

AN ANALYSIS OF NAMING IN JOURNALISM:

sexual and gender dissidence in *Folha de S. Paulo*



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DOI: 10.25200/BJR.v16n1.2020.1238

Received in: August 6th, 2019

Reviewed on: November 4th, 2019

Reviewed on: December 10th, 2019

Approved on: December 21st, 2019

ABSTRACT – This article is part of a study which establishes naming as a foundation of journalism. Two objectives are worked on: (1) identify how LGBTQI+¹ people were named in *Folha de S. Paulo* in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; (2) present a three-stage methodological proposal: content analysis (Bardin, 2016), observation of framing and sources, an statement analysis based on the Foucaultian perspective of discourse. The *corpus* is a collection of content published in the month of June from five different decades: 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 and 2009. The period from which the material was selected used the Stonewall riots² as a historical milestone.

Key words: Naming. Journalism. LGBTQI+. Sexuality. Gender.

ANÁLISE DA NOMEAÇÃO NO JORNALISMO: as dissidências sexuais e de gênero na *Folha de S. Paulo*

RESUMO – Este artigo faz parte de uma pesquisa voltada a pensar a nomeação como fundamento do jornalismo. São trabalhados dois objetivos: (1) identificar como pessoas LGBTQI+ foram nomeadas na *Folha de S. Paulo* em diferentes contextos históricos entre os séculos XX e XXI; (2) apresentar proposta metodológica dividida em três etapas: análise de conteúdo (Bardin, 2016), observação do *framing* e das fontes e, por fim, uma análise enunciativa baseada em perspectiva foucaultiana do discurso. Foram coletados como *corpus* conteúdos publicados no mês de junho em cinco diferentes décadas: 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 e 2009. O período determinado para seleção do material levou em consideração a Revolta de Stonewall como marco histórico.

Palavras-chave: Nomeação. Jornalismo. LGBTQI+. Sexualidade. Gênero.

ANÁLISIS DE NOMINACIÓN EN PERIODISMO: disidencias sexuales y de género en *Folha de S. Paulo*

RESUMEN – Este artículo es parte de una investigación centrada en nominación como la base del periodismo. Se elaboran dos objetivos: (1) identificar cómo las personas LGBTQI+ fueron nombradas en *Folha de S. Paulo* en diferentes contextos históricos entre los siglos XX y XXI; (2) presentan una propuesta metodológica dividida en tres etapas: análisis de contenido (Bardin, 2016), observación de *framing* y fuentes y, finalmente, un análisis enunciativo basado en la perspectiva foucaultiana del discurso. Se recopiló como contenido del corpus publicado en el mes de junio en cinco décadas diferentes: 1969, 1979, 1989, 1999 y 2009. El período determinado para la selección del material tuvo en cuenta la rebelión de Stonewall como un hito histórico.

Palabras clave: Nominación. Periodismo. LGBTQI+. Sexualidad. Género.

1 Introduction

It was the 1950s when Fraser Bond defended the four fundamentals of journalism: informing, interpreting, guiding and entertaining. Informing is the obligation to provide information to society, while interpreting dictates that journalism should offer “explanations, interpretations, and background material” to help the “individual better understand what he reads or hears” (Bond, 1959, p. 7).

Now, interpreting is the basis for guiding; the third fundamental of journalism. Guiding provides content that is able to offer qualified explanations. The fourth (and final) fundamental is entertaining, which lies within this hybrid dimension of newspapers informing and distracting the public. With that in mind, the purpose of this article is to theorize on another possible foundation of journalism: naming.

The theoretical basis has as its source authors who think about journalism and the impacts of its discursive production. We

argue that the naming of objects of reality consolidates journalism not only as a legitimate social institution for narrating the present (Franciscato, 2005), but also as a form of knowledge (Park, 1972; Genro Filho, 2012; Meditsch, 1992). We consider objects of reality as everything that is built within the relationship between journalistic discourse and what needs to have meaning (Seixas, 2009, p. 109).

One of the objectives of this article is to reflect on naming and look at how the LGBTQI+ community has been named over the last 50 years in the *Folha de S. Paulo*. We chose this particular newspaper as it is one of the largest circulated ones in the country. From a diachronic and thematic point of view, we chose to start with the Stonewall Riots of 1969, an event widely considered as an international milestone in the LGBT community's modern fight for rights (Péret, 2012; MacRae, 2018; Facchini & Rodrigues, 2018).

We collected data from the same month in the following decades (1979, 1989, 1999, 2009), thus putting together a map of namings spanning a period of five decades. Another objective of this article is to propose a research methodology that could be used to analyze naming in news products. The first step in proposing such a methodology involves the application of Bardin's structured content analysis (2016).

After the content analysis has been applied, a framing analysis can then be performed (Tuchman, 1999; Entman, 2010), followed by a categorization of sources based on Schmitz's proposal (2011). Then, an analysis of enunciative formations is performed, a proposal based on Foucault (2014) and applied by Fischer (2012) which identifies four elements: a referent, a subject, an associated field and a specific materiality.

