

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: OBAMA IN *TIME* AND LULA IN *VEJA*:
A CASE STUDY OF PRESIDENTIAL
CAMPAIGN COVERAGE IN NEWS
MAGAZINES OF THE UNITED STATES
BRAZIL

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Journalism and its links with nationhood and the ideologies that have built the nations (race, gender, and class, according to the historians) are the subjects of this study. They are researched through the analysis of the news coverage of two presidential elections which were remarkable in the both countries studied, the United States and Brazil. The elections of the first African-American president of the United States, Barack Obama, and of the first worker president of Brazil, Lula da Silva, are comparable for their symbolism and historical relevance.

Textual and historical analyses are combined in this dissertation to investigate, in the narratives of each nation and its ideologies, the meanings that the news magazines analyzed produced during the coverage of those elections. A total of 24 cover stories published in *Veja* (Brazil) and *Time* magazine (United States) within a period of approximately eight months in the years of 2008 (*Time*) and 2002 (*Veja*) are analyzed. In this close textual reading, visual grammar is also taken in account, since journalism is a

language that communicates with its readership by means of layouts (especially in the case of magazines). In this study of interpretive character, the critical discourse analysis approach is used to investigate meaning ranging from the layout of the news magazines (with pictures and so on) to the lexical choices in the written text.

This is a study mainly of language and its relationship with the world, in which ideology occupies a special place. It is an international research, a cross-cultural examination of the news coverage of two important elections. In this comparative study, made possible due to the knowledge of the two native languages of the publications (English and Portuguese) by the researcher, the target language is in fact international journalistic language. The study found journalism both working for social change and at same time reproducing racist ideologies in the United States. In Brazil, the examination showed that journalism does not always nurture nationalistic sentiments, but that it can be used to keep the hegemony of one region over the rest of the country.

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BRAZIL

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Dedication

To my mother

Maria de Lourdes Pedrosa Pereira

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Introduction

Personal Perspective

As a Brazilian journalist who became a mid-career student and decided to pursue a doctoral degree in the United States, I was lucky enough to witness two important events in the same decade in both countries. Two events that, I think, many people did not believe to be possible, occurred. In my home country, Brazil, a former union leader, an ex-metalworker, became president in 2003, after three unsuccessful attempts. He did a good job, according to most of the population (polls pointed to 80% of approbation) and he was elected for a second term in 2006. If the election of Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, or Lula, as president was something hard to believe in a country where the wealthy political elites traditionally controlled the government, the election of the first African-American president of the United States, Barack Obama, looked improbable some years ago as well. Although there are many diverse types of politicians and activists over the world, there is a traditional standard of a politician who dominates the political scene in almost all countries, mainly in presidential offices there is in general a well-educated, wealthy, white male. Because of this, the phenomenon of the election of presidents who have social and cultural identities that contrast with the ones of traditional politicians is intriguing and deserves a study by itself.

Since journalism and the mass communication are my fields of interest in academic research, naturally my curiosity around these phenomena turns to media coverage. The elections of Lula and Obama can be interpreted as signs of change not just in the country where they occurred but in the world politics. The world has changed, but

what about the media? The old media, the print press that was so important to the democratic process in the past, has now lost readers to the internet. Has the press followed the new political tendencies, or not? How did the press deal with those candidates presenting different identity models? Did it show racism, or prejudice, or did it cover those campaigns in a “fair and balanced” way?

By analyzing aspects of the press coverage of those presidential candidates’ campaigns, I hope to contribute to the understanding of the role of the print press, or at least of the news magazines that I have chosen to study, in a political scenario of social change. These elections occurred in a decade when the press’ influence is said to be declining in face of the online journalism. Therefore, I also can hope that my research may contribute to the memories of a medium that is becoming each day closer to history. That is what I intended to do by searching for answers to my questions.

Also, the case studies of the coverage of Lula’s and Obama’s presidential campaigns, respectively in the Brazilian *Veja* magazine and in *Time* magazine, are intended to contribute to the analysis of the press in line with national ideologies as part of the study of journalism around the globe. For issues of research viability, my scope in terms of the global will be restricted to the two countries that elected the two before mentioned presidents: Brazil and the United States. How does journalism differ in those two countries? Is there a difference in news making? The American model is taken for granted, given the dominance of the American academy over the world, and the success of media corporations that have originated in the U.S., as researchers on comparative studies have argued (they will be discussed in the literature review’s chapter).¹ But, is it

possible that a journalistic culture can adopt a foreign model without adaptations? And what sort of modifications in the original model will such adaptations imply?

From my standpoint, mainly in the field of humanity and social sciences, comparative studies are necessary and important in the academy because they allow researchers to see their culture with new eyes. They are also significant to the study of the national cultures and their diverse crafts. Thus, this dissertation intends to contribute to the study of journalism culture in the United States from the viewpoint of a foreigner who has lived in this country for a period of time. I do not think that I necessarily have the *right* view on the American society, but I believe that I may contribute with my own, and also valuable, view on the American journalism and society. In addition, I hope to contribute to international understanding of my home country's culture and politics as well as improving the American knowledge on the role of journalism in other nations than the United States.

Scope of Study

This research is a cross-cultural examination of the coverage of presidential elections by the major weekly news magazine in Brazil (*Veja*) and in the United States (*Time*). It is focused on the first electoral campaigns of two victorious candidates whose identities were different from that of most of the mainstream politicians in the presidential office: Barack Hussein Obama, in 2008, and Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, 2002. The study was conceived after a study of the concept of 'Otherness' as proposed by the cultural theorist Stuart Hall in his articles, such as "The Spectacle of the 'Other'," whose theme is the representation of difference by the arts and the media.² This dissertation

analyzes the articles of *Time* and *Veja* from the perspective of the construction of identities of these candidates as ‘outsiders’ to the presidential office, looking for clues to show how those media outlets represented Obama and Lula. Hall’s article foregrounds racial and ethnic difference, but he emphasizes that “what is said about racial difference could equally be applied in many instances to other dimensions of difference, such as gender, sexuality, class and disability.”³ For this dissertation, the racial, ethnic and class dimensions of difference are all important.

Barack Obama and Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva symbolically challenged the cultural identity patterns characteristic of the former leaders of their nations. In Brazil, Lula’s cultural and class identity contrasts with the political elite’s identity that has predominated in the country’s politics since imperial and even colonial times. He meets the profile of the ordinary man. His identity is representative of the average man in Brazil, a Brazilian worker. He represents what in Brazil we call “*o povo*” (the people). Although his identity of class, in terms of political leadership, might be meaningful in any country, so implying an international significance, in Brazil this is particularly significant.⁴ This is because of its colonial past which has never been completely overcome, and because of the Brazilian political and intellectual elites who have always tried to erase the “degeneration” of the people, seeing them as “dangerous classes,”⁵ the mixed-race population that compounds the Brazilian “*povo*.”⁶

The electoral victories of Lula and Obama were celebrated as historical in their countries. In the United States, Obama’s election was punctuated as an achievement of the African-American community, an outcome of the political activism that goes back to the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s. Although Obama had avoided the label of black

activist as presidential candidate, his identity as African-American was stressed in the campaign and is a part of his political image. It is inevitable to think of his election as an improvement in the status of the Black identity in the American society. It is related to the nation-building ideology that has predominated in United States history and involves the meaning of “being” American. The Civil War, for example, burst out among other reasons because the southern states regarded slaves as alien in origin and nature. In the U.S. South, white Americans were determined to think of theirs as a country of white people.⁷ In studying U.S. abolitionism history, the links between racism and nationalism become apparent. Also, they were visible during the 2008 presidential campaign in the rumors about Obama’s nationality and religious convictions, when innuendos that he was born in Kenya and was Muslim circulated in the internet.⁸

This research uses a framework of analysis grounded on the critical discourse analysis, an interdisciplinary methodology of analysis. This methodology mixes textual analysis of language and visual images with analysis of social processes. In this dissertation, historical evidences are used to support the textual analysis, which is preceded by a historical analysis chapter. This is the basis of the social constructionist approach used here. The social construction of race, gender and class is a theme commonly addressed in the media cultural studies field, such as that involving feminist research. The type of analysis done in this field is also called *ideological* analysis because it aims to find the ideologies that are embedded in the cultural representations. The study of ideology is central in this dissertation, as well as it is central to the critical discourse analysis and to the project of cultural studies that is related to analysis of gender, race, and class representations. As the cultural theorist Douglas Kellner puts it, “the study of

ideology is intimately connected to the study of media texts, because these play a major role in producing and reproducing ideologies.”⁹

But what sort of ideology is studied in this dissertation? As a cross-cultural examination, the study analyzes the professional ideologies of the journalism cultures in both countries (Brazil and the U.S.) as well as the ideologies of nation-building embedded in news magazines representations of Obama and Lula. This standpoint is grounded on the assumption that the media are among the institutions that work the idea of a ‘national consensus’ and produce the symbolical stock of meaning that shapes the national cultures.¹⁰ In modernity, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the main sources of cultural identity.¹¹ Despite the globalization process and the authors who challenge the centrality of “the national”, it still remains important as a basis for cultural identity in the contemporary world.¹²

For cultural studies that challenge traditional nationalism – by arguing that the meaning of being “British’ or ‘Russian’ or ‘Jamaican’ cannot be entirely controlled by the British, Russians and Jamaican, and is in truth being constantly negotiated – the national culture as an imagined community is an essential subject of study.¹³ As Hall puts it, “a nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – *a system of cultural representation*. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in its national culture. A nation is a symbolic community and it is this which accounts for its ‘power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance’.”¹⁴ The relation between national cultures and cultural identities, that is, the way that certain identities (racial, ethnical, regional and class identities) are inserted in the national cultures are, therefore, important issues to this dissertation. In

short, this research analyzes how the news magazines *Time* and *Veja* worked those aspects of Obama's and Lula's identities in terms of their countries' national cultures.

The professional ideology is equally important, since the analysis of this aspect permitted researchers to recognize and identify the points at which the U.S. model of journalism predominates or is misrepresented in Brazil. That approach is also relevant as a contribution to research on American journalism from the viewpoint of a Brazilian researcher and journalist. Are embedded in professional ideologies of journalism in both countries other types of ideologies? In the United States, the media have been repeatedly charged with liberal bias.¹⁵ However, particularly when George W. Bush was president, scholars and liberal politicians very often charged the American media with negligence in their watchdog role.¹⁶ Anyway, in the United States, journalism is still a strong institution, whose practice is seen as one of the pillars of the democratic ideal.¹⁷

On the other hand, in Brazil, with its different historical background, the American model of journalism arrived in the newsroom imposed on Brazilian journalists by editors.¹⁸ The norms, values and practices of the U.S. model were [tentatively] incorporated into Brazilian journalism in the 1950s, when media companies and news writing went through a modernization process. At the time, the American model incorporated not just the desired modernization, but also the professionalization of the Brazilian journalists and the establishment of a whole set of ideas about what was journalism and its social function.¹⁹ It established thus a *professional ideology*.

Consequently, from the standpoint of a professional ideology, American and the Brazilian journalism may not differ too much, since Brazilian journalists have adopted the same rhetoric. It is in terms of practices and content, mainly, that the gaps between

the ideal and the reality come up. The same phenomenon occurs in other Latin American countries, being widespread in the continent. As Silvio Waisbord put it, “The import of U.S. journalism was half-hearted. Its ascendancy was visible in the rhetoric of publishers more than in actual practices and content. Notwithstanding its growing influence, the U.S. model did not become fully incorporated into the South American press.”²⁰

In Brazil, the modernization of the press in the 1950s with the import of the U.S. model was in truth a *discursive construction* of Brazilian newsmen in fights for the right of signifying representations; journalists struggled for defining the meanings and cultural representations of their society.²¹ Brazilian scholars studying the history of the journalism in Brazil have already noticed that the U.S. rhetoric, beyond not being fully incorporated in the country, has been used to legitimate a practice that continues to be partisan as in its origin.²² The partisanship that U.S. journalism would have supposedly abandoned for objectivity around the end of the nineteenth century remains alive in the Brazilian mainstream media.²³ I argue that not only it is present, in spite of the denial of media owners, but it is biased towards a very conservative, far rightist view.

The major magazine of Brazil, *Veja*, is so conservative that in comparison it makes a mainstream U.S. magazine like *Time* look very liberal even in approaching polemic issues such as ethnic and racial identity in the United States. I claim that *Veja*'s conservative political views reproduce the Brazilian elites' thought, a discourse that had its origin in the first years of the nation-building. It keeps alive the views of the elites educated in Europe who dreamed of Brazil as a mimic of European countries and populated for a 'whitened' people. The actual population is feared by those elites and seen as a wild crowd (the *dangerous* classes) that should be subdued. The risks

associated with Lula's candidacy, for example, were recurrent in *Veja's* coverage during the 2002 election. Thus, this conservative standpoint of the Brazilian newsmagazine is also related to the way in which liberal politics were introduced (as a set of ideas) and are still practiced in Brazil.

In the United States the theory of democracy is grounded in the citizenry. The theory of democracy is that the citizens are the ultimate sovereign and, ideally, the central purpose of journalism is to tell the truth so that people will have the information that they need to be sovereign.²⁴ Herbert Gans refers to this as the American Dream. "According to the American Dream, American democracy belongs to its citizens and America might therefore be called a 'citizens' democracy'," he says. "Journalists also follow the Dream, but adding an informational provision. The country's democracy may belong directly or indirectly to its citizens, but the democratic process can only be truly meaningful if these citizens are informed," he adds.²⁵ Notwithstanding the dream being an ideal, as Gans observes, it is interesting to notice the links between the press (as institution) and the symbolic stocks that nurture the (U.S.) national feeling, the feeling of belonging to an imagined community.

The liberal bias that some authors pointed to in the U.S. press is probably a consequence of the fact of the so-called new journalism that started to be practiced in the twentieth century and has been involved in the modernist movement, as well as in reforms and social change. Thus, one can argue that the U.S. mainstream press is on the opposite side of the political conservatism, since it flourished as tied up to the progressivism with its commitments with change and reforms. Another reason for so-called liberal bias could be the insertion of the press as an institution within a liberal

model of politics that professes equality among the citizenry. I argue that such an insertion in the liberal model made it easy to *Time* magazine to present a coverage that was mostly favorable to Obama's candidacy. I also claim that the symbolic stock that shaped the U.S. culture was plentifully used to represent Obama as a candidate whose cultural identity fitted in the national culture.

This dissertation is a qualitative research of interpretive character. The comparative study hereby carried out is focused on the *ideological* meanings of the articles published in both newsmagazines mostly during the last year of the election campaigns of Lula, in 2002, and Obama, in 2008. Articles published as cover stories of *Veja* and *Time* magazines during a period of approximately eight months were selected: a total of 24. Those articles are individually and painstakingly examined through close textual analysis drawing on the ideas of semiotics and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

They are analyzed as *texts* in the semiotic sense, that is, the images, pictures and layouts are also considered part of the journalistic language. The articles of the sample are coded in terms of topics that constitute nine categories of analysis. By studying the articles of *Veja* and *Time* magazines, I tried to make clearer the differences and similarities between Brazil's and the United States' journalism cultures, demystifying the rhetoric rooted in a professional ideology that not always rules in daily practice.

In the first chapter, I approach the literature on comparative media studies, on journalism history and culture in Brazil and in the U.S., on election news coverage in both countries, and on race relations in Brazil and the United States. Since this is an interdisciplinary research, this dissertation embraces an array of issues to be addressed which demand a comprehensive literature review. The second chapter contemplates the

historical and contextual background that linked nation building to the racial, ethnical and class relations in both countries. Brief biographies of the two leaders are also included in that chapter.

The third chapter brings a more detailed depiction of the framework of the study and the methodology adopted. The fourth chapter covers the textual analysis of the articles of *Time* magazine on Barack Obama's during the 2008 election campaign. The fifth chapter analyses *Veja* coverage of Lula's election in 2002. Chapter six focuses on the comparative analysis of the election campaign's coverage that the candidates had in their respective countries, using the textual analysis results. Finally, chapter seven closes the research, summing up findings and presenting conclusions as well as suggesting directions for additional study. I hope this dissertation may present questions and generate discussions, enriching the field of comparative media studies and fostering more research in journalistic cultures around the world.

Notes

¹ According to Michael Gurevitch and Jay Blumber, "Because, for example, mass communication research was pioneered by American scholars, American models of communication and society have dominated the field for many years." "Comparative Research: the Extending Frontier," in *New Directions in Political Communication*, ed. David Swanson and Dan Nimmo (London: Sage, 1990), 317.

² Stuart Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other,'" in *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997), 223-290.

³ *Ibid.*, 225.

⁴ About the relevance of Lula's class identity in the international political scene, check article by Michael Moore published in *Time* magazine. The Brazilian president was pointed out as one of the most influential leaders in the world by *Time*. Michael Moore depicted Lula as "a genuine son of Latin America's working class," in an article. "Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva," *The 2010 Time 100*, April 29, 2010, http://www.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,1984685_1984864,00.html

⁵ Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition Sao Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 24. This is a reference to an article by Torcuato di Tella.

⁶ As the historian Thomas Skidmore explains, “Brazil’s historical racial balance had led to widespread miscegenation, touching even the oldest families. But this fait accompli of social history did not prevent Brazilian social thinkers from worrying about the effects of racial mixing.” *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 29.

⁷ Seymour Drescher, “Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective,” *The Hispanic American Review* 68, no. 3 (1988):454.

⁸ Even *Time* magazine published a story on the rumors that surrounded Obama, and his fight against them.

⁹ Douglas Kellner, “A Cultural Studies Approach to Gender, Race, and Class in Media,” in *Gender, Race and Class in Media: A Text Reader*, ed. Gail Dines, and Jean M. Humez (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 4.

¹⁰ Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 55.

¹¹ Stuart Hall, “The Question of Cultural Identity,” in *Modernity and its Future: Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV*, ed. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 291.

¹² Silvio Waisbord, “Media and the Reinvention of the Nation,” in *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies*, eds. John Downing et al. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 375.

¹³ Hall, “Spectacle of the ‘Other,’” 236.

¹⁴ Hall, “Question of Cultural Identity,” 292.

¹⁵ Robert Lichter, Stanley Rothman and Linda Lichter did a widely cited academic study showing a liberal bias in American journalism, which was published with the title “The Media Elite.” *The Media Elite* (Bethesda: Adler and Adler, 1986).

¹⁶ “In particular, the mainstream media failed to cover the systematic lies used by the Bush-Cheney campaign in Election 2004,” Douglas Kellner asserted. “The Media and Election 2004,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 22, no.3 (2005): 179.

¹⁷ According to Lynda Kaid and Clifford Jones, “The conduct of modern elections in the United States of America guarantees that the relationship between media and politics is a symbiotic one. An informed electorate is not possible without information, and information is the business of the media.” “United States of America,” in *The Media and Elections: A Handbook and Comparative Study*, ed. Bernd-Peter Lange and David Ward (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004), 25.

¹⁸ Afonso de Albuquerque, “Another ‘Fourth Branch’: Press and Political Culture in Brazil,” *Journalism* 6, no.4 (2005): 494.

¹⁹ Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, *Imprensa e História no Rio de Janeiro dos Anos 50* (Rio de Janeiro: e-papers, 2007), 13.

²⁰ Silvio Waisbord, *Watchdog Journalism in South America: News, Accountability, and Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 14.

²¹ Marialva Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2007), 19.

²² Ribeiro, *Imprensa e História*; Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa*; Albuquerque, “Another Fourth Branch.”

²³ Barbara Kelly explains, “The modern principle of objectivity in journalism was an aspect of a wider movement known as *modernism*, a response to the major shifts in technology, economics and beliefs that had accompanied the Industrial Revolution.” “Objectivity and the Trappings of Professionalism, 1900-1950,” in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, ed. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 149.

²⁴ Herbert Gans, *Democracy and the News* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

Chapter 1: Review of the Literature

Since this dissertation is an interdisciplinary study involving a cross-national comparative media research that includes election news coverage, journalistic cultures, and media representations, a variety of works has been valuable for framing the concepts here explored. The starting point for this review is comparative media research. Different branches of comparative studies have influenced this work, but at least three ‘schools of thought’ were more relevant than others in defining the subfields, within the communications sciences, which are implied in this research. They are those dealing with (1) comparative media cultures, (2) comparative journalism history, and (3) comparative political communication. In this chapter, we examine each one of those branches and their ramifications on the object of study.

Comparing Media Cultures

The type of comparative media culture that this study carries out can be placed under the umbrella term of Intercultural Communication, according to Lindlof and Taylor, in which “researchers are variously concerned with interaction and action between the members of different cultural groups.”¹ In this research, journalists are considered as an interpretive community joined together by professional practice and, at the same time, by being members of two different [national] cultural groups. From the 1980’s the frame offered by the theorists of the media and cultural studies to this subfield generated a prolific branch of interpretive research focused on “reciprocal and emergent relationships between communication and culture.”²

According to Lindlof and Taylor,

This subfield has recently been influenced by postmodern and critical perspectives (most notably feminism and postcolonialism), in which scholars reflect Western culture's often imperial gaze back on itself and subvert its conventional wisdom regarding homogeneity, assimilation, rationality, and consensus. Whether focused "at home" or "abroad," this research emphasizes unequal power relationships; diversity; the simultaneity and partiality of ethnic, class, and gender identities; and the dissolution of clear geopolitical boundaries (e.g., within and between nations) in the context of globalization.³

Particularly useful in framing the research for this dissertation is the standpoint of scholars influenced by the British Cultural Studies project as conceived at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the late 1960s.

Likewise, the concept of 'Otherness' used in this study is provided by Stuart Hall, a major figure in the development of the British Cultural Studies. Sonia Livingstone, who served as president for the International Communication Association from 2007-2008, and Nick Couldry, chair of the Philosophy of Communication Division of the International Communication Association are among those scholars in media studies concerned about comparative research. Both emphasize comparative media studies as a *necessity* for the field of communication.⁴

Couldry, a professor of media and communications at the University of London and director of the Centre for the Study of Global Media and Democracy, advocates a "fully international – that is, comprehensively and mutually comparative – media studies."⁵ For him, it is needed to undo the Western bias behind continual claims that current forms of media-saturated society in parts of the West represent a necessary 'modernization.'⁶ For fostering the further internalization of media research, Couldry argues that is necessary to better develop two areas: the comparative studies of 'media

cultures,' and the research on global media ethics. He suggests an approach that combines a comparative analysis of the more intangible, more subtle, aspects of the media environment in different places and a comparison of the degree to which media rituals are embedded in wider belief structures, whether economic, political, religious or social. ⁷

The approach suggested by Couldry framed this research in the comparison of media cultures (through examination of two Brazilian and U.S. newsmagazines) dealing with electoral news coverage of presidential candidates who differ from the mainstream political identity. The representations of Obama and Lula presented by *Veja* and *Time* magazine are hereby related with the more subtle aspects of the media environment in both countries. Simultaneously, the election news coverage comes up as a media ritual embedded in the political and social structures.

Sonia Livingstone launched an epistemological debate in approaching the challenges of dealing with national borders in times of globalization. Livingstone argues that although comparative research can pose challenges to scholars' preconceptions and be theoretically upsetting, it also has a more creative and innovative role, opening up new avenues. ⁸ She examined the rationale for comparative research and the challenges and contradictions that it poses. Livingstone observes that the rise of globalization stimulated communication researchers to address the transnational dimensions of cultural institutions, products, audiences and policies. In advocating the importance of the comparative studies, Livingstone asserts that "if the researchers fail to consider the extent to which the findings may reflect their national context, those reading the research reports will certainly find themselves asking how far the conclusions apply also in their

own, or other, countries.”⁹ Livingstone suggests some ground rules for conducting comparative analysis of media, focusing on the identification of the everyday aspects which are culturally or nationally distinctive or common.

For this research, Livingstone’s remarks were particularly important for framing nations as units of analysis. “Notwithstanding the onward march of globalization,” Livingstone point out, “it is surely still defensible to claim that nation-states continue to serve as convenient shorthand for distinctive histories, cultures and policy environments.”¹⁰ By raising issues on media cultures and the transnational dimensions of culture, her approach makes us aware of the tensions between theories of media, culture, identity and globalization. Given those tensions, she explains, “any project seeking to conduct cross-national comparisons must surely argue the case for treating the nation as a unit, rather than simply presuming the legitimacy of such a research strategy.”¹¹

In this dissertation, the key for arguing the nation as a unit of analysis lies in the concept of nation-building *ideology*, which is also linked to the representations of race and otherness. By comparing journalism cultures, through the analysis of major newsmagazines’ coverage of the elections of Obama and Lula in their respective countries, this study tries to contribute to filling in the lacuna pointed out by Livingstone and Couldry. This is the underdevelopment of comparative studies of media culture or the cross-national comparative media research. While the cited authors offer a useful theoretical framework for comparative analysis, they leave blank the sort of themes to be approached and do not mention the intertwinement of race, gender and class with the nation-states.

In *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies*, Annabelle Sreberny presents comparative research in communications as an ally of human sciences disciplines, such as history and cultural studies. The scholar took a comparative frame to explore the complicated dynamics of “society, culture, and media” in the contemporary world, using Britain, the United States, and Iran as the three national contexts of analysis.¹² She chose the comparative method because it “rapidly denaturalizes social relations and helps us understand that they are historically constructed, culturally inflected, and mutable.”¹³ Sreberny challenged the customary views of those countries, revealing the significant differences of ethos and orientation between the U.S. and Britain, and Tehran (Iran’s capital) as a cosmopolitan city. The scholar grounded her comparative approach on the understanding that society, with its characteristic social divisions of class, gender, and ethnicity, is strongly intertwined with the nation-state.

In Sreberny’s research, *culture* becomes identified with “national culture” and seems to demarcate the national territorial space. She follows Benedict Anderson’s argument on *imagined communities*, “which locates much of this development [of nation-states] at the moment of the growth of print capitalism and the fixing of written languages in a national press and literature.”¹⁴ The framing given by Sreberny to her research served as a model to this research framework in terms of the placement of race and class relations in the broader ‘national culture’ picture. However, her approach on the national contexts studied was much more general than the narrower research design recommended for a doctoral dissertation such as this one.

The National and the Media Studies

Also in *The Sage Handbook*, Silvio Waisbord discusses the study of media and nations by reviewing the place of the media in historical accounts of the rise of modern nations and nationalism.¹⁵ Although he did not do a comparative study, Waisbord addressed authors who framed the media studies on nation and cultural identities such as John Thompson, Benedict Anderson, Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall. Also, he followed the concerns of media researchers focused on international communication. He argued, for example, that the nation remains important as a basis for cultural identity in the contemporary world. The reason for this is that together with other factors, the media greatly contribute to the persistence of the national in a supposedly postnational era.¹⁶ As Waisbord observed, media studies can make a valuable contribution to nationalism studies by understanding how the media continue to articulate nationalistic sentiments.

Rooted in this concern, this dissertation has been theoretically conceived. This concern occurs mainly in the part of the study that is focused on the United States and its presidential election 2008. In the approach of the Brazilian newsmagazine *Veja*, it could be more appropriate to refer to the articulation of colonialist rather than nationalistic sentiments. But, the relations between the colonies and the nation-states were also part of the process that turned culturally coordinated communities into nations. In Waisbord's chapter, it is emphasized that nations resulted from a top-down political process that turned cultural diversity into cultural homogeneity. In this process, states play a key role in eliminating differences and imposing one culture. Waisbord asks, "If nations are defined along a continuum of commonness and difference, how do the media contribute to create, solidify, perpetuate, and change feelings of belonging to a specific cultural

community? If nation making implies establishing commonness and difference, how do the media establish cultural boundaries?"¹⁷ Those questions addressed by the scholar are partly the subject of this dissertation since both the feeling of belongingness and of 'otherness' work in the nation-building *ideology* reproduced by the media among other institutions.

