space and consequently the number of news. The newsroom was much smaller than the DN's (less than 20 journalists), which accentuates the disparity in terms of news coverage. Also, in a global vision, *Jornal Novo* presented, in April of 1975, large-scale news articles with less thematic variety, in relation to *Diário de Notícias*.

Given this brief characterization, the quantitative analysis that follows, somehow mirrors the different journalistic formats and the organizational capacity of each of these newspapers. In spite of the differences in time interval, the grids contemplate all the news for the month of April until the publishing of the results of the elections, in order to better understand the composition effects of each newspaper. The sample comprehends a total of 486 news, where all the types considered in the categorization were included, even if not all of them are part of traditional journalistic genres. This recollection enables the detection of processes of agenda-building and priming, in the

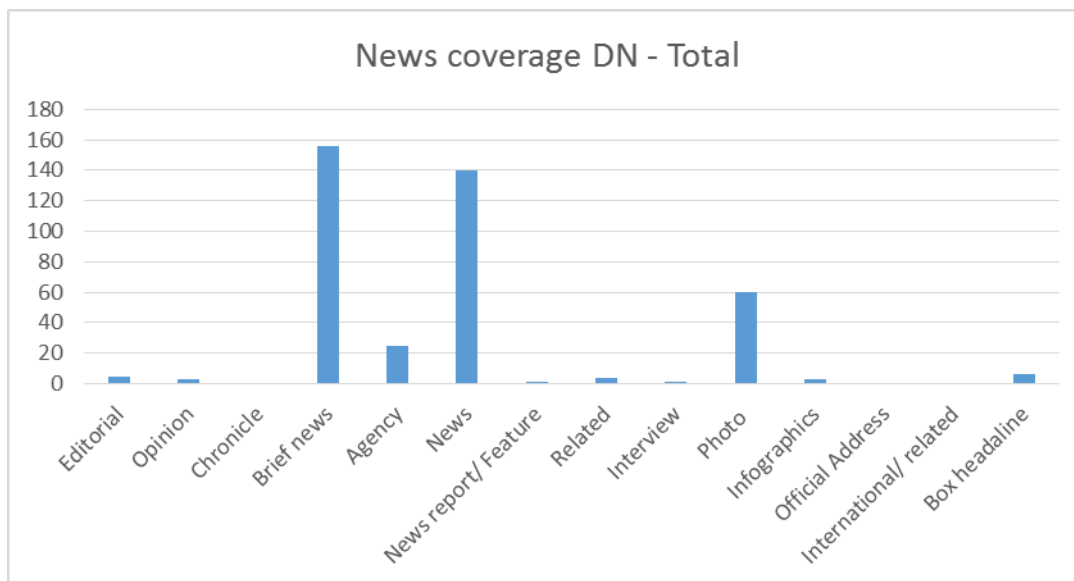
sense that public opinion may be influenced by the way news are framed in an evaluation level through enhancing or devaluation mechanisms, but also by effects of repetition (Scheufele, 2000; Shoemaker, Reese, 2014).

In addition, the second level of analysis considers the sources in the news, namely the institutional sources and sub-categories identified in the two newspapers. At that time Portugal was going through a very polarized political moment and all the parties and organizations sought to be present in the press (Mesquita, 1996a), but other political actors aimed also to be in the news. Institutional power was divided and the Military had the stronger voice. The relation between journalists and sources was overwhelming, given the amount of organizations and individualities that tried to influence the public agenda and that regarded the newspaper as means of propaganda.

In this type of coverage, the attribution is not very relevant (Mencher, 2000), since most of the declarations were made on the record, mostly due to a general mood of political debate and public declarations. Written communiqués were also frequent, but during the campaign, and the evaluation of the results, the comments were more often used by political parties and other organizations. Therefore, we consider institutional and non-institutional sources and the concept of primary and secondary sources, being the distinction given by relation to this news event. We also consider specialized sources in the sense that they bring a deeper understanding on the matter. Last but not the least, the anonymous source is also taken in consideration and is regarded in cases when the journalist agrees to protect the identity of the spokesperson (Santos, 2006). Considering the subject of the Portuguese elections of 1975, a more discriminated typification of sources is as follows: Government, Political parties/ organizations, Military, Other institutions, Specialized sources, Other news media, Agency, Anonymous sources and Secondary sources.

