

DOSSIER

THE PRODUCTION OF MEANINGS ON THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN THE PROFISSÃO REPÓRTER PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT – We analyze the production of meanings on the Brazilian political crisis in Rede Globo's television program *Profissão Repórter*. Based on the Critical Discourse Studies and Social Theory of Discourse, Fairclough (2016), we focus on the discursive strategies used by the program in its Political Crisis edition (04/06/2016). The use of categories of vocabulary analysis, interactive control and intertextuality allowed us to locate regionalizations of meanings that form a Workers Party (PT) subject position, a worker subject position and a protester subject position. The Workers Party subject establishes an antagonistic relation with the protester subject and marks itself by conflict, tension and fear meanings. The protester subject is built by respect, education, defense of the motherland and fight against corruption meanings. The worker subject appears in an intermediate region, not linked to the protests. The discourse silences the meanings of "impeachment" and "coup", and, therefore, avoids addressing the complexity of the Brazilian political crisis.

Key words: Discourse Analysis. Production of meanings. Journalism. Brazilian Political Crisis. *Profissão Repórter*.

A PRODUÇÃO DE SENTIDOS SOBRE A CRISE POLÍTICA NO PROGRAMA PROFISSÃO REPÓRTER

RESUMO – Analisamos a produção de sentidos sobre a crise política brasileira no programa *Profissão Repórter*, da Rede Globo. A partir dos Estudos Críticos do Discurso e da Teoria Social do Discurso, de Fairclough (2016), nos focamos nas estratégias discursivas utilizadas pelo programa na edição Crise Política (6/04/2016). O uso das categorias de análise de vocabulário, controle interacional e intertextualidade permitiu localizarmos regionalizações de sentido nas posições de sujeito petista, sujeito trabalhador e sujeito manifestante. O sujeito petista estabelece uma relação antagonista com o sujeito manifestante e é marcado pelos sentidos de conflito, tensão e medo. O sujeito manifestante é construído pelos sentidos de respeito, educação, defesa da pátria e luta contra a corrupção. O sujeito trabalhador aparece numa região

intermediária, não sendo vinculado aos protestos. O discurso silencia os significados de “impeachment” e “golpe”, eximindo-se de abordar a complexidade da crise política brasileira.

Palavras-chave: Análise do Discurso. Produção de sentidos. Jornalismo. Crise política. Profissão Repórter.

LA PRODUCCIÓN DE SENTIDOS SOBRE LA CRISIS POLÍTICA BRASILEÑA EN EL PROGRAMA PROFISSÃO REPÓRTER

RESUMEN – Analizamos la producción de sentidos sobre la crisis política brasileña en el programa Profissão Repórter, da Rede Globo de Televisión. A partir de los Estudios Críticos del Discurso y de la Teoría Social del Discurso, de Fairclough (2016), nos centramos en las estrategias discursivas utilizadas por el programa en la edición de Crisis Política (06/04/2016). El uso de las categorías de análisis de vocabulario, control interactivo e intertextualidad nos ha permitido localizar regionalizaciones de significado en torno de posiciones de sujetos de sujeto PT, sujeto trabajador y sujeto manifestante. El sujeto PT establece una relación antagónica con el sujeto manifestante y está marcado por significados de conflicto, tensión y miedo. El sujeto manifestante se construye a partir de sentidos de respeto, educación, defensa nacional y lucha contra la corrupción. El sujeto trabajador aparece en una región intermedia, al no estar relacionado con las protestas. El discurso silencia los significados de “impeachment” y “golpe”, eximiendo se a abordar la complejidad de la crisis política brasileña.

Palabras clave: Análisis del discurso. Producción de sentidos. Periodismo. Crisis política. Profissão Repórter.

1 Initial considerations

Journalism is one of the main spaces for the construction of meanings about the world capable of (re)constructing it with plurality and dignity. This discursive social practice is responsible for representing social reality and the Other, assuming a mediation position between events and citizens. In order to construct its discourses, journalistic practice uses strategies, such as selection of different sources and the representation of different points of view. In this process, journalistic discourse weaves meanings on different subjects pertinent to social life, from its privileged frameworks.

This unique production of meanings could be observed in the Brazilian media's coverage of the country's political crisis, the culmination of which was the impeachment process of former President Dilma Rousseff from the Workers' Party (PT), voted by the Federal Congress on August 31st, 2016. The political crisis, marked by the intensification of rivalry between the Workers' Party (PT) and the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), began to take shape in the 2014 elections in

which Dilma was re-elected. Traditionally shaped as a center-left-wing Brazilian party, PT had been in executive power for 12 years, since the election of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva in 2002. During this period, the government pushed forward social programs to meet the demands of the poor population, historically ignored by federal governments. In the last years, this government model proposed by PT has been questioned by a portion of the Brazilian population and by the right-wing opposition party, the PSDB. This questioning was expressed in the result of the 2014 voting, the dispute having been the fiercest since the 1989 elections. Dilma won only in the second round of the election, with 51.64% of the votes, against 48.36% of the PSDB candidate, Aécio Neves.