Names like transvestite, people-with-AIDS, infected, strange, gay, homosexuality, and others, were mapped and included in a theory flows between journalism and issues associated with sexual and gender dissidence, a term applied to the LGBTQI+ community when referring to fissures caused by heteronormativity³ (Colling & Nogueira, 2015). The work considers the content (notes, news, reports and interviews) from the informative category (Marques de Melo, 2003), and disregards opinion-based material.

2 Naming and journalism

In this article we defend the complexity of name and naming from Foucault (2016) and his Generalized Naming Theory, which defines naming as a constitutive element of the formation of knowledge through language. When naming objects of reality, words not only have the function of indicating existence, but of providing a set of meanings in relation to that which is being named.

When stating that “a name is a term of discourse”, Foucault (2016) notes naming as evidence of the connection between language and things. Thus, “naming is providing a verbal representation of a representation while at the same time placing it in a general framework (pp. 164–166). Lippmann (2010) noted that, in the 1920s, the nature of news gets its origin from the relationship in which the journalist reports occurrences from aspects that can be captured, objectified, measured and named.

Something similar was suggested by Lage (2002, p.16) when he stated that events are ordered by journalists not according to their temporal sequence, but to the production process of selecting, ordering and naming. He notes that naming is associated to choosing words which have meanings that are easy to understand. Another author who makes this connection between naming and news is Franciscato (2014, p. 91). He points out that the modes of operating the news-event relationship vary “in relation to the criteria journalists use for recognizing and naming news events”.

For Franciscato (2014, p. 107), the news is a “socio-historical-cultural object, linked to social forms of experimenting, delimiting, recognizing, defining and naming the things of the world”. The naming occurs from the initial meeting between content producer and the event; its existence derives from sociocultural aspects that determine the lexical possibilities.

A brief state of the art reveals how the relationship between journalism and naming is a historical concern and has been the subject of much thought in areas such as linguistics (Rajagopalan, 2003; Guimarães, 2003, 2017), semiotics (Demuru, 2016; Pereira, 2010), argumentation theory (Pozobon & Garcia, 2017), and discourse analysis (Zago, 2008; Butler, 2019).

In the mid-twentieth century, Bush and Bullock (1952) concerned themselves with finding out which subjects were named by newspapers and what the social functions were that they performed.

They found that the upper social classes were named about five times more than the number their population represented in society. Conversely, the middle and lower classes were named about half as much as their population represented.

The relationship between naming and sources of information has been identified in studies on credibility (Vultee, 2010; Duncan et al., 2019). Duncan et al. (2019) examined how the public processes the credibility of news from three source characteristics: named, unnamed, or identified by political parties. Vultee (2010) analyzed the names in the credibility building process.

Objectivity is another aspect linked to naming, as researched by Goodman and Boudana (2016). The use of identifiers such as terrorist and Palestinian was analyzed, always in light of objectivity and language. This objectivity has been linked to the formation of stereotypes, as researched by Serrano (2016) and Zhong et al. (2011).

Goodman analyzed namings used for Colombian armed groups, while Boudana investigated namings on terrorism suspects. Serrano (2016) noted how the press labels subjects. Zhong et al. (2011) focused on analyzing the namings of terrorism suspects and the use of sources.

Another aspect is the relationship between names and the notion of media presentation. Zago (2008) studied how names given to Federal Police operations can be used to understand media coverage and working relationships within the police. Naming also appears in urban spaces based on relationships associated with memory, political aspects and market issues, as noted in studies by Demuru (2016) and Kieling (2015). Demuru's study reflected on the changing of the names of two stadiums in São Paulo, while Kieling's analyzed how the changing of the name of an avenue in Porto Alegre was "mediatically appropriate", and how it created disputes in the field of memory.

From a linguistic perspective, Rajagopalan (2003, p. 82) starts with coverage of the war to show how naming is related to power as "names are merely object-identifying labels" and therefore "one has to think beyond the semantics of proper names to view the naming phenomenon as an eminently political act".

He argues that "using names and surnames in politics is the first step toward media swaying public opinion either for or against reported personalities and events" (p. 82).

We know that all news, all journalistic reports begin by identifying, by naming. Indeed, traditional grammar itself teaches us that one must first identify the subject of the sentence, then say something about it or predict something about said subject. We must first name the object in order to then say something about it in the world. (Rajagopalan, 2003, p. 84).

Continuing with linguistics, Guimarães (2017, p.12) defines naming as “the semantic functioning by which something receives a name”, and its existence will be part of the complex process of identifying, which consists in the meaning of a name as something associated to relationships of a language exposed to the real within historical contexts.

To name something [...] is to give it historical existence. It is not by chance how quickly the date of September 11, 2001 moved into the category of an event name. And as a name, it is presented in its condensed form of simply September 11, and is also used as a noun phrase. The name appears as an unavoidable way of solidifying an event in history. (Guimarães, 2003, p. 54).

Semantics predicts the existence of two elements associated with naming: speakers and enunciation spaces. Speakers are political figures constructed within enunciation spaces; political environments in which roles, as well as conflicts, are organized and distributed (Guimarães, 2017). Thus, journalistic products are spaces of enunciation that contribute to forming speakers.