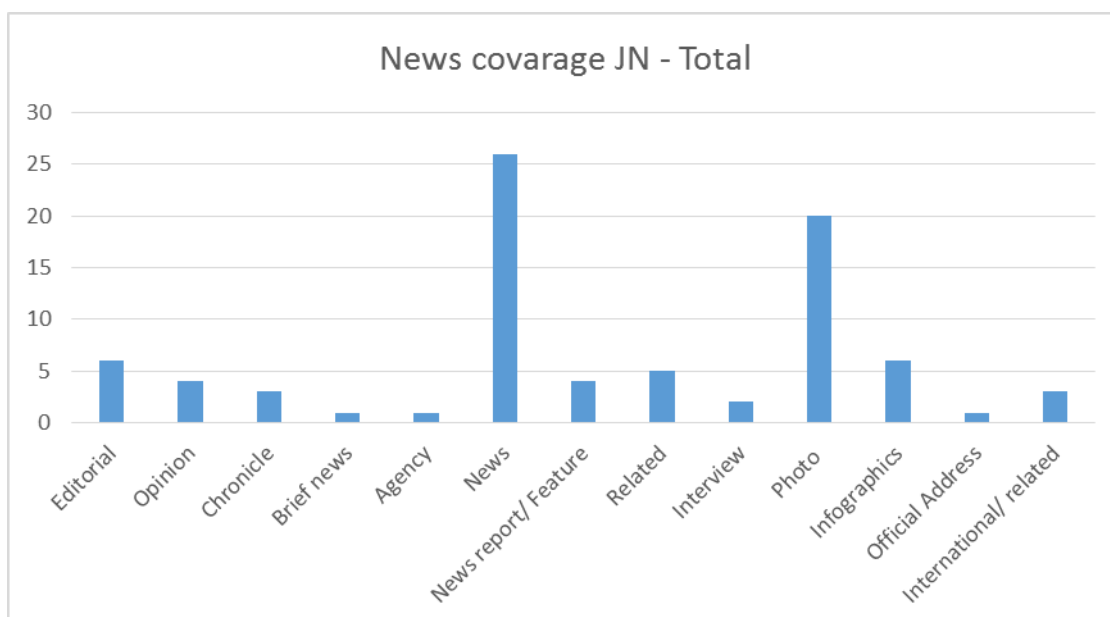
The news coverage in *Diário de Notícias* and *Jornal Novo* present many differences but also some common elements. The table below shows how the categories in *Diário de Notícias*, taking in consideration all the news and different items gathered in April of 1975. In this data, all the news, related news and journalism genres, and all the entrances considered related to the coverage were included in a total of 404 items.