The opposition to the government strengthened with the victory of PT in the polls. The opposition parties claimed that the party had committed crimes of fiscal responsibility in the management of its social programs, which caused an economic crisis. Being supported by this economic perspective, starting in 2015, the opposition started a campaign in the Federal Congress to undermine the governability of PT by not approving executive's bills. Opposition in the House was strengthened because the party's board in the House of Representatives had been reduced in the elections, from 88 to 70 deputies. The election of deputy Eduardo Cunha (PMDB), Dilma's outspoken political opponent, for the presidency of the Chamber on February 1st, 2015, only aggravated this scenario.

The unpopularity and instability atmosphere was reflected in 32 applications for impeachment against President Dilma Rousseff filed in the Chamber of Deputies from 2012 to 2015¹. On December 2nd, 2015, Eduardo Cunha accepted the request for impeachment filed by lawyers Hélio Bicudo, Miguel Reale Júnior and Janaína Paschoal. In the document, they argue that the government had operated "fiscal pedals" delaying on lending to public banks in order to meet the partial goals of the budget forecast. These practices, they said, would also have extended during the second term of the president, which justified the impeachment process (Zero Hora newspaper, online).

In the months before the impeachment vote in the Congress, Brazilian cities streets were taken by thousands of protesters, showing their support or repudiation to the government president output. The Brazilian media also entered this game of instabilities. According to Theun Van Dijk, Globo Organizations assumed a central role in manipulating public opinion in favor of the coup, systematically delegitimizing President Dilma, former President Lula and PT in the

newspaper *O Globo* and in the *Jornal Nacional* news, whose audience is the highest in the country (Van Dijk, online).

In this article we analyze the meanings produced on the Brazilian political crisis in *Rede Globo de Televisão's Profissão Repórter* program. Considered the largest broadcaster in Brazil, *Rede Globo* belongs to the Globo Media media conglomerate. It reaches 98.6% of the municipalities in the Brazilian territory (Brazil, 2014). It represents, therefore, the media concentration and the power that television has of saying what it says in the Brazilian context. The *Profissão Repórter* program stands out in its programming grid for dealing with social issues from a journalistic perspective, touching on a citizenship perspective and representation of the Other. We are interested in understanding how the program thematizes the political crisis given its ambiguous discursive position, belonging to a commercial media structure and, at the same time, addressing social causes. Under the focus of Critical Discourse Studies, and specifically the Norman Fairclough Methodological Proposal (2016), we present the discursive analysis of the *Crise Política* issue, which aired on April 6th, 2016, a few months before the impeachment, when Political-ideological animosities were latent in Brazilian society.

About methodological procedures

The analytical process used to investigate the discursive configuration of *Profissão Repórter* seeks to deconstruct/reconstruct the path of meanings delineated by the program's discursive strategies. Observed from the lenses of Critical Discourse Analysis (ACD), the discursive clues of this materiality can provide support to understand how its discourse thematizes the Brazilian political crisis.

Critical Discourse Analysis (ACD) conceives discourse as "a mode of action," "representation," and "acting upon the world," which relates dialectically to social structure (Fairclough, 2016). In Fairclough (2016), these discursive and social relations gain from the Social Theory of Discourse, which proposes a three-dimensional approach to discourse, seen as a text, discursive practice and social practice. This conjunction allows working with texts that involve a social problem from semiotic aspects, interrelating textual inscriptions to their social context. In our case, ACD makes it possible to understand relations between the discursive construction of *Profissão Repórter* and the social practices that support its representations.

Profissão Repórter is a weekly *Rede Globo's* news program, shown on the program's broadcast grid on Wednesday nights and later available on *Globo.com*. With an approximate duration of 35 minutes, its narrative intends to show the backstage of the journalistic work, having as actors a team of beginner reporters led by journalist and editor Caco Barcellos. Experienced reporter, with over 20 years of work at *Rede Globo*, Caco has a trajectory related to investigative journalism and human rights. In *Rota 66* (1992) and *Abusado* (2003) books, which earned him the *Jabuti* Prize for Literature (<http://memoriaglobo.globo.com>), the reporter denounced police violence in São Paulo and drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro. In *Rede Globo*, Caco produced reports about the political disappeared, the Military Dictatorship of 1964, the Carandiru massacre and the Angolan Civil War. This thematic axis, portraying the point of view of minorities through journalistic investigation, also seems to lead the reports produced in the *Profissão Repórter* program, whose history and discursive configuration follows the professional trajectory and the profile of its idealizer. In 2016, the program completed 10 years of exhibition, collecting in its roll public interest themes, such as refugees, prisons, illiteracy, among others.