In *Modernity and its Futures*, Stuart Hall explains the concept of nation as an imagined community.¹⁸ Also, Hall discusses the representational strategies deployed to construct commonsense views of national belonging or identity, that is, the narratives of the national culture which are told to the citizenry. According to Hall, the discourses of nationalism are the *narratives of the nation*, as told and retold in national histories, literatures, the media and popular culture. These narratives, he says, "provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or *represent*, that shared meaning to the nation. As members of such an 'imagined community,' we see ourselves in our mind's eye sharing in this narrative."¹⁹

Hall also deconstructs the *unified* national identities that national cultures construct. "To put it crudely, however different its members may be in terms of class, gender or race, a national culture seeks to unify them into one cultural identity, to represent them all as belonging to the same great national family," he argues, in stressing that a national culture is a structure of cultural power.²⁰ Hall asserts that three points should be considered in raising this issue: (1) most modern nations consist of disparate cultures which were only unified by a lengthy process of violent conquest – that is, by the forcible suppression of cultural difference; (2) nations are always composed of different social classes, and gender and ethnic groups; (3) modern Western nations were also the

center of empires or of neo-imperial spheres of influence, exercising cultural hegemony over the cultures of the colonized. Thus, Hall suggests that instead of thinking of national cultures as unified, we should think of them as constituting a *discursive device* which represents difference as unity or identity.²¹

It is precisely in this point related to discursive devices (and consequently to ideology) that this dissertation adopts Hall's concepts of national culture and cultural identities. In investigating the relations between media and national cultures, this dissertation argues that there is a struggle for cultural hegemony in the public sphere. There is a constant fight for the construction of meaning and for the privilege of telling a desired narrative of nationhood. The media is an arena for these political combats. The media portrayals of the presidential candidates hereby presented are inserted in that landscape of fighting for the representation, that is, for cultural hegemony. Their identities are linked to specific *narratives* of nations that are constantly fighting for representation in the ideological realm. Hereby I analyze the narratives of nation that the newsmagazines constructed in representing the presidential candidates.

Media Culture as a Site of Struggle

In a classical book on how the British society reacted to mugging, Stuart Hall and other scholars of the British Cultural Studies approached the social production of news by focusing on the media in the reproduction and transformations of dominant ideologies.²² Hall's concept of *maps of meaning* (the social world is already mapped) as the basis of our cultural knowledge is relevant to understanding how the media make the world they report on intelligible to readers and viewers. In his words, "this process of 'making an

event intelligible' is a social process – constituted by a number of specific journalistic practices, which embody (often only implicitly) crucial assumptions about what society is and how it works.”²³ One of these assumptions is the *consensual* nature of society. Hall explains that the process of *signification* – giving social meanings to events – *both assumes and helps to construct society as a 'consensus.'* According to Hall, the media are among the institutions whose practices are most widely and consistently predicated upon the assumption of a national consensus.²⁴

In another book chapter, Hall also asserts that the media are part of the dominant means of *ideological* production.²⁵ In addition, he observes that although ideological statements are made by individuals, the ideologies are not the product of individual consciousness or intention.

Rather we formulate our intentions *within* ideology. They pre-date individuals, and form part of the determinate social formations and conditions in which individuals are born. We have to “speak through” the ideologies which are active in our society and which provide us with the means of “making sense” of social relations and our place in them. The transformation of ideologies is thus a collective process and practice, not an individual one. Largely the processes work *unconsciously*, rather than by conscious intentions.²⁶

Douglas Kellner, an important scholar of American Cultural Studies, sees media culture as a *contested terrain* reproducing on the cultural level the fundamental conflicts within society rather than as an instrument of domination.²⁷ He draws this conception on Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony which presents culture, society, and politics as terrains of contestation between various groups and class blocs. Gramsci was one of the main authors who influenced Stuart Hall and the British Cultural Studies. According to Kellner, “a contextualist cultural studies [field] reads cultural texts in terms of actual struggles within contemporary culture and society, rather than just in relation to some

supposedly monolithic dominant ideology, or some model of mass culture that is simply equated with ideological manipulation or domination *per se*.”²⁸

Kellner advocates a multicultural ideology critique (or ideological analysis) that assumes that society is a great field of struggle and that the heterogeneous struggles are played out on the screens and texts of media culture and are the proper terrain of a critical media studies. “With this view,” he sustains, “one needs to see the importance of a multitude of struggles between various groups, including struggles between dominant and subordinate groups and between class sectors for control of society. In the U.S., this has involved struggles between liberal and conservatives for hegemonic power and between a wide range of dominant and subordinate groups.”²⁹ In another book, Kellner asserts that it is true that media culture overwhelmingly supports capitalist values, but it is also a site of intense struggle between different races, classes, gender, and social groups.³⁰

Both Hall’s and Kellner’s perspectives have been complementary in planning this research. After all, it analyzes the discursive strategies, the *ideological* frames that the news magazines adopted in organizing discourse on Obama and Lula according to a certain point of view, in framing reality by the production of texts. This research deals with the news coverage of the elections of candidates whose identities differed from previous mainstream politicians in the presidential office. Eventually each won the presidential race. Thus, their perspectives are important to draw our attention to the different national, political and professional ideologies present in the media discourse that shows how Obama and Lula’s elections represented a struggle to define symbolic meaning in the news coverage. Nevertheless, Hall’s study from 1978 is dated in the face

of the media globalization, while Kellner's book spotlights a multicultural, postmodern standpoint, more appropriate to the contemporary society's analyses.

Journalism Cultural History

This research was designed according to the precepts of the international and interdisciplinary field of the Cultural Studies, a model that predominates in the Brazilian scholarship on communications. In terms of the scope of this study, mainly journalism culture rather than media culture is the subject of comparative analysis. In approaching journalism culture for a comparative view, we draw on the literature that produced historical accounts on journalism and on the scholars who researched journalism's cultural dimension around the world. In this part of the review we also place authors who conceptualize journalism as a professional ideology.

In the United States, the Cultural Studies field was fostered mainly by James Carey, who suggested a different approach to the study of journalism history in the U.S., an approach that he called *cultural history*.³¹ According to Carey, news is a historic reality and a form of culture invented by a particular class at a particular point of history. In his discussion of culture Carey explains,

By culture I merely mean the organization of social experience in the consciousness of men manifested in symbolic action. Journalism is then a particular symbolic form, a highly particular type of consciousness, a particular organization of social experience. This form of consciousness can only be grasped by its history and by comparing it to older forms of consciousness (mythic, religious) which it partially displaced.³²

In *Communication as Culture*, Carey proposed using a "ritual view of communication" in examining a newspaper. He suggested seeing "reading a newspaper

less as sending or gaining information and more as attending a mass, a situation in which nothing new is learned but in which a particular view of the world is portrayed and confirmed.”³³ According to Carey, the ritual view of communication is opposed to the transmission view of communication, which is the dominant motif in American scholarship. “The concept of culture is such a weak and evanescent notion in American social thought,” he asserted.³⁴ It is interesting that at the same time that he reported on the underdevelopment of cultural studies in the United States, he also made a cultural analysis of the American society. He also leaves clear the challenge that a cultural analyses imposes to the researcher of communications in the United States.

The notion of culture is not a hard-edged term of intellectual discourse for domestic purpose. This intellectual aversion to the idea of culture derives in part from our obsessive individualism, which makes psychological life the paramount reality; from our Puritanism, which leads to disdain for the significance of human activity that is not practical and work oriented; and from our isolation of science from culture: science provides culture-free truth whereas culture provides ethnocentric error.³⁵

For Carey, news reading, and writing, is a ritual act and moreover a dramatic one. What is arrayed before the reader is not pure information but a portrayal of the contending forces in the world. According to the scholar, as readers make their way through the paper, they engage in a continual shift of roles or of dramatic focus. He comments on American journalism readership the following: “A story on the monetary crisis salutes them as American patriots fighting those ancient enemies Germany and Japan; a story on the meeting of a women’s political caucus casts them into the liberation movement as supporter or opponent; a tale of violence on the campus evokes their class antagonisms and resentments.”³⁶ Thus, under a ritual view, news is not information but drama. It does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action.

Carey's ideas are particularly important to this dissertation for his cultural analysis of the American society and, further, for his focus on the dramatic action played in the reading and writing of news. It provides understanding of the context in which the news coverage of Obama's election occurred, and offers some clues on the place of the nation-building ideology in the U.S. journalism. He also presented a landscape of the challenges that we would have before us, while also providing a justification of the use of European sources (from the British Cultural Studies) in framing this research.³⁷ The type of approach that he suggested for the study of journalism history – the journalism *cultural* history – is the approach that is most suitable to the purposes and methodologies used in this research.

From the publication of Carey's article in *Journalism History* in 1974 to the present, the discipline of journalism history in the United States has undergone changes and added broader views on the approach to historical subjects. In 1999, for example, Margaret Blanchard of the University of North Carolina stated, in the same journal, that many of her colleagues in her university's history department had recently been studying how issues of race, class, and gender have influenced the growth of the United States. "The subjects also attract our students," she asserted.³⁸ Maurine Beasley, another journalism historian, also observed that even in its area of traditional strength, the biography, "American journalism history now is moving in the direction of broader, more subjective conceptualization."³⁹ Obviously the field is changing precisely because there is space for more development of studies approaching journalism cultural history.

Historical and Comparative Perspectives

For this dissertation, the journalism cultural history approach is particularly important in combination with a comparative perspective. Such a blend fills a gap and contributes to the comparative studies of journalism cultural history. Michael Schudson – an important American academic sociologist working in the fields of journalism and its history – helps to corroborate this standpoint. Similarly to Carey – who said that journalism is a form of culture invented by the middle class largely in the eighteenth century⁴⁰ – Schudson historically situates journalism as a distinctive social institution that emerged as a set of relatively enduring organizations in eighteenth century Europe and North America. “Through colonialism, the expansion of markets, urbanization, and democratic political developments, journalism became important around the globe,” says Schudson,

But important how? What is it that journalism does? News organizations exist where there is democracy and where there is not. They exist where government is largely open and where state decisions-making is largely secret. They can be found where parties are strong or weak, where public ownership of communications is powerful or absent. How journalism differs in these various setting should be a subject of journalism studies around the globe. This requires broad historical and comparative perspectives that are so far underdeveloped in the typically nation-centered studies of the press.⁴¹

It is that sort of broad historical and comparative perspective that this study tries to pursue. It presents a historical/contextual background before offering the textual analysis of articles on Obama and Lula, and a comparative analysis afterwards.

Comparative studies on journalism, which take that approach in cultural history, have been decisive in framing this research. Jean Chalaby’s *The Invention of Journalism* and, in particular his article, “Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of

the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism” were seminal works for the purposes hereby given. Chalaby, an international scholar who teaches at University of Geneva, in Switzerland, wrote his later article as a sort of summary of the book, which was the outcome of his doctoral dissertation at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences.⁴² He attempted to show that the emergence of journalism is not only historically but also culturally marked.

In the article, Chalaby uses a cultural-historical approach for contending that journalism is an Anglo-American invention.⁴³ He claims that American and British journalists invented the modern conception of news. “It is in the United States, and to a lesser degree in England, that the discursive practices and strategies which characterize journalism were invented.”⁴⁴ Proper journalistic discursive practices, such as reporting and interviewing, were invented and developed by American journalists, he argues. He develops that argument comparing the evolution of French and Anglo-American journalism between the 1830s and the 1920s. Chalaby asserts that French journalists, like journalists in many other countries, progressively imported and adapted the methods of Anglo-American journalism.⁴⁵

Jean Chalaby raises discursive issues that make his work especially valuable. However, his approach on discourse is distinct from the linguistic approach. He claims a sociological definition of discourse that “should be dissociated from the linguistic sphere and refer to a class of texts.”⁴⁶ Chalaby argues that journalism is an invention of the nineteenth century. According to him, the profession of the journalist and journalistic discourse are the product of the emergence, during the nineteenth century, of a specialized and increasingly autonomous *field of discursive production*, the journalistic

field. Progressively, the journalistic field developed its own *discursive norms and values*, such as objectivity and neutrality. The journalistic mode of writing became characterized by particular *discursive strategies and practices*.⁴⁷

The specific article published in the *European Journal* approaches the thesis of Chalaby's *The Invention of the Press* in a practical, exciting, and interesting way: by the comparison between two national cultures. While the book focuses on journalism history in the United Kingdom, the article carries out a comparative journalism history study, crossing the boundaries of Britain. Chalaby's article also attempts to spell out the cultural, political, economic, linguistic and international factors which favored the emergence of journalism in England and in the United States. By discerning the discursive differences between the French and the Anglo-American journalism, he found out that "In the first instance Anglo-American newspapers contained more news and information than any contemporary French papers and had better organized news-gathering services."⁴⁸ Also, information was more exact in American and British newspapers – more complete, more objective and more neutral. French journalists were known to have the habit of interpreting and reprocessing the information according to the political doctrine that the newspaper defended.⁴⁹

Chalaby argues that Americans and British invented *fact-centered discursive practices*, which were conditioned by the standards of the journalistic field emerging during the nineteenth century. Contrastingly, French journalism was dominated by the literary norms and values. In sum, American and British journalism was constructed around facts, whereas the French journalism was more opinion-oriented. Therefore, they were distinct mainly in their respective narrative forms. He mentions

famous literary canonic authors, such as Balzac and Victor Hugo, as the models of writing for French journalists at the time.

For justifying his thesis, Chalaby presents historical, political, economic, and linguistic reasons. He mentions the pressure of the French government on the newspapers in France, for instance. Financial resources obtained from advertisements made possible the independence of American newspaper and enabled publishers to avoid the bribes from the government, he believes. Nevertheless, Chalaby presented journalism as a field of discourse independent from the political world. That is the flaw of his work since discourse and hegemony are intertwined. Chalaby seems to confound political influence with the national state as if they were the same, disregarding ideological content and the production of meaning in the journalistic discourse. In spite of that, his work has been very important not just for framing this dissertation but also for informing the work of other scholars approached in this research.

Journalism in South America

Silvio Waisbord's *Watchdog Journalism in South America* offers a historical perspective on the development of investigative journalism in four countries of the continent: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Peru.⁵⁰ As a matter of fact, Waisbord's work attends to journalism history as well as the political communication, in examining the relations between the newspapers and the development of democracy in South America. His historical perspective on South American journalism emphasizes the contrast with the U.S. model of journalism and explains how watchdog journalism grew in the four countries studied. In doing this he also raised issues regarding a culture exporting models

of journalism to another culture, which is particularly important for this comparative study. As Waisbord observes in the introduction of his book, “In analyzing watchdog journalism outside the better-studied cases in the United States and Western Europe, the study also examines the limitations of exporting models of investigative reporting and journalism in general to contexts that are glaringly different from those in developed democracies.”⁵¹

The author also carries out what he says to be an effort toward building a theoretical framework to analyze the linkages between media and power in contemporary democracies, thus intending to contribute to the international comparative studies of media and politics.⁵² For Carlos Agudelo, who wrote a doctoral dissertation on the history of the leftist magazine *Alternativa* from Colombia, Waisbord’s historical perspective was insightful because it is “based on a implicit question as applied to Latin American journalism: What good is freedom of the press if it is used to hide the truth, as most of the news media allied with political parties did?”⁵³

Waisbord’s book assesses particularly the strengths and weakness of watchdog journalism in developing democracies. According to him, journalistic traditions in the South American region do not easily fit with U.S. and European experiences. Because of this, he works with a particular concept of investigative journalism, as it is understood in the region studied. As the Latin America cases suggest, investigative journalism may adopt different practices according to the traditions and principles that inform news production.⁵⁴ In South America, he says, a different understanding of investigative journalism prioritizes the consequences rather than the methods. “The U.S. model of

investigative journalism is extremely influential, but it is not the only possible paradigm.”⁵⁵

Waisbord argues that the import of U.S. journalism to South America was half-hearted. “Its ascendancy was visible in the rhetoric of publishers more than in actual practices and content. Notwithstanding its growing influence, the U.S. model did not become fully incorporated into the South American press,” he explains.⁵⁶ In the region, as he observes, news organizations explicitly took sides in the partisan and often violent confrontation that characterized contemporary South American politics.⁵⁷ The Latin American mainstream press (newspaper owned and controlled by powerful families), Waisbord says, before turned into flag-bearers of U.S. journalism in the region, were essentially partisan, expressing the changing political and economic cleavages during the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century and serving as instruments in intra-elite disputes.⁵⁸

The origins of a market-oriented, U.S.-style press occurred in the years when South American economies were incorporated into the international order shaped by the second industrial revolution. Leading newspapers incorporated the latest technological innovations, adopted the services of news agencies, and embraced the values of U.S. journalism. While European dailies were mandatory references before World War I, U.S. press influence became notorious afterwards. The incorporation of U.S.-style news occurred at a different pace in each country, and it coincided with the slow shift from a partisan to a commercial press.⁵⁹

Waisbord’s explanations are important to give support to this research, but here this dissertation argues that the Brazilian mainstream press – and more specifically *Veja* magazine as a partisan publication – continues to serve as instruments of intra-elite dispute, even though its rhetoric is rooted in U.S. journalism. Based on studies done by Brazilian scholars on the history of journalism in Brazil, we understand that the

movement toward a modernization of the newspaper, the U.S.- style incorporation by the Brazilian press was, after all, rhetorical, that is, a *discursive construction*. As an unavoidable historical heritage, partisanship is still present in the Brazilian press.

In fact, the investigative journalists exposing wrongdoing generate consequences that imply *political results*. Sometimes they are exactly the results desired by political groups in the intra-elite disputes. Thus, watchdog journalism can also serve as an instrument in the disputes for power between political parties. In other words, the political scene still influences the reporting in Brazil, and the Brazilian press stays tied up to the politics, as a player in the electoral process. Besides, the Brazilian democracy includes many states governed by different political parties. It means that the political influence on the newspapers can happen in different spheres of power, not always from the federal government. Mostly concentrated in the state of Sao Paulo, the Brazilian media companies, for example, tend to politically favor the government's oppositional party, when that party governs their state. Thus, they can pass the image of the press exposing [federal] government wrongdoing while they really are not presenting evidence to support their charges, and hiding corruption of rival political parties.

As a result of the observation of those processes, this dissertation attempts to show, by means of the historical perspective, how different approaches to racial and ethnic relations as well as the political cultures of Brazil and the U.S. led the presses in the two countries to assume positions so disparate regarding two presidential candidacies who differed from the established patterns, because of their class, regional (in Brazil), and racial (in the U.S.) identities.

A Creative Adaptation of the American-Born Rhetoric

Afonso de Albuquerque, professor at the Department of Cultural and Media Studies of Fluminense Federal University in Brazil, challenges the type of comparative studies that, ‘nation-centered,’ takes the American journalism as a universal standard. Likewise Waisbord, who commented on the limitations of exporting models of journalism, Afonso de Albuquerque maintains that to take the American-born rhetoric and practices of journalism as simply adopted by other countries’ news media is a very simplistic view of the influence of American journalism on other countries. He claims that it minimizes the fact that American journalism is a cultural artifact too. The scholar argues that the relationship that other countries’ journalisms establish with the American type of journalism must be understood as a *creative adaptation*, rather than a simple adoption.⁶⁰

Similar to Waisbord, who studied investigative journalism in South America through a historical perspective that compared it with the U.S.-style press, Albuquerque analyzed the American-born rhetoric that attributes a ‘Fourth Branch’ to the press as practiced in Brazil, using a political cultural approach. It is in the Brazilian history that Albuquerque found the explanation for the specific way that the Brazilian news media appropriates the American ‘Fourth Branch’ rhetoric. According to Albuquerque, Brazilian journalists refer to the American model to explain the Brazilian press political role, but what they really do is a reinterpretation of the argument that attributes a ‘Fourth Branch’ to the press, by using a rhetoric that has deep roots in Brazilian political history. The first Brazilian Constitution, from 1824, established the creation of the *Poder Moderador* (Moderating Branch), which implied an outside force, beyond the three

ordinary branches in the government, considered necessary to correct possible imbalances and to conciliate the actions of the three traditional branches.⁶¹

Albuquerque observes that the creation of the Poder Moderador reveals a very ambivalent attitude about liberal institutions and procedures. In his words, “On the one hand, they [the liberal institutions] were thought to be sine qua non requisites to the recognition of Brazil as a civilized, respectable country. On the other hand there was a strong feeling that, left to their own devices, those institutions would produce anarchy and chaos.”⁶² For Albuquerque, this ambivalence has been a permanent trait of Brazilian political life. Yet, he maintains that on many occasions, different institutions claimed, or were invited, to play the role of a ‘Fourth Branch’. According to him, mainly since the 1980s, the press has claimed to play that role, recurring to an American-like rhetoric to justify its claims.⁶³

As a matter of fact, Albuquerque proposed a different approach to the study of journalistic practices adopted by other countries. He suggested using a political cultural approach focused on the re-elaboration of American values to fit the demands of the culture that imports them.⁶⁴ The study of the cultural *thickness* of the compared nations’ news media – such as the different cultural and political characteristics of the country that imports the journalism model, suggested by Albuquerque – is a central ideal for the comparative studies of journalism cultures. However, despite the valuable theoretical explanation of the differences between the American and the Brazilian press, Albuquerque’s article lacks an empirical comparative study.

Also, he limits his analysis to the nature of Brazilian press regarding the hypothetical role of journalists according to the American model. His article demands an

empirical study on the nature of the American press. The issues raised deserve the in-depth approach of empirical research, by comparing and analyzing news reports of the two countries. We cannot take for granted the democratic role of American journalists, without the study of how it works in the daily reality of the American newspapers' articles. The analysis of the electoral news coverage is the way suggested by this dissertation for evaluating the press in the two countries, identifying bias and misinterpretations of journalists.

Journalists as Political Players

Similar to Albuquerque, some Brazilian scholars prefer to think of the media through their cultural history. Marialva Barbosa and Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, historians and professors of communication in federal universities of Rio de Janeiro, have recently published important books on the history of Brazilian newspapers using that cultural-historical approach. Marialva Barbosa's *Historia Cultural da Imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000* (Cultural History of the Press: Brazil, 1900-2000) constructs a theory of Brazilian press history.⁶⁵ Barbosa, who has a PhD in history and is a professor at the Department of Cultural and Media Studies of Fluminense Federal University in Brazil, presents some comparative perspectives on the historical development of the Brazilian press which have been useful for this dissertation.

She highlights the fact that journalism as a professional activity developed in Brazil without the support of the doctrine of the freedom of the press. Otherwise, in the United States and in some European countries, the industrialization process of society, advances in education, urbanization, and technological innovations, joined with the

implantation of political regimes where the principle of freedom of the press was sacred, were fundamental to the professional development of the journalism. In Brazil, journalism developed under special circumstances as its history shows. The professionalization of Brazilian journalists occurred precisely because of their close relationship with the political society within regimes in which freedom of the press had been totally absent.⁶⁶

According to Barbosa, the professional development of journalism in Brazil was possible because of the *idealization* of the newspaper as the only permitted intermediary between the population and the public authorities. She explains, “Journalists constructed themselves as a symbolic and indispensable link between the voiceless audience and the political institutions in Brazil. Because of that position, journalism became a privileged site of symbolic and real power.”⁶⁷

Barbosa also raises an important point about the features of the Brazilian journalists’ writings, providing information similar to Chalaby’s study on the discursive practices of Anglo-American and French journalists. According to Barbosa, in the first half of the twentieth century Brazilian journalists’ articles were characterized by the emotional appeal toward popular groups. At the time, Brazilian press made the sensations its essential way for attracting the audiences. Fiction and real life were mixed in a type of narrative that bordered on literature but spoke of a presumed real world. Because of this intellectual inheritance, journalistic professionalization, which occurred in the second half of the twentieth century, did not mean a genuine autonomy from the literary and political fields in Brazil.⁶⁸

The scholar points to the 1950s as the years of the largest modernization of journalism in Brazil. For Barbosa, that modernization was actually a *discursive construction* of newsmen “in continuous struggles for the right of signifying, in fights for the representation.”⁶⁹ In other words, an image of neutrality and objectivity was forged by those newsmen, becoming embedded in the memories of the group. She claims that the objectivity and neutrality which the Brazilian newspapers started to *ideally* pursue from the period of modernization, in the 1950s, provided them the legitimization to act as a superior power before the citizenry. According to the scholar, the professional ideology allowed the Brazilian press to get acceptance as an emblematic site for the diffusion of information, even though opinions remained strongly present in Brazilian publications.⁷⁰

The construction of the ideal of neutrality and objectivity for the news articles, which led to the introduction of the rules of the journalistic narrative, did not impede Brazilian journalists from valuing opinion. This also might be explained by the presence of the lawyers writing to newspapers in the earlier times of Brazilian press. They left indelible historical marks in the shaping of the journalistic narrative, such as the worth of opinion writing, given defenses, accusations, and interpretations of the laws as they usually did. Besides, the high rates of illiteracy favored the emergence of public readings (like speeches) and the valuation of opinion as fundamental to the journalistic narrative.⁷¹

“As an interpretive community,” says Marialva Barbosa, “journalists could establish themselves as knowledge transmitters, and additionally as advisers to behavior patterns and political standards.”⁷² She uses the theory of Italian Antonio Gramsci to approach the role of the press in Brazil, which is similar to the role of a political party. According to Gramsci, a newspaper, or a group of newspapers, might work as a *political*

party, fractions of a party or for a determined party. For Barbosa, Brazilian journalists fit in Gramsci's theory about *organic intellectuals* working in every social group. She maintains that they became executors for the dominant group, working in the subordinate functions of generating social hegemony and political control.⁷³

The adoption of a journalism model supposedly “objective, neutral and impartial” was pushed by the limits imposed during the military dictatorship in Brazil, since detachment from opinion became a sort of requirement for the safety and survival of journalists. Marialva Barbosa argues that the press was an important player in the crisis that resulted in the military coup, in 1964. The mainstream press, as a whole, supported the military. She presents as evidence the quotes of newspaper editorials. She states, “The Brazilian news media sees itself as a political player in charge of an essentially political mission. It is playing that role that they say they ‘do not admit’ and ‘do not consent’, attributing to itself more power than any other institution.”⁷⁴ More than the power of informing, the newspapers claim the job of watching on the democratic liberties, according to the scholar.⁷⁵

Professional Ideology in Brazil

Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, historian and professor of communications at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, recently published a study on the history of Brazilian journalism during the 1950s which has been fundamental in framing this research.⁷⁶ It has been important particularly due to its approach of the U.S.-style press influence on the Brazilian newspapers, pointing it out as the turning point to the introduction of a professional ideology in Brazil. The press historiography usually points

to that decade as the moment of in-depth transformations in Brazilian journalism, mainly in Rio de Janeiro. Ribeiro asserts that during the 1950s, the American model was definitely implanted in Brazilian journalism. It led not just to the modernization of news reports and media companies, but also to the professionalization of journalists and the constitution of a whole ideology about what is journalism and its social function.⁷⁷

As Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro puts it, in Brazil for a long time journalism and literature were confounded. By the second half of twentieth century, journalism was considered a sub-product of arts. There was not a market for literary books in the country, so the newspaper was the medium to reach the readership.⁷⁸ According to the scholar, the reform of the 1950s pointed out a passage from the literary-political to the entrepreneurial journalism, but those transformations really did not mean a radical rupture with the previous way of news making. Although the newspapers had experienced profound transformations in the 1950s, they continued to be political and to act in the political arena in a different way. She states: “The first crises of the democratic period and the role of the press in its emergence and evolution (from the dramatic suicide of Vargas to the removal of Joao Goulart)⁷⁹ showed that, at least until 1964, newspapers did not stop acting in the political scene. Besides expressing standpoints and opinions, they played a role in defining trends and leading to political convulsions.”⁸⁰

Even though rhetorical, the reform and adaptation of Brazilian newspapers to the U.S. journalistic standards meant to formally install them in modernity. In the context of the 1950s and 1960s, that provided the newspapers with a symbolic influence they had never had before. The graphical, editorial, linguistic and entrepreneurial modernization of 1950s permitted the Brazilian press to construct an institutional place for, thenceforth,

officially to enunciate the truth of the events and, thus, constitute itself as the factual register of the world. Those changes constituted a *founding moment*, and thereafter journalism posited itself as an *authorized voice* regarding the semantic of the reality.⁸¹

According to the scholar, it was grounded on the U.S. model – that is, in a model centered on the concepts of objectivity and neutrality – that the Brazilian newspapers started to present a discourse invested with an “aura of fidelity to the facts,” which gave them considerable social power. Nowadays, the press works to influence meanings about reality particularly because of those *discursive practices* adopted in the 1950s. This became possible because, at the time, Brazilian journalism constituted itself as a specific field to a certain degree autonomous from the literary and political fields. When journalists established their own discursive community, they obtained the social status that ensured their efficacy.⁸²

Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro observes how the U.S.-style press, by becoming hegemonic, suffered a process of adaptation and naturalization in Brazil. Formalized as a technique in stylebooks and textbooks, it started to be taught in Brazilian colleges as a necessary tool for professional practice. As a matter of fact, the creation of colleges of Journalism in the country was another fundamental step towards to the professionalization of journalists. She comments that in educating professional journalists in the new techniques of writing and the ideology of objectivity, the new schools widely contributed to set up and develop the new style in the dailies.⁸³ Contacts between professors of the new schools of journalism and the U.S. colleges were frequent. Thus, the U.S. journalism values and discursive procedures started to be noticed not just

as the values of a particular group [the U.S. journalists] within the journalistic institution, but as values of the own [journalistic] institution.⁸⁴

However, the process of implantation of a “modern” journalism did not occur in a homogenous way, nor was it totally harmonious. On the contrary, it was crossed by conflicts, disputes, and ambiguities. The incorporation of a U.S. journalism model clashed with limitations in the historical and cultural configurations of Brazilian society and in the structure of Brazilian media companies. Since imported, its ideology and professional rules had to be totally redefined and semantically adapted. It could not work in Brazil the same as in its country of origin, the United States.⁸⁵ Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro puts it this way: “The U.S. press meant as a role model, a reference, to the Brazilian press. However, the newspapers in Brazil continued to follow a distinct logic. The same ideals and procedures were used in Brazil to do different things. To some extent, they were used as an alibi, a device for legitimating old practices in the new context.”⁸⁶

By analyzing stylebooks of the Brazilian newsrooms at the time, Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro observes that their nature was essentially normative and authoritative, as if they performed a somehow ‘civilizing’ work, disciplining editors and reporters. She comments on how interesting it is to take notice that there were not recommendations concerning research and information gathering, such as to hearing both sides for fulfilling the criterion of impartiality, for example. The tenet – so important in the American journalism – that any issue has two perspectives (pro and against), and therefore the news report should be equidistant of both, is absent in those former style books. Perhaps, it had

been a result of the limits imposed by the newspapers' political commitments, she concludes.⁸⁷

According to Ribeiro's book, the political aspect of Brazilian newspapers never totally disappeared. In fact, it had a fundamental and structural role in the dynamics of the journalistic enterprises. Although new management and administrative techniques had been introduced from the 1950s, they were not sufficient to guarantee the financial autonomy of enterprises. That's why the newspapers never stopped playing a role clearly political. The support of determined groups, which could be in the government or in the opposition (depending on the political landscape), was essential to guarantee the survival of some media enterprises, by means of credit, loans, subsidies or even advertisements.⁸⁸

That standpoint stated in Ribeiro's study offers a plausible explanation for the way that the Brazilian magazine, *Veja*, dealt with Lula's presidential candidacy in 2003, which was by presenting a mixture of fearful and partisan news coverage. Nevertheless, the scholar's book lacks explanation – mainly in specific passages – on what she considers an universal characteristic of the press as an institution and what is particular of the Brazilian news media. For example, she approaches the professional ideology providing legitimization to the journalists. It would be interesting to know if this was seen exclusively as a trait of Brazilian newsmen or how it could be applied to journalists of other countries. How does the professional ideology affect journalists of other countries and, more specifically, of the United States, whose style was introduced in Brazil? Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro conducted a very good research on the history of the Brazilian press from the perspective of the introduction of the U.S.-style press in the 1950s. However, that study might be enriched by a comparative view analyzing the

professional ideology effect also in the group that *exported* their values and techniques to Brazilian newspapers – the American journalists.

The Ideology of Journalism

Pointed out by Barbie Zelizer as the *worldview of journalism*, the professional identity ideology of journalists has been the theme of a scholarship mainly inserted in the cultural analysis of journalism. As Zelizer put it, “The collective mind-set of journalists – the establishment and maintenance of certain ways of knowing, or how journalists came to think both of themselves as journalists and of the world around them – offered a fertile entry point for much of the cultural inquiry of journalism.”⁸⁹ For this dissertation, the professional ideology of journalists, in its differences and similarities in the nations studied – Brazil and the U.S. – makes a point of the analysis, providing a comparative view in the journalism field.

The authors who have been approaching that subject, therefore, deserve attention. Zelizer herself is the author of an article that used journalistic responses to McCarthyism and Watergate to illustrate how journalists fashioned themselves into interpretive communities. Her article concludes that journalists routinely generate shared meaning about journalism by capitalizing on informal practices [among reporters] that have been neglected by the frame of professionalism, and emphasizes the need for alternative frames through which to conceptualize journalism community.⁹⁰ This point is relevant since this research analyzes the meanings produced by journalists in the news coverage of presidential elections.

Also important to this dissertation is to approach how the journalists' professional ideology differs in the countries studied or if there is a 'universal' ideology of journalism, and how it is related to the study of cultural hegemony of the U.S.-style press. In the article "What is Journalism? Professional Identity and Ideology of Journalists," Mark Deuze investigated the ideal values of journalism's ideology in terms of how these values are challenged or changed in the context of current cultural and technological developments.⁹¹ According to Deuze, "Although the conceptualization of journalism as a professional ideology can be traced throughout the literature of journalism studies, scholars tend to take the building blocks of such an ideology more or less for granted."⁹² In analyzing a variety of scholarship on journalists' professionalization, for instance, Deuze observes that all of it addresses the practice of journalism from an identical ideological perspective that neglects to consider changes in journalism that have occurred over time.⁹³ This is the gap that the author tries to fill.

Another assumption that he challenges is the existence of a professional ideology similarly *applied* worldwide. However, he admits that there is a professional ideology common to journalists all over the world.

The 20th-century history of (the professionalization of) journalism can be typified by the consolidation of a consensual occupational ideology among journalists in different parts of the world. Conceptualizing journalism as an ideology (rather than, for example, other options offered in the literature such as profession, an industry, a literary genre, a culture or a complex social system) primarily means understanding journalism in terms of how journalists give meaning to their newswork. Although most scholarly work on journalism is reduced to studies of institutional news journalism, research on other [forms], more feminine or so-called 'alternative' journalism, suggests journalists across genres and media types invoke more or less the same ideal-typical value system when discussing and reflecting on their work.⁹⁴

The author claims that in the particular context of journalism as a profession, ideology can be seen as a system of beliefs characteristic of a particular group, including (although not limited to) the general process of the production of meaning and ideas (within that group). However, previous research on journalism studies showed that there is too much disagreement on professional norms and values to claim an emergence of ‘universal occupational standards’ in journalism. For Deuze, the overall findings and conclusions of that scholarship suggest that journalists in elective democracies share similar characteristics and speak of similar values in the context of their daily work, but apply these in a variety of ways to give meaning to what they do. Deuze put it this way: “Journalists in all media types, genres and formats carry the ideology of journalism. It is therefore possible to speak of a dominant occupational ideology of journalism on which most newswriters base their professional perceptions and praxis, but which is *interpreted, used and applied* (my emphasis) differently among journalists across media.”⁹⁵

Deuze’s article approaches the notion of ideology not in terms of a struggle (‘dominant discourses’ through which the ideology is perpetuated), but as *a collection of values, strategies and formal codes* characterizing professional journalism and shared most widely by its members. He explains that this ideology is generally referred to as a dominant way in which news people validate and give meaning to their work.⁹⁶ In terms of the professional self-perception of journalists, Deuze states that American authors in particular have identified *objectivity* as a key element.⁹⁷

Mentioning Reese’s study on the global journalist,⁹⁸ Deuze remarks that the ideological perspective can be seen as a global factor of influence on journalistic

decision-making processes, enabling scholars to analyze how media symbolic content is connected with larger social interests, and how meaning is constructed in the service of power. He then points out what could be a measurement of the hegemony of the U.S.-style press: “Power in the context of an occupational ideology must be understood as the power to define what (‘real’) journalism is, enacted for example through access to mainstream debates about journalistic quality.”⁹⁹

Other approaches to the term ideology, such as political and social, in its relation with journalists’ practices for reproduction of *dominant discourses*, are likewise considered by this dissertation, which has the journalistic discourse as its object of analysis. In Stuart Hall’s “The Social Production of News” the author also made a cultural analysis of the collective mind-set of journalists, but chiefly was concerned about how the dominant ideologies had been reproduced. Hall stated that the media do not simply and transparently report events which are ‘naturally’ newsworthy in themselves. He observed that ‘news’ is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories.¹⁰⁰ Hall pointed out that the *professional ideology* of what constitutes ‘good news’ – the newsman’s sense of news values – begins to structure the process of selection of what is newsworthy.

Afterwards, comes the moment of construction of the news story. According to Hall, “This involves the presentation of the item to its assumed audience in terms which, as far as the presenter of the item can judge, will make it comprehensible to that audience.”¹⁰¹ In discussing the reproduction of ‘dominant ideologies’ (the political definition of the term), Hall emphasizes that events are *made to mean* something. In his

analysis, the journalist's practices have a fundamental role in the reproduction of dominant ideology (the dominant discourses) because they embody assumptions about the society in order to make understandable the events of the world.¹⁰²

Journalism and the U.S. Nation-Building

In Zelizer's *Taking Journalism Seriously* – in fact a book that is a huge literature review on journalism scholarship – the author remarks that one of the long-standing motivations for doing journalism history was its relevance to the development of the nation-state. She claims that histories of journalism and histories of nation-states were connected first by studies that saw journalism filling tasks related to nation building. In the U.S., this sort of scholarship resulted in “schools” of historical interpretation associated with stages of nation building. According to Zelizer, those schools together comprised a range of interpretive positions invoked to tell the stories of journalism's past as it impacted on the development of the U.S. nation-state.¹⁰³

As stated in the former pages of this chapter, the development of press is associated with the emergence of the nation-states. Notwithstanding, I understand that in the United States, more than in any other country (the most similar in this aspect may be the United Kingdom), the development of *modern* journalism is related to the development of the [U.S.] nation-state. This assumption is grounded on the literature that has been discussed in this chapter, such as works by Chababy, Waisbord, Albuquerque and Ribeiro, and in the books on American journalism history which framed this dissertation. As these authors have pointed out, journalistic practices and ideologies were shaped by the development of the modern U.S. nation-state. For this dissertation, such a

claim is important since the study is focused on how news magazines have dealt with presidential candidacies that represented otherness. Otherness, in this study, is related to racial, ethnical and class relations – and how they were conceived in the nation-building of the U.S. and Brazil. The way that the news media deal with the otherness, consequently, reveals standpoints, *discourses* and *ideologies* which are linked with a certain narrative of the nation, the one that the press of the focal country represents.

The intertwining of journalism with nation-building is also important to provide this work with a comparative view between the two nations as units of analysis. For example, from the literature on journalism history in Brazil and the U.S., it is possible to derive that in Brazil the modernization (or expansion) of the press was a process from the top to down, imposed and carried out by some individuals who embraced foreign ideas, whereas in the U.S. was a natural process, caused by the transformations of an industrial society. The historical context helps to trace the discourses that dominated the news coverage of the two presidential campaigns hereby approached.

Also important in terms of journalism history is that the period of newspapers expansion with the penny press emergence is conventionally pointed out by historians as being linked to the professionalization of journalists, to the emergence of a *professional* ideology. Part of this ideology, the *ideal of objectivity* came to offer legitimization to professional journalists, as in the case of the Brazilian press from the 1950s. Objectivity is one of the most controversial and discussed concepts in journalism scholarship, and has resulted in some seminal books of press history, such as Schiller's *Objectivity and the News*,¹⁰⁴ and Schudson's *Discovering the News*.¹⁰⁵ More recently published was *Fair &*

Balanced: a History of Journalistic Objectivity, in which articles written by several journalism historians try to give the history of the ideal of objectivity in the U.S. press, from the from the middle of the 17th century to the new millennium. ¹⁰⁶

Edited by Knowlton and Freeman, the book argues that both seminal authors previously cited were partly right in terms of the origins of the journalistic objectivity. According to Knowlton, for Dan Schiller, the penny press was the true origin of objectivity, whereas Michael Schudson claims that was not until the 1920s that the term objectivity became widely used, and that it was not until then that it became a moral goal of journalism, as opposed to a loose synonym for neutrality or evenhandedness. The book maintains that a proto-objectivity actually predated the birth of American journalism and, then, the definition of objectivity in journalism evolved, although it was not always called that. ¹⁰⁷

Important for the identification of relations between journalism and the U.S. nation-building ideology is the idea pointed out by Knowlton that journalistic values are grounded in Enlightenment ideology. ¹⁰⁸ Since the Enlightenment philosophy politically marked the creation of the U.S. nation-state, this is a very important assertion for this comparative study. In this way Knowlton acknowledges the existence of an ideology, beyond the professional, in the journalistic values. An ideology grounded on the same values and beliefs of that which marked the foundation of the U.S. nation-state. This work is also very relevant for this study since Knowlton and Freeman's book searches for the seeds of the ideology of journalistic objectivity in the early years of the country.

Objectivity and American Cultural History

In chapter 1 of *Fair & Balanced*, Sheila McIntyre reports on the search for a reliable source in early colonial news.¹⁰⁹ In chapter 2, Julie Williams finds the foundations of the objectivity in the seventeenth century Puritan community.¹¹⁰ While in the twenty-first century objectivity in the press generally means to report all relevant sides of a story without bias, the Puritans of the colonial times were not interested in discussing politics objectively in their press. However, they thought it was vital to be [what they considered] objective in publishing arguments about their religious doctrine.¹¹¹ The reason for this was the search for freedom in religion and popularization of the Bible that marked the Protestant colonists who came to America.

Williams explains that to the Puritans, it was each individual's duty to read, interpret and understand the Bible. "This devotion to the Bible gave rise to Puritans' persistent attempt to educate all people, female as well male, the poor and the servants as well as the wealthy," says Williams, "Everyone had to read the Bible."¹¹² Moreover, they were true believers in the printed word as part of the quest to understand the nature of true religion. Although the Puritans were not politically motivated, when it came to their own religious doctrine, their own search for truth, they were eager to examine all opinions.¹¹³ Williams asserts: "Objective publication was a *duty* vital to the well being of the church. God had received *both* sides."¹¹⁴ Thus, objective discussion of religious doctrine was of vital importance, and it was the job of the press to facilitate that discussion. However, the Puritans' religious controversies could be discussed freely in the press, whereas politics could not.¹¹⁵

Williams concludes her article with a meaningful assertion. She states,

To Puritans, the press had a duty to discuss religious doctrine. Today, when Americans devote so much attention to liberty and law as the defining parameters of civilization, journalists see a duty to discuss matters of government objectively. Perhaps at the heart of it, journalistic objectivity is applied in any age to what Americans deem most necessary for the proper functioning of society.¹¹⁶

By putting things in such terms, she is relating journalistic objectivity to the American cultural history with its origins in Puritan ethics. This discussion is reminiscent of the classical Max Weber's study, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism*, in which the Germanic author argued that Puritan ethics and ideas influenced the development of capitalism. Weber claimed that the Protestant religious groups – in leading people to engage in work in the secular world, developing their own enterprises and engaging in trade and the accumulation of wealth – played a role in creating the capitalist spirit.¹¹⁷ In Julie Williams' words, journalistic objectivity is a requirement of Americans, that is, a demand of 'Americanism.' In short, she is relating professional concepts of journalism to 'Americanism,' to American culture, the U.S. national culture, thus to nation-building.

In chapter 3, "Neutrality and Colonial Newspapers" by David Sloan, the author also argues that the concept of neutrality had originated earlier than newspapers in the United States.¹¹⁸ He explains that the concept was particularly important in the printing trade, where the need to operate a print shop as a business was especially conducive to neutrality. Thus, printers were willing to print for any member of the public who could pay for the job, with little regard for the customer's sentiments. The readers, in turn, expected partisan publishers to allow dissenting views into their papers. As Sloan puts it,

“The readers’ expectation – like the occupational principle of neutrality with which printers began – had its roots in the assumption that printing, of which newspapers were an outgrowth, was a public business with an obligation to make available the views of anyone who offered them.”¹¹⁹

Thus the idea that newspapers should be objective originated with the concept of the printing press as a mechanical device used simply to produce material for customers, according to Sloan. The terms the colonists normally used to express that idea were *impartial* and *neutral*.¹²⁰ At the time, people saw the printing press as a vehicle for expression. Sloan states that from the beginning of settlement in the New World, American colonists believed that the printing press was of critical importance. In arguing that the press was also important in political affairs, he asserts that

It served as the prime instrument the key players used in the successive debates over the relationship of Colonial representatives to proprietary and crown officials, the nature of the political and economic association between the colonies and the mother country, and the independence movement in the colonies. In most other areas of life, the press also seemed to play a part, from theological debate to economic policies, cultural manners and daily business transactions.¹²¹

The author suggests that the [U.S.] tradition of neutrality in the printing business – a market that developed in the 1600s – was transferred to newspaper printing in the 1700s. He concludes, “Thus, there developed the general concept that newspapers should publish material from a variety of points of view without regard for how the printer personally felt.”¹²²

Press, Patriotism and Empiricism

In chapter 4 of *Fair & Balanced*, Julie Williams shows how the “neutrality” in print was abandoned for a “Patriotic” feeling during the American Revolution, in a way that helped to shape U.S. nation-building, the freedom of press becoming a public good and a strong value.¹²³ According to Williams, “Prior to the Revolution, the American press had practiced objectivity as a protection for liberty and a way to guarantee rights for all parties. By the end of the war, however, the new United States was left with a contingent of surviving Patriot printers who thought they had helped turn the tide toward the ultimate victory.”¹²⁴ They believed by abandoning objectivity and impartiality in favor of telling what was “right,” the newspapers had a powerful influence in producing the revolution. Williams states, “Thus, as the American press left the Revolution and headed into the era of building a nation, objectivity was a memory whose death was death was not deeply mourned. An impartial press was no longer an issue, and a partisan press was being hailed as a conquering hero.”¹²⁵

In chapter 6, Hazel Dicken-Garcia explains that before the penny press appeared in 1833 words like “journalist” and “reporter” were rare, and “printer”, “mechanic”, “printer’s apprentice,” “printer’s devil” and “editor” dominated the journalism lexicon. Moreover, no such profession as “Journalism” existed before 1827, as a witness to the era wrote. The penny press came on the heels of electoral reforms and aimed at active participants in the political system. According to Dicken-Garcia, the information model came about to bring attention to the public’s right to know and the watchdog role. On one hand, the penny press did not separate opinion strictly from news. On the other hand,

partisanship gradually became relegated to a large category called bias, which implies a journalistic failure to fulfill the information role.¹²⁶

Dicken-Garcia remarks that the meaning of the word objectivity has roots in the turn of the twentieth century, when it emerged particularly given the preoccupation with the scientific method and the realism movement's questioning of subjectivism. In her words, "Concern about bias culminated in the creation of the journalistic standard of objectivity amid American preoccupations with scientific methods, which were assumed to be a reliable means to eliminate bias. Thus the shift from the political to the information model paved the way for developments ultimately culminating in a standard called objectivity."¹²⁷ This is an example of American society values and beliefs dictating the journalistic professional [universal] standards.

In chapter 8, David Mindich examines journalistic objectivity in the U.S. press as the journalist response to the abundant changes in American society and culture as a whole.¹²⁸ Mindich puts it this way: "Between 1832 and 1866, the cultural landscape of the United States was transformed. Medicine, art, literature, the social sciences and journalism shifted during this period from a paradigm combining religion and philosophy to one of science."¹²⁹ In the practice of journalism, the change took place in the mid-century as newspapers became more of a mass medium. Urban papers had grown from small operations to large businesses with large staffs in various departments. Simultaneously, religion was being replaced in the minds of many by a reverence for empiricism, and the content of newspapers was becoming more and more secular and factual. The scholar states, "During the middle of the 19th century, a new secular, empirical and scientific world view replaced religion and non-empirical philosophy in

many areas of intellectual life, and had an effect on journalism.”¹³⁰ The changes in the social sciences, therefore, paralleled the rise of objective notions in journalism: empiricism, data gathering and the scientific method.¹³¹

U.S. Journalism and Progressivism

Chapter 9, by Elliot King, claims that the nascent journalistic objectivity had been in competition with another important value of journalism: the duty of the press to be politically active, to lead popular opinion, to originate causes and to achieve political ends.¹³² He asserts that toward the end of the nineteenth century newspapers in some ways became more involved and more politically aggressive than before. Editors and publishers believed that it was the role of newspapers to be politically involved, to give expression to the voice of the people and to lead, not follow, public opinion. Otherwise they would be seen as neglecting their duties. Journalism was conceived as a combination of partisanship, accuracy and truthfulness at the time, and editors and publishers tried to achieve their political objectives through *crusades*, coverage of political controversies and the presentation of the news.¹³³ King states, “Clearly, newspapers were seen as great actors on the public stage. Reporters, editors and publishers had the same responsibility as preachers and politicians to shape society according to their vision of *progress* (my emphasis).”¹³⁴

In chapter 10, Bruce Evensen talks about the Progressive-era muckraking.¹³⁵ According to Evensen, the muckrakers, being rooted in the Enlightenment belief that rational audiences could be trusted with political information, held that democratic republicanism was possible only when journalists gave readers the news they needed so

they could make informed judgments in their personal and public lives.¹³⁶ It can be inferred, therefore, that political coverage in the U.S. press has a tradition of political “engagement.”

From my point of view, the American journalism has a commitment with progressivism, reforms and changes in the society, whereas the Brazilian press has a commitment with the maintenance of the established order in the society. While the American press is by tradition politically progressive, the Brazilian press appears as politically conservative.

This commitment with progressivism can also be derived from chapter 11 of *Fair & Balanced*, where Barbara Kelly writes that the modern principle of objectivity in journalism was an aspect of a wider movement known as *modernism*, and is in fact a response to the major shifts in technology, economics and beliefs that had accompanied the Industrial Revolution.¹³⁷ According to the scholar, this movement was marked by the spread of reforms and social change, reflecting a number of contextual changes that were taking place in America during the inter-war years. She claims that underlying these changes was the rise of a new faith in the existence of a pure truth unaffected by the trappings of power or belief, which reflected a new faith in progress and science.¹³⁸ “For journalists,” Kelly observes, “objectivity represented both a reform in the nature of news coverage and evidence of their rise to professional status.”¹³⁹

In chapter 13, Maurine Beasley and Joseph Mirando analyze the growth of the scientific method in its connection with the journalistic objectivity mainly as taught in schools of journalism and advanced in textbooks.¹⁴⁰ By quoting Melvin Mencher, the author of a popular text, they emphasize the idea that through experience, the amassing of

facts, a person may find truth is a reflection of the American style of life. Thus U.S. journalists came naturally to adopt the objective approach of American empiricists and pragmatists. According to Beasley and Mirando, “Whatever else can be said about objectivity, it has become ingrained in the language and culture of American journalism, if only as a point of attack.”¹⁴¹ They conclude by asserting that objectivity is the enduring myth of journalism.

If objectivity is a myth, an ideology requiring that journalists as professional conceal their own opinions and do not play a clearly political role, this can sometimes be very conveniently used by those in the power. In Chapter 15 of *Fair & Balanced*, David Davies comments on the journalists’ feeling of being trapped by journalistic conventions, which required them to report even “the most outrageous charges” of Communist infiltration, during McCarthyism.¹⁴² The author mentions the question of Bob Baskins, a reporter for the *Dallas Morning News* in the McCarthy era: “How do you say in the middle of your story, ‘This is a lie’? The press is supposedly neutral.”¹⁴³ In the end, according to the author, newspapers solved their dilemma about how to treat McCarthy by turning to greater use of interpretative writing. That is, the McCarthy phenomenon accelerated the trend toward interpretation.¹⁴⁴

A National Public Consciousness

One journalism history textbook which is often used in colleges, David Sloan’s *Media in America*, points out associations of the media with the development of the U.S. nation-state, which are very relevant to the discussions of this dissertation.¹⁴⁵ By emphasizing the Civil War as a watershed in American journalism, for example, Sloan

describes the emergence of a “national public consciousness” brought about by public interest in politics and editors and publishers’ will to lead public opinion. He tells that at the time of the Civil War the debate over slavery had convulsed political parties for decades and had spawned multiple newspapers to keep the issue fresh in the minds of the people. With the end of the war, the issue disappeared, supplanted by arguments over women’s rights and disputes over political parity for freed blacks in the South. ¹⁴⁶

In reporting the emergence of modern media between 1900 and 1945, Sloan remarks that the first decades of the twentieth century saw tremendous change in the United States amid tumultuous social upheaval. Increasingly “mass media became the institution that glued together most of society.”¹⁴⁷ Later, in writing about the media and national crises, Sloan asserts that, “Having reached their twentieth-century position as major institutions, the media were in a state of constant interaction with the great events and issues of the time. *Their role in the life of the nation was crucial* (my emphasis). Their involvement in crises that shaped the period began on the eve of this country’s entrance into World War I.”¹⁴⁸

Observing the importance that governments give to public opinion mobilization in times of war, Sloan states that president Woodrow Wilson ended up with perhaps the most gigantic propaganda campaign in American history, in which the press played an *instrumental* role. ¹⁴⁹ Sloan’s standpoints are helpful for illustrating how an ideology may make institutions mere instruments of elites to reach political ends. This is the case of the news media reproducing *dominant discourses* and ideologies.

Comparative Political Communication

By studying presidential election news coverage in two different countries, this dissertation is also impacted by scholarship that has targeted the intersection of the public and polity. According to Gurevitch and Blumler, the significance of the comparative approach to political communication stems from its ability to address a core question that cannot possibly be answered in a single-country study: “How does the articulation of a country’s mass media institutions to its political institutions affect the processing of political communication content and the impact of such content on the orientations to politics of audience members?”¹⁵⁰ This question was kept on the forefront during the process of framing this study.