3 Journalism and the LGBTQI+ agenda

LGBTQI+ community agendas were included in journalism following the social movements of the 1950s and 1960s. The main civil rights movements were led by black activists, feminists and LGBTQI+ activists⁴ who started protests, marches and discussions which gradually became included in U.S. mass media. In the case of LGBTQI+, the media represented two sides: (1) activists who fought for issues such as marriage, adoption and the non-criminalization of homosexuality; and (2) the conservative and religious faction which wanted to uphold morals and customs (Fejes, 2008).

Fejes (1993) traces the history of these agendas in movies, television, news, pornography, and marketing. Prior to the 1960s, homosexuality was rarely mentioned in the news. Many reports on crime and violence had hints of homosexuality included in them,

such as men who assaulted and robbed clients in the sex market. When homosexuality was discussed, it was referred to as a disease, a perversion, or a crime (p. 402).

Newspaper coverage started to change in the late 1970s, depending on the editorial line and management model. The *New York Times*, for example, opted for to use the name homosexual rather than gay, claiming it was the “more objective term”. At the same time, alternative media made by and for the LGBTQI+ community was gaining momentum (Fejes, 1993, p. 402).

In the 1980s, HIV/AIDS was associated with promiscuous sexual activity among homosexuals, and newspapers had to deal with the growing LGBTQI+ community. In 1983, doctors suggested that AIDS was not solely transmitted through homosexual contact, and newspapers began to view the issue as an epidemic (Fejes, 1993, p. 403).

Among other things, the epidemic dramatically affected media organizations attitudes about gay and lesbian topics and openly gay and lesbian employees. Media institutions had traditionally been recognized as homophobic (Pierson, 1982); until the 1980s an openly gay or lesbian journalist, editor, broadcaster, actor, film producer was rare. (Fejes, 1993, p. 404).

Up until the early 1960s in Brazil, homosexuality was portrayed by “satirizing public figures, mainly through cartoons and illustrations, or disseminating crimes involving homosexuals and transvestites” (Péret, 2011, p. 11). The repression and censorship impressed by the Brazilian government (1964–1985) led to an alternative press focused on criticizing capitalism, the church and the customs and morals of the middle class. Newspapers such as *O Pasquim* (1969–1991) and *Lampião da Esquina* (1978–1981) were created and helped to introduce themes of sexuality into the “vocabulary of journalists and readers” (p. 35).

Slanderous and untrue coverage of HIV/AIDS resonated in Brazil until the 1990s when the LGBTQI+ movement looked toward getting some positive representation. The media played a crucial role during this period (Facchini, 2010). Nowadays, LGBTQI+ agendas include new protagonists such as transsexuals and transvestites, and having the media include them and give them a voice has led to studies analyzing how journalism contributes to the inclusion or exclusion of this community (Carvalho, 2012; Fejes, 1993, 2008; Leal & Carvalho, 2012; Moritz, 2010; Ribeiro, 2010; Sahim, 2018; Santana, 2018).

4 Methodology

A three-stage methodological approach can be used to consider naming in journalism: (1) content analysis (CA); (2) the location of frames and fonts; and (3) enunciative analysis. The first stage is based on the three phases of CA as proposed by Bardin (2016): pre-analysis, material exploration and treatment of results obtained, and interpretation. Pre-analysis consists of “choosing the documents to be analyzed, formulating the hypotheses and objectives, and developing indicators that support the final conclusion”.

The second phase of CA is to systematize content in order to produce results that support the proposed conclusions. As a method that works “in partnership with other investigative techniques” (Fonseca Júnior, 2015, p. 285), CA is followed up by identifying frames and sources.

The notion of framing emerged in the 1970s based on sociologist Ervin Goffman’s concept of frame, which focuses on the process of building meaning in everyday events. Bringing the notion of frame to the field of communication has placed it into practice with content production (Tuchmann, 1999). It is through the frame that communication mediums introduce certain ways of looking at a fact scheduled by the media, making it possible to activate reality reading processes that encourage the audience to think, feel and take action on certain frames (Entman, 2010).

In respect to sources, we selected Schmitz’s (2011) proposal for categorization. This proposal considers the number of categories needed to support the analysis based on its five-parameter typification matrix (category, group, action, credit, and qualification). This paper uses the group parameter to explore the categorization and defines eight types of sources: official, business, institutional, popular, extraordinary, testimonial, specialized and referential.

Official sources are those that speak through state-run public organs. Business ones represent a corporation in industry, commerce, services or agribusiness. Institutional sources work for non-profit organizations or social groups, while popular sources act on their own and are not associated with any organization or social group.

Next we have the extraordinary sources, recognized “for their talent or fame and who are generally artists, writers, athletes, self-employed professionals, and political personalities who speak about themselves and their craft”. Then there are the testimonial sources,

the subjects who are telling the story, giving their testimony. The specialized sources have “specific knowledge (an expert, specialist, or intellectual) or are organizations with recognized knowledge”, and lastly, the references, which are the “bibliography, document or media that the journalist consults” (Schmitz, 2011, pp. 26–27).

The last stage is the enunciative analysis based on the proposal applied by Fischer (2012), which itself is based on Foucauldian discourse analysis. Fischer identifies four elements when analyzing enunciative formations: the referent, the subject, the associated field, and specific materiality. The referent is something that we immediately identify in the statement, a source of differentiation. The subject refers to the “position” to be occupied, “someone who can effectively affirm” what is included in the statement.