The program narrative shows reporters as news hunters, interviewing people involved with the agenda's topics. This construction rescues elements of *TV Globo* reporter's ethos investigated by Benetti and Gadret (2017). According to the reporters' comments about the journalistic work analyzed by the researchers, the "good journalist" and the "good reporter" would be shaped by attributes related to "experience, curiosity, humility, credibility, social responsibility and love to the profession" (Benetti and Gadret, 2017, p.67). In addition to these characteristics, the lines point to the good reporter as the guy who "likes to be on the streets and in contact with people, knows how to listen and make accusations, runs the risk of being threatened by uncomfortable patterns, eats badly, has a hard and dangerous life, but he knows how to amuse himself amid the difficulties of the profession" (Benetti and Gadret, 2017, p.69). This profile is reiterated by *Profissão Repórter's* speech, whose main motto is to show "reporting challenges", portraying interaction between reporters and sources in the search for information.

The program has a range of complex meanings related to the ideology of the vehicle and the subjects that form part of its organizational structure. The production of their reports is permeated by conflicting constraints, interests and values that shape the media

organization as a whole. From this perspective, we understand that, although *Rede Globo* intends to reproduce a dominant discourse to its public, the multiplicity of subjects composing it admits multi-discursive contours. It becomes, therefore, a political space where symbolic disputes of meaning are fought to (re)present social events.

Since *Profissão Repórter* presents large reports, marked by a conversational structure between interviewer and sources, we have selected some analytical categories to investigate discursive strategies, whose “textual forms and meanings [are] associated to particular ways of representing, (inter) acting and identifying (themselves) in situated social practices” (Ramalho and Resende, 2011, p. 112). In this sense, we choose the following categories: vocabulary (the creation of words); Interactive control (turn taking, exchange structure, topic control and agenda policing); and intertextuality (presupposition and negation) (Fairclough, 2016). They were more recurring in the selected edition over other categories suggested by Fairclough (2016).

The vocabulary category relates to how the same word can acquire different meanings, expanding its dictionary denotative meaning. Dictionaries function as meanings stabilizers, but do not restrict them, since words assume multiple meanings depending on the social contexts of use. Mapping the processes of word creation would be a way of “understanding the *use of language as a social practice* (...) as a historically situated mode of action, which is socially constituted, but is also constitutive of social identities, social relations and knowledge and belief systems” (Ramalho and Resende, 2004, p. 189, emphasis added). From this category derives the nominalization process, a type of lexicalization characterized by the creation of new lexical items, capable of generating new meaning effects (Fairclough, 2016).

The category of interaction control focuses on social relations and relations of power that are established among participants in a given communication situation. According to Fairclough (2016), “the investigation of interactional control is therefore a means of explaining the concrete realization and negotiation of social relations in social practice” (p. 200). This discursive mechanism includes turn taking, exchange structure, topic control and policing agenda, being “a dimension of textual structure” (Fairclough, 2016, p. 181) with which we can identify how identities and social relations are built into the text.

Finally, the category of intertextuality appears. According to Ramalho and Resende (2011), this constitutes an “analytical

category of action, because it is a textual trait shaped by genres [...] [that] articulate voices in specific ways” (p.133). These voices are manifested, for example, by presupposition and negation, categories used in this analysis. The presupposition is an implicit proposition, produced by means of the annexation of other texts. Otherwise, negative sentences “carry special kinds of presuppositions that also function intertextually, incorporating other texts only to challenge or reject them” (Fairclough, 2016, p.163). Once the categories are defined, we present our analysis.

The Brazilian political crisis by the look of the *Profissão Repórter* program

In the *Crise Política*, issue of April 6th, 2016, program reporters and journalist and editor Caco Barcellos thematized the manifestations for and against the impeachment process of former President Dilma Rousseff. One of these thematizations was the coverage of the testimony of former President Lula to the Federal Police about his involvement in Lava Jato Operation investigations, launched in March 2014 by the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) to investigate the movement of illegal resources by criminal organizations. In the opening scene, which stages the backstage of the program, reporter Maiara Teixeira comments with Caco Barcellos how it was to follow Lula’s testimony at the airport and later the press conference held at the National Directorate of the PT.