Graph 1 – The election coverage by *Diário de Notícias*

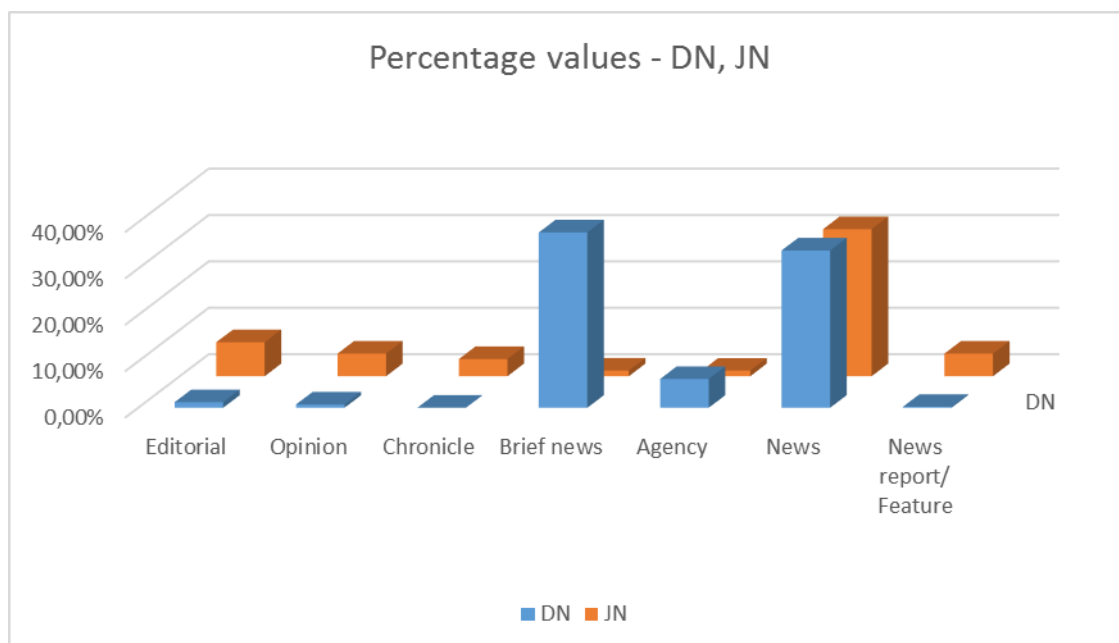
The global numbers show that the categories Brief News (156) and News (140) were predominant, followed by the Photos (60), which confirms a very fact/ related approach by *Diário de Notícias*. The categories News Report/ Feature (1) and Interview (1) had small significance. They are normally used in the coverage of important news subjects, where the effect of composition is very important, namely to give the readers a broader perception and deeper means of interpretation on prominent news coverage. Still, this daily presented five editorials on the elections and three Opinion columns. Another feature of the composition effect, the Chronicle is absent, however there was a special column that addressed the interpretation of the electoral results. This newspaper didn't consider the newsworthiness of International related news.



Graph2 – The election coverage by *Jornal Novo*

*Jornal Novo* presented a much lesser number of items than *Diário de Notícias*, but showed a more significant variety of journalistic genres. News (26) and Photos (20) were the categories with higher numbers. The distribution by other genres seem more even and News report/ Feature, Interview, Editorial, Opinion column and Chronicle were all included, pointing towards a strategy of composition carried out by this daily. The categories Brief and Agency are not significant, as it was stated before, this newspaper opted for large articles. *Jornal Novo* also included the official address of the President Costa Gomes to the nation, enhancing the importance of the first free elections. The international reactions were also present. In spite of having a smaller coverage, this newspaper, through the variety of news items, gave the readers the possibility of a wider view on the elections news subjects, combined with an interpretative approach given by editorials, opinion-makers and even a large feature with an expert on electoral systems.

In order to compare the most significant categories between the two newspapers, the number of cases were converted in percentages, given the gap of numbers and the different dimensions.