The associated field co-exists with other statements. It can be medical, religious or pedagogical discourses, another structure of knowledge that determines discourse through relations of power. Then we have materiality, where what is said is specifically registered in other enunciative modalities such as minutes, statements and literary works.

To describe a statement, therefore, is to account for these specificities; to apprehend it as an event, as something that erupts at a certain time, in a certain place. What allows us to organize a bunch of utterances in a specific way is precisely that they belong to a certain discursive formation. If, in demarcating a discursive formation, we reveal something of the utterances, when we describe utterances, we proceed to the individualization of a discursive formation. (Fischer, 2012, p. 78).

The statements in the newspapers are individualizations of a particular discursive formation. They are not a whole but a part of the framework of materiality in a given time and space. As Foucault states (2014, p. 128), the “statement circulates, serves, evades, permits or impedes the fulfillment of a desire, it follows interests or does not, it enters the order of contestations and struggles, it becomes a theme of appropriation or rivalry”.

4 1 The *Corpus*

Our analysis of naming began by first collecting data from June 1969. We found one news article and one note. The news article was published on June 19th under the title “Nudist paradise in Chile”

in the newspaper's international section called "*Dos 4 cantos*" (From the 4 Corners).

Twenty-five male "transvestites" involved in a massive orgy in a private house in Antofagasta, Chile, were arrested by police. The "party" included 50 men and only one woman. The police, who arrived at the location after receiving a phone call in complaint, called for reinforcements to help arrest the partygoers but many of them managed to escape through the skylights in the "temple of love." (Nudist paradise in Chile. *Folha Ilustrada*, 06/19/1969, p.22).

The first thing we would like to point out is the use of the word transvestite and how it refers to them as men. We can also see that the following names appear in quotation marks: "transvestites", "temple of love" and "party".

The police arrested eight "transvestites" and 17 naked men. The transvestites dressed themselves in clothing from the "weaker sex" before being taken to police headquarters; the same clothing they had used in their in-house "striptease". It was later reported that the police had found a large amount of cocaine in the private house, although none of the detainees showed any evidence of drug use (AFP). (Nudist paradise in Chile. *Folha Ilustrada*, 06/19/1969, p.22).

The excerpt above shows how the article felt the need to distinguish between naked men and transvestites by stating that the transvestites had used clothing from the "weaker sex", an obvious allusion to female clothing. However, the article also appears to question the name transvestite by writing it in quotation marks. The second piece of data we found in June 1969 was a note written in reference to the release of the movie "*Enfim sós... com o outro*" ("Finally alone... with the other")

Rogéria, a former makeup artist for TV Rio, is currently the most famous male transvestite in Brazil, and has become a popular artist and a highly successful professional. He has a sophisticated taste in clothes and makeup, and is dedicated to working out. He has a part in the movie *Enfim sós...com o outro* [...] This risqué comedy opens on Saturday at the República movie theater. (*Enfim sós...com o outro*. *Folha Ilustrada*, 06/20/1969, p. 25).

The movie tells the story of two twin brothers and their escapades with women⁵. Rogéria stands out as the "most famous transvestite in Brazil" and a "highly successful professional". Film reviews at the time associate the name transvestite to either a negative male sexual practice or recognize it as a form of art.

An article was published in the *Folhetim* newspaper on June 24, 1979 entitled “*A menor – do abandono à prostituição*” (“Young Girls – from abandonment to prostitution”). This article was included in a Sunday extra that came with the newspaper in the 1970s and 1980s. The article referred to homosexuality as “homosexual love”, “strange homosexual organization” and “homosexuality”. There were two pages which were dedicated to describing the lives of young girls who live on the streets in Sao Paulo and in the rehabilitation center for young offenders (the State Foundation for Child Welfare – FEBEM).

There aren't many of them in gangs and on the streets. They live as their male counterparts do; in miserable conditions and sexually active. They are taught how to rob and mug by groups of their female peers. Even though many of them dream of getting married and/or studying, they end up as prostitutes or in women's prisons. While imprisoned they turn to homosexual love, and learn to punish whistleblowers, hate adults, plan revenge. (Young girls abandoned. *Folhetim*, 06/24/1979, p. 8–9).

The phrase “homosexual love” portrays the relationship of the young women offenders as inappropriate. The aggressiveness of the namings is also evident in phrases such as “strange homosexual organization”, used to describe the women's emotional connections.

The two hundred minor female “offenders” in this unit created a strange homosexual organization, one which was similarly structured to that of a family. [...] The personalities of the young women (close to fifty of them) who belong to this group have undergone such a profound change that even they find it difficult to identify their own sexuality. (Young girls abandoned. *Folhetim*, 24/06/1979, p. 8 - 9).

The 5th International AIDS Conference was held in Canada in 1989, which brought a significant amount of attention to the pandemic. There were 22 issues addressed (17 related to HIV/AIDS). The LGBTQI+ community appeared in seven main stories and in eight coordinate subjects, including two notes.

In addition to the subject of HIV/AIDS, there were five other issues addressed (two notes, two stories and one coordinate subject). The namings contained in all of these issues were systematized; however, priority was given to texts on HIV/AIDS due to the predominance of information available on them. The most recurrent namings were infected, homosexual, AIDS and sick, followed by less frequent namings such as carriers and risk groups.