Lula representation, the statements and manifestations about Dilma’s impeachment suggest the demarcation of a discursive position for PT, linked to a certain identity, to social relations and precise axiological systems. These elements correspond to the identity, relational and ideational functions of the language. The identity function shapes the “construction of social identities and subject positions contributing to social subjects and types of self”; the relational function, the “social relations between people” and the ideational function, the “systems of knowledge and belief” (Fairclough, 2016, p.96)

Focusing on the ideational function, we perceive that the spectrum of meanings produced about PT is related to lexics such as “troubled”, “difficulties”, “irresponsible”, “frightened”, “hostility”, “shame” and “fear” (Examples 1, 2 and 3). These discursive marks, present in the remarks of the reporter Maiara and Caco Barcellos, lead to the construction of a party identity tied to a scenario of violence and hostility.

[Example 1]: [Backstage] The first recording has already been a little **troubled**. (...) I went to follow, right, **try to register** this press conference, but in **my attempt to register** this collective I had some **difficulties** ... They began to ask **where I was from**. At that moment I started to be **harassed** (...) (Speech of the reporter Maiara Teixeira, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 3min 12sec, emphasis added).

[Example 2]: [Off] Edva who is right in front of me asks for calm. She **tried to stop some PT militants from breaking my camera**. I was already **very scared** at the time, trying to control myself and then **some PT militants** (...) came up in the building behind me to try to help me (Speech of the reporter Maiara Teixeira, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 6min and 11g, emphasis added).

[Example 3]: [Backstage] **Quite irresponsible** you **harass** in the middle of a crowd. We know that a crowd can turn into an **uncontrollable action**. **Quite irresponsible** (Speech of reporter and editor Caco Barcellos, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 5min 59sec, emphasis added).

The insertions of reporters Caco Barcellos and Maiara in *Profissão Repórter's* narrative refer to the demarcation of the journalist identity and a relation with the other, represented in the figure of the interviewee. One of the strategies used by the program refers to the interaction control, present in the position that the journalists assume in the accomplishment of their reports. As analytical property of text, this category includes turn taking, exchange structure, topic control, agenda control, and formulation (Fairclough, 2016).

Turn-taking systems function as rules that guide, coordinate, and maintain social interactions, organizing speech initiatives - who can say and when it is allowed to say. This category makes it possible to observe that there is a relationship between “powerful (P)” and “non-powerful (N-P)” whose possibilities are: “(1) P can choose N-P, but the inverse is not possible; (2) P can choose himself, but N-P cannot; (3), P shift can be extended to any number of possible completeness points “(Fairclough, 2016, 201).

The exchange structures are manifested by the “question-response-evaluation cycles [...] towards a recurrent standardization of the different participants’ shifts” (Fairclough, 2016, 201). Turn taking builds a conversational structure among participants in the social interaction by establishing who has the power to speak.

Another form of interaction control is of topic and agenda control. Topic control determines in which “paths” an interaction will be conducted. Topics are punctual elements in which the subject who controls them has the power to introduce them. By controlling these topics it is also possible to coordinate a pre-established agenda that

guides the interaction between the “powerful” and the “non-powerful”. It is possible to establish a statement evaluation relation among the subjects in interaction, a process considered by Fairclough (2016) as “a powerful way of policing agendas” (page 205).

Reporters represent the role of journalism of informing citizens, based on objectivity and impartiality values. Historically linked to the journalistic profession, these values are reinforced by the program discourse, based on the strategy of appealing to multiple sources and listening to protesters for and against impeachment. Another strategy of this discourse is self-referencing, in which the enunciators themselves transform their practice into the object of their saying. In the program, reporters talk about their activity, demarcating their legitimate position as information providers. This discursive position is symbolized by the episode in which reporter Maiara Teixeira is “harassed” by PT militants. At that moment, not only is the journalist banned from doing his or her professional work, but journalism, as a legitimate institution of information production, is as well.

To restore the turn-taking system (Fairclough, 2016), Caco Barcellos enunciates the facts presented by the reporter with a tone of seriousness and judgment about the PT militants conduct. It is part of the editor’s discursive strategy to show him behind the scenes of the show to analyze the reporter’s challenges in journalism. The identity of *Profissão Repórter* is built on this logic, since the contract with the public consists in showing the challenges of the journalistic profession.

The strategy of self-referencing also appears in Caco Barcellos’s speech when referring to the difficulties faced by reporter Maiara in the coverage of the press conference of former president Lula [example 4]:

[Example 4]: It is **very difficult** to imagine that on a **day as important** as this, a **historical day** ... a reporter is not there ... It is a **fact of great relevance**, it is **impossible** for us not to be part of this coverage (Caco Barcellos, journalist and editor, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 3min 52sec, emphasis added)

In the analyzed program, the coverage of the manifestations for and against the government were produced with similar narrative elements. Both were represented by their militants, whose actions during the protests were followed by reporters Maiara Teixeira and Estevan Muniz. The topic and agenda control strategy shaped the way of organizing the discourse on the manifestations during the “political crisis”. With this strategy the program establishes points

of intersection between the protesters against and in favor of the government, constructing to the viewer a comparative map to follow these protests. In this way, we have access to the political-party position of the militants interviewed, their personal circumstances and the protest organization.