Barbie Zelizer says that the U.S. political process grew through an intricate dependence of the press.¹⁵¹ She points out Alexis de Tocqueville as one of the first authors to outline the effect of the press on public opinion from a comparative perspective in both France and America.¹⁵² Tocqueville’s *Democracy in America*, first published in 1835, argued that sovereignty of the people and the liberty of the press in the U.S. may be looked upon as correlative institutions.¹⁵³ For Tocqueville, the subordinate influence of the press in the U.S. was caused by its excessive dissemination in the country.¹⁵⁴ “[I]t is adopted as an axiom of political science in that country that the only way to neutralize the effect of public journals is to multiply them indefinitely,” he asserts.¹⁵⁵ His standpoints are interesting for the comparative analysis that herein is carried out, particularly addressing the sovereignty of the people and the influence of the press in both countries studied (U.S. and Brazil).

Another classical study in comparative political communication is *Four Theories of the Press*. Written by scholars of the University of Illinois, Fredrick Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm in the 1950s, the book compared media systems around the world.¹⁵⁶ The authors' thesis is that the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates."¹⁵⁷ They defined four types of theories of the press – the Authoritarian, the Soviet Communist, the Libertarian, and the Social Responsibility. The dualist view of the book on the press relationship to power is the main weakness of the book, which used a label for each different media system. In doing this, Siebert mainly interpreted the different systems from an American perspective and divided the world in two different systems, being one the American way (Libertarian) and the other one the Authoritarian way, which was strongly linked with Soviet Communism. Therefore, the press' world seems to be divided in two sides: one is good, since it is concerned about freedom, and the other is bad and dictatorial.

In the 1990s, the theories of the book were rethought through the work of a new generation of scholars of University of Illinois who wrote *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press*.¹⁵⁸ That later book updates the former, in face of the global news media corporations which currently dominate the public sphere. The emphasis put on the classical liberalism as philosophy which supports the freedom of press in *Four Theories* is transferred, in *Last Rights*, to neoliberalism, referred as a specific mutation from classical liberalism.¹⁵⁹ That point is important to this research for identifying Liberalism as ideology within the media systems' operations.

Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini's study on the news coverage of former president Ronald Reagan's trip to Europe in both U.S. and Italian televisions is an

example from the 1980s, but is also a classic of comparative political communication. The authors argue that the media of the countries not only mirror the forms of political life of their societies, but *embody* (authors' emphasis) them.¹⁶⁰ They state that because the media are embedded in such different political contexts, they play themselves very different roles: "Reporting the news in Italy is not the same kind of activity as reporting the news in the United States. Political structure thus comes to be embodied in certain ways of speaking about politics, conventions of communication that in their turn profoundly affect the possibilities for political discourse in the society."¹⁶¹ Their point of view framed this research in terms of looking for the links between the forms of *representation* the media employ and the types of political landscape.

The scholarship on comparative political communication sometimes looks for the media effects on political system. Taylor Boas wrote about television and neopopulism in Latin America by analyzing the cases of Brazil and Peru.¹⁶² Boas grounded his study on analysts' suggestions that television would play an important *causal* role in the emergence of politicians with the "New Right" populist profile, such as that of the Brazilian president Fernando Collor de Mello who was impeached in 1992. Boas concludes that the analysts' predictions were true only when television coverage of a campaign was also biased in favor of the neopopulist candidate. He asserts, "In the absence of such bias, the presence of a neopopulist outsider is not a reliable predictor of media effects."¹⁶³ Although media effects are not the point of this research, this article is helpful for highlighting biased news coverage of presidential electoral campaigns in Latin America.

Part of the comparative political communication subfield are the studies on election news coverage which focus on case studies of certain countries and later are reunited in a single volume that provides comparative views, such as in *The Handbook of Elections News Coverage Around the World*,¹⁶⁴ and *The Media and Elections: A Handbook and Comparative Study*.¹⁶⁵ In this later book, Lynda Kaid and Clifford Jones remark that the conduct of modern elections in the United States of America guarantees that the relationship between media and politics is a symbiotic one. They state, “An informed electorate is not possible without information, and information is the business of the media.”¹⁶⁶

Jesper Stromback and Lynda Lee Kaid, editors of *The Handbook of Elections News Coverage around the World* observe that elections are very suitable for cross-national studies in political communication research, but that there is also a noticeable lack of comparative research on how the news media in different countries cover national elections.¹⁶⁷ Also, they assert that elections are convenient benchmarks for mapping trends over time, particularly to show how the media cover elections. In spite of the fact that the subject of this research is the news coverage of the elections of candidates that could be considered ‘outsiders’ to the presidential office in their countries – that is, the study is not about *any* national election – the framework presented by the book was useful, mainly for framing each nation’s analysis. Besides, the authors draw attention to elections as a way of tracking new tendencies in societies.

In this book, Mira Sotirovic and Jack McLeod tried to give a broad view of the [national] media coverage of U.S. election over the time.¹⁶⁸ Mauro Porto, a Brazilian scholar who is a professor in the Department of Communication at Tulane University,

examined the trends in Brazilian election news coverage.¹⁶⁹ He attempted to identify the main patterns of election news coverage in Brazil in the period after the return of democracy in 1985. Although that scholarship needs to be noted in this literature review, it differs from this research in terms of the methods used. By using broad views more focused on media systems operation, or on mathematical procedures such as content analysis, these types of studies lack in-depth analysis of the societies/cultures tendencies. Besides, they take for granted a relationship between a electoral political system and the news media (such as in the U.S. democracy), without considering the different political cultures of the nations studied, as well as the *instrumental* use of the media by the political elites for reaching political ends. The socio-constructionist approach hereby carried out attempts to fill those gaps through an in-depth cultural and ideological analysis.

Comparing Racial Relations

Race in Historical Perspective

There is another area of comparative studies that this dissertation draws on, although it is not part of the major field of this research (journalism studies). This area is the comparative history of racial relations in the United States and Brazil. As part of the history and sociology fields, this subfield has been a prolific branch of research, since the first decades of the twentieth century, with researchers in Brazil and the United States dynamically exchanging information. Brazil was seen as a role model of racial relations, and this has generated many studies of race, including research supported by

UNESCO.¹⁷⁰ For this dissertation, a comparative study, it has been important to notice that the studies were conducted from a comparative viewpoint, which contrasted a complex country in terms of racial relations (U.S.) with a nation praised for fostering harmonious race relations (Brazil).

In addition, there are works of the revisionists, some of whom are American scholars, which reexamined historical racial relations in Brazil and pointed out the continued existence of racism in the country. From the 1970's, the U.S. scholarship on race started to strongly influence the Brazilian scholarship on racial relations. Most of the times in such works, the comparison is the starting point for the analysis of race in Brazil. Also, this revisionist scholarship has been extremely influenced by the publication of the work of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala (The Masters and the Slaves)*.¹⁷¹ Freyre, who studied in the United States and had Franz Boas¹⁷² as advisor, wrote the book that was the *watershed* in terms of how race was seen in Brazil. After publication of that book, miscegenation in Brazil came to be seen as a positive thing, but it also was used as a convenience to hide conflicts and ambiguities in race relations. Thus, *The Master & the Slaves* and Freyre himself came to be accused of spreading the *ideology of racial democracy*, in short words, miscegenation turned *instrumental* to ease racial conflicts.

A classical book in comparative racial relations in Brazil and the U.S. is Carl Degler's *Neither Black nor White*.¹⁷³ The author found historical persistence of prejudice against blacks in Brazil, but argued that Brazil differs from the U.S. because of the existence of a 'mulatto escape hatch,' that had blurred the color-line at its margins by giving people of mixed race a chance to rise in the world. Following the pace of Degler,

Skidmore's *Black into White* provides a good account on how issues such as race and nationality were developed in the minds of Brazilian intellectual and political elites.¹⁷⁴ Those books are important for permitting historical reconstitution of the thought of Brazilian society and – most important to this research – its political elites and intellectuals, including journalists – around the racial issue. They are used to describe the historical context that has led to the current state of class, race and ethnic relations in Brazilian society. In addition, they give a landscape of the development of racial issues in the U.S. by means of their comparative viewpoint.

More recently published, and also historically comparing racial issues in Brazil and the U.S., is the book *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States*, which is a selection of articles written by several authors with expertise on the theme.¹⁷⁵ Likewise, Seymour Drescher's article, "Abolition in Comparative Perspective," has been helpful for this research in contrasting the abolition of slavery in Brazil, the United States, Russia, and the French Caribbean. Also Kim Butler's *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won* discusses the shaping of abolition issues by Brazilian elites, their political goals, discourses and ideologies.¹⁷⁶ By using a comparative view to interpret Brazilian culture, Brian Owensby approaches a particular type of liberalism in Brazil and explains how it dialogues with race issues.¹⁷⁷ In addition, Nancy Stepan's *The Hour of Eugenics* is very important to this dissertation for exploring the thought of the Brazilian elite on race in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Stepan reports how the eugenicist movement evolved in Latin America.¹⁷⁸

The revisionists and the ones who challenged or approached the myth of racial democracy are relevant sources for the historic context reconstitution hereby carried out,

scholars such as Florestan Fernandes and Roger Bastide,¹⁷⁹ George Reid Andrews,¹⁸⁰ Viotti da Costa,¹⁸¹ and more recently Olivia Maria Gomes da Cunha,¹⁸² Livio Sansone,¹⁸³ Peter Fry¹⁸⁴ and finally Barbara Weinstein,¹⁸⁵ who is particularly important for pointing out how Brazilian racism shows itself in a regional way. This dissertation is grounded on portrayals of the identities of Obama, an African-American, and Lula, a *Nordestino* (people who were born in the Northeast of Brazil, the poorest region of the country), as they are represented in their victorious electoral campaigns for president. Also called “functional structuralists” for being focused on the determinations of the social structures of the country, the revisionists, such as Fernandes and Bastide, are important too, since they asserted that racial issues in Brazil ended up dispersed in class issues.

Media and Race

While studies comparing race and ethnicity in Brazil and the United States by a historical perspective are abundant, comparisons between the two countries in terms of the race, ethnicity, and class portrayed in the media are almost nonexistent. It is only possible to find isolated studies (by nation) on media and race specifically. However, most important for this dissertation is the comparison of the historical construction of race in both countries. It can be achieved by the already mentioned scholarship comparing race relations in Brazil and the U.S., and also by the available research on race and the media in the United States. The scholarship written with a focus on race in Brazil has mostly a comparative view, in spite of the nationality of its author. The same cannot be said of the scholarship focused on race relations in the United States. Moreover, the literature on Brazilian media and racism is actually not directly relevant for this

dissertation because the Brazilian case hereby approached is related to the regional expression of racism and prejudice.

In Brazil, because of the myth of racial democracy, the issues of race are immediately associated with Blackness. But the issues of indigenous and immigrant populations are not *seen* as related to *race* due to cultural reasons, as historians on Latin America have been drawn attention to them. In the same manner, it is not usual to find in the literature of race and media in Brazil references to regional forms of racism. By contrast, the literature on media and race in the U.S. is significant to this study, in terms of seminal works that have been published, as well as the African-American identity of 2008 presidential candidate Barack Obama. Approaching specific standpoints on *race and the media* in the U.S. is also a way of narrowing the scope of this research, since the literature on construction of race in this country is huge.

One of the most cited books on the issue is Wilson and Gutierrez's *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media*, published for the first time in 1985 with other title (*Minorities and the Media*).¹⁸⁶ The authors offered a broad view on how people of different racial backgrounds have been represented by the U.S. media. They pointed to the lack of integration of some immigrant communities [such as the Africans], non-European groups who, because of differences in race, legal status, or geographic proximity to the home country, have never blended, or been allowed to blend, into the melting pot of the United States. According to Wilson and Gutierrez, "Rather than a melting pot, these groups have experienced the United States as a huge pot of stew. As in a stew pot, each group retains its individual identity while maintaining and contributing

its distinctive flavor to those of other groups and absorbing some of the flavors of other groups.”¹⁸⁷ This is relevant given the life history of Obama.

Also Polly E. McLean, in a book of comparative views on race, presented a broad and effective account of the relations between racism and mass communication.¹⁸⁸ He points out that the United States has experienced many changes in the media portrayals of minorities since the 1960s. According to McLean, the character of racism has changed in U.S. popular culture as a result of the legal and political changes such as the 1964 Civil Rights Act.¹⁸⁹ Those changes would be the result of the activism fights against racism but they caused a new problem, according the author. McLeans asserts,

Beginning in the mid- to late 1960s, the popular media conveyed the impression that the Civil Rights Movement had all but solved past inequities. The increased visibility of African Americans in film and television programming, the rise of the second Black Renaissance, and the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act all gave the impression that African Americans had gained an equal place in society as well as in the media.¹⁹⁰

Finally, Roberts and Klibanoff’ *The Race Beat* is remarkable in terms of the report on the press coverage of the African-American Civil Rights movement.¹⁹¹ Pointed out by the authors as *the story of how America awakened to its race problem*, the book is important for the in-depth analysis of the U.S. press in dealing with racial conflicts during a period of intense struggle. The book covers the race beat from the 1940s to 1968, with focus on that movement which was perhaps the most important in recent American history.

Particularly regarding the literature on race and media, this dissertation intends to fill out a lacuna in comparative studies of the relationship between media and racial ideologies. To the comparative history of racial relations in Brazil and the United States,

it hopes to contribute by adding more perspective on the press role in that history. Moreover, it focuses on the relations between the U.S. press and the African-American civil rights movement from a viewpoint of the media in shaping national identities. Finally, the press as an ally of the elites who constructed racialized forms of nationalism in Brazil is a new perspective studied in this work.

Notes

¹ Thomas Lindlof and Bryan Taylor, *Qualitative Communication Research Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002), 23.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. 24.

⁴ Sonia Livingstone, "On the Challenges of Cross-National Comparative Media Research," *European Journal of Communication* 18, no.4 (2003): 477-500; Nick Couldry, "Researching Media Internationalization: Comparative Media Research As If We Really Meant It," *Global Media and Communication* 3, no.3 (2007): 247-250.

⁵ Couldry, "Researching Media Internationalization," 247.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 248.

⁸ Livingstone, "Comparative Media Research," 478.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 480.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Annabelle Sreberny, "Society, Culture, and Media: Thinking Comparatively," in *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*, eds. John Downing et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), 83-103.

¹³ Ibid., 83.

¹⁴ Ibid., 84.

¹⁵ Silvio Waisbord, "Media and the Reinvention of the Nation," in *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*, eds. John Downing et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), 375-392.

¹⁶ Ibid., 375.

¹⁷ Ibid., 377.

¹⁸ Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Modernity and its Future: Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV*, ed. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 291.

¹⁹ Ibid., 293.

²⁰ Ibid., 296.

²¹ Ibid., 296-297.

²² Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978).

²³ Ibid., 55.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Stuart Hall, "The White of their Eyes," in *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*, eds. Gail Dines and Jean Humez (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 89-93.

²⁶ Ibid., 90.

²⁷ Douglas Kellner, *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).

²⁸ Ibid., 103.

²⁹ Ibid., 58.

³⁰ Douglas Kellner, "Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture," in *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*, eds. Gail Dines and Jean Humez (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003), 13.

³¹ James Carey, "The Problem of Journalism History," *Journalism History* 1, no.1 (1974): 3-5,27.

³² Ibid., 5.

³³ James Carey, *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), 20.

³⁴ Ibid., 19.

³⁵ Ibid., 19-20.

³⁶ Ibid., 20-21.

³⁷ In the same book, James Carey observes that "when looking for scholarship that emphasizes the central role of culture and a ritual view of communication, one must rely heavily on European sources or upon Americans deeply influenced by scholarship. As a result the opportunities for misunderstanding are great." (Ibid., 20).

³⁸ Margaret Blanchard, "The Ossification of Journalism History: A Challenge for the Twenty-first Century," *Journalism History* 25, no. 3 (1999): 107-112.

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- ³⁹ Maurine Beasley, "Recent Directions for the Study of Women's History in American Journalism," *Journalism Studies* 2, no. 2 (2001): 218.
- ⁴⁰ Carey, *Communication as Culture*, 21.
- ⁴¹ Michael Schudson, "The Domain of Journalism Studies Around the Globe," *Journalism* 1, no.1 (2000): 55.
- ⁴² Jean Chalaby, *The Invention of Journalism* (London: Macmillan, 1998).
- ⁴³ Jean Chalaby, "Journalism as an Anglo-American Invention: A Comparison of the Development of French and Anglo-American Journalism, 1830s-1920s," *European Journal of Communication* 11, no.3 (1996): 303-326.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 304.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 303.
- ⁴⁶ Chalaby, *Invention of Journalism*, 2.
- ⁴⁷ Chalaby, "Journalism as Anglo-American," 304.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 305.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Silvio Waisbord, *Watchdog Journalism in South America: News, Accountability, and Democracy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, xv.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*
- ⁵³ Carlos Agudelo, *Daring to Think is Beginning to Fight: The History of the Magazine Alternativa, Colombia 1974-1980* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr.Müller, 2007), 13.
- ⁵⁴ Waisbord, *Watchdog Journalism*, xix.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 14.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, xix.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Afonso de Albuquerque, "Another 'Fourth Branch': Press and Political Culture in Brazil," *Journalism* 6, no. 4 (2005): 486-504.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 487.
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, 487.

⁶⁴ In Afonso de Albuquerque's words: "I compare some aspects of the development of the political culture in Brazil and in the United States, in order to emphasize the differences between them." (Ibid., 487-488).

⁶⁵ Marialva Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2007).

⁶⁶ Ibid., 163.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 19.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 151.

⁷¹ Ibid., 163-164.

⁷² Ibid., 185.

⁷³ Ibid, 152.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 185.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, *Imprensa e História no Rio de Janeiro dos Anos 1950* (Rio de Janeiro: e-papers, 2007).

⁷⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 221.

⁷⁹ Getulio Vargas was president of Brazil from 1930 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1954, when he committed suicide because of charges of corruption and an intense campaign against him from the press, led particularly by journalist Carlos Lacerda, his main political opponent. Joao Goulart was a president of Brazil in 1964, when he was removed from power by a military junta in a coup d'etat that was encouraged and supported by the Brazilian press.

⁸⁰ Ribeiro, *Imprensa e História*, 347.

⁸¹ Ibid., 14.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid., 295.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 346.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 346-347.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 284.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 40-41.

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- ⁸⁹ Barbie Zelizer, *Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004), 194.
- ⁹⁰ Barbie Zelizer, "Journalists as Interpretive Communities," *Critical Studies in Mass Communications* 10, no.3 (1993): 219-237.
- ⁹¹ Mark Deuze, "What is Journalism? Professional Identity and Ideology of Journalists Reconsidered," *Journalism* 6, no.4 (2005): 442-464.
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- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, 445.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 444.
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 445.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
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- ⁹⁸ S. Reese, "Understanding the Global Journalist: A Hierachy-of-Influences Approach," *Journalism Studies* 2, no.2 (2001): 173-187.
- ⁹⁹ Deuze, "What is Journalism?," 447.
- ¹⁰⁰ Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis*, 53.
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 54.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 55.
- ¹⁰³ Zelizer, *Taking Journalism Seriously*, 103.
- ¹⁰⁴ Dan Schiller, *Objectivity and the News: The Public and the Rise of Commercial Journalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).
- ¹⁰⁵ Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, 1978).
- ¹⁰⁶ Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman, eds., *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity* (Northport: Vision Press, 2005).
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.
- ¹⁰⁹ Sheila McIntyre, "Reliable Sources in Early Colonial News," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 9-22.
- ¹¹⁰ Julie H. Williams, "Puritans and the Foundations of Objectivity," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 23-35.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

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- ¹¹² Ibid., 25.
- ¹¹³ Ibid., 27.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., 28.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., 31.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., 2005, 33.
- ¹¹⁷ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner, 1976).
- ¹¹⁸ Wm. David Sloan, "Neutrality and Colonial Newspapers," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 36-50.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., 36.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid., 37.
- ¹²¹ Ibid., 47.
- ¹²² Ibid., 48.
- ¹²³ Julie H. Williams, "The American Revolution and the Death of Objectivity," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 51-63.
- ¹²⁴ Ibid., 61.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- ¹²⁶ Hazel Dicken-Garcia, "The Transition from the Partisan to the Penny Press," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 90-99.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., 97.
- ¹²⁸ David T.Z. Mindich, "The Rise of Journalism's Scientific Mindset, 1832-1866," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 107-116.
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- ¹³⁰ Ibid., 111.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., 112.
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- ¹³⁴ Ibid., 120.

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- ¹³⁷ Barbara Kelly, "Objectivity and the Trappings of Professionalism, 1900-1950," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 149-166.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.
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- ¹⁴² David Davies, "The Challenges of Civil Rights and Joseph McCarthy," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 206-220.
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- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.
- ¹⁴⁵ Wm. David Sloan, *Media in America*, 6th ed. (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005).
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 199.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 283.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 319.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 324.
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- ¹⁵¹ Zelizer, "Journalists as Interpretive Communities," 148.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 146.
- ¹⁵³ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Joseph Epstein (New York: Bantam Books, 2000).
- ¹⁵⁴ Tocqueville observed, "In America there is scarcely a hamlet which has not its own newspaper." (*Ibid.*, 213).
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson, and Wilbur Schramm, *Four Theories of the Press: the Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵⁸ John C. Nerone, ed., *Last Rights: Revisiting Four Theories of the Press* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁶⁰ Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini, "Speaking of the President: Political Structure and Representational Form in U.S. and Italian Television News," *Theory and Society* 13, no. 40 (1984): 829-850.

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¹⁶² Taylor C. Boas, "Television and Neopopulism in Latin America: Media Effects in Brazil and Peru," *Latin American Research Review* 40, no.2 (2005): 27-49.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹⁶⁴ Jesper Stromback and Lynda Kaid, "A Framework for Comparing Election News Coverage Around the World," in *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World*, eds. Jesper Stromback and Lynda Kaid (New York: Routledge, 2008),1.

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¹⁶⁸ Mira Sotirovic and Jack McLeod, "Media Coverage of U.S. Elections: Persistence of Tradition," in *The Handbook of Election News Coverage Around the World*, eds. Jesper Stromback and Lynda Kaid (New York: Routledge, 2008), 21-40.

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¹⁷⁰ Marcos Chor Maio, "UNESCO and the Study of Race Relations in Brazil: Regional or National Issue?," *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 2 (2001): 118-136.

¹⁷¹ Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization* (New York: Knopf, 1956).

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¹⁷³ Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1971).

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Chapter 2: Historical Overview

This research approaches how the press dealt with the candidacy of two presidents who, by presenting identities that differed from the mainstream politicians, were framed in the category of *Otherness*. In the representations of the ‘otherness’, the media draws on ideologies of nation-building as well as on racial, ethnic, and class hierarchies that are socially constructed. They historically evolved from the colonial and slavery times to the current capitalist system, in which Brazil and the U.S. are constituted as independent nation-states. In other words, racial and class hierarchies shaped during the slavery system survived and persisted as ideology after the abolition. They have evolved, however, and are constantly redefined as socially constructed categories of race.

This chapter briefly outlines the history of racial ideologies in both countries using a *transnational* approach that examines the racial dialogue and cultural exchange between them. It focuses on the contrasts as well as similarities, but also tries to show how these two nations influenced and shaped each other in their racial constructions, many times created in dialogue. It makes a point of the reasons race, ethnicity and class became intertwined and expressed in distinct ways in the two nations.¹ In writing this chapter we heavily relied upon the available historiography on comparisons of race in Brazil and the United States.² Very brief biographies of Lula and Obama conclude this part of the dissertation.

Racial Ideology in the U.S and Brazil

The Burden of Slavery

Although there are many contrasts between Brazil and the United States in the literature of comparative studies of race and ethnicity, these nations have two important similarities that should be mentioned. First, in Brazil as in the United States, black people account for a large part of the population. Secondly, in both countries Negroes were introduced and held as slaves for many years. In his classical study on race relations in both countries, Carl Degler pointed out that Brazil and the United States were the two largest slave societies of modern times.³

The United States and Brazil are nowadays two multiracial societies, as a result of the process of European expansion and colonization of the non-Western world that began around 1500. The English in North America, and the Portuguese in Brazil, established settler colonies that displaced, marginalized, or subordinated indigenous populations between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Beyond this, both areas of colonization imported non-European slaves to meet labor needs that the settlers themselves were unable or unwilling to undertake and for which indigenous groups were unavailable or deemed unsuitable. Because most of these slaves came from Africa, a slaveholding mentality therefore developed in which whiteness or European ancestry meant freedom and a dark skin, signifying origin *outside* of Europe, provided a presumption of servitude.⁴

Another important similarity between these nation-states resulted precisely from this *slaveholding mentality* – both societies developed at an early stage color-codes to

determine status. Studies on comparative history of race point out an ethnic hierarchy which was established by the colonial state and the original settlers. It would persist after these colonial regimes became independent states and after each of them abolished slavery. Nevertheless, there are very significant variations in the way racial groups were defined and how their subordination was justified in each country.

Also, there are clear contrasts in “the nature and rigidity of the racial order and in the way historical developments or changing conditions have adjusted, weakened, or strengthened the primal hierarchies.”⁵ Comparative studies on racial relations emphasize affirming that in the United States race was determined on the basis of a strict descent rule, whereas in Brazil the color hierarchies were more flexible. In Brazil a multiple mode of color gradation, contrasting with the bipolar division into sharply defined racial groups of North America, permitted the so-called “mulatto escape hatch,” a thesis of the famous study of Carl Degler. According to that thesis, Brazilians of mixed white and black ancestry were allowed to ascend socially, breaking barriers imposed on black people.⁶

The slavery system forged the hierarchies that, by means of racial prejudice, survived abolition and persisted into the new period. Although current comparative studies in race and ethnicity make a dominant assumption that race is a social and cultural construction and not a fact of nature, the legacy of earlier racial attitudes and hierarchies is difficult (if not impossible) to overcome or fully transcend when racial orders are being reconstructed or reinvented. As Fredrickson notices, “The burden of history can be lightened, but it would be utopian to think that it can be entirely eliminated.”⁷

Published in 1947, Tannenbaum's *Slave and Citizen* accounted for the differences in the position of the Negro in North and South America by pointing to the different forms of slavery in the two places. The author did not focus on Brazil particularly, since he encompassed all of Latin America in making the comparison with the United States. However, he drew on Brazilian examples for his argument.⁸ Tannenbaum contrasted a relatively mild slavery and easy access to freedom in Brazil and other Latin American slave societies with a harsher servitude and more rigid color line in the United States. The reason was the cultural antecedents of the European colonists.⁹

He argued that in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, African slaves were seen as only temporarily degraded, that slavery was a social or historical accident which could have happened to anyone, not only to blacks. Thus, blacks were considered human beings, who just happened to be slaves. Tannenbaum maintained that in North America, on the other hand, Negroes as slaves were treated and conceived of as something less than human. As an example of the difference in the nature of slavery, he mentioned the manumission, which was easy and open in Latin America and encouraged by laws and practices of both state and church.¹⁰ In Fredrickson's words, Tannenbaum pitted a relatively tolerant Iberian Catholicism and patrimonialism against an intensely ethnocentric and exclusionary English Protestantism, which not only set higher standards for conversion and 'civilized status,' but also unleashed an unfettered capitalism that exposed slaves to more brutal treatment than the allegedly more paternalistic regimes of colonial Latin America.¹¹

Revisionists of the comparative studies on race in the U.S. and Brazil criticized the case for a relatively mild or benign Latin American slavery – because of the high

mortality rates of slaves – but did not deny that emancipation during the slave era was much harder to obtain in the United States. In explaining the differences between the rigid race relations in the U.S. and the more fluid pattern in Latin America, those revisionists stressed material and demographic factors. The relative size of the non-slaveholding white population was the critical variable in determining emancipation. In the Old South of the United States, there were enough white workers to meet many labor needs and blacks were mostly kept in servitude and regarded as outcasts, if they somehow gained their freedom. In Brazil by the nineteenth century, however, mulattos would be routinely emancipated and assigned an intermediate status.¹²

According to the anthropologist Marvin Harris' *Patterns of Race in the Americas*, a book published in 1964, "Planters needed auxiliaries to provide security against slave resistance and ancillary economic services. If enough lower-class whites were at hand to perform these functions, incentives to grant freedom and intermediate status to mulattos were weak or absent."¹³ Subsequent comparative researchers adopted Harris's thesis to explain the origins of the black/white dichotomy that emerged in the United States.