Many of the namings refer to people who are HIV-positive people and to victims of AIDS, and not just the LGBTQI+ community. However,

due to the strong stigma that surrounded the “homosexual risk group” at this time, the namings cited here had a more detrimental effect on the history of exclusion and violence. Initially referred to as “gay cancer” or “pink plague”, a direct link was made between contracting the HIV virus and homosexuality, a situation that would change only after other sectors of the population also contracted the disease and the focus of research and discourse changed accordingly (Perlongher, 1987).

The naming “gay” appeared the most out of the 16 issues from 1999. It was registered in 10 examples, including 11 variations of the word gay. These variations are: “gay movements”, “gay icons”, “gay parade”, “gay activism”, “first gay show”, “gay community”, “gay magazine”, “gay world”, “gay pride month”, “gay pride day” and “gay demonstrations”.

The LGBTQI+ theme appeared in stories from the last month of analysis in 2009, mainly due to the 13th annual Gay Parade which was held in the same month. Among these stories, nine were related to the parade. The most recurrent namings were “gay”, “homosexual” and “lesbian”. Other less frequent namings were “homosexuality”, “bisexuals”, “drag queen”, “LGBT”, and “transsexuals”.

Table 1 – Most recurrent namings

1969	1979	1989	1999	2009
Transvestite	Homosexual love	Infected	Gay	Gay
	Strange homosexual organization	Homosexuals	Homosexuals	Homosexuals
	Homosexuality	Sick	Lesbian	Lesbian
	Homosexuals		Transvestites	
	Girly			

Source: author's own.

Table 2 – Number of materials collected per year

Year	Material collected
1969	02
1979	01
1989	22
1999	16
2009	29
	Total: 70

Source: author's own.

4 2 Use of sources

After separating the namings according to years, we were then able to identify the types of sources applied in Schmitz's categorization (2011). Quantitatively speaking, there were 187 sources over the five months: specialized (27%), official (21.5%), popular (15%), institutional (12.9%), testimonial (10.2%), referential (7%), business (4.3%) and extraordinary (2.1%). Eighteen materials did not have any identifiable sources.

Table 3 – Categorization of sources

Specialized	Official	Popular	Institutional	Testimonial	Referential	Business	Extraordinary
1969 – 0	1969 – 1	1969 – 0	1969 – 0	1969 – 0	1969 – 0	1969 – 0	1969 – 0
1979 – 2	1979 – 2	1979 – 4	1979 – 0	1979 – 0	1979 – 0	1979 – 0	1979 – 0
1989 – 27	1989 – 12	1989 – 1	1989 – 5	1989 – 0	1989 – 4	1989 – 1	1989 – 0
1999 – 8	1999 – 5	1999 – 0	1999 – 5	1999 – 18	1999 – 1	1999 – 5	1999 – 4
2009 – 13	2009 – 20	2009 – 23	2009 – 14	2009 – 1	2009 – 8	2009 – 2	2009 – 1
Total: 50	Total: 40	Total: 28	Total: 24	Total: 19	Total: 13	Total: 8	Total: 5
27%	21.5%	15%	12.9%	10.2%	7%	4.3%	2.1%

Source: author's own.

The sources are used to observe three aspects:

- 1) The increased number of specialized sources in 1989;
- 2) The coverage that popular sources received in 2009;
- 3) The increased number of testimonial sources in 1999.

The increased number of specialized sources in 1989 has to do with the number of doctors and researchers who promoted discourse on HIV/AIDS education. These sources contributed to a rapid increase in namings like “infected”, “HIV positive”, and “sick”. There are also subjects who are unrecognized, such as institutional sources which work with nonprofit organizations or social groups. These sources were included yet did not have any influence on the statements of doctors and researchers.

We were able to identify 28% of popular sources in the content from 2009. The index shows that the stories frequently contain citizens who make claims, are victims, or are witnesses. Naming gets

its strength from those who tell the stories of people and give new meanings to names like “gay”, “homosexual” and “lesbian”.

There is a large number of testimonials (39.2%) in 1999. These are sources that report a life experience as a truth according to how they view the facts. This is the case in the report “The pleasure is all yours”, which describes the daily lives of male prostitutes and talks to a total of 14 sources (both sex workers and their customers).

The relationship between sources helps to understand how namings are structured in meanings that come from the subjects in journalistic discourse. For example, the doctors and specialists in the 1980s who underlined the namings “HIV positive” and “infected”, and the LGBTQI+ community itself in 2009 which was thrust into the spotlight and reshaped the understanding of gay, homosexual, or lesbian.

4 3 Framing

The lack of content collected in the first two time periods (1969 and 1979) made it impossible to conduct a frame analysis: there was only one news report and one note from 1969, and another report from 1979. This *corpus* made it difficult to locate concurrent terms and regularities. As of 1989 we were able to find 15 stories reporting on HIV/AIDS, 11 of which contained three types of frames: case reports; possible cure or vaccine; researchers’ comments.

Each of these frames came from four stories, while three others had only one framing each. The first frame discloses cases of the disease. Namings such as “HIV positive”, “homosexuals” and “homosexuality” tend to prevail in this case, cultivating the idea that a “risk group” is more likely to spread the disease. The titles of these articles use numerical relationships to describe a growth or fall, such as: “AIDS is expected to triple by the year 2000, claims WHO”.