In the manifestations in favor to Dilma government, the main source was Edva Aguilar, a retired nurse, who assumes the position of PT subject in the program. This position suggests a relational link with the lexicons that involved reporter Maiara in reporting the difficulties of covering the Lula press conference. In addition, Edva's concept of militancy is linked to the ideational senses of emotion, commitment to the PT cause, democracy and justice.

The course of meanings that is taking shape from the militant Edva establishes, implicitly, a relation with the initial episode of the program in which the reporter was "harassed" by PT militants and the "tense" and "troubled" atmosphere during the testimony of former President Lula to the Federal Police. Examples 5, 6 and 7 evidence this construction of meanings:

[Example 5]: [Off] **That day** had already begun **tense** with the news that former President Lula was taken to testify at the Federal Police ... Former President **Lula is here**. He gave testimony for **three hours**. This is **the first group of police officers** at the entrance of the airport (Speech of the reporter Maiara Teixeira, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 4min 9sec, emphasis added)

[Example 6]: [Off] I was already **very scared** at the time, trying to control myself, and then **some PT militants** climbed the building behind me **to try to help me**. (Speech of the reporter Maiara Teixeira, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 6min 30sec, emphasis added)

[Example 7]: We are then going to find two of the women **who helped me during Lula's testimony**. This is a manifestation in Paulista (...) (Speech of the reporter Maiara Teixeira, *Profissão Repórter*, 04/06/2016, 15min 25sec, emphasis added)

The strategy to control topics and agendas shows that the meaning attributed to the figure of Lula during the testimony is related to lexical choices that constitute a criminal context, since the statements refer to the "Federal Police", "police groups" and "three hour" testimony, assuming that there were substantial statements to be made by the former president on the illicit events of Lava Jato. And during the protests, the one who takes a prominent position on the scene of the manifestation is former President Lula. It is possible to understand, by this, that the former president assumes the position

of leader and reference to the protesters against impeachment. Lula appears to be clad in contradictory and heterogeneous meanings, since the values of integrity, admiration and ethics that would be recognized in a political leader are updated by the connection of meanings that the program suggests by presenting the former president in a position of discredit and illegality. .

Wodak (2004) states that "(...) the language of mass media is analyzed in detail as a space of power, of struggles, and also as a space where language is apparently clear" (p.231). It is possible to think that the meaning of the immediate context of production of meanings on the militant PT and Lula are updated during the manifestations by new ideational meanings put in tension in the report construction.

Although it intends a clear effect before the public, through strategies of self-referentiality, the program leaves tacit traces that there is a relation of sense effect between the discursive position of Lula and Edva, the PT militant. This relationship is triggered when Lula is featured in the report in a prominent position and acclamation in the pro-Dilma manifestations by PTs (such as Edva), and at another time of the program, is represented, in the context of the testimony to the Federal Police , as charged for committing corruption crimes.

In another moment of the program's narrative, reporter Estevan Muniz, who dedicated himself to cover the manifestations in favor of impeachment, also selected a militant as a protagonist. Carla Zambelli is the manager of an audit firm and is a member of the *Nas Ruas* movement that started a camp on Avenida Paulista in São Paulo, in front of the Federation of Industries of the State of São Paulo (FIESP), an entity that supports impeachment. The reporter followed these manifestations and portrayed the organization of the "anti-corruption movement" (example 8):

Example 8]: [Off Reporter] Carla says she expects the INSS release to get back to work. Meanwhile, she's engaged in the protests. Carla says that the **militancy** began in 2011 in the **case of corruption** involving the federal deputy Jaqueline Roriz, of the Democratic Party.

[Militant Sonora] And her colleagues acquitted Jaqueline Roriz and by secret ballot. And I thought it was such a **great absurdity, so great ...** and then we started a **movement against corruption**, first against DEM, then we started to pick up the **PT in the Mensalão**. Then came the **PSDB Mensalão, too**.
(Profissão Repórter, 04/06/2016, 14min 34sec, emphasis added)

In doing an interpretative gesture, we realize that the

discursive position assumed by the militant in favor of impeachment is anchored in anti-corruption, political struggle for rights and participation values. They make up a pre-discursive scenario that has sedimented such values as recognized and legitimate for society. From Fairclough (2016), it is interesting to point out that “the discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people’s minds, but from a social practice that is firmly rooted in material, concrete social structures, guiding for themselves “(97).