In his detailed study focused specifically on the U.S. and Brazilian slavery, Degler points out clear and hidden differences in the slave systems of the two countries. A significant contrast would be the question of reproduction of the slave population, which worked successfully in North America. According to Degler, "The endurance and even expansion of United States slavery, without any substantial additions from importations [of slaves], is unique in the world history of slavery."¹⁴ Conversely, in Brazil there was no interest in slave breeding prior to 1851, when the trade ended. Brazilians had greater dependence on the Africa slave trade.

It suggests that Brazilian slavery was physically harsher than North American, where for financial reasons the slaveholders tended to preserve the physical integrity of their slaves. Also rebellions of slaves were much more common in Brazil than in the U.S., where blacks, whether free or slaves, were prohibited to be armed in some states, such as Maryland, Virginia and New England.¹⁵ However, participation of blacks in the Civil War, after the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation, is emphasized as essential to the Union's victory over the Confederate states.

As a conclusion from his study, Degler says that an implication of the comparison between the two countries is that in Brazil *the slave may have been feared, but the black man was not*, whereas in the United States *both the slave and the black were feared*. Such a contrast became evident in the ways in which slavery was defended in both countries. While in the United States, at the height of the slave system, slavery was increasingly defended on racial grounds, it would be difficult for Brazilians to develop a racial defense of slavery when they used these same blacks as overseers and slave catchers, that is, as defenders of the systems.

Therefore, it is not accidental that a racial defense of slavery was developed in the United States and largely absent in Brazil. As Degler asserts, "Such a defense followed almost logically from the fear of blacks and was quite consonant with the refusal to permit free blacks to be overseers and slave catchers."¹⁶ In Brazil, on the other hand, blacks were not feared because of their race or color skin, but they were feared as slaves. Thus, a mentality that fostered fear of the 'dangerous class' necessary as a labor force has been present since the slavery times in Brazil.

Abolitionist Thought

Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery in the Americas. It happened in 1888, 23 years after the United States officially prohibited slavery by adding the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865. At that point, slavery as an institution was a cause of shame for the Brazilian elites and intellectuals. In the United States, the cause of abolition led in part to the secession crisis and was one of the leading factors bringing about the Civil War. At the time, slaveholding was absent in some states but a legal practice in the Old South.

Also, abolitionist movements developed very differently in the two countries. They differed in terms of their members' ways of thought, and in the support or opposition abolitionists got from the population. American abolitionists lived in and appealed to inhabitants of states in which slavery was not present, demanding that the federal government declared slavery illegal. Besides, many of them continued their crusade after the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation by Abraham Lincoln, protesting against unequal treatment given to blacks. Brazilian abolitionists, on the other hand, lived much closer to the institution, which was nationwide. Once the emancipation was achieved, they directed their attention to other causes, such as the end of the Empire and the constitution of a Brazilian republic. They did nothing to help the newly freed blacks prepare to live as free people.¹⁷

Levine narrates that abolitionists in the United States portrayed slave owners as brutes and, inspired by Christianity, worked not only to outlaw slavery but to redeem African Americans from poverty. In contrast Brazilian abolitionists were more likely to ascribe savagery to slaves, whom they saw as victimized by the "barbarism" of their

African ancestry.¹⁸ The concept of race was developed by the Brazilian intellectual elites differently from the American abolitionists.

North American abolitionists had earlier been forced to struggle with claims of black racial inferiority at the same time they faced political and economic argument in defense of slavery. In Brazil, however, the defenders of slavery never resorted to theories of racial inferiority. Thus Brazilian abolitionists were seldom forced to discuss the question of race per se.¹⁹ Furthermore, Brazilian abolitionism gathered momentum in an atmosphere that favored the new ideologies of progress and science. Particularly positivism, evolutionism and materialism were intensely studied. As Thomas Skidmore observes,

Brazilian abolitionists did talk about the role of race in history. Most foresaw an “evolutionist” process, with the white element gradually triumphing. They were also prepared to accelerate this “evolution” by promoting European immigration, which they favored for two reasons. First, Europeans could help fill the labor shortage resulting from the elimination of slave labor, all the more necessary since the rate of reproduction of the free colored population was thought to be insufficient to meet the labor needs. Second, European immigration would help to speed up the ‘whitening’ process in Brazil.²⁰

Florestan Fernandes, a Brazilian sociologist who had been among the revisionists, and Roger Bastide, French scholar, published in 1959 a book particularly focused on the study of racial prejudice in the *Paulista* (people from Sao Paulo) society. Fernandes questions if the abolitionism really fostered ideals of emancipation of the black race – or if it was just an episode of dissociation from the master/slave system to the emergence of the new capitalist system, but still *within* the frames of the old system.²¹ The historical analysis developed by his study makes a point that the end of slavery and the status of freed black as citizens in the new order did not destroy the old hierarchies. Among the

whites, the old *representation* of the Negro identity [as servant and inferior] continued to be present. Thus, freed blacks and mulattos who were already part of the population of Sao Paulo city did not draw social advantage from the abolition – except the parcel of blacks who were kept slaves and had emancipation by the law.²²

Unlike the United States, abolitionism in Brazil was aroused by the idea of *national union*, a concept of political integration over racial and color differences. The Brazilian abolitionist ideology clearly sketched the ideal of *national unity* grounded on harmonious race relations, including the idea that blacks were wanted as a permanent element of Brazilian population and a homogenous part of society.²³ Brazilian abolitionism, says Fernandes, was a result of social interests, and economical and political ambitions of one sector of the dominant ‘race’ against another.²⁴

A statement made by abolitionist Jose do Patrocinio is proof that such ideology existed in the thought of Brazilian intellectual elites at the time. It also shows the U.S. race concepts shaping Brazilian racial constructions. Skidmore quoted Patrocinio, who argued that Brazil was more blessed historically than the United States because of the fusion of races. The abolitionist stated, “We have been able to fuse all races into a single native population, because Portuguese colonization assimilated the *savage races* (my emphasis) instead of trying to destroy them, thus preparing us to resist the devastating invasion of race prejudice.”²⁵ Despite the national unity ideology heralded by Patrocinio, the statement also made clear the presence of ideas derived from theories of innate racial superiority in the mind of the notable abolitionist, himself a mulatto. It can be inferred by the assessment implied in the choice of words such as “*savage races*.”

Those ideas were typical of the scientific racism that predominated in Europe (and echoed in the U.S.) at the time. They were used to justify African slave trade in the United States, where slavery was even pointed as a “positive good” grounded on white supremacy and paternalism.²⁶ It is not surprising that Patrocínio declared them because education in Brazil was totally influenced by the European thought. Although in Brazil the high level of miscegenation did not leave room for white supremacy ideologies, the scientific racism theories permeated the thought of the intellectual elites in Brazil. Skidmore comments on how the subject was differently addressed in the United States and Brazil.

Racial determinism had already been politically endorsed in English North America, where separation of the “superior” and “inferior” races was a well-institutionalized system. Brazil, however, had been a multi-racial society for too long for strict segregation along biracial lines to be a practical possibility. Brazil’s historical racial balance had led to widespread miscegenation, touching even the oldest families. But this fact accompli of social history did not prevent Brazilian social thinkers from worrying about the effects of racial mixing.²⁷

On one hand, the mobilization in favor of the abolition in Brazil was caused by the shame of the backward position that the slavery institution placed the country in the world. Seymour Drescher tells that the “Golden Law,” which abolished slavery, was very celebrated. “Until then,” he explains, “Brazilians had been humiliated by condescending references to their country as the last Christian nation that tolerated slavery, on a level with ‘backward’ African and Asiatic slaveholding societies.”²⁸

On the other hand, the ideological mobilization of Brazilian masters *against* abolition was more analogous to that found in the British, French, and Russian empires than to that of the United States. As Drescher reports, “The proslavery ‘positive good’ argument of the U.S. South, so highly articulated in both religious and racial terms,

played a relatively minor role in Brazilian political discourse.”²⁹ Brazilian farmers appealed to arguments grounded more on economic necessity, *social order*, and the advantages of *gradual change* than on slavery as a superior form of economic, racial, and social organization, such as in the U.S. South. It occurred even though the theories of innate racial superiority and social Darwinism were attaining increasing respectability in Europe and the U.S. during the decades before Brazilian emancipation.³⁰

Drescher argues that the formulation of a racially-based mobilization proslavery ideology was dependent on the degree of overlap between racial and juridical divisions. In other words, the extent to which bondsmen were considered to be outsiders affected the nature and vigor of the defense of servitude. Brazil conceived of itself as intrinsically multiracial whereas whites in the United States were determined to think of theirs as a country of white people. The equation of slaves as both black and alien could be more existentially sustained in the United States because “Slaves in the U.S. South were regarded as alien in origin and nature. They belonged to a racial minority of ‘outsiders,’ and most members of that minority were slaves.”³¹

Unlike the United States, there was no major movement in Brazil to deport free blacks to Africa (although some abolitionists called for racial removal in the 1830s). Drescher points out that, in terms of race, the crucial difference between Brazil and the U.S. South was the relative proportions of slaves and free blacks. “At the time of independence,” he claims, “the Brazilian free colored population was already almost a third as great as the slave population. A communally based mobilization in defense of unfree labor would presumably have required (among other things) a free majority racially distinguished from the slave population.”³²

Post-Abolition and Liberalism

Although the 1863 Emancipation Slavery issued by Abraham Lincoln had declared the slaves of confederate states free, a constitutional amendment was necessary to outlaw slavery throughout the United States.³³ Besides, blacks had to wait many years to have the same rights as whites, facing legal segregation (Jim Crow laws enacted between 1876 and 1965). However, abolitionists continued fighting for black rights after the emancipation. In Brazil emancipation brought cries of joy but it was accompanied by social practices that drastically limited opportunities for blacks and kept them subservient. In addition, the abolitionist cause ended abruptly in Brazil as abolition was achieved. In discussing the post-abolitionist period, Levine emphasizes that attention shifted to encouraging overseas immigrants (Europeans migrants were considered far more desirable than African bondsmen). He observes that no voices were raised in Brazil warning of the difficulties the ex-slaves might face if abandoned to fend for themselves.³⁴

This post-abolitionist phase, and even the abolitionist movement, in Brazil and the U.S. are marked by the different stages of political liberalism in the two countries. In the United States, a prosperous industrial North grounded its struggle against the slavery in the U.S. South on the principles of social equality of the liberal thought.³⁵ In Brazil, two decades later, abolitionists worried more about the emancipation of the nation than the emancipation of the slave. They claimed that slavery inhibited Brazil's development according to the liberal capitalist model – because it “prevents immigration, dishonors manual labor, delays the appearance of industries, promotes bankruptcy, diverts capital from its natural course, keep away machines, and arouses class hatred.”³⁶ From the

beginning Brazilian abolitionists were heavily indebted to foreign opinion. Yet, they were ready to take a position on whether a liberal society was possible if a large part of the population was non-white.³⁷

In the post-abolition period, an anguishing question dominated the thought of the Brazilian elite: how to promote the image of the country and raise it from the backward position with a racially mixed population. Abolitionism as well as all reform thought in Brazil grew out of the nineteenth century European liberalism that had accompanied the Industrial Revolution, rapid urbanization and economic growth (such as in the U.S.). These changes had been made possible by the application of science and technology, thus European faith in liberalism seemed justified by European economic prosperity. In Brazil, on the other hand, liberalism came out as a result of intellectual trends rather than any profound economic change. With no significant economic development, Brazilians were applying liberal ideas in a social context not significantly different from the world of their fathers.³⁸

Brian Owensby, professor of history at University of Virginia, argues on the intimate relationship between *race and liberalism*.³⁹ First, he asserts that race and racism are not merely unhappy accidents of modern Western cultures. “They are immanent if veiled aspects of liberal development itself. This is what makes thinking about race so difficult – racism is the ghost in liberalism’s ideological machinery.”⁴⁰ In simpler words, race was the way European and Anglo-American elites found to *naturalize* the inequalities that persisted among human beings after the economic revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and during the European colonialism in the nineteenth century. Owensby explains, “What came to be seen as unignorable physical

difference later took form as the scientific ‘fact’ of racial difference, a development that successfully papered over the contradiction between the idea of racial innateness and the axiom of universal human equality.”⁴¹ Race was an effort to naturalize the inferiority of “backward” people that seemed to resist the idea of unfolding progress – natives, colonials, and retrograde internal populations.

Secondly, Owensby draws attention to the dual characteristic of liberal societies, where people are, at the same time, *individuals* denuded of marks of distinction (because equal) and the concrete *persons* that human beings are in daily life. Whites, he says, can integrate those two roles in racialized, liberal societies. But nonwhites cannot project a public *persona* free of that which brands them as being of *another* race – that is, they have a constitutive ‘otherness.’ The historian puts it this way, “The demands of *purity, wholeness, and coherence* (my emphasis), in other words, impose heavy psychological and political burdens on nonwhites in social orders dominated by liberal categories.”⁴²

Owensby’s approach offers a reasonable explanation for the case of the United States, an extremely racialized, liberal society. At the same time, he sees in Brazil’s *cordial racism*⁴³ (where all the races *socially* live as one group) a way beyond traditional liberalism. While in the first point that he raises the North American and Brazilian (many of European ascendance) elites converge, in the second matter they differ. Brazilian nation-builders had to construct in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a different conception of race and nation to Brazil. Owensby emphasizes the enormous challenge that Brazilian nation-builders faced by forging unity from a diverse population at a time when the very idea of nation was thought to require a kind of racial purity Brazil simply could not claim.⁴⁴

At the time, Social Darwinism ideas predominated among European thinkers, who produced an explanation for Europe's greater economic success. They divided hierarchically the cultures and ethnicities, grouping them under the name of 'race' and classifying them as superior or inferior. The Indian and African cultures were placed in the lowest levels and the top was occupied by the European cultures, specially the English and German branches.⁴⁵ Those apologias for European superiority were exported to Latin America along with liberalism. They created an uncomfortable paradox for the thinking Brazilian because Brazil was seen as the product of three racial streams – white European, black African, and indigenous Indian.⁴⁶ For Brazilian intellectual elites it was a problem, a sign of 'degeneration' in Brazil's population.

If the racial mixing was a problem, the solution founded by the elites was to 'whiten' Brazilian population until dissolving the African or Indian heritages in the individuals' appearance. The idea was to mix the population to the point that the white physical characteristics could predominate. Thus, after the abolition a search for immigrant labor was started through state policies and propaganda, a procedure also held by other Latin American countries, such as Argentina and Chile.⁴⁷ In the United States, the threat of racially dangerous population and miscegenation were met more brutally, according to Owensby, "by exterminating the Native Americans and fencing African Americans off from wider society through legal segregation."⁴⁸

Race and the Making of Nation

Racial categories and hierarchies have been reconstructed and redefined by the changes both of these societies experienced. While the concept of race served to build

nations, it was also constructed, and reconstructed, in struggles over power and representation. In discussing the way race has evolved in the U.S. and Brazil, historian George Fredrickson points out Pierre van den Berghe's *Race and Racism* as a remarkable work in comparative racial relations. The book compared the historical evolution of racial orders in the U.S., Brazil, South Africa, and Mexico. Pierre van den Berghe argued that abolition occasioned a shift from a paternalistic to a competitive form of race relations, meaning that racism was likely intensified rather than diminished by the end of slavery. As Fredrickson has observed, "It was the fear of economic and social competition in rapidly modernizing societies that, according to van den Berghe, produced Jim Crow laws in the United States and 'native segregation' and apartheid in South Africa."⁴⁹

In the Latin American cases (Brazil and Mexico), van den Berghe's *Race and Racism* identified more traditional social hierarchies based on class and culture. Because they were less modernized and retained strong elements of paternalism in their social attitudes and arrangements, they had not manifested exclusionary tendencies. In the U.S. and South Africa, on the other hand, he saw a blend of "rigid racial hierarchies with the norm of equal rights and full political participation for all whites".⁵⁰

However, as Fredrickson observes, revisionist studies of patterns of race in the U.S. have suggested that the binary black-white system and descent rule were not firmly established in the colonial period. They became hard-and-fast only in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Fredrickson tells that in the antebellum Deep South before the 1850s, mulattos generally occupied a privileged position relative to blacks, especially in Louisiana and South Carolina. "Furthermore," he explains, "some states defined as Negro only those with a black grandparent, making it possible for a few families with known

African ancestry to become white.”⁵¹ The historian says that discrimination against mulattos surged in the 1850s because of the sectional controversy over slavery and the racism that it evoked. Yet, the ‘one-drop rule’ to define who was black was legislated only in the Jim Crow era around the turn of the century, with the term ‘mulatto’ persisting as a U.S. census category until 1920.

Pierre van den Berghe’s theory on the less exclusionary tendencies in Latin America could be considered regarding Brazilian slave masters.⁵² It cannot be applied, however, to the Brazilian political and intellectual elites at the abolitionist age (1888) because they echoed the racial hierarchies rooted in the scientific ideology of the nineteenth century.⁵³ Positivistic philosophy dominated the thinking of the Brazilian elites who shaped the First Republic from 1889, after a coup d’etat. Their motto was *Order and Progress*, which was inscribed in the Brazilian national flag.⁵⁴

As Kim Butler notices, the sense of order as *hierarchy* played a role even in the shape of the ideological orientation of Brazilians in relation to skin color. Because skin color was applied in a hierarchical order, “Brazilians tended to conceptualize it as a spectrum and not merely a dichotomy between black and white,” he explains.⁵⁵ But order symbolically represented much more to those elites: it signified security and continuity of the old social hierarchies. ‘Order’ meant social control of the ‘dangerous classes’, the disenfranchised masses. Kim Butler puts it this way:

In order for elites to enjoy the benefits of progress with no threat to their hegemony, they needed to maintain the principles of hierarchy and social control established in the colonial era. Indeed, elites themselves displayed a colonial way of thinking as they planned to manipulate people, technology, and the environment for their own benefit. Their visions for the future were captured in a single word of almost magical implications – progress.⁵⁶

Therefore, the historiography's analysis shows that the Brazilians elites, as well as whites in the U.S. South, were also interested in maintaining the privileges that they had before the abolition, keeping the dangerous classes under control. The influence of racial determinism in nineteenth century Brazilian thought and the state policies of immigration to 'whiten' the population suggest that racism could have worsened in the post-abolition period in Brazil as well. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the scientific ideology culminated in the eugenicist movement,⁵⁷ which had been present in Brazil, giving evidence that racism worsened in the period of post-abolition.⁵⁸

Additionally, nineteenth century Brazil already exhibited a complex system of racial classification (pluralistic, multiracial) that became correlated with class positions in the social structure.⁵⁹ Class took a *racialized* nature in Latin American countries such as Brazil, where darker and lighter, in terms of appearance and race, are highly correlated with the lower and upper extremes of the social structure.⁶⁰ As Skidmore observes, the limits of social mobility depended on the appearance (the more 'Negroid,' the less mobile) and the degree of cultural 'whiteness' (education, manners, wealth) that racially-mixed Brazilians (mulattos) were able to attain.⁶¹

But what is more important to notice here is the changing character of race and *racisms* over the time both in Brazil and the United States. Those changes sometimes occurred in the process of cultural exchanges between the two countries, where diplomacy, scholarship on comparative race relations and black activism played a role in influencing each other. Furthermore, it was the same way that, at different historical moments, national identities were constituted as racial identities and vice versa, race also is often transformed in step with the demands of nation-making.⁶² If race helped to

construct narratives of nation, those nation-building mythic narratives were also used to change racial relations. Race relations, therefore, have evolved along with the nation-states.

Oswenby draws attention to the making of *cordial* racism in Brazil, which is tied up to the establishment of Brazilian national identity. The scholar claims that it highlights “the indissoluble relationship between race and national belonging.”⁶³ The idea of racial democracy became synonymous with *Brasilidade* (Brazilian in character or nature). Brazil is seen as the country where all the races and nationalities live in harmony. According to Owensby, “Brazilian national identity had to be built on the racial fault line that ran through what was supposed to be the unshifting bedrock of undifferentiated liberal individualism that made the idea of unified nations imaginable.”⁶⁴

Beyond the intense immigration after the abolition, the publication of Gilberto Freyre’s *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (The Masters and the Slaves) contributed to undermine the racial pessimism that dominated Brazilian nation-builders. Published in the 1930s, the book was a landmark in the studies of Brazil’s cultural formation. Freyre inverted the eugenics’ notion of white superiority, pointing out miscegenation as the ideal of race improvement.⁶⁵ Whereas Brazilian eugenicists looked for the whitening as a way of erasing the genetic heritage of the population, Freyre celebrated the cultural contributions of Africans and Indians to Brazilian national character.

However, Freyre’s ideas fitted in with wishes of the eugenicists/nationalists of Brazil. Nancy Stepan argues that a positive image of the mixed-race Brazilian was tied to a new ideology of work and modernization. According to her, “A myth of *national identity* (my emphasis) in keeping with needs of the modern state was thereby articulated.

Intellectually, the representative figure of the 1930s was the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre.”⁶⁶

Freyre published the book after his return to Brazil from the United States, where he lived while obtaining a bachelor’s at Baylor University and a master’s degree at Columbia University. While studying at Columbia University, he had come under the influence of Franz Boas, an antiracist and outspoken critic of the scientific racism. The Brazilian sociologist learned from him an antiracist and cultural orientation. Helped by Gilberto Freyre’s work, therefore, the U.S. scholarship on race appeared in the shaping of Brazil’s racial relations and national identity. Even the idea of “racial democracy”, as Seigel observes, was forged in a transnational and comparative context, because it was contrasted with the racial segregation in the largest democracy of the world.⁶⁷

The concept of racial democracy was extremely influential in the United States, too. During the pre-Civil Rights era, scholars and journalists in the U.S. routinely contrasted race relations in Brazil and the United States, usually to the discredit of the latter. As Carl Degler and John French have noticed, those studies received a warm welcome from North Americans wishing to point out the racist character of race relations in the United States, and strong approval in Brazil from those who wanted to emphasize the racial democracy of the country.⁶⁸

Seigel asserts that the comparative ideas about race in the United States and Brazil – that is, the twin *myths* of racial democracy and racial purity – enjoyed such prestige from the 1930s through 1960s that they shaped the way the state codified racial categories and dictated political possibilities for contesting racism.⁶⁹ In the decades

before, the contrast of “North American progress” and “South American stagnation” also provided an alibi for state policies that preserved social hierarchies. As Seigel puts it,

The contrast between racial harmony in Brazil and purity in the United States helped explain and defend exceptionalisms on both sides: U.S. civilization, modernity, industry, practicality, and progress, and Brazilian cordiality, shortsightedness, sensuality, passivity, chaos, and the masses’ need for discipline. Brazil–United States comparisons served to prove Jim Crow segregation appropriate and necessary in North American contexts, and to validate proposals for the whitening of Brazil.⁷⁰

In fact, the two national *myths* were constructed by means of the contrast with their opposites. While Brazilian nation-builders were constructing Brazil as a country of miscegenation, U. S. white elites struggled to construct the North Americans as a people of ‘racial purity.’ Manning Marable, professor of history at Columbia University, comments that “[o]ver several centuries, white Americans successfully constructed their own distinct racial universe, a white supremacist worldview in which, as Wilkins argued, ‘white people’s versions of the way things were *are* the way things are; that black people’s version of the way things were are discredited at the source and thus may be discounted without any attempt at analysis’”⁷¹ As persons’ identities, those of the nations were also defined in relation to the Other.⁷²

Struggles over Meaning

The turning point for more positive interpretations of Brazil’s race relations in the United States occurred as an intended political project of African American journalists and scholars, such as W.E.B. Du Bois. As Seigel observes, “Comparisons of Brazil and the United States devoted to maintaining the racial hierarchies of the status quo clashed

and meshed with comparisons by African American and other antiracist observers intended to disrupt them.”⁷³

Du Bois challenged Theodore Roosevelt’s insufficient recognition of Brazil’s racial equity. Roosevelt had traveled to Brazil in 1913 ⁷⁴ and come back home claiming that racial conflict at the U.S was “unfortunate but inevitable, given the nation’s exceptional pace of growth.” ⁷⁵ He stated, however, that, according to a Brazilian informant, Brazil was becoming uniformly white, while in the U.S., ‘negroes’ remained a ‘menacing element;’ among other things he undervalued the role of blacks in Brazilian formation. ⁷⁶

In depicting Du Bois’ maneuver to make a point against U.S. segregation, Seigel tells the following: “Roosevelt’s ‘timidity’ distorted the facts, Du Bois charged; Roosevelt lied in claiming that Brazilians regarded the Negro element in their blood as ‘a slight weakening.’ In fact, claimed Du Bois, Brazilians felt no reluctance at all to embrace the Afro-descended among them, showing U.S. conditions to be needlessly severe.”⁷⁷

According to Seigel, in the 1910s and early 1920s, Du Bois worked to control the *meaning* of the United States–Brazil comparisons. He used his position as editor of the *Crisis*, the organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to distribute his own and others’ work on the issue. For Seigel, there was an ideological shift managed by African American scholars who were interested in using the idea of Brazil’s freedom from racism and abundant racial mixture to critique U.S. racism.⁷⁸ Therefore, it did not happen as a consequence of scholar naivety in drawing a rosy picture of Brazilian race relations.