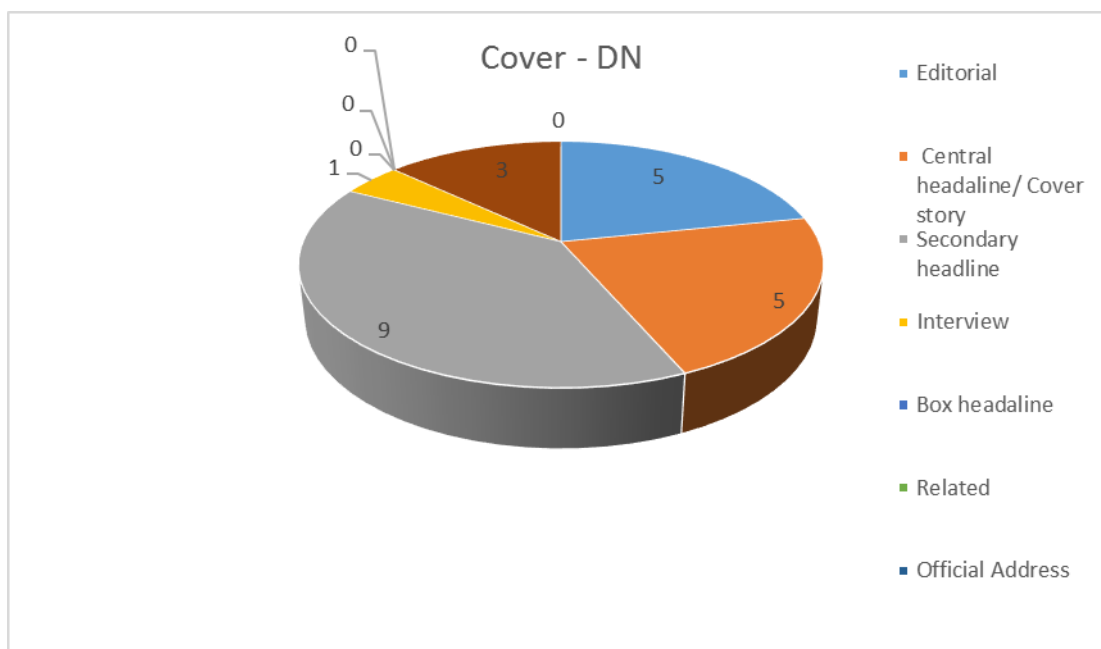


Graph 3 – Comparative values in percentage

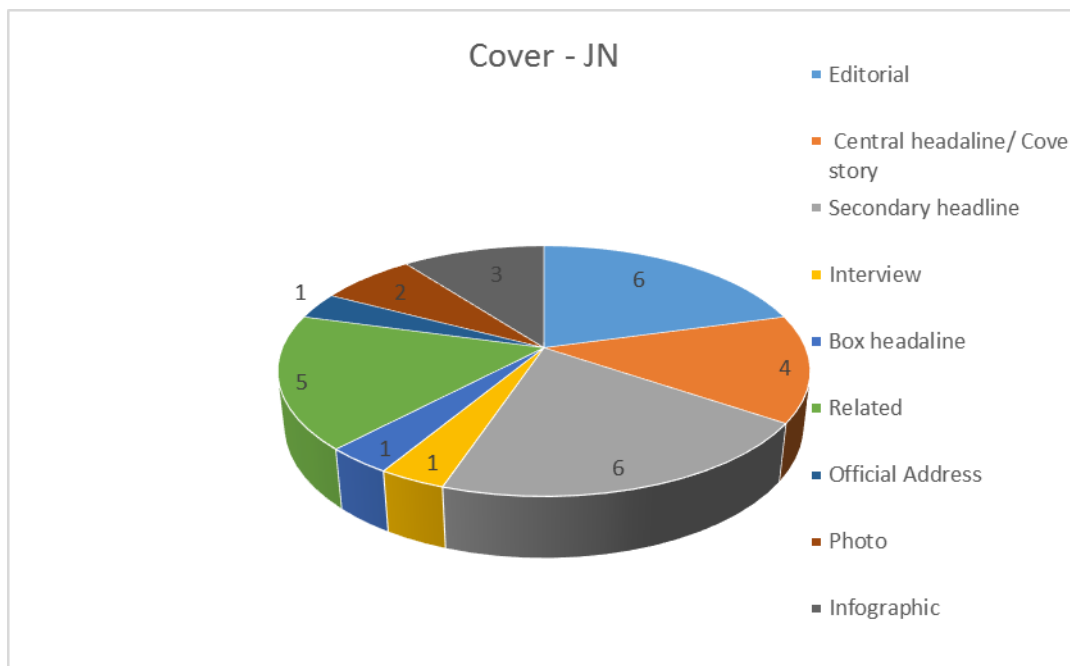
According to Graph 3, only one of the categories, News, (the most relevant) shows an even result, a bit more than 30%, which confirms the same standards in terms of journalistic procedures. Brief news is the category that presents a higher difference, with *Diário de Notícias* showing 37,8% and *Jornal Novo* with only 1,2%. These opposite numbers enhance the contrast in each editorial configuration. In the same line, *Jornal*

*Novo* shows a higher weight of Editorial, Opinion and Chronicle compared to *Diário de Notícias* confirming the purpose of a more reflexive approach. In terms of effects of mechanisms of composition, JN also reflects more attention to explanation articles, considering that News Report/ Features represents 4.9% and in DN its weight is insignificant (0, 20%).

In terms of news values and hierarchy of news, newspapers covers tell us how journalists and editors evaluate the most important subjects in the agenda. The main headlines that are a cover feature are considered by the news organization the most important every day. The cover itself, shows levels of hierarchy, depending in the main/ central headline, secondary headlines, inclusion of photos and other significant elements, like infographics or boxes that enhance special information. The comparison of the two covers may allow the understanding of how these newspapers regarded the elections in terms of importance, even if considering the different layouts.