The second frame shows a strong desire to find a cure or vaccine, and is often linked to names like infected and infection carriers. Words like cure, vaccine, and treatment prevail in the titles of these articles (e.g., “AIDS Conference Focuses on New Treatments”). The third frame places value on disseminating studies and comments of researchers (e.g., “Researchers still unsure that the HIV virus is the cause of the disease”).

There are three framings in the content from 1999. The first is the struggle for media exposure, which was identified in 11 articles. The LGBTQI+ community uses media exposure to help

strengthen their cause, and the name “gay” is used to describe any sexual identity which differs from heterosexuality. Some of the titles used are: “Gays get exposure on TV” and “Gays can rally too”.

The second frame, called occupation of spaces, was identified in three texts. Examples of this are: “USA has its 1st homosexual ambassador” and “Court recognizes union between lesbians in Rio Grande do Sul”. The third framing was classified as an exhibition of sexual practice and contains content related to sexuality. It was identified in two examples: the first is a report titled “The Pleasure Is All Yours”, which chronicles the routine of sex workers, and the second is a report called “All for Money”, which interviews models who ran a half-naked campaign.

Framings were identified in two separate occasions in 2009. The first occasion (a total of 14 texts) references LGBTQI+ in a number of sections such as economy, world and daily life. The second (a total of 15 texts) makes reference to the LGBT Pride Parade. Four of the materials collected from the first group focused on the fight against prejudice, and did so particularly through the use of character reports. Some of the titles included: “I Love Equal” (young people hold a meetup to exchange life experiences) and “Opening Doors” (executives talk about the difficulties of being homosexual in the corporate world).

An additional four framings were identified in the coverage, they are: political struggle, sexuality, entertainment and consumption. The first three of these framings are spread across three reports, while the fourth one was taken from one report. The framings that repeat the most in the second occasion are violence (reporting crimes) and service (offering advice and suggestions to readers). There are a further three frames: festivals and details of how they are prepared, politics, and the projections for the festival.

5 Analysis of statements

We perform the analysis on two statements collected from each period, selected according to which namings were most recurrent. We will identify the four elements in each statement that explain how the enunciation is built (referent, subject, associated field and materiality) (Fischer, 2012). The two statements from 1969 are: (1) “Twenty-five ‘transvestites’ involved in a massive orgy in a private house in Antofagasta, Chile, detained by police”; and (2) “Rogéria, a former makeup artist from

TV Rio, is currently the most famous male transvestite in Brazil, and has become a popular artist and a highly successful professional”.

The referent in these cases is the word transvestite. In the first statement, the word appears in quotation marks as the article is questioning whether said transvestites are actually transvestite. In the second statement, the word is used in representation of a male artist. The subject in both statements is the idea of what it is to be a transvestite. So, we have the criminalized and punishable sexual practice of said sexual preference and lifestyle on one hand, and the social recognition of the artistic field on the other. To put it more simply, the transvestites are criminalized for their sexuality, yet can be accepted and recognized for their art forms.

We now move on to the associated field, which is connected to the fact that, in the 1960s, the Western world began to address sexual and gender dissent and accept it into the public sphere. “During this period, various sexual behaviors once considered to be taboo, began to gain visibility, which in turn provided them with a space in the public” (Prado & Machado, 2012, pp. 30–41).

At this time, part of the materiality lies in the world of art. It is through figures like Rogéria that transvestites were introduced to Brazilian homes. Art helps to provide the transvestite gender identity with a place to exist amid the predominant world of prejudice, and the media help make this existence visible beyond the sex market. It is the beginning of the “commercial exploitation of homosexuals” in middle-class gay clubs and nightclubs, bars, saunas, cinemas and lavatories (Prado & Machado, 2012, p. 30).

It was in the 1960s and 1970s that the transsexual category emerged, and medical discourse began to focus on hormone therapies and surgeries. This group has had to fight against police brutality, the difficulty of finding employment in the labor market, and suffer discrimination and public exclusion (Facchini & Rodrigues, 2018, p.235). This enunciative materiality is most evident in the symbolic Stonewall Riots, and a naming movement culminated in Brazil.

[...] In the 1960s a new term has emerged for naming an increasingly common and accepted social figure: “recognized”. This word is similar to what the Tupiniquim use for gay, and is also spreading throughout the United States at the same time. The words “recognized” and gay refer fundamentally to people who “have sex” with the same sex but do not necessarily adopt the same “mannerisms” associated with people seen as “queers” or “dykes”. Contrary to these words, the new words are not pejorative. (Fry & MacRae, 1985, p. 24).

The following two statements are from 1979: (1) “Here, homosexuality is normal. It’s not a big deal. And some girls, because they are homosexuals, also become leaders, and control the lives and deaths of their partners”; and (2) “ The group of two hundred minor female “offenders” in this unit created a strange homosexual organization, one which was similarly structured to that of a family”.

The referent is the names homosexual and homosexuality. The subject is perceived as abnormal, and deemed as being inferior. The associated field refers to those social structures that substantiate this knowledge of the other, such as religion and medicine. The classification of “homosexuality” as a name (referent) suggested that homosexuality was a disease.