Among protesters against and in favor of the impeachment process, reporter Erik Von Poser interviewed workers in the eastern part of São Paulo in order to know why they did not participate in the manifestations. In order to gather opinions on the political crisis, the reporter goes to *Tiradentes City* neighborhood, where Dilma Rousseff had the largest vote during the 2014 presidential elections.

Expressed by intertextuality strategies, discursive marks that emanate from these narratives place the interviewed workers in a position of those who are at the margin of the mobilization processes. We understand intertextuality strategy as that which “... takes texts historically, transforming past - existing conventions and previous texts - into the present” (Fairclough, 2016, 119).

The choice of words of the questions to the workers about the political crisis seems aimed at favoring a certain construction of reality - an understanding corroborated by the following quotation:

Discourses are distinct representations of social life derived from assumed positions. Social actors positioned in different ways “see” and represent in different ways, in plural discourses. Thus, the lives of poor or deprived people are represented differently in government discourses, in politics, in medicine, in social sciences, in addition to varying within the same practices, depending on the different positions taken by social actors (Fairclough, 2010, Pp. 226-227).

Reporter Erik Von Poser uses the nominalization strategy to give meaning to the Brazilian political crisis. Inserted in the vocabulary category, it occurs when the elasticity of the meanings of words causes them to oscillate between a certain “degree of fixity and stability”; or produce “new lexical items” (Fairclough, 2016, 246). If words can take on different meanings, we understand the nominalization process as the selection of a meaning in a given situation to produce a certain meaning effect.

By nominating the political crisis, reporter Erik Von Poser uses the phrases “political confusion” and “recent protests against and in

favor of the government,” which, in a sense, foreshadows interviewee’s responses. We believe that the program discourse positions these “low-income workers” in a social and symbolic place excluded from citizenship practices, although they have their conceptions and opinions. The question-and-answer sequences are shaped as a game of meanings in which the media vehicle values go through the program narrative.

These are merely **dissimulatory strategies** that the discourse producer makes use of to authorize the speech of the other; thus, in this way, we can say that this subject appropriates the legitimacy that is granted to him to paraphrase the other (Resende, 2012, 57-58 –emphasis added).

In the statements of the working subjects, it is possible to find intertextuality clues from the negation strategy. Interviewees, when questioned whether or not they participated in the manifestations, respond, with the exception of one person, which were not able to participate. These negative statements implicitly carry another text, related to the reasons for non-participation and represented by the phrases “I do not like it, I do not”, “I’m afraid” and “I was working”.

The state of fear can be conditioned to a specific reading of the viewer since, by triggering the memory of events, it can relate to the “confusion” and “hostility” suffered by reporter Maiara Teixeira at the beginning of the program. In examples 9, 10 and 11, we bring the intertextuality identified in the mediatic text.

[Example 9]: [Off] A **survey** conducted last month by Datafolha showed that 68% of interviewees support President Dilma’s impeachment and 27% are against. (Speech of reporter Caco Barcellos, PROFISSÃO Repórter, 06/4/2016, 25min 28sec, emphasis added)

[Example 10]: [Reporter] - Did you participate in the manifestations?
[Sonora worker] - **No, no. It’s a lot of mess**, right? There’s a lot going on there. So it’s better that way through television, you know? (Alcides Archangel, owner of pet shop) (...)
(PROFISSÃO Repórter, 04/06/2016, 26min 18sg, emphasis added)

[Example 11]: [Sonora worker] [...] - Ah, because we have commerce, people who have commerce ... ah, and another thing, we are **also afraid of PT**.
[Sonora worker] - I do not have time and **I’m afraid of the PT on the street. I’m afraid**. I’m not taking my family there in the middle of **a crowd and PT with knife, machete in hand**. I do not (...)
(PROFISSÃO Repórter, 04/06/2016, 27min 43sec, emphasis added).

Seeking shelter in objectivity values, the program makes reference to the researches done by *Datafolha*, Folha’s Research Institute

group (example 12). One of them brings data on impeachment, while another traces the profile of the protesters against and in favor of the government. The inclusion of these data in the narrative constitutes a discursive strategy of topic control and intertextual presupposition, based on the myth of the objectivity of opinion polls.

Researches have a pre-constructed meaning of veracity and scientificity shared in our society, considered as unquestionable. They are inserted as an assumption for the development of interviews that, in turn, impose an interpretation to the viewer. The chain of statements shows a certain direction to create a polarization between protesters against and in favor of the government. With this resource, the program ends up obliterating other meanings that could be raised in relation to the Brazilian political crisis.

[Example 12]:

[Sunday, March 13]

[Off Reporter Caco Barcellos] Organizers of the **largest manifestation against the government** counted **more than two million** protesters. **According to Datafolha**, half a million people were on the São Paulo Avenue. Datafolha outlined the **marchers' profile** on March 13: 77% said they had a college degree, 37% earned more than ten minimum wages, 6% up to two wages.