Graph 4 – Hierarchy of news in *Diário de Notícias*

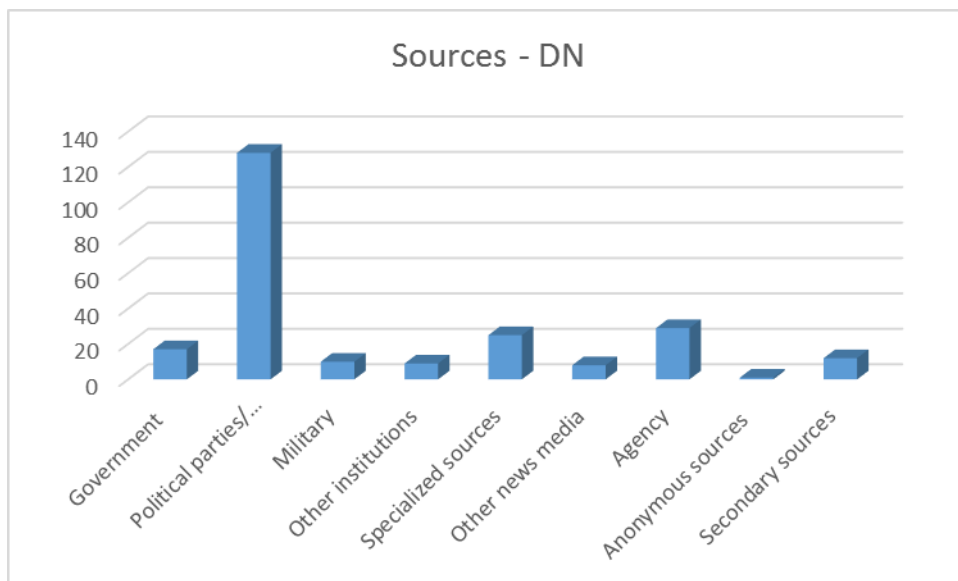


Graph 5 – Hierarchy of news in *Jornal Novo*

Remarkably, by comparison of the two covers, *Jornal Novo* presents the same number of headlines about the elections (23) as *Diário de Notícias*, which gains relevance since the first was published for the first time 16 days after the beginning of the coverage by DN. The categories with more relevance in *Diário de Notícias* are Secondary Headline (9) followed by Editorial and Central headline, both with 5 cases.

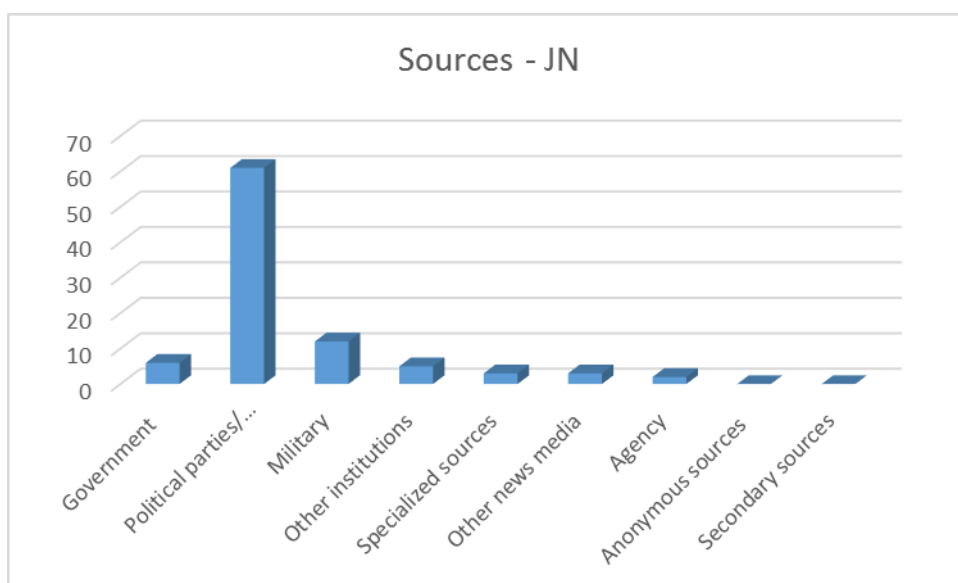
*Jornal Novo* top categories are Editorial and Secondary headline with 6 cases, followed by Related (5). In this category are included headlines that imply controversy with the military that have the election process as a debate background. Notably, *Jornal Novo* had more variety of categories on the covers than *Diário de Notícias*.