Next we have materiality: the terms are made known through psychiatric discourse and then strengthened in penal codes that punish nonstandard sexualities. If homosexuals were ill, then homosexuality was the disease (Miskolci, 2007).

The statement “Here, homosexuality is normal” refers to the abnormality in a place of detention with incarcerated young women. When the newspaper states that this is a “strange homosexual organization, one which was similarly structured to that of a family”, it is suggesting that the family structure (governed by laws and morality) is being distorted by abnormal subjects. The fields of knowledge on human behavior such as psychiatry and psychology, and their discursive processes, end up pathologizing these subjects (Miskolci, 2007).

There are two statement analysis examples from 1989: (1) “The number of AIDS sufferers will reach 4.5 million worldwide by 1999. Today there are 500,000. The number of AIDS carriers (before the onset of symptoms) is expected to triple in ten years”; and (2) “The homosexual risk groups presented the highest percentage of cases (37.2%), followed by drug users (22.4%), bisexuals (14.2%), and heterosexuals (9.7%)”.

The referent is the infected person. The inferior social status is applied to this group once symptoms have been discovered. Subjects receive namings like AIDS sufferers, virus carriers, and risk group. In terms of the associated field, the knowledge network of the field of medicine strengthens these meanings. Medical knowledge is the main agent spreading namings that refer to HIV-positive people as being on death’s door.

The naming “homosexual risk group” appears shortly after the disease has been discovered. Perlongher (1987) reports that between 1980 and 1981, on the heels of the “sexual revolution” of the 1970s,

a number of deaths began to occur in San Francisco, an American city which is home to a large LGBTQI+ community. The first naming given to the disease was GRID (Gay-Related Immune Deficiency).

The first references in terms of materiality were disseminated in newspapers and magazines, using namings like “gay cancer” and “pink plague” to refer to AIDS. The “AIDS sufferer” and “risk group” stigmas fed the historical abjection of these bodies (Perlongher, 1987, p. 8). This process led to a number of social movements joining the fight that “associated a particular identity to a risky condition”. The issue of survival strengthened the homosexual movement demanding health and family rights such as medical care, the right to inheritance, and pension (Camarotti, 2009, p. 60).

Contention from civil society tends to conflict with the discourse of knowledge given by doctors and researchers. The field of medicine, alongside the Church and the state, is one of the sectors responsible for disseminating statements that strengthen the rejection of heterosexuality (Fry & MacRae, 1985; Perlongher, 1987; Foucault, 1988).

Two statements were selected from 1999: (1) “An increasing number of gay icons on broadcaster programs”; and (2) “The messages kept coming in after Harvey Milk became the first openly gay elected official in history”.

The referent here is the image of gay. In the first example, it represents the social category, as if the term gay were sufficient enough to represent all the acronyms included in LGBTQI+. In the second example, the term gay is used to represent a homosexual man. It places the subject in a position of visibility, the identity is now recognized in the context of space occupation, and is no longer associated only within the spectrum of HIV/AIDS. This reduces the identity of complex relationships represented by the acronym LGBTQI+ to that of gay men.

There are debates in the LGBTQI+ community surrounding the participation of homosexual men, to the detriment of other identities. Péret (2011) explains that the use of the word gay (originally used in English to mean cheerful) began to be used in the United States in the 1950s to identify the sexual orientation of homosexual men. As of the 1960's, the use of expression expanded and, in Brazil, was used to describe the “gay identity”, thereby diminishing “negative aspects of the homosexual category” (Facchini & Rodrigues, 2018, p. 235).

In the associated field, statements are produced for the purpose of reinforcing that homosexuality is “a form of sexuality as legitimate as heterosexuality” (Borrillo, 2010, p. 14). One

example is the World Health Organization (WHO) removing the word homosexuality from its list of diseases in 1990. Out of this came groups of lesbians and transvestites demanding their identity categories also be recognized, and not having only the gay, white male with a high level of education acting as their spokesmen.

It was in 1998 that the term homophobia began to be used more frequently. Borrillo (2010, p. 21) explains that the word emerged in 1971, in an article published by psychologist K. T. Smith in which he analyzes characteristics of the homophobic personality. The following year, G. Weinberg defined homophobia as “the fear of being with a homosexual in a confined space and, in relation to homosexuals themselves, self-hatred” (Weinberg⁶ as cited in Borrillo, 2010, p. 21). Between the 70’s and 80’s the term underwent a number of changes until it was consolidated.

Updating the meaning of homophobia is an aspect that exemplifies materiality. The 1990s produced a significant number of studies conducted by feminist authors, who have helped change the way gender relations and sexuality are viewed. For example, the Queer Studies, which began in the late 1980s, were initiated by “a number of very diverse researchers and activists, especially in the United States”. New statements have reshaped the meanings associated with the names applied to the subjects, and the word queer itself, used to denote strange, ridiculous or eccentric, has become more positive (Colling, 2018, pp. 24 - 25).

Two statements from 2009 were selected for analysis: (1) “Groups of gay, lesbian and transgender *teens* meet once a month to offer support to one another and dance”; and (2) “About 400,000 tourists are expected to show up for this year’s LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) Pride Parade in Sao Paulo, host city of the world’s largest gay parade”.