Similarly, African-American leaders from the 1930s to the 1960s strategically used the regnant cultural nationalism of the era to promote social changes, struggling over the meanings attributed to American national symbols. From 1939 to the mid-1960s, black activists mobilized mainstream U.S. national symbols in order to have a cultural language to speak to white America and to elicit support. The stories and values of American history were vital resources. For winning political and legal rights for blacks, the cultural historian Scott Sandage observes, they left the famous picket sign “I am a man,” morally compelling, for a more focused message: “I am American.”⁷⁹

That way of fighting by racial equity also reflects an intended shift in the black political agenda, which left a worldwide critique of racism for a criticism focused on the gaps between the American democratic ideal and the lack of racial justice. As Marable reports, “Indeed, for several centuries, African-American leaders and the Black Freedom Movement took the view that racism as a system of structural inequality had to be critiqued globally, in a worldwide context, rather than as an exclusively American ordeal.”⁸⁰

Undoubtedly, African-Americans were agents of the changes in race relations in the United States, through the many political actions that culminated in the 1964 Civil Rights outlawing the racial segregation. The strategy of black activists like Martin Luther King around the Civil Rights movement was to use the feeling of *nationalism* to fight for equality between blacks and whites. Scott A. Sandage argues, for example, that African-Americans’ struggles to hold a series of rallies at the Lincoln Memorial between 1939 and 1963 constituted a tactical learning experience that contributed to the civil rights movement’s strategies of nonviolent action. He says that “within the sacred, national

space of the memorial, activists perfected a complex ritual of mass politics, one that exploited the ambiguities of cherished American values to circumvent opposition, unify coalitions, and legitimate black voices in national politics.”⁸¹

Sandage posits the Lincoln Memorial as a memory site in the American culture. The monument was conceived as a symbol of national consensus, linking North and South on holy, national ground since Lincoln reestablished the Union in winning the Civil War.⁸² This symbolism in the collective memory of the American people was strategically used by African-American leaders for earning empathy from the public opinion for the civil rights movement. The Lincoln Memorial as the place of a famous 1939 concert and 1963 march for civil rights publicized these events and helped to achieve the movement’s purposes.⁸³ “They made the past a resource,” asserts Sandage, “and made Lincoln a signifier of the dissonance between America’s professed and achieved values.”⁸⁴

In the strong feeling of cultural nationalism related to the Cold War period, the civil rights movement successfully highlighted the paradoxes of U.S. democracy, challenging the meaning of ‘Americanism’ as national unity. Sandage puts it this way:

Striving to make racial justice an essential component of the American Way of Life during decades ruled by a complacent cultural nationalism, they redefined the American Way by counterexample – praying in their ‘Sunday best’ on a national stage and creating events that could be neither ignored nor suppressed. Protesters used a national shrine as a kind of Trojan horse, evoking the specter of militancy in the capital through peaceful rituals that celebrated national values even as they strove to change them.⁸⁵

Another important point is that Lincoln, as a symbol of nation and white magnanimity, had become more significant than the idea of emancipation or civil rights. Black activists found out a symbolic language to communicate with white America in the

public appeals to Lincoln and national memory. By transforming the monument to the ‘protest palace,’ African-Americans claimed it “as their own, very powerful memory site.”⁸⁶ Thus African-American civic leaders got to ‘appropriate’ the monument as their memory site, placing blacks at the center of American history. In other words, they appealed to memory to make race a national issue, projecting the civil rights cause into the mainstream of debates about national values and the American way.

Race and the Press in America.

Manning Marable observes that within each successive racial domain in American history, the boundaries of ‘whiteness’ and ‘blackness’ have never been fixed. “They have been continually rearticulated and renegotiated as the political economy of American society was transformed successively from agricultural to industrial production, and as civil society and political institutions were increasingly forced to incorporate racialized minorities as participants in democratic life.”⁸⁷ The changes in the way that the media represented minorities are among the aspects of that incorporation.

Initially, only African-American newspapers, among the media, gave voice to black communities in the United States. Like the black activists and scholars, the African American newspapers had a role in challenging the white power structure and highlighting racial inequalities. The journalism historian David Sloan tells that large numbers of African-American newspapers were started in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – a total around 2,700. According to the scholar, “As black and white communities became increasingly separate worlds in the first decades of the twentieth

century, African-American newspapers served as a platform for action to secure civil rights.”⁸⁸

This can be also explained by the fact that there was racial segregation within the newsrooms as well. White newspapers refused to hire minorities and covered racial issues usually as crime reports. Thus the black press was crucial to provide service to the black community. In the first decades of the twentieth century, Sloan reports, “Most cities with sizeable African-American populations sustained black newspapers that protested against discrimination as well as offered social and cultural news missing from white publications.”⁸⁹

In one aspect, race and class have been mixed in the United States: minorities in general are placed in the opposite side to the upper-middle class, white male sectors of society. In an excerpt in Maurine Beasley and Sheila Gibbons’ *Taking Their Place*, journalism scholar Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte quotes Hebert Gans. The sociologist said in the 1980s that the news supports the social order of public, business and professional upper middle-class, middle-aged and white male sectors of society, which do not share the perspectives of minorities. She notes that Gans alleges, “When all other things are equal, the news pays most attention to and upholds the actions of elite individuals and elite institutions.”⁹⁰ Mercedes Lynn de Uriarte points out that historically many of these news media fought integration or at least maintained a soft disapproval of segregation.⁹¹

As Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff’s *The Race Beat* tells us, the white American mainstream press, in showing the world the racial injustice that African-Americans faced, was essential for the achievement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. “With constant pressure from the civil rights movement and constant coverage by the press [,]

change came,” they state.⁹² It is not surprising, therefore, that the press was a central concern of black leaders in the history of the civil rights movement. Occasionally, they strategically opt for certain events at particular places in order to add *news value* to the demonstration, as Sandage shows.⁹³

The historian also draws attention to black activists’ skill at *press relations*, in generating [favorable] editorials about national values on key moments of the segregation history.⁹⁴ Somehow they achieved what the sociologist Gunnar Myrdal – who is quoted in Roberts and Klibanoff’s *The Race Beat* – pointed out as the solution to the race ‘problem’ in the United States. In the 1940s, Swede Gunnar Myrdal worked on a book about U.S. structural racism, which he called *The American Dilemma* – a historical study of America’s racial conflict. He asserted that “To get publicity is of the highest strategic importance to Negro people.”⁹⁵ According to Roberts and Klibanoff, “Gunnar Myrdal had been astonishingly prophetic when he wrote in the early 1940s that if the mainstream press told the southern racial story, the rest of the nation would be ‘shocked and shaken’ and demand sweeping changes.”⁹⁶ Yet, the mainstream press broke the story not just nationally but worldwide, revealing the ‘wells’ of American democracy to a world that lived the Cold War period.

When Myrdal pointed out U.S. structural racism as “An American Dilemma”, the white mainstream press simply did not think of racism in the United States as a news worthy story.⁹⁷ As Roberts and Klibanoff explain, “The segregation of the Negro in America, by law in the South and by neighborhood and social and economic stratification in the North, had engulfed the press as well as America’s citizens. The mainstream American press wrote about whites but seldom about Negro Americans or discrimination

against them; that was left to the Negro press.”⁹⁸ They state that Myrdal understood that white newspapers were written for whites and Negro papers for Negroes. Thus, when Myrdal talked about publicizing he was referring to the white mainstream press working to overcome “the opportunistic desire of the whites for ignorance.”⁹⁹

Roberts and Klibanoff draw attention to the fact that the civil rights movements grew to be the most dynamic *American news story* of the last half of the twentieth century. They put it this way: “There is little in American society that was not altered by the civil rights movement. There is little in the civil rights movement that was not changed by the news coverage of it. And there is little in the way the news media operate that was not influenced by their coverage of the movement.”¹⁰⁰ A symbiotic relationship between the [liberal] mainstream news media and the civil rights movement, therefore, is revealed. In such context, the movement was *constructed* by the black civic leaders and the mainstream press as ‘The American news story’ of current times. It provides *symbolic capital* to the African-American identity within the United States.¹⁰¹

Regional Racism in Brazil

The innately different constructions of race in the United States and Brazil imply distinct forms of *racism* as well. In Brazil, ‘race’ is a social construct that was shaped in particular ways. The conceptions of race in Brazil contrastingly differ from the ‘white-black’ identity model of the United States, so clearly defined. Brazilian ideas of identity and culture are much more complex and ‘ambiguous.’ Between the black and the white there is a multiple mode of color gradation in which Brazilians conduct their social lives.¹⁰²

In such ambiguity, mixed race Brazilians have seen an opportunity to negotiate identity and socially ascend in Brazil, as Carl Degler's famous 'mulato escape-hatch' thesis suggested in the 1970s. Likewise, this complexity made it possible for groups of Middle Easterners and Asians immigrants, who were not white in the U.S. and Northern Europe, to negotiate national identity and, simultaneously, fit in the Brazilian conception of 'whiteness.' As the historian Jeffrey Lesser observes, an ideology of double assimilation behind the state policies for the immigrants linked immigration to the construction of the national identity. He explains the idea: "as colonists became Brazilian, Brazil would become European."¹⁰³

Words like 'immigrant' and 'Brazilian' came to have much of the same fluidity as 'race,' applicable to present residents or potential ones, to those born inside and outside of Brazil. It permitted to those immigrants who were out of the desired [European] standard, and their descendents, to develop sophisticated and successful ways of becoming Brazilian. They altered the notion of nation as proposed by those in dominant positions. Those immigrants' experiences show the transformation of 'whiteness' as a cultural category. The ethnicities that they brought and constructed in Brazil were situational rather than immutable primordial identities.¹⁰⁴

Immigrants, mulattos and *caboclos* (Brazilian of mixed Indian and white ancestry), all of them, in negotiating their national and racial identities in Brazil, were agents of their own transformations and their broader society's, such as African-Americans in the United States.¹⁰⁵ Although they resisted to social hierarchies through formulations which were outside of the officially constituted 'political' field in Brazil, this struggle should not be underestimated. They culturally challenged the established

social and racial hierarchies.¹⁰⁶ As a result, there is in Brazil a tension between two narratives of nations: one of the elites and the other of the [ordinary] *people*. Historically, that division became very clear during the years of Getulio Vargas' presidency (from 1930 to 1945), who has been pointed up as a populist leader.

Bryan McCann highlights the cultural arena remarkably democratic during the 1930s and 1940s, when Vargas was president.¹⁰⁷ The popular culture, mainly popular music in the 1930s and 1940s (such as the *samba*), shared certain nationalist themes with the political rhetoric of Vargas. Public and commercial broadcast fitted in Vargas' agenda, since he searched popular support to implement reforms. Radio was the medium for inspiring a broad population with a message of inclusion and common struggle. However, the bureaucratic machine of Vargas' government had to negotiate with the popular taste through the radio broadcast in order to construct a national culture. Also, Afro-Brazilian *sambistas* (samba musicians) engaged the cultural market and "played crucial roles in shaping new cultural expressions."¹⁰⁸

A struggle over the narrative of nation was delineated at the time. There was an ideological 'war' between the lower classes – the poor and the political sectors that searched a more inclusive nationalism, representing the *people* – and the other elites who incorporated a colonialist, Eurocentric posture.¹⁰⁹ Those elites were concentrated mainly in the state of Sao Paulo, which became a symbol of modernity, industrialism and progress in Brazil. Emblematic of this ideological war is the Constitutionalist Revolution of 1932, which involved Sao Paulo against the Vargas regime.

Nowhere in Brazil were the effects of elites' efforts to 'Europeanize' the country more strongly felt than in Sao Paulo, in the southeast region.¹¹⁰ As George Reid Andrews

explains, “In the forty years following emancipation Sao Paulo received over two million European immigrants.”¹¹¹ Nancy Stepan reports that by 1907, “Italians alone outnumbered Brazilians in the city by two to one.”¹¹² It is in Sao Paulo, too, where Afro-Brazilians have generally sought inclusion in mainstream Brazilian society through black militant mobilization.¹¹³ The state where the black/white dichotomy is more emphasized is the one that concentrates most successful black movements in Brazil, certainly as a social reaction to more obvious inequality.

As the historian Barbara Weinstein explains, the *Paulista* identity “became associated in Brazilian culture not only with industry, modernity, economic progress, but also with whiteness, and a particular narrative of Brazilian History that marginalized the role of Afro-Brazilians in the construction of the nation.”¹¹⁴ Weinstein argues that even after the 1930s, when the myth of racial democracy emerged in the country, “there continued to be a plurality of discourses about race and its place in Brazilian national identity, and that these were intimately connected to regional identities.”¹¹⁵

According to Weinstein, in a ‘racially democratic’ nation where explicit discussion of race was increasingly frowned upon, regional identity could conveniently stand in for notions of blackness and whiteness.¹¹⁶

Barbara Weinstein reports that the movement that led to the 1932 Revolution emerged in Sao Paulo, as the dominant classes of the state were discharged from power positions. It culminated in a three month, full-scale civil war between an insurgent state government and the federal force. Although the movement presented its vindications in fiscal and political terms, its implicit claim that the region’s prosperity is a consequence

of its population's superior cultural attributes is an argument that suggests the presence of racist ideologies.

Weinstein asserts, "In crafting this discourse of regional superiority, *Paulistas* drew upon racialized assumptions about modernity and civilization shared by elites through Brazilian society."¹¹⁷ The scholar identified in the outbreak of this civil war an opportunity to study the tension between the *Paulista* elites who considered themselves culturally "superior" and the "backward" rest of Brazil.¹¹⁸ It also shows a conflict between a more inclusive discourse of 'racial democracy' and a discourse of *Paulista* cultural superiority.

In the discourse of *Paulista* superiority, the rest of the nation served as the 'other.' The Constitutionalist campaign focused mainly on derogatory representations of *nordestinos* and *nortistas* (people from the Northeast/North of Brazil), opposing them to the rich, modern and developed state of Sao Paulo. Northeastern Brazil has the largest population of African ancestry, and Indian descendants are, mainly, in the North. The myth of the *povo bandeirante* was part of the discourse of the Constitutionalist campaign. *Bandeirantes* were men who had their home base in Sao Paulo, from which they organized long-distance expeditions to explore the Brazilian interior during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in search of precious mineral to mine and Indians to enslave.¹¹⁹ Thus elites used regional identities to racially construct the nation. This racialized construction of the *Paulista* identity would survive and thrive long after the Constitutionalist Revolution.

President Lula's Trajectory

The story of Lula's life gave him legitimacy and authenticity to be the voice of the ones that he classifies as "unprotected" in his speeches. A former union leader, Lula was born in a state of the Northeast, the poorest region of Brazil, and raised in a low income home with his mother as the breadwinner, since his father abandoned his family during Lula's childhood. Although he could not afford to have a college degree in his youth, he rose to the highest political office of the country. Because of this journey he became a symbol of social mobility in Brazil, where many barriers to social ascension and much social prejudice exist.¹²⁰ Additionally, Lula overcame the fear of a radical and disastrous government. In fact, he was only elected after losing three campaigns for the Brazilian presidency. If in earlier campaigns, he coined a slogan, "Without fear of being happy,"¹²¹ when he won the presidential election, it was said that "hope defeated fear."¹²²

In a conservative and elitist country such as Brazil, a former union leader as Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva has to work very hard to become president. Understanding the political context in Brazil is necessary to perceive how unusual having an ex-metalworker and union leader was in the highest political office of the nation.¹²³ Lula became an example of social mobility uncommon in Brazil.¹²⁴ To achieve such mobility he had to change his image as a radical and aggressive union leader and adopted a conciliating and peaceful posture. Further, he had to defeat the Brazilians citizens' fear that his rule would be disastrous.¹²⁵

At the end of the 1970's, the military dictatorship began the so- called *abertura*, an openness "slow and gradual," as highlighted by the Army. This openness created the conditions that allowed the unionist movement to be reborn. In 1979, a strike of 80

thousand metalworkers occurred in Sao Paulo – the wealthiest state of Brazil and the one where the biggest industries are concentrated. Because it was violently repressed with armed helicopters, this strike transformed the local metalworkers' union president, Lula, into a hero. During the military rule, he led many strikes and was even arrested.¹²⁶

The Workers Party was established in 1980, and with it Lula's links with the intellectual, political and religious sectors. Lula became president of the Workers Party, and he was candidate in the first direct election for president, in 1989, after the end of the dictatorship. Lula lost to the one who was considered the candidate of the elites, Fernando Collor de Melo. Although Collor presented himself as the president who would end corruption, he was caught in a corruption scandal. Collor was impeached by the Brazilian House and the vice-president assumed the rule. The sociologist Fernando Henrique Cardoso won the following presidential election. Cardoso had worked as minister of the Economy in the previous government, when he had begun a successful plan to end the inflation. Later, Cardoso was reelected and Lula lost the election for the third time.¹²⁷

Lula had already decided against participating in a new election, but he was convinced to try once more by the leadership of the Workers Party. His presence as a candidate in all the previous presidential elections led other parties and the electors to choose candidates who could prevent his victory.¹²⁸ Brazil is, traditionally, a conservative country where the middle classes and the mainstream media supported the military coup in 1964 for fear of the power of the unionist movement and the communism.¹²⁹ Many Brazilians feared Lula's radical and aggressive image as a union leader. A change in his image and political strategy was designed in each disputed election. And it came slowly,

through the alliances with other parties and the softening of his public image. Lula changed clothes, put a smile on his face and became then the “Lulinha paz e amor” (Little Lula, peace and love), as the people in the streets and the Brazilian press called his new phase in 2002.¹³⁰

The change in the election of 2002 was much more apparent. Lula cut his links with a radical and older leftist political leader, Leonel Brizola, who had been involved in the political crisis which resulted in the military coup in 1964, Leonel Brizola. In earlier campaigns, Brizola ran as his vice-president.¹³¹ In 2002, Lula brought, as vice-president, Jose Alencar, an entrepreneur and politician from the Right-wing representing a conservative sector of the society. In addition, in the second turn of that election, he made alliances with politicians of diverse parties.¹³² Thus, he gained the victory: negotiating with the elites, as the union’s leaders negotiate with their bosses to reach better work conditions.

Although feared by the political conservative forces and the financial markets, Lula had popular support. He started the government with the polls indicating his high popularity: 80 percent of the Brazilian population trusted him and, 72 percent approved his government.¹³³ Further, he was elected with the majority of the votes in a country of 180 million inhabitants, where most of citizens 18 years old and older vote, because voting is compulsory. In 2002, 68.2% of the Brazilian population voted in the presidential election.¹³⁴ Despite the obligation to vote in Brazil, many voters do not show up to vote. This happens for several reasons, such as the lack of information about how and where to vote. It also happens for financial reasons since many people live far from the polling places and becomes expensive to get there.

Obama's Journey to the White House

The life story of Barack Obama gave him legitimacy and authenticity enough to present himself as a “unifier” of an America marked by its history of racism and divided by the black-white dichotomy. The son of a white woman from Kansas and a black man from Kenya, Obama was born and grew up in Hawaii, where he was raised by his mother’s parents, in a white American family. Because of his biracial family ¹³⁵ he could appeal to the two sides of a polarized America during the presidential campaign, overcoming racial barriers in U.S. mainstream politics. His rhetorical skills reinforced his power of symbolically *unifying* America on the racial issues (although avoiding a black activist posture, and using this as a political strategy). ¹³⁶ The appeal to his African-American identity, however, had been present since the very beginning of the presidential campaign. Beyond his evident (black) physical appearance, there was also his father’s family inheritance and the meaningful slogan he coined: “Yes, We Can.”

In a racialized country such as the United States, an African-American politician had to have geniality and very strong political skills in order to achieve the highest office of the nation, becoming the first black president of the United States. Additionally, his calm and secure temperament worked as an “antidote” to the polarized, overheated political environment in the United States, ideologically divided by partisan politics between Democrats and Republicans. ¹³⁷ It is important to understand the political context of the United States when the presidential race takes place: a country politically disputed by two parties with numerous popular supporters, with minorities mostly (but not totally) voting for the Democratic party (if they vote), and the most conservative sectors of American society voting for the Republican party. The presidential office, however, had

traditionally been occupied by a white, male, mainstream American politician before Obama. Hence, he became a symbol of the African American integration in the American society, and a landmark for the black population in terms of the status of their racial identity. The press pointed him out as proof that the nation had transcended its racial history.¹³⁸

To achieve the highest office of the United States, Barack Obama had to surpass victimization and racial skepticism from both sides of black/white America. Again, his life story was quite helpful. Obama graduated with a degree in political science from Columbia University in 1983 and entered Harvard Law School in 1988. Since he was black, he could be considered tailed by the “affirmative action stigma,” threatening his educational achievements. Obama turned the tables when he became the first African-American editor of the *Harvard Law review*, a position he could have only achieved through merit.¹³⁹ This position for an African-American, gave him enough prestige to get a book contract and publish his memoirs in 1995.¹⁴⁰ Obama became a living example of minorities succeeding against the odds. He incorporated into himself an optimistic message about the promise of the American dream, which he called “the audacity of hope.”¹⁴¹ Thus, he worked as an agent of the moralistic myth of the American dream in its purest sense,¹⁴² causing passion in his supporters and becoming a national celebrity even before he started to run for the U.S. presidency.

Before entering the race for the U.S. presidency on February 10, 2007 – when he announced the decision to launch his candidacy for the Democrat party – Barack Obama was an Illinois state senator for three terms, from 1996 to 2004. In 2000, he had an unsuccessful attempt in the Democratic primary for a seat in the U.S. Senate. He tried

again in the race for the U.S. Senate in 2003, finally becoming a U.S. senator from 2005 to 2008, the third African-American elected to U.S. Senate since the Reconstruction.

Although his life story is appealing, three occasions are said to be as essential to making his campaign for presidency possible. They were (1) October 2002, when he spoke out against the Iraq war, pitting himself as an opponent of George W. Bush on the war, (2) March 2004, when he unexpectedly won the Democratic Senate primary for the U.S. Senate, (3) and July 2004, when he was a keynote speaker at the 2004 Democratic Convention in Boston, Massachusetts, seen as the defining moment of his career.¹⁴³

As a keynote speaker at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, Obama thrilled millions because he seemed to offer a strikingly new vision of the American dream. He used several forms of identification to demonstrate the essential similarity of the different factions of the American people, and thus create a sense of identification with the nation as a whole. He referred to “a tolerant America,” a country in which “your name is no barrier to hope” and where “one’s ultimate identity is not tied to race, region, or religion.”¹⁴⁴ He stated, “There is not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America – there’s the United States of America.”¹⁴⁵ In short, Obama recast the American dream and politics through a nationalism that united U.S. citizens of different racial backgrounds under the umbrella of *Americans*.

Obama made public his life story, a tale of American Dream, through his two books and remarkable speeches. His story comes grounded on the larger dreams of his father – growing up in a humble African existence – and his union with a white American woman from Kansas, whose family had big dreams for her as well. The connection of their lives and love, which produced Obama, would create and represent the immigrant

experience. Obama was the progeny and result of two people who lived the American dream.¹⁴⁶ In that manner, he recast the American dream and American politics, focusing on reclaiming the romantic narrative of the American dream for liberals (as opposed to conservatives).¹⁴⁷

By enacting elements of the American dream in his speeches, Obama was able to establish a connection between his public image and U.S. national identity – with its myths, symbolisms, and systems of cultural representations. The voters reaffirmed it, and Obama beat his opponents, primary Hillary Clinton to become the nominee of the Democratic party in June 2008, then won against Republican John McCain, in the November 2008 election, becoming the 44th president of the United States in January 2009. He won the 2008 elections with 53 percent of the popular vote. It was the highest percentage won by a Democrat since Lyndon Johnson, in 1964 and the party's first victory with more than 50 percent of the vote since Jimmy Carter's win in 1976.¹⁴⁸

Notes

¹ As Stuart Hall notices, “[W]hat is said about racial difference could equally be applied in many instances to other dimensions of difference, such as gender, sexuality, class and disability.” *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1997), 225.

² As Micol Seigel notices, “The comparison of race in these two nation-states constitutes one of the richest veins of comparative history available. According to one observer, Brazil and the United States are drawn into comparison more often than any other pair in writing on ‘racial relations’ in the twentieth century.” “Beyond Compare: Comparative Method after the Transnational Turn,” *Radical History Review* 91, (Winter 2005), 67.

³ Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc., 1971), 3.

⁴ George M. Fredrickson, “Race and Racism in Historical Perspective: Comparing the United States, South Africa, and Brazil,” in *Beyond Racism: Race and Inequality in Brazil, South Africa, and the United States*, eds. Charles V. Hamilton et al. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2-3.

⁶ Fredrickson, "Race and Racism," 4; Owensby, "Brazil's 'Cordial' Racism," 319 (see chapter 1, n.202); Degler, *Neither Black nor White*.

⁷ Fredrickson, "Race and Racism," 3.

⁸ Degler, *Neither Black nor White*, 19.

⁹ Fredrickson, "Race and Racism," 3.

¹⁰ Degler, *Neither Black nor White*, 19.

¹¹ Fredrickson, "Race and Racism," 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Degler, *Neither Black nor White*, 61.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹⁷ Robert M. Levine, *The History of Brazil* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 69-70.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.

²¹ Florestan Fernandes, "Cor e Estrutura Social em Mudanca," in Roger Bastide and Florestan Fernandes, eds., *Branços e Negros em Sao Paulo: Ensaio Sociologico sobre Aspectos da Formacao, Manifestacoes Atuais e Efeitos do Preconceito de Cor na Sociedade Paulistana*, 2nd ed. (Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1959), 77-161.

²² *Ibid.*, 139-140.

²³ Also, it occurred for a question of necessity, in order of populating the vast unpopulated territory of Brazil. Besides, racially mixed mulattos are also included here under the label of blacks.

²⁴ Fernandes, "Cor e Estrutura Social," 139.

²⁵ Skidmore, *Black into White*, 24.

²⁶ Seymour Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective," *The Hispanic American Review* 68, no. 3 (1988): 429-460.

²⁷ Skidmore, *Black into White*, 29.

²⁸ Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition," 429.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 454.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 455

³³ As Michael Vorenberg observes, “By itself, the Emancipation Proclamation did not free a single slave. That fact, well known by generation of historians, does not demean the proclamation.” *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1.

³⁴ Levine, *History of Brazil*, 70-71.

³⁵ Alexis de Tocqueville stated, “It is true that the Anglo-Saxons settled in the New World in a state of social equality; the low-born and the noble were not to be found amongst them; and professional prejudices were always as entirely unknown as the prejudices of birth.” *Democracy in America*, 369 (see chapter 1, n. 178).

³⁶ Skidmore, *Black into White*, 19.

³⁷ Ibid., 22.

³⁸ Ibid., 27.

³⁹ Oswenby, “Brazil’s ‘Cordial’ Racism,” 320.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ “The word ‘cordial’ is not casual. It is an allusion to Sergio Buarque de Holanda’s *Raizes do Brazil*, one of the canonical books of Brazilian national identity. Holanda held that the authentic Brazilian was a ‘cordial man,’ whose virtues and social being were rooted not in legal or institutional norms, but in a ‘rich and overflowing emotional source’ fed by deep rivers of intimate and familial relations. This ‘cordiality,’ he concluded, would be Brazil’s contribution to ‘civilization’ at large. (Ibid., 321).

⁴⁴ Ibid., 325.

⁴⁵ Skidmore, *Black into White*, 32-35.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁷ In Skidmore’s words: “Throughout the years between the end of the Empire and 1920, almost all educated Brazilians still assumed that Brazil could, indeed should, welcome immigrants, especially from Europe.” (Ibid., 124)

⁴⁸ Oswenby, “Brazil’s ‘Cordial’ Racism,” 327.

⁴⁹ Fredrickson, “Race and Racism,” 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 6.

⁵² On Brazilian farmers, Thomas Skidmore observes, “The system of social stratification gave the landowners (who were white – or occasionally light mulatto) a virtual monopoly of power – economic, social and political. The lower strata, including poor whites as well as most free colored, were well accustomed to submission and deference.” *Black into White*, 38-39.

⁵³ Kim Butler explains that the scientific ideology of the nineteenth century was steeped in the philosophical traditions of the Enlightenment, Darwinism, and Positivism. *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilian in Post-Abolition Sao Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1998), 24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁵⁷ In the U.S. the eugenicists (who aimed the genetic improvement of human race) started forced sterilization of the sick, unemployed, poor, criminals, prostitutes, and disabled during the presidency of Theodor Roosevelt who was, according to Seigel, “the North American champion of eugenics.” (Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 69)

⁵⁸ In Brazil, Nancy Stepan says, “Especially following abolition in 1888, science was increasingly used, as it had been in Europe since the Enlightenment, to define how much ‘nature’ would limit the social and political equality of blacks and mulattoes in the new republic.” *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 45.