Sources are a key element to a better understanding of the news. In the graphs below, the sample represents a total of 322 sources identified in the total of news. A simplistic categorization, institutional and non-institutional show that *Jornal Novo* doesn't include anonymous or secondary sources in a total of 92. *Diário de Notícias* mentions 230 sources in which three are non-institutional, one anonymous, all included in the Secondary sources category. A more complex approach may show how these two newspapers included the great variety of sources that gained a voice in the press after the downfall of the dictatorship and how the agenda building processes were achieved.



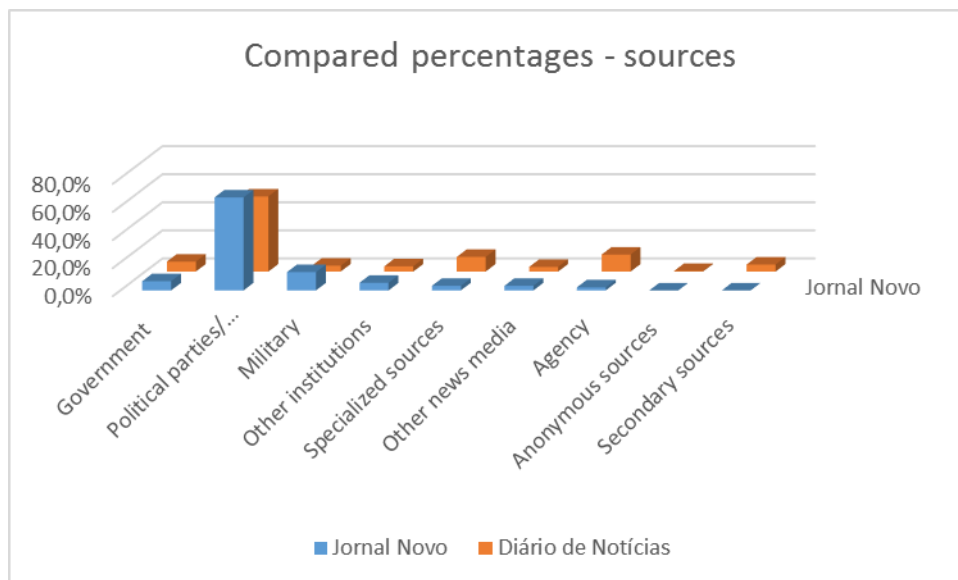
Graph 6 – Categorization o of sources in *Diário de Notícias*

As expected, *Diário de Notícias* includes a higher number of sources and Political organizations are the most preponderant, with 128 mentions. The main institution, the Government, come in second with 17 cases. Agency comes in third place with 29 cases, which, somehow, can be related to the high number of brief news. Specialized sources were the fourth with 25 cases. This category gains this relevance because all of them were from CNE (the National Electoral Committee), the organization responsible for the supervision of the electoral process and that reported anomalies during the voting. Remarkably, the Military showed a discreet presence (10). Other institutions (9) include a variety of entities and Secondary sources (12) are personalities or common citizens with no direct relation to the elections but make declarations on the elections subject.



Graph 7 – Categorization o of sources in *Jornal Novo*

The identification of categories in *Jornal Novo* are much more straightforward since it only mentions very clear institutional sources, in a total of 92. The Political parties are the most significant 61, as expected. In second come the Military, not surprisingly, with 12 mentions and the Government was mentioned in 5 cases.



Graph 8 – Categorization o of sources in percentage

Graph 8 give us the percentage preponderance in the two newspapers. Once again, given the difference in terms of number of news and used sources, it is important to get a perception on the weight of the categories according to the related weight. The behavior of the sources in the two newspapers show a certain similarity and higher values are coincident in Political parties: 66,3% in *Jornal Novo* and 53,6% in *Diário de Notícias*. The other categories don't present very distant values.