The referents here are non-heterosexual people. The newspaper highlights the plurality of gender identities and sexual orientations. The subjects are agents of social struggles, those who come together either in support groups or large-scale events to reinforce diversity as an element to be defended.

The associated field is in statements that reinforce the LGBTQI+ struggle. The country’s politics contribute to this reality. In 2011, the constitutionality of a stable same-sex union was accepted, and the Federal Supreme Court recognized these relationships as family units. In 2013, the National Council of Justice (CNJ) required public notaries to register civil marriages for these groups and, in

2016, the CNJ standardized the registration of children conceived by assisted reproduction regardless of what the sexual orientation of the nuclear family may be (Facchini & Rodrigues, 2018).

On the other hand, even the associated field begins to see statements being produced that are in opposition to visibility. Conservative sectors have prevented advancements in the legislative power, and have also supported the evangelical groups that succeeded in suspending projects such as “Schools without Homophobia”.

Lastly, the dispute over this statement is echoed in materiality. It is widespread in the discursive battle. It is recorded in official hearings and plenary meetings of the state, disseminated in discourse across social networks, included in bills that depend on the political game for approval. The materiality of the namings in 2009 occurs in a scenario where statements are being widely distributed to support political views on social networks, a phenomenon that will be further explored in the final version of this study.

6 Final considerations

This article was written as a reflection on a study about namings being the foundation of journalism. In order to accomplish this, two objectives were explored: (1) identify how a reference vehicle named LGBTQI+ people at different points in time in the 20th and 21st centuries and; (2) present a three-stage methodological proposal for analyzing namings: content analysis, observation of framings and sources, and statement analysis. In relation to the first objective, 80 different namings were found in 70 materials with 187 sources.

The results suggest that naming is not a stage of news production, as Lage (2002) suggested, because it is rooted in possibilities. If sources suggest namings, and the possible framings provide certain names, then the elements that define which names will be chosen over others is rooted in historical and social contexts.

This logic does not mean that the opposite cannot occur: situations in which namings come from journalism. However, newspapers offer current and up-to-date readings, and the statements within them spread meanings that help to understand certain realities. Without names, their basic functions such as informing, guiding, interpreting and disseminating knowledge (Beltrão, 1960), as well as their central characteristics such as periodicity, universality, timeliness and advertising (Groth, 2011), are incomplete.

Thought of as a foundation, a reason for being, the naming of objects in the theoretical framework of journalism lacks problematization and conceptual delimitations. Thinking about naming in philosophy, linguistics, semiotics and other areas of knowledge, helps to understand the object; however, it leaves gaps for a phenomenon linked to the peculiarities of journalism as a social institution.

These namings help identify how a group may have been stigmatized in a given time period. Namings lent ridicule to the LGBTQI+ community, and labeled it as sick, but nowadays it has a space it can call its own. Their feelings are no longer named as “strange homosexual organizations”, and the reality of HIV/AIDS does not appear to be aggressively associated with those who are “infected” or “sick”.

Fejes (1993; 2008) identifies that researchers tend to focus their concerns around how the media builds meanings on homosexuality and homosexuals. The idea of a study focused on namings is that it can reinforce the importance of journalism as a form of knowledge crucial to identity struggles. As an instrument of history and memory, journalism cannot exist without namings, as the social labels demarcating the discursive battlefield lie within the names. As Rajagopalan (2003, p. 84) states, “all news, all journalistic reporting, begins with an act of designation, of appointment”.

In addition to the claim that naming is the foundation of journalism, a method of analysis is proposed using the text as its starting point. Media representations are identified in frames through tools that establish the historical aspects of the lesser or unimportant part of community. The methodological path is not perfect, and can be improved upon, but we believe that it serves as a first step towards understanding the specific way that naming occurs in journalism, which is why it is important to focus on studies, so that we may be able to view the objects of reality through the lenses of names in the newspaper.

NOTES

- 1 LGBTQI+ stands for lesbians, gays, bisexuals, the trans world (transsexuals and transvestites), *queers*, and intersex. The + symbol includes any other identity different from heterosexual which is not included in the acronym.
- 2 In reference to the Stonewall riots of June 28, 1969. As per Péret (2011, pp. 29 - 31), the Stonewall Inn in New York was a constant

target of police raids for selling drinks without a license and having nude dancers. That night, transvestites rebelled against the police and more people came together to stand against the repressive police. "For the gay community, in addition to representing a stand against police brutality by small groups of homosexuals - mostly Latinos, low-income people and transvestites - Stonewall led to the eruption of the gay rights movement in the United States and, later, in the world."

- 3 Heteronormativity is a concept created by Michael Warner in 1991 and delimits how the standard of heterosexual sociability is imposed even on non-heterosexuals. This meant that men can be gay as long as they behave according to the standards of the heterosexual male (Colling & Nogueira, 2015).
- 4 Fejes (1993; 2000; 2008) does not include any identities other than gay and lesbian. In order not to exclude these other identities, we chose to use LGBTQI+.
- 5 Information can be found on the Cinemateca Brasileira site: www.cinemateca.gov.br
- 6 Weinberg, G. (1972). *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. Nova York: Saint Martin's Press.

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