[Sonora Protestant 1] **There are only good people here.** People with a **good level of education**, people are **kind**, they open space for the cart. There is **no danger** here. It's **just good people**.

[Sonora Protester on stage]: This is **just the beginning**. We have to learn to **charge our** politicians **respect** that we deserve as **citizens**).

(Profissão Repórter, 04/06/2016, 7min, 32seg, emphasis added).

The strategy of agenda and topic control undertaken by the program is shown following statements about the profile and testimony of a protester in favor of impeachment. The discursive position attributed to the protester produces meanings in relation to the profile of the protesters against Dilma's government, since these have high schooling and income. Hence new connections are emerging to build meaning for pro-impeachment protesters, compared to protesters who occupy the position of PT subject, linked to a role of negative values.

"Respect", "education" and "citizenship" are lexical items present in the formulation of statements about the protesters against Dilma government. By using the phrase "there is no danger here" (example 12) we recover the political and ideological meaning that the program seeks to build in the relationship of otherness with the PT subject.

Dressed in green and yellow, protesters sing the national anthem and shout slogans such as “Outside PT,” “Federal Police, National Pride,” and “Moro,” referring to Judge Sérgio Moro who works on the *Lava Jato* trials.

On the other hand, protesters in favor of the government are represented by the red color, flags of Che Guevara and balloons of the *Central Única dos Trabalhadores* (CUT). These elements trigger a discursive memory related to left-wing political movements and “activate pre-discourses, conceived as operators in the negotiation of the sharing, transmission and meaning circulation in social groups” (Paveau, 2013, p.149). What is evidenced by the media text of the program are “semantic universes” (Paveau, 2013) formed by symbolic units of the discursive position of the PT subject, reiterated in the protester profile presented by the reporter Caco Barcellos and in the figure of the militant Edva, who after the Manifestations travels to Cuba (example 13):

[Example 13] [Off Reporter Caco Barcellos] The largest mobilization in Paulista **against impeachment** gathered 380,000 protesters, organizers said. Datafolha Institute counted 95 thousand people. 78% said they had a college degree. 24% earn more than 10 minimum wages. 9% up to two wages.

[Reporter] (...)Have **you been to Cuba before?**

[Protester] Not yet, first time. First time in Cuba

[Reporter] And why now?

[

I picked the **right time** because of **Obama** and ... the Rolling Stones. I used to know the country and have the privilege of going in a **historical moment** like this, right? (Edva)

(Profissão Repórter, 04/06/2016, 17min,53seg, emphasis added)

Besides the position attributed to the PT subject, another point that we highlight are the working subjects represented by *Profissão Repórter*. Disinformation is one of the meanings that circulate in statements when workers are questioned about the impeachment process - a meaning reinforced by the lack of explanations about the process during the program. The ideational meanings unite with the relational meanings to bring about a coherence effect. Thus, the axiological systems embedded in each subject position in the discourse leave clues to the relationship they establish with other utterances and with the media text as a whole.

With this, we want to emphasize that the position of “low-income worker” subject implies the strategy of presupposition, which relates the statements to cultural values considered as belonging to this class. The following sequences are based on values of depoliticization of the working subject, referring to doubt and disinformation.

[Example 14]: [Sonora worker 1]: Ah, **the politicians would have to leave**, would have to have an **impeachment ... No one knows ... why ... it goes ... suddenly a worse one comes ... People do not have today in whom to trust.**
 [Reporter]: For you what is the best way out now?

[Sonora worker 2]: **Get this woman out.** Take out. **But what is coming? We do not know either ... what's coming. I do not even know if it's good to leave.**

(People talk, *Profissão Repórter* 04/6/2016, 9min 34sec, emphasis added)

In our view, the position of uninformed subject built for the worker in *Profissão Repórter* contradicts the journalism's function of informing the citizen and acting as a producer of social realities, cited by Motta, Costa e Lima (2004) in treating journalism as “a socio-cultural process of production, delivery and absorption of daily life facts, which act in the social construction of reality, as they become shared experiences of the world” (p.33).

The last block of the Program shows Caco Barcellos' coverage on the FIESP campaign, called *#novoupagaropato*, and its relation to the impeachment. In addition to presenting the officials responsible for the campaign, the journalist visits the factory where a “giant duck” was produced, its symbol (example 15):

[Example 15] [Off Caco Barcellos] This is an **inflatable products factory**. Here **was born the symbol** that was well known in the streets in the **campaign against** the government. Now you're doing one here that seems to be too big.

[Reporter Caco Barcellos] - What size is that?