The most evident differences are Agency in which DN has more than 10% over JN, and Military where *Jornal Novo* takes the lead with 13% over DN's 4,2%. In spite of the political turmoil, both newspapers keep a source related strategy and use the most important voices in the elections subject, the political parties, as their main base of information. Given the importance of Military in this period it is not surprising the place they have in *Jornal Novo*. On the other hand, the hypothesis that *Diário de Notícias* would give them more relevance was not confirmed. However, DN presents a wider range of spokespersons, not necessarily seen as key voices in the partisan struggle. Notably, both dailies don't seem to give much importance to the Government.

## Final considerations

The Portuguese Revolution of April 1974 allowed the freedom of the press, which is seen as a landmark in modern democracies. However, the new order gained a very radicalized stand, marked by political struggle and social instability. In this context, the first democratic elections in Portugal were constrained by a very particular conjuncture, where the preponderance of the Military determined a previous regulation, in spite of the final results. A pact had been signed between most political parties and the MFA, ensuring its role in Portuguese society, which somehow, limited the effectiveness of the popular suffrage. Regardless of these limitations, the new parliament representatives would be able to vote the Constitutional Law of 1976, as a result of the debacle of the PREC (On-Going Revolutionary Period). The results of the elections of April, 1975 were seen by some as a surprise, because the Communist Party and other more radical leftwing organizations didn't perform as expected, given the echo they had, at the time, in the press and in political initiatives.

After the Revolution, the Portuguese media suffered major transformations marked by alterations in legislation, ownership of media enterprises and processes of political influence. A new era began and the censorship put in place for almost 50 years came to an end. New means of regulation and de-regulation were put in place, but journalists finally had the chance to inform without hinders. In terms of newsworthiness, the first elections performed as a major journalism subject and the press had the chance, for the first time to organize the coverage of the elections according to a valid news model, but also to act as a main source of citizen education for the Portuguese people.

This study case focuses on two very different newspapers, *Diário de Notícias*, a centennial newspaper and *Jornal Novo* only launched on April 17, 1975, in the middle of the electoral process. The choice was intentional because these two dailies had different and, somehow, opposite stands, as well as sizes and editorial leverage.

The comparative analysis allows to determine if there is a difference in journalistic formats and the hierarchy of news. There were categories with similar behavior and others with very different outcomes. Both newspapers show even results in News, and by so, they confirm similar journalistic procedures. In an opposite direction, the category Brief news is much higher in *Diário de Notícias* than in *Jornal Novo*, which validates that the latter was characterized by a more explanatory approach. Also enhancing this feature, Editorial, Opinion and Chronicle have more cases compared to *Diário de Notícias*. The explanation articles in *Jornal Novo* under the category News Report/ Features are also more relevant, since in *Diário de Notícias* there was only one case. In this broad perspective, and considering the big gap in terms of number of news, the framing of the elections given by journalism genres and style, point out that DN gave a great relevance in terms of newsworthiness, due to the high number of

news. However, the relevance was not confirmed by effects of composition, considering the low number of explanatory articles. *Jornal Novo* showed a lower number of news, but the articles had rather a bigger dimension and the explanatory strategy was more obvious.

In terms of the news hierarchy, considering the subjects in the covers, it is also possible to assess effects of priming in the two newspapers. They present the same number of headlines about the elections. However, this category gains more relevance in *Jornal Novo*, considering its first day of publication. Accordingly, the priming strategy might be considered more evident in this newspaper.

The last level of analysis are sources mentioned in the news, which may give elements for a better understanding in the agenda-building. Once again, there is a similarity in the newspapers, considering that the higher values are coincident: Political parties and organizations are, by far, the most relevant. Other categories are also coincident but Agency stands as more important to *Diário de Notícias*. The category Military, notably, has more relevance in *Jornal Novo*, which might be explained by the presence of these sources in other news in *Diário de Notícias*, but this parameter was not include in this study case. On the other hand, this daily presents a greater variety of sources, not necessarily seen as key voices in the election process. Another common and relevant idea that stands out in the comparison of these two newspapers is that there is a coincident strategy of reference to the source, giving the news the referential of validation.

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