⁵⁹ “Demographic ratios offer one clue. Brazil already had a large number of freemen of color before final abolition. Slaves probably outnumbered freemen (white and colored) in Brazil in the seventeenth century; and whites were never in a majority anywhere in Brazil, until immigration markedly altered the racial balance in several states of the South and Center-South.” (Skidmore, *Black into White*, 40)

⁶⁰ Jonh French, “The Missteps of Anti-Imperialist Reason: Bourdieu, Wacquant and Hanchard’s Orpheus and Power,” *Theory Culture Society* 17, no. 107 (2000), 120.

⁶¹ Skidmore, *Black into White*, 40.

⁶² Thomas Holt, “Foreword: The First New Nations,” in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne Macpherson, and Karin Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), ix-x.

⁶³ Owensby, “Brazil’s ‘Cordial Racism,’” 323.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 325.

⁶⁵ Nancy Stepan asserts that, in Brazil, “the themes of tropical and racial degeneration run through medical, bacteriological, and social writings from the early nineteenth century until well into the 1930s, the period of the revisionist theories of the sociologist Gilberto Freyre.” (Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 45).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.

⁶⁷ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 76.

⁶⁸ French, “Missteps of Anti-Imperialist Reason,” 120.

⁶⁹ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 76.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 71.

⁷¹ Manning Marable, *The Great Wells of Democracy: The Meaning of Race in American Life* (New York: Basic Civitas, 2002), 34.

⁷² Micol Seigel points out *comparison* as the process of relational self-definition. According to the scholar, “This is true for the formation of geopolitical entities as for individual subjects. The nation, like the self, emerges in relation to others.” “Beyond Compare,” 64.

⁷³ Ibid., 71.

⁷⁴ Theodor Roosevelt describes that expedition in *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, a popular book at the time. *Through the Brazilian Wilderness* (New York: C. Scribner’s sons, 1914).

⁷⁵ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 71.

⁷⁶ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 70.

⁷⁷ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 71.

⁷⁸ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 73.

⁷⁹ Scott A. Sandage, “A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963,” *The Journal of American History* 80, no.1 (1993): 138.

⁸⁰ Marable, *Great Wells of Democracy*, 23.

⁸¹ Sandage, “Marble House Divided,” 136.

⁸² Ibid., 141.

⁸³ About the 1939 concert, Sandage says that black civic leaders realized that bringing Lincoln into the fray by what seemed and unprecedented use of his memorial ‘would double the news value’ of the event. (Ibid.,144)

⁸⁴ Ibid., 160.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 165.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Marable, *Great Wells of Democracy*, 55.

⁸⁸ Wm. David Sloan, *Media in America*, 6th ed. (Northport, AL: Vision Press, 2005), 295-296.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 296.

⁹⁰ Maurine Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking their Place: A Documentary History of Women in Journalism* (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, Inc., 1993), 244.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Roberts and Klibanoff, *Race Beat*, 406 (see chapter 1, n.216).

⁹³ Scott Sandage notes, “An outraged coalition of black civic leaders and NAACP officers (...) soon realized that bringing Abraham Lincoln into the fray by what seemed an unprecedented use of his memorial ‘would double the news value’ of the event” (“Marble House Divided,” 144).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1993, 143.

⁹⁵ Roberts and Klibanoff, *Race and Beat*, 6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 406.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰¹ Symbolic capital is a concept coined by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, meaning the amount of honor and prestige possessed by a person with regards to acting structures (Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984]).

¹⁰² Owensby, “Brazil’s ‘Cordial Racism,’” 319.

¹⁰³ Jeffrey Lesser, *Negotiating National Identity: Immigrants, Minorities, and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1999), 7.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰⁵ Seigel, “Beyond Compare,” 77.

¹⁰⁶ The anthropologist Livio Sansone observes that there are people that do not fit in a single ethnic identity. These are individuals who get benefit from the miscegenation rationale that themselves helped to construct. (Livio Sansone, *Negritude Sem Etnicidade* [Salvador: Pallas, 2003], 17-18)

¹⁰⁷ Bryan McCann, *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰⁹ About Latin American elites, Appelbaum, Mcpherson, and Roseblatt state, “Pro-independence elites revamped the racial divisions created under colonial rule, even as they drew on classical liberalism to reject imperial hierarchies and assert sovereignty and democracy. Liberalism presumed an unmarked, raceless, even genderless individual, yet nineteenth-century liberal on both sides of the Atlantic described the ideal qualities of citizens and nations in implicitly racialized and gendered terms.” *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Mcpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 4.

¹¹⁰ George Reid Andrews, *Black and Whites in Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 52-53.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹¹² Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics*, 38.

¹¹³ Fredrickson, "Race and Racism," 17.

¹¹⁴ Barbara Weinstein "Racializing Regional Difference: Sao Paulo versus Brazil, 1932," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 238.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 239.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 245.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 244.

¹²⁰ Denise Parana, *Lula, O Filho do Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Editora Fundacao Perseu Abramo, 2002), 21.

¹²¹ Emir Sader and Ken Silverstein, *Without Fear of Being Happy* (New York: Verso, 1991), 111.

¹²² Brito Alves, *A Historia de Lula: O Operario Presidente* (Rio de Janeiro: Espaco e Tempo, 2003), 89; Sue Brandford and Bernardo Kucinski, *Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil* (New York: The New Press, 2003), 72.

¹²³ Sue Brandford and Bernardo Kucinski say that "Lula's election had, above all, an emblematic dimension: it was the first time in Brazil's history – and in the history of Latin America since the Mexican revolution – that the son of a dispossessed peasant had reached the pinnacle of political power." (Brandford and Kucinski, *Lula and the Workers Party*, 23; Levine, *History of Brazil*, 167-168; Margaret E. Keck, *The Workers' Party and Democratization in Brazil* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992], 4)

¹²⁴ Parana, *Lula, O Filho do Brasil*, 21.

¹²⁵ Cibilis Viana, *A Esperança Renovada: O Dia a Dia de Lula* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprimatur, 2007), 9.

¹²⁶ Alves, *Historia de Lula*, 37-39; Keck, *Workers' Party and Democratization*, 75-77.

¹²⁷ Brandford and Kucinski, *Lula and the Workers Party*, 27-28; Levine, *History of Brazil*, 159.

¹²⁸ Levine, *History of Brazil*, 139; Sader and Silverstein, *Without Fear*, 117.; Keith S. Rosen and Richard Downes, *Corruption and Political Reform in Brazil: The Impact of Collor's Impeachment* (Miami: North-South Press, 1999), 109.

¹²⁹ Claudia Jawsnicker, "A Imprensa Golpista", *Comunicacao e Politica* 25 (2007): 5-16; Levine, *History of Brazil*, 126; Mercedes Hinton, *The State on the Streets: Police and Politics in Argentina and Brazil* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006), 164-167.

¹³⁰ Viana, *Esperança Renovada*, 12.

¹³¹ Ibid., 11.

¹³² Brandford and Kucinski, *Lula and The Workers Party*, 4.

¹³³ Viana, *Esperança Renovada*, 16.

¹³⁴ Alves, *Historia de Lula*, 91.

¹³⁵ Dan Balz and Haynes Johnson, *The Battle for America 2008: The Story of an Extraordinary Election* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2009), 24.

¹³⁶ Shelby Steele, "On Obama," in *The Race to the White House*, eds. Patrick Luciani and Rudyard Griffiths (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2008), 41-69.

¹³⁷ Richard Stengel, "Obama's Moment," in *Time, President Obama: The Path to the White House* (New York: Time Books, 2008), 6.

¹³⁸ "The election of Mr. Obama (...) was just as much a strikingly symbolic moment in the evolution of the nation's fraught racial history, a breakthrough that would have seemed unthinkable just two years ago." Adam Nagourney, "Obama: Racial Barrier Falls in Decisive Victory," *The New York Times*, November 5, 2008, late edition.

¹³⁹ Steele, "On Obama," 49.

¹⁴⁰ Barack Obama, *Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2004).

¹⁴¹ Barack Obama, *The Audacity of Hope: Thoughts on Reclaiming the American Dream* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2006).

¹⁴² Babak Elahi and Grant Cos, "An Immigrant's Dream and the Audacity of Hope: The 2004 Convention Addresses of Barack Obama and Arnold Schwarzenegger," *American Behavioral Scientist* 49, no.3 (2005): 462.

¹⁴³ Balz and Johnson, *Battle for America 2008*, 25.

¹⁴⁴ Robert C. Rowland and John M. Jones, "Recasting the American Dream and American Politics: Barack Obama's Keynote Address to the 2004 Democratic National Convention," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 93, no.4 (2007): 433.

¹⁴⁵ Obama, *Audacity of Hope*, 231.

¹⁴⁶ Elahi and Cos, "Immigrant's Dream," 461-462.

¹⁴⁷ Rowland and Jones, "Recasting the American Dream," 434.

¹⁴⁸ Balz and Johnson, *Battle for America 2008*, 372.

Chapter 3: Methodology of Analysis

This chapter explains the methodology of analysis applied in this dissertation, describes the selection of the body of work to be examined and explains how the categories of analysis have been chosen. The research analyzes 24 cover stories of major news magazines of the United States (*Time* magazine) and Brazil (*Veja* magazine), to investigate how they dealt with the presidential candidacies of Barack Obama (in the U.S, 2008) and Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (in Brazil, 2002). The issue here is the construction of identities of these political figures who, at the time, differed from mainstream politicians in the presidential office. This is a cross-cultural analysis with a focus on the journalistic discourse in both countries, and subjects such as ideology, hegemony and social change are central concerns. Brief histories of the two publications close this chapter.

The methodology used in this dissertation is part of the field of language sciences. The research makes use of methodological tools of the scientific study of language for analyzing the meanings produced by the news discourse. The textual analyses of news articles of the two news magazines (*Time* and *Veja*) will be carried out in the following chapters. However, since the dissertation joins together textual analysis, historical analysis, and analysis of the discursive practice in which the news article are embedded, the method of inquiry may be more broadly called “discourse analysis.” Discourse analysis appears an appropriate term because the textual analysis applied here looks for cues of social and cultural processes which are realized through language and its discursive practices. The analysis is not confined, therefore, to the close reading of texts.

It includes 'layers of interpretations' which link the textual with historical, cultural and social processes.

It is important to make clear that there are many schools of discourse analysis. The type of discourse analysis applied in this dissertation follows the theoretical framework of the discourse analyst Norman Fairclough – whose work draws on scholars of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – and also on the fundamentals of discourse analysis of 'French tendencies' practiced by the functionalist Dominique Maingueneau,¹ professor of linguistics at the University of Paris-XII. There are epistemological differences between the two approaches (and more generally speaking between the Anglo-Saxon and the French schools), but there are also similarities between both authors that this dissertation draws on.

On the one hand, Fairclough searches for a synthesis of authors from diverse schools, such as Michel Foucault (French structuralism), Mikhail Bakhtin (philosophy of language), Michael Halliday (systemic-functional linguistic), Hodge and Kress (social semiotics) and Maingueneau himself. Fairclough is also strongly influenced by the British Cultural Studies of the University of Birmingham, with regard to contextualization.² On the other hand, Dominique Maingueneau maintains that there is "a basic critical orientation for much of the research in discourse analysis, even when scholars do not intend to transform society."³ According to him, there are two ways of practicing discourse analysis: a 'weak' and a 'strong' way. He states, "Roughly speaking, I consider a 'weak' way as the simple description of structures of texts and talks. I consider a 'strong' way as the practice of fully assuming the purpose of discourse analysis, trying to systematically connect text or conversation structures with social

practices and places.”⁴ For Maingueneau, when discourse analysts chose the ‘strong’ path and connect text structures and social interests they carry out research that is actually critical, even if unintentionally.⁵

Despite the epistemological differences, therefore, there is similarity between the approaches of both authors in terms of perceiving texts as connected to social practices. The authors who methodologically have been drawn on to frame this dissertation have recommended these methodological issues be addressed as a way of dealing more accurately with the relationship between the specificity of the data and the aim of this investigation.⁶ Those authors also share methodological viewpoints concerning the diversity of disciplines the discourse analyst may draw on.

Maingueneau challenges the idea that discourse must be analyzed by *one* discipline. He observes, “Why not consider that discourse allows the construction of various objects, corresponding to various viewpoints, various approaches? Only God could apprehend discourse from one viewpoint.”⁷ For Maingueneau, discourse analysis is just one of the disciplines that assumes the study of discourse, such as rhetoric, sociolinguistics, conversational analysis, and others that he says to be part of the “discourse linguistic.” He explains that discourse analysis has no data of its own, and that the analyst can change disciplines in the same investigation, adopting various points of view on the data. “In analyzing a TV debate, for example, the analyst can take the viewpoint of conversational analysis, of rhetoric, of sociolinguistics or of discourse analysis and focus his or her attention on corresponding aspects of the data,” he states.⁸

Fairclough proposes to use language analysis as a method for studying social change, an area which this dissertation pursues. To achieve this, Fairclough draws

together methods for analyzing language developed within language studies, and social and political thought relevant to developing an adequate social theory of language. He includes in that list the work of social theorists such as Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser, Michel Foucault, Jurgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens. The scholar believes that is necessary to overcome the isolation of language studies from other social sciences, as well as the domination of linguistics by formalistic paradigms. In short, he advocates textual analysis in conjunction with other types of analysis. A helpful framework of textual analysis for social research is developed in Fairclough's *Discourse and Social Change*.⁹ He refers to his type of analysis as Textually-Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). It is particularly that approach to discourse analysis which this dissertation draws on.

As Fairclough puts it, his objective in the book was to develop an approach to discourse analysis which could be used as one method amongst other for investigating social changes. He crafted a method for multidimensional analysis that allows relationships between discursive and social change to be assessed, "and detailed properties of texts to be related systematically to social properties of discursive events as instances of social practice."¹⁰ It is a method for multifunctional analysis grounded in Halliday's systemic theory of language. Also, it is a method for historical analysis and a critical method. As he explains, 'critical' implies showing connections and causes which are hidden.¹¹

His account of analysis in the dimension of *discursive practices* centers upon the concept of *intertextuality*, which is intensively used in the analysis practiced in this dissertation. In the dimension of social practices, however, he centers upon the concepts

of *ideology* and particularly *hegemony*, “in the sense of a mode of domination which is based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups, and the generation of consent.”¹² All those concepts are discussed in this chapter, but first it is necessary to notice that there are three dimensions in the analytical framework of the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). A good summary of the analytical framework of discourse analysis is presented in a diagram created by Fairclough for the book *Media Discourse*. The diagram is reproduced below.

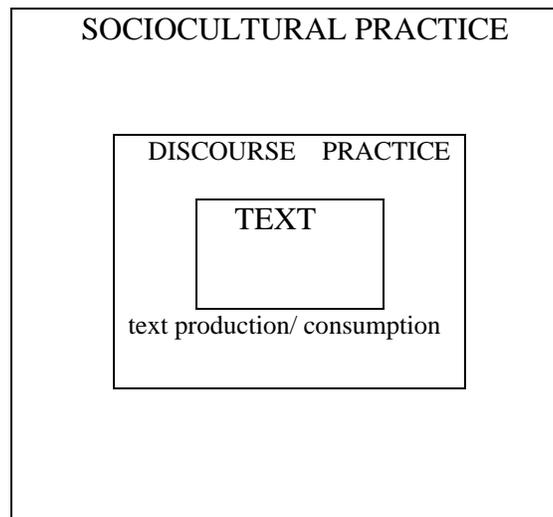


Fig.1: A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event.¹³

Text and Language

To develop a form of discourse analysis which can contribute to social and cultural analysis, it is necessary to combine these insights with traditions of close textual analysis developed in linguistic and language studies.¹⁴ As Fairclough recommends, textual analysis in this dissertation means analysis of the *texture* of the texts, their form and organization, and not just commentaries on the ‘content’ of texts which ignore

texture. According to him, “Social and cultural analyses can only be enriched by this textural evidence, which is partly linguistic and partly intertextual – partly a matter of how links between one text and other texts and text types are inscribed in the surface of the text.”¹⁵ Besides, textual analysis can give excellent insights about what is ‘in’ a text, but what is absent from a text is often just as significant from the perspective of sociocultural analysis, Fairclough observes. In addition to significant absences from a text, what is ‘in’ in a text may be explicit or implicit, such as in the case of grammatical categories of presupposition and implicature.¹⁶

The multifunctional view of texts that Fairclough adopts follows systemic linguistics. It assumes that language in texts always simultaneously functions *ideationally* in the representation of experience and the world, *interpersonally* in constituting social interaction between participants in discourse, and textually in tying parts of a text together into a coherent whole that is tied to situational contexts.¹⁷ This type of approach puts the analyst from CDA in a position similar to that of the discourse analyst of French study, such as Maingueneau. The discourse analyst is a sort of sociocultural detective who searches and interprets clues which allow three levels of contextualization: the immediate situational context, the institutional context (discursive practice) and the broader sociocultural context.¹⁸ The similarity here is due, probably, to Michel Foucault’s theories that influenced both authors.

Briefly, the type of discourse analysis applied in this dissertation: (1) is dependent on the context¹⁹ (2) works with hidden meanings and the formal marks of the textual surface (3) is not focused on the explicit content (4) takes into account semiotic modes other than the written language, such as the “grammar” of visual design (5) adopts

a concept of ideology related to discourse (6) considers that any communicational event implies an idea of social “cooperation” between the one who “speaks” and the receptor, as well as a previous common repertoire of signs (otherwise communication and mutual understanding would not be possible), (7) implies a social constructionist approach which sees the world as a social construct of language, in the sense that all knowledge about the world is built through language and discourse.²⁰ The concepts which are relevant for the model of analysis carried out in this dissertation are described below.

Discourse

This term refers to a form of social practice. Discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and upon each other, as well as a mode of representation.²¹ Discourse contributes to the construction of ‘social identities’ and the positions of social ‘subjects’ and types of ‘self,’ to construction of social relations between people and to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief. In the critical discourse analysis, these effects correspond to the three functions of language grouped by Halliday: ‘identity,’ ‘relational’ and ideational.²² As a political practice, discourse establishes, sustains and change power relations. As an ideological practice, discourse constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world.²³

Discursive Practice

Discursive practice involves processes of text production, distribution, and consumption. The nature of these processes varies between different types of discourse according to social factors. Discourse analysis sees text as a piece of discursive practice.

It takes into account processes of text production, distribution and consumption. These require reference to the economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated. Production and consumption have a socio-cognitive nature: they involve cognitive processes of text production and interpretation which are based on internalized social structures and conventions.²⁴ Members of social communities who produce discourse are usually unaware of the outcomes and effects that their practices have upon social structures, social relations, and social struggles around them.²⁵

Orders of Discourse

‘Order of discourse’ was coined by the French philosopher Michel Foucault. The institutional and societal ‘orders of discourse’ are the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society, and the relationships between them.²⁶

Text Analysis and Discourse

As Fairclough emphasizes, the division between text analysis and analysis of discursive practice (and so between the analytical activities of description and interpretation) is not a sharp one. He says, “[D]iscourse analysis is in fact a multidisciplinary activity, and one can no more assume a detailed linguistic background from its practitioners than one can assume detailed backgrounds in sociology, psychology or politics.”²⁷ He observes that the distinction between forms of text analyses which are oriented to language forms or to meanings is misleading, because “in analyzing texts one is always simultaneously addressing questions of form and meaning.”²⁸ For Fairclough,

text analysis can be organized under four main headings: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure.

Ideology

The meanings of texts are closely intertwined with the forms of texts, and formal features of texts at various levels may be ideologically invested. Discursive practices are ideologically invested in so far as they incorporate significations that help to maintain or restructure power relations.²⁹ The approach taken in this dissertation follows Fairclough's and avoids a social determinist view of discursive practices. Thus, the position here is that ideologies are significations/constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms and meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination.³⁰ In Fairclough's view, ideology is located both in the 'orders of discourse' which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures.³¹

This standpoint is very influenced by Michel Foucault's viewpoint, who sees the 'subjects' (individuals) as constructed by history. Eni Orlandi, a Brazilian scholar expert in discourse analysis, observes that "Meaning is history. The subject of the discourse is made in and by the history, and makes meaning in and by history. It is possible to understand thus that the words are not directly linked to the things they represent. It is the ideology that makes possible the relationship between words and things."³²

Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is the centerpiece of Gramsci's work. According to Norman Fairclough, "Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium.'"³³ Hegemony means integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent. Hegemony is, therefore, a focus of constant struggle around points of great instability, to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms.

Discursive Formation

A discursive formation consists of rules of formation for the particular set of statements which belong to it. More specifically, it consists of rules for the formation of 'objects,' rules for the formation of 'enunciative modalities' and 'subject positions,' rules for the formation of 'concepts,' and rules for the formation of 'strategies.' These rules of formation are constituted by combinations of prior discursive and non-discursive elements, and the process of articulating these elements makes discourse a social practice.³⁴

Discourse Genres

The discourse analysis of 'French tendencies' is generally characterized by the reference to 'enunciation' (utterance) theories and the preference given to 'constrained discourses,' genres of discourses. Under the influence of Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas, the discourse genre has been used for describing the manifold sorts of utterances produced in society. Maingueneau observes that newspapers, talk shows on TV, transactions in shops, and other communicative events are considered discourse genres, which can be indefinitely diversified, according to the decisions of the discourse analysts.³⁵

Enunciation and Utterances

According to Foucault's thesis, the social subject that produces a statement is not an entity which exists outside of and independently of discourse, as the source and author of the statement, but is on the contrary a function of the statement itself. Utterances position subjects who produce them, and those they are addressed to, in particular ways. Thus, to describe a formulation *qua* statement does not consist in analyzing the relations between the author and what he says (or wanted to say, or said without wanting to), "but in determining what position can and must be occupied by any individual if he is to be the subject of it."³⁶ Among other things, it involves identifying "who" is the enunciator (emitter) and the co-enunciator (receptor) of a statement, through the positions/identities that that utterance involves. "Enunciation theories may be considered as a component of pragmatics," Maingueneau says, "but they are above all an analysis of *language structure*."³⁷

Intertextuality / Heterogeneity

For the discourse analysis, every text is *hybrid* or *heterogeneous* in its enunciation, because a text is always a web of “voices” or quotations, whose authorship can be demarcated or not, which came from other texts, contemporaneous or from the past. This feature of the texts was formerly described by the Russian linguist and philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin, who coined the terms *polyphony* and *dialogism* (meaning that every text is constructed in *dialogue* with others). Some authors prefer to use the term *intertextuality*, instead of heterogeneity or polyphony. There are two types of heterogeneity in texts: the manifest (in which other texts are explicit mentioned) and the constitutive, also called interdiscursivity (in which vestiges of past texts are implied).³⁸

Fairclough is one of the authors who call intertextuality “the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth.”³⁹ The scholar observes that an intertextual perspective stresses the historicity of texts: how they always constitute additions to existing ‘chains of speech communication’ consisting of prior texts to which they respond. Fairclough advocates the intertextual analysis of texts as a tool for interpreting media texts. He explains that the intertextual analysis aims to unravel the various genres and discourses – often, in creative discourse practice, a highly complex mixture – which are articulated together in text.⁴⁰ “The concept of intertextuality,” he states, “sees texts historically as transforming the past – existing conventions and prior texts – into the present.”⁴¹

Modality

As Kress and van Leeuwen observe, the term “modality” comes from linguistics and refers to the truth value or credibility of linguistic realized statements about the world.⁴² Traditionally, the grammar of modality focuses on modality markers such as the auxiliary verbs (must, may, will, should, can) which accord specific degrees of modality to statements. However, they explain that “modality is not only conveyed through these fairly clear-cut linguistic systems.”⁴³ It can be used, for example, to give indications of the truth value of the statements which are made in an enunciation. Kress and van Leeuwen assert that the concept of modality is equally essential in accounts of visual communication, because “visuals can represent people, places and things as though they are real, as though they actually exist in this way, or as though they do not.”⁴⁴

Multimodal Discourse

Beyond the verbal, there are other semiotic modes which can be used to invest meanings. Often, the main role of social interaction in a communicative event is played by images, graphics, colors, textures, etc. Besides, sometimes the interpretation is possible just because of this relationship between images and words. The *multimodality* occurs when the text is widened beyond the verbal and other semiotic modes are added.⁴⁵ Multimodal texts make meaning in multiple articulations of semiotic modes and resources.⁴⁶

Rhetoric, Semiotics, and Grammar

In addition to the concepts discussed above, there are various devices that can be used by the discourse analyst to interpret the texts of communication such as news magazines' articles, which are the focus of this dissertation. These tools can be found in the works of Maingueneau, Fairclough, and Kress and Leeuwen. Various linguistic instruments, which are part of the discourse analysis framework, will be approached, as necessary, during the analysis that will be carried out in the next chapters. Among those tools there are the ones which come from other correlated language disciplines, such as rhetorical devices (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, irony, etc.), semiotic aspects, and grammatical categories.

The Body of Study

Discourse analysis aims to understand how a symbolic object produces meaning. Transforming the 'linguistic surface' (text) into a *discursive object* is the first step to such understanding. The work of analysis starts by configuring the *corpus* (collection of writings that will be used as evidence) to define their limits. Discourse analysis procedures demand a constant flow between theory, corpus and analysis.⁴⁷

In selecting the corpus of discourse samples for this study, this researcher consulted archives of publications from the years of the first election of the two presidential candidates, 2008 (Obama) and 2002 (Lula). This was done, first, through internet databases (LexisNexis, *Veja* digital collection, and *Time* online) and, second, in the 'Newspaper & Periodical Reading Room' of the Library of Congress. After deciding to study two news magazines – *Time* and *Veja* – and collecting data referring to a year of

news articles on Obama and Lula campaigns, the researcher narrowed the time span of the data to be studied.

The first methodological problem to be solved was the imbalance between the total of articles on Obama, in *Time*, and on Lula, in *Veja*. The quantity of articles about the U.S. candidate found was much greater than the news reports about the Brazilian candidate in *Veja*. One of the reasons for this is, surely, the fact that the electoral process in Brazil is very different from that in the United States. The presidential election in the U.S. is widely publicized, and involves public intense debate and exposition of candidates from the primaries of the political parties through the general election months later. Conversely, in Brazil there are strict electoral laws that limit the exposition of candidates in the media.

Also, it is important to stress one difference between the two magazines. Whereas *Veja* usually has only one cover headline beyond the one referring to the cover story, *Time* has many cover headlines in addition to the main cover story – some of them accompanied by small pictures. As a result, all *Veja*'s editions that constitute the corpus featured only cover stories related to the presidential campaign of 2002. Besides, the first cover story on Lula was published in May, when the candidate came up as the probable winner in the polls prior to the election in October 6. This absence was taken in account in the definition of the sample.

Given the disparity between the quantity of articles on the candidates published during a whole year, it was decided to compare only cover stories published in the editions of both magazines during a period of eight and a half months. Besides, in order to reach a balance in the number of articles on Obama and Lula, 12 cover stories on each

one were selected. Thus, two cover stories of *Time* in this period were excluded from the sample and one article of *Veja* from 2001 was included. In the case of *Time*, the sample starts with the first edition of March 10, 2008 and closes with the edition of November 17, 2008, when Obama became president-elect. In the case of *Veja*, it starts with the edition of July 4, 2001, when Lula appeared on the cover for the first time during that campaign, and finishes in January 8, 2003, with an article on the presidential inauguration.