[Employee] - This one is **20 meters high**.

[Reporter] - Is this the **biggest of all**?

[Employee] - This is the **biggest of all**

[Reporter] - **How much plastic** do you have there? (Reporter)

[Employee] - This is a **kilometer and a half of plastic**. It is **1500 meters** (employee)

[Reporter] - Is that **orange part the beak?** (...)

[Off Reporter Caco Barcellos] Well, it's a **20-meter duck** that's going to be inflated in Brasilia on Tuesday. They are **working here at night**, because it has to get ready until early tomorrow to travel by truck to the Federal District.

(*Profissão Repórter* 04/6/2016, 28min 48seg, emphasis added)

One of the possibilities for such a framework is to think that, in the selection of these facts, there is a discursive strategy inscribed in the “silence politics”, in which it is necessary to erase other words to say something (Orlandi, 2007). When referring to the production modes of

the *#novoupagaropato* campaign, the program points to some meanings while marginalizing others. Through the detailing of the production form of the campaign symbol, *Profissão Repórter* sets a contradictory tone, in which the working subject who previously occupied an opinion position in the discourse is now the passive subject, the labor force used in the production of the manifestation mascot in favor of impeachment. In addition, following the stages of production of the symbolic duck expresses the economic strength of FIESP and suggests a “commoditization process” (Fairclough, 2016) in which political actions are embedded in industrial and consumer logic. In this way, the stages of production of the giant duck figure as much as political act as merchandise.

Some consideration

The analysis of the discursive strategies used to configure *Profissão Repórter*'s discourse in the *Crise Política* episode (04/06/2016) allowed us to make some inferences about how the program portrayed the Brazilian political crisis. The program assumed a discursive position linked to impartiality and neutrality, common to the journalistic discourse of *Rede Globo* and other broadcasters. This position is present in the narrative construction, which chose to represent both sides of the issue - the movements for and against impeachment - in an apparently egalitarian space. Numerical data and opinion polls also simulate the neutrality of the program's journalistic discourse.

However, a closer analysis shows us that *Profissão Repórter*'s discourse selects different ways of representing these manifestations. In the program's narrative, PT manifestations are linked to conflict, tension and fear meanings. These elements are represented in the figure of the PT subject and refer to a discursive memory of the communist discourse and its symbology, impregnated in red color. This discursive construction is symbolized by the protesters against impeachment and is dressed in the emotion discourse. Otherwise, pro-impeachment manifestations are clothed with respect, education and defense of the motherland, materializing in the figure of the protester subject. Strategies are used to delegitimize the PT subject - associated with violence - and to legitimize pro-impeachment protesters, who are considered as legitimate representatives of the fight against corruption.

The program's discursive construction seems to be orchestrated to other communication vehicles of *Globo* Organizations

and Brazilian media conglomerates. In Oliveira (2016), we can see that the coverage of the protests for and against the impeachment in the newspapers Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo and G1 gave significant prominence to the manifestations favorable to impeachment, with full page opening, large photos and highlights for the numbers of protesters, while choosing a leaner treatment for manifestations contrary to the process. In this case, strategies that overstate the support of the Brazilian population to the deposition of the president (Oliveira, 2016) and that discursively and align themselves with the strategies of the National Journal of delegitimization of Dilma, Lula and PT (Van Dijk , Online).

The journalistic view related to a citizenship perspective of *Profissão Repórter* seems to be only a simulacrum, within the structure of *Globo* Organizations. The program does not provide a real problematization of the Brazilian political crisis, since it does not open spaces for debate and contextualization of this scenario. The program does not extend information about the former president's removal, focusing on a game emptied and spectacularized of antagonisms. The representation of the working subject, related to the disinformation, appears as one of the indexes of this approach. Alongside this, we also see the silencing of the meanings of the terms "impeachment" and "coup", which are not explained in the course of the episode. The program's journalism is exempt from its role of training the political and social conscience of Brazilian citizens by avoiding the complexities of the political crisis.

*This paper was translated by Audrey Frischknecht.

NOTES

- 1 According to Law number 1,079 of April 1950, any citizen can denounce the president or minister of state before the Chamber of Deputies, if he/she understands that he/she has committed crimes of responsibility, that is, acts that violate the Constitution. The voter must present a letter with a recognized signature and supporting documents. Of the 32 applications for impeachment filed against President Dilma, 21 were closed for lack of legal instrumentation ([http://www.infomoney.com.br/mercados/politica/noticia/4209761/conheca-pedidos-imidos-protectos-contocolados-contra- Dilma-camara](http://www.infomoney.com.br/mercados/politica/noticia/4209761/conheca-pedidos-imidos-protectos-contocolados-contra-Dilma-camara)).

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