Discourse analysis calls for textual samples to be selected, mainly, for their relevance in answering research questions. This point is much more important than adhering to rigid timeline, since patterns repeated for a certain period of time are not the issue of the analysis. For this reason it was decided to include one more article of *Veja* in the sample, the one published in July 2001, which presented a profile of the presidential candidate. A total of 24 articles form the sample, 12 cover stories of each publication studied, *Time* and *Veja*.

Coding Categories Scheme

The analysis is dealing with two communicative events: *Time*'s coverage of the 2008 U.S presidential election and *Veja*'s coverage of the 2002 Brazilian presidential election. Although the reason for the comparison is to examine construction of the presidential candidates' identities, the coverage under analysis happened in different countries, constituting types of discourses which are the object of this analysis. The researcher decided to code the sample in terms of topics attended to both the U.S. and the Brazilian magazines. Thus, the articles were grouped in categories related to general

themes presented in the articles of both magazines. Those topics are framed differently in both countries, of course, and these differences, as well as the similarities are part of the comparative analysis.

The categories that emerged from the initial readings of the textual corpus fell into nine general categories: (1) *the victory*, (2) *the presidential office*, (3) *public service* (4) *ideological war* (5) *economy*, (6) *foreign policy* (7) *the fall of prejudices* (8) *personalization*, and (9) *winners and losers*. Of course, the articles which are part of each one of these nine categories have some degree of overlap between them.

The Fall of Prejudices

Winners and Losers

Ideological War

Foreign Policy

Economy

The Victory

Public Service

Personalization

The Presidential Office

Fig. 2: Categories in terms of topics.

Ideological war refers to the struggles between political parties or the candidates, concerning issues like class ideologies and racial politics. *Economy* draws together the

news articles that linked the economy and the financial market with the candidates and the elections. *The fall of prejudices* is about the news reports that imply an acceptance of the ‘otherness’ of the candidates by the voters, such as the articles that straightly suggest a good performance of the candidate in difficult regions, as well as those ones ‘warning’ the voters against new political postures of the candidate. *The victory* category gathers articles on the results of the presidential elections with the victory of the candidates. *Winners and losers* category has to do with the news reports that make predictions about who will win the elections in their different stages. *Personalization* draws together the articles that focused on personal characteristics and identities of the candidates. *The presidential office* refers to the stories on the presidential office and the myths involving presidents’ temperaments. *Public service* concentrates on the articles about government offices and actions to fix national problems. *Foreign policy* addresses the news reports that approached Obama’s and Lula’s viewpoints on their countries’ foreign policy.

Analysis Questions

Three set of questions about the newsmagazines’ articles are addressed: (1) How is the world (events, relationships, etc.) represented, that is, how is the scene of enunciation constructed? (2) What identities are set up for those involved in the story (journalists, readers, ‘third parties’ referred to), that is, who are the ‘subjects’ of the enunciation? (3) What relationships are set up between those involved (journalist- reader, and candidate-readership relationships), that is, what are the ‘subject’ positions that the utterances imply? Those questions refer to *representations*, *identities* and *relations*. They follow an agenda suggested by the discourse analyst Norman Fairclough, and are

obviously related to questions of ideology, questions of social relationships and power, and questions of identity.⁴⁸ Here, they were related to the type of inquiry done in the discourse analysis of 'French tendencies.' For a better analysis of the corpus and for establishing useful links with the context, it is necessary to pay special attention to the singularities of the news magazines studied. Thus, the histories of both magazines are also taken in account.

Time Magazine

Founded in the 1920s by two graduates of Yale University, Henry Luce and Briton Hadden, *Time* appeared as representative of a new style of magazine. According to Sloan and Stovall's *The Media in America*, new magazines in the twentieth century differed from the ones of the previous century, which were more leisurely in style, literary in tone, and friendly to the interests of the upper classes.⁴⁹ The new *news magazines* of the twentieth century reflected the frenetic pace of an industrial nation and appealed to the tastes of the masses, instead to the upper classes.⁵⁰ *Time* may be seen as a prime example of a 'mass magazine' that emerged with the changes promoted by the mass industrialization of the twentieth-century in the United States.

For Sloan and Stovall, *Time* departed from the standard of journalistic objectivity. They state, "There was no editorial page because editorial opinions were inserted in the articles. *Time* did express, however, an interest in achieving a standard of fairness in its coverage."⁵¹ This interest became more evident decades later, as Time Inc. prospered and became (in Sloan and Stovall's words) "the nation's most prominent and visible publishing empire."⁵² In the 1940's, *Time*'s founder Henry Luce, who was already a

publishing magnate, financed the 1947 Commission on Freedom of the Press, which is considered by journalism historians as “the most important call for greater media objectivity and balance” in U.S. twentieth century journalism.⁵³ The Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press promoted a debate on objectivity and fairness in the daily coverage of news events. A major charge of the Commission of Freedom of the Press was the newspapers’ failure to adequately cover minorities.⁵⁴

Luce, whose name was closely associated with *Time* in people’s mind since his partner died in 1929, was said to have a liberal attitude on race and, during the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the magazine faced problems in the South of the United States. According to Roberts and Klibanoff, “Much of the South despised *Time*. Luce’s liberal attitude on race was problem enough, but its patronizing tone could be infuriating.”⁵⁵ They say that the magazine was roundly despised for its snootiness toward the South, and that *Time* reporters complained their stories were manipulated by the editors in New York to cast aspersions on the South. At the same time, Roberts and Klibanoff allege that some stories on the civil rights struggle (such the bus boycott in Alabama in the 1950s) were run by that magazine (and its competitors), which had a predominantly white audience, weeks after they had started.⁵⁶

Also John M. Murphy, professor of communication at University of Illinois, asserts in a rhetorical analysis of the media coverage of the Freedom Rides in 1960s that three major weekly news magazine (*Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*) cast the movement actions as “threatening America in the struggle against Communism.”⁵⁷ Although *Time* could be controversial in its coverage of the civil rights movement, Roberts and Klibanoff suggest that when the black Muslim leader Malcom X

emerged as a more ominous threat to white America, *Time* began portraying Martin Luther King more sympathetically. “In *Time*, King was elevated to the ‘Negroes’ inspirational leader,” they state in reference to an edition from May, 1963.⁵⁸ In the first issue of 1964, King was named *Time*’s “Man of the Year.”⁵⁹

Veja Magazine

Veja magazine was launched in September 1968. The magazine was created by the Italians Mino Carta and Roberto Civita, both residents of Brazil. The Civitas had a publishing house in Sao Paulo, founded by Victor Civita, who was born in the United States but had Italian origin. His son, Roberto, had lived in the United States during his childhood and went to Brazil with his family in 1950, when he was only 13 years old. Roberto returned to the U.S. after high school to pursue college at the University of Pennsylvania, receiving a degree in finances and trade from the Wharton School of Business of the University of Pennsylvania. He lived in the country for five years and got an internship at Time Inc., where he experienced work in many departments of the company, including the newsroom of *Time*. When Roberto Civita went back to Brazil, he decided to start his own versions of *Time*, *Fortune* and *Playboy* in Brazil.⁶⁰

Except for *Playboy* – whose brand the Civitas’ publishing house Editora Abril acquired a license to use – Roberto Civita gave different names in Brazil to his magazines. The one inspired by *Time* became *Veja* in Brazil. In English, it means literally *see, watch*, in the imperative mood. *Veja* became the major weekly news magazine of Brazil, currently with publication of more than a million, although there are indications that this circulation has been declining in the last few years.⁶¹ Mario Sergio Conti, an

Italian-Brazilian journalist, reports in his book, *Noticias do Planalto*, the way that the conception of *Veja* tried to follow *Time*'s guidelines. Conti, himself a former editor of *Veja*, tells readers that the publication followed *Time*'s (and also *Newsweek*'s) tenets concerning magazine design. However, it had an important difference: it was not focused on the interpretation of news.⁶²

According to Conti, the Brazilian magazine was conceived to be focused on what newspapers did not have. *Veja*'s staff wanted to present the facts better than newspapers did because "it would check what happened in the backstage, giving meaning to the events."⁶³ Also, *Veja* was intended to be a player in the national politics. Conti states, "The magazine would be respected as long as it was a reference in political crisis."⁶⁴ This statement is important because it shows the way that the publication appeared on the national scene: as a political actor, with a role to play in Brazilian politics.

When *Veja* was launched, in September 1968, Brazil lived under a military dictatorship. The military government ruled Brazil from April 1, 1964 to March 15, 1985. Just a few months after the magazine started to circulate, the government issued the Institutional Act Number Five (AI-5), which officially established censorship of the media. Soon, all Brazilian media established a form of self-censorship and cooperated with the military state in order to have economically viable businesses. As Marialva Barbosa explains, in the decades of 1960 and 1970 (during the military dictatorship) the Brazilian press kept cultivating close relationship with the authorities. They made of this closeness not only a strategy for surviving but a way to achieve social and economic success, that is, an entrepreneurial strategy.⁶⁵

Notes

¹ Dominique Maingueneau, "Analyzing Self-Constituting Discourses," *Discourse Studies* 1, no.2 (1999):181.

² Milton Jose Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso: Introducao a Analise de Discursos*, 2nd ed. (Sao Paulo: Hacker Editores, 2002), 102.

³ Dominique Maingueneau, "Is Discourse Analysis Critical?" *Critical Discourse Studies* 3, no.2 (2006): 229.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Maingueneau, "Analyzing Self-Constituting Discourses," 180.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1995), 59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁵ Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: Papers in the Critical Study of Language* (New York: Longman, 1995), 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso*, 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁰ This is not deny that the physical, material world exists, but just to observe that what people know about fields of knowledge, such physics or biology for example, they learn through language and representation.

²¹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 63.

²² *Ibid.*, 64.

²³ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

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- ²⁵ Ibid., 72.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 43.
- ²⁷ Ibid., 74.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 89-91.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 87.
- ³¹ Ibid., 89.
- ³² Eni P. Orlandi, *Análise de Discurso: Princípios & Procedimentos*, 5th ed. (Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2003), 95.
- ³³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 92.
- ³⁴ Ibid, 40-41.
- ³⁵ Dominique Maingueneau, “Analysis of An Academic Genre,” *Discourse Studies* 4, no. 3 (2002): 320.
- ³⁶ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 43.
- ³⁷ Maingueneau, “Analyzing Self-Constituting Discourses,” 182.
- ³⁸ Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso*, 31,
- ³⁹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 84.
- ⁴⁰ Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 61.
- ⁴¹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 85.
- ⁴² Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 160.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 161.
- ⁴⁵ Andre Lucio Bento, “‘E Agora, Lula?’: A Imagem Intertextual em Materia do Correio Braziliense,” in *Olhares em Análise de Discurso Crítica*, eds. Josenia Antunes Vieira et al. (Brasília: www.Cepadiv.com, 2009), 192.
- ⁴⁶ Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication* (London: Arnold, 2001), 4.
- ⁴⁷ Orlandi, *Análise de Discurso*, 66-67.
- ⁴⁸ Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, 5.
- ⁴⁹ Wm. David Sloan and James G. Stovall, eds., *The Media in America: A History*, 1st ed. (Washington Ohio: Publishing Horizons, Inc., 1989), 349.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid., 356.

⁵² Ibid., 354.

⁵³ Randall Patnode, Donald Shaw, and Steven Knowlton, "Part II: The 19th Century: The Evolution of Objectivity," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman, eds. (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 67.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Gene Roberts and Hank Klibanoff, *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 260.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 54.

⁵⁷ John M. Murphy, "Domesticating Dissent: The Kennedys and the Freedom Rides," in *Readings on the Rhetoric of Social Protest*, Charles E. Morris III and Stephen Howard Browne, eds., 2nd edition (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2006), 400.

⁵⁸ Robert and Klibanoff, *Race Beat*, 323.

⁵⁹ Robert and Klibanoff, *Race Beat*, 370.

⁶⁰ Mario Sergio Conti, *Noticias do Planalto: A Imprensa e Fernando Collor* (Sao Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1999), 150.

⁶¹ Constant offers of free subscriptions, for example, are said to help keep those numbers higher than they would be otherwise, so the magazine can charge high prices for the advertisements.

⁶² Conti, *Noticias do Planalto*, 74.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Marialva Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2007), 195.

Chapter 4: Obama in *Time* Magazine

In this chapter, the *Time*'s articles on Obama are examined one by one. They are grouped in general topics and classified by the categories mentioned in the previous chapter, in the following order: (1) *the victory*; (2) *the presidential office*; (3) *public service*; (4) *ideological war*; (5) *economy*; (6) *foreign policy*; (7) *the fall of prejudices*; (8) *personalization*, and (9) *winners and losers: predictions*. The articles are individually analyzed through discourse analysis procedures. The analysis aims to identify: (1) the scenes which are constructed by the speaker (or writer) in each article, which discourse analysis calls 'scenes of enunciation';¹ (2) the ethos (character) constructed by the text to represent the speaker in each article; (3) the visual grammar of the pictures on the covers of the magazine and inside pages; (4) the intertextuality, that is, the many 'voices,' discourses and fragments of other texts which are presented in the article, whether that manifestly expressed or not, and (5) the regularities and patterns of the language which have rhetorical effect, that is, which persuade and direct the reader to interpret the text in a specific way.

The language patterns are searched through the examination of the vocabulary, which is linked with different discursive formations, and also by the detection of the grammatical devices used in texts' argumentation (such as the use of adjectives to refer a person previously mentioned, or the use of verbs that add specific value to a statement like 'warn' instead of 'say,' for example). The identities and relations established between the speaker (writer), the addressee (reader), and the 'third parties' (people who are represented, such as the presidential candidates) that the articles construct are also

part of the analysis. Because any linguistic utterance may be split into elements and commented upon, the elements of analysis in a given body of evidence (the corpus) might be unlimited. Thus, the analysis presented contains only those descriptions which are useful to the aim of the investigation.

The Victory

A Staged Speech

In *Time* of November 17, 2008, a commemorative issue, a big picture of Obama's face over a dark background is the cover. Just one headline, in very discreet letters at the bottom right of the page and similar to a caption, is on the cover. It says: "President-elect Barack Obama, Chicago, November 4, 2008: 'Change has come to America.'" It is a picture taken during the election night, when Obama was chosen the newly elected president of the United States, as the headline suggests. Without uproar, the magazine opted for a discreet cover in an edition that celebrated the election of the first black president of the United States. The clean design provides an atmosphere of reverence, and the tone is solemn. Obama is looking at something outside the picture frame, eyes firmly fixed on the far horizon. His expression shows satisfaction, contentment, and a moderate joy.

Kress and van Leeuwen, the authors of a book that teaches how to 'read' images in the codes that they call 'grammar' of visual design, assert that visual structures do not simply reproduce the structures of reality. In this book, the scholars call attention to the semantic dimension of visual structuring. According to Kress and van Leeuwen,

“Pictorial structures *produce* images of reality which are bound up with the interests of the social institutions within which the pictures are produced, circulated, and read. They are ideological.”² In visual communication, the communicative event occurs through the images. Instead of talking about ‘objects’ or ‘elements’ of the pictures, semioticians use the technical term ‘participants,’ or more precisely, ‘*represented participants*’ to refer to the people portrayed in the pictures. The advantage of this term is that it points to relations that are symbolically established between the viewer of the image and the ones who are pictured (the represented participant).

In representations by means of pictures, two kinds of participants are involved: the *interactive participant* (the viewer who makes contact with something or someone else by means of the image) and the *represented participant* (the subject portrayed). In the analysis of pictures, semiotics refers to represented participants as ‘Actors,’ but there is a specific situation in which the participants should be referred as ‘Reacters.’ In this case, the process which is registered by the photo is called a *reactional* process for being focused on the reaction of the represented participants. That is, the participant appears reacting to something instead of doing something. Kress and van Leeuwen give an example of reactional process: when the direction of the glance of one or more of the represented participants in the picture forms a vector, as though the participant is observing something or someone.³

In the picture on the cover of *Time*’s commemorative issue, the focal point is the reaction of Obama, and his facial expressions are highlighted. He is the ‘Reacter’ in the picture. He looks at something outside the picture frame, but we cannot see what he is looking at. There is no phenomenon to be observed. In such cases, says Kress and

Leeuwen, “it is then left to the viewer to imagine what they [the participants] are thinking about or looking at, and this can create a powerful sense of empathy or identification with the represented participant.”⁴ Beyond this, the eyes fixed upon the far horizon – common for men pictured in the press, while women often seem to gaze into the middle distance, according to the authors⁵ – give an idea of decisiveness and vision of the future. Thus the visual grammar provides cues about the way the ‘interpersonal’ function of the language is acting in the text; that is, how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated. In the case of this article the relations between Obama and the viewers are being set up.

The magazine’s decision of focusing the report about the presidential elections on the reaction of Obama is corroborated by the image of the first two pages of the cover story inside the publication.⁶ Again, the pictures and the headline are focused on Obama’s reaction at the night. He appears once more looking at something outside the picture frame, something that the viewers [of the picture] cannot see, but in this picture he is smiling. The picture is expanded in a way so that it fills all of the two pages of the cover story, which carries only one headline: a quotation of Obama saying, “‘This Is Our Time.’” This headline is made by someone else’s utterance and thus, the article gives clues of being shaped, since the beginning, by other text’s meanings, in the case by Obama’s speech. In this headline, another ‘voice’ speaks and gives meaning to the article: the elected candidate by means of the speech he delivered that night. The presence of the journalist is completely erased in this headline. Words such as ‘time’ and the pronouns ‘this’ and ‘our’ provides temporal and special value to the utterance, showing that the statement is very focused on a specific situation of communication. The

word 'time' is also a reference to the own name of the magazine. In this manner, the utterance mixes together Obama's and *Time*'s voice in the same headline, somehow linking the magazine to the communicative event.

Following the first two pages of the article is another picture that again covers two full pages. The picture is of an indistinct crowd; an American flag at the left side appears spotlighted. There is no headline on these pages, only a caption on the left: "*Body politic Obama supporters celebrate at Chicago's Grant Park. Obama is the first Democrat since 1964 to win more than 51% of the popular vote.*" The next two pages picture Obama and his wife Michelle at the center of a stage. The couple is holding hands and they appear entering the stage being surrounded by American flags from both sides. Obama is standing up and smiling, and Michelle has her head slightly bent down, which situates her in a position inferior to her husband in terms of photographic angle. The presence of Michelle in this picture that introduces the cover story and also in the last picture, the one that closes the story, is fundamental for the scenery that this article constructs.

The technical term for the scenery in a given article is 'scene of enunciation.'⁷ It implies that every text is a performed speech. As Maingueneau puts it, "A text is not a set of inert signs, but the trace left by a discourse where the speech is staged."⁸ There is a scene prescribed to every communicative event, and this scene performs the role of pivot between the linguistic organization of the text and the discourse as verbal event and institution.⁹ "To each genre of discourse," Maingueneau explains, "is associated a 'generic scene,' which attributes parts to actors, and prescribes the place and the moment, the medium, textual macrostructures – all conditions necessary for the felicity of a given macrospeech act."¹⁰ But there is another type of scene implied: the so-called

‘scenography,’ which proceeds from the choice of discourse producers. In short, ‘generic’ scene is the very scene that the genre prescribes, whereas *scenography* is produced by the text. The article belongs to the generic scene of a news weekly magazine (in which the reporter talks to a reader) but its scenography is similar to the fairy-tale narratives with a happy ending. The reporter incarnates, as speaker, the character (ethos) of a story-teller. There are many cues that led to the identification of such scenography.

The article is signed by a female journalist, Nancy Gibbs, and starts with the following paragraph: “Some *princes* (my emphasis) are born in palaces, some are born in mangers. But few are born in the imagination of scraps of history and hope. Barack Obama never talks about how people see him: *I’m not the one making history*, he said every chance he got. *You are*. Yet as he looked out Tuesday night through the bulletproof glass, in a park named for a Civil War general, he had to see the truth on people’s faces. We are the ones we’ve been waiting for, he liked to say, but people were waiting for him, waiting for someone to finish what a *King* (my emphasis) began.” The term ‘princes,’ in the first sentence, precedes the mention to Obama so works as a substitute word for the president-elected. The use of adjectives and other terms that qualify to refer to a subject who will be mentioned later, in the text, works as rhetorical device for which the technical term is *cataphora*. This is a persuasive strategy because it sets up a direct relationship between the subject who is mentioned and the word that came before. In the analyzed sentence of the article, ‘princes’ comes before and is used to qualify Obama. Through the use of referents, the speaker can indicate to the reader the value attributed to the person who is being talked about, so directing the interpretation of the utterance. In this manner, the speaker can surreptitiously impose some evaluations.

Playing with the words ‘prince’ and ‘King,’ by which the statement is obviously referring to the black leader Martin Luther King, the text produces a scenography that brings out the fairy-tale narratives, with the prince charming, the princess, the King, the kingdom and the vassals. In the body of text, for example, the fourth paragraph starts this way: “*Remember this day*, parents told their children as they took them out of school to go see an African-American candidate make history.” In the ninth paragraph, again the same introduction is used: “*Remember this day*. We now get to imagine, at least for a while, that the election of Obama has not just turned a page in our politics but also tossed out the whole book so we can start over.” The italicized quote in the first sentence of the fourth paragraph refers to the *voice* of an anonymous parent speaking to his or her children. In the ninth paragraph, the quote is repeated, but then the reporter speaks directly to the readers and mentions a story book.

There is considerable evidence of that scenography in the scene constructed by the journalist. The picture that closes the article is a photography of Barack Obama and Michelle Obama in a romantic attitude, as if they were going to kiss each other. Michelle has her arms around Obama and the couple is facing each other. The caption says: “Yes they can *The President-elect shares an embrace with the future First Lady. The couple have promised their children a White House puppy.*” The classic happy fairy-tale ending is signaled by this picture.

The romantic style of the narrative can also be perceived by the extensive use of metaphors, at least one of them clearly inspired by a famous story book. This indicates the manifest intertextuality of the article, that is, the articulation of other texts in the text studied. In this case, the evidence is a reference to the “Harry Potter” books in the fourth

page of the article where it is written: “He [Obama] won women without the help of women’s groups, blacks without the help of race polls, and that *golden snitch* (my emphasis) of American politics, the youth vote, whose presence not only gave his campaign a feeling of hope and energy but made old people feel younger too.” “Golden snitch” is a small, golden ball with silver wings used in ‘Quidditch,’ a fictional game played by the characters of Harry Potter books. It must be caught to end the match.¹¹ In referring to the youth vote, the enunciator uses terms that belong to the universe of the fantasy novels that have a young man as the hero.

The intertextuality, in the sense used by Fairclough, is strongly present in the text by means of the traces of speeches delivered by Obama. This is what some authors call interdiscursivity, because it refers to the articulation of other ‘discursive formations’ in the discourse of the analyzed text. The other discursive formations present and articulated by the article analyzed is the discourse of the *political speech*. The discursive formation is linked first of all to the discourse genre, in this research, the discourse of news magazine. However, different discursive formations are used in the constructions of texts.

The discourse of the ‘political speech’ is manifestly present primarily through the quotations from Obama’s speeches, but it is also hidden in the mixing of the speaker with the “spoken subject,” the one that the article is representing, that is, Obama. This article incorporates, in its narrative, a representation of Obama that matches with the ethos (character) of speaker that Obama himself perform in his political speeches. Thus, the scenography that the text produces is grounded primarily on the tale used by Obama himself to construct the scene of his speeches. It was through his books and also his speeches that Obama made public his romantic life story, a true tale of the American

Dream. Obama enacted elements of the American Dream in his speeches, and established a connection between his public image and the United States' national identity. It is on this tale that the article is primarily anchored.

It can be noticed, in the first paragraph of this article, that the text incorporated the excerpts of Obama's speech without the quotation marks. Those passages are distinguished only by the use of italics. As Maingueneau observes, the quotes between quotation marks are added to a given utterance while those ones in italics are incorporated.¹² Only in the second paragraph, the journalist opted for using the quotation marks. Quotation marks have to be also interpreted by the reader, so they are invested of meaning. They guide the interpretation of the addressee. The use of quotation marks can work, for example, as a resource by the reporter for creating a distance from what has been said in the text. In the same manner, the omission of quotation marks can provide the opposite effect and points out a coincidence between the discourse of the speaker and the reported speech.

In the second paragraph there is the use of intertextuality, with the article bringing sentences from Obama's political speech delivered on election night with quotes: "‘If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible,’ declared the President-elect, ‘who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer.’" The news magazine's commemorative issue actualizes through this article the myth of the American dream as well as the values that represents what it means to be an American.

Beside the three first paragraphs, which are placed in the layout of the magazine as a big 'lead' in type larger than the rest of the body of the text, there is a big picture framing a crowd carrying many American flags with a group of people highlighted. Those people are: a young white man (on the right), a black man (in the center), a middle-aged woman (on the left), and a couple (also on the left). It is a photography that represents diversity and seems to reassert the nationalism that joins together different types of cultures under the umbrella of the nation. The caption says: "A glimpse of history: *Crowds in Grant Park listen to Obama's victory speech. 'I will listen to you, especially when we disagree,' he pledged.*"

The utterance establishes a relationship between the subject represented (Obama) and the addressee, the reader. The representation there coincides with the ideological position that has already been identified in Obama's speeches by rhetorical analysis: the one of the conciliator. In the case of the article analyzed, it goes further in making comparisons between the discourse positions of Obama with those of Martin Luther King. It appears not just in the initial sentence that says that people "were waiting for someone to finish what a King began," but in other references that are used to represent Obama.

For example, in the fourth paragraph of the third page of the article, page 36, the journalist refers to Obama using verbs in a metaphorical sense and making lexical choices that allude to the discourse of a priest. It is written as follows:

Obama belonged to a party that was bent on retribution; he *preached* (my emphasis) reconciliation, and when voters were asked a year ago who had the best chance of winning, Hillary Clinton crushed him, 71% to 26%. He had to build a *new church* (my emphasis) and reach out to the *seekers* (my emphasis) who had lost *faith* (my emphasis) in government or never had any in the first place. He ran not so much on any *creed* (my emphasis) as on the *belief* (my emphasis) that

everything was broken, that the very system that produces candidates and frames issues and decides who loses and who wins in public life does little more than make a loser out of the American people. *We need to start over* (my emphasis), he argued, speak gently, listen carefully, find solutions, keep our word.

In this last sentence, the direct speech of Obama is reported by the article without any quotation marks or italics, being blended with the speech of the journalist, a cue of the proximity between these two discourses.

In the article Obama is also represented as ‘the prince charming’ of the fairy tales, who comes to the rescue of ‘the damsel in distress,’ in the case the American nation facing an economic crisis. In the third paragraph, it is written: “He won because at *a very dangerous moment* (my emphasis) in the life of a still young country, more people than have ever spoken before came together to try to save it.” Afterwards, it can be read: “Early-voting lines in Atlanta were 10 hours long, and still people waited, as though their vote was their most precious and personal possession *at a moment when everything else seemed to be losing its value* (my emphasis).

The ethos, that is, the representation of the ‘body of the speaker’ in a text works as a ‘guarantor’ of what is being said. The term ethos comes from Aristotle’s *Rhetoric*. Maingueneau explains, “By ‘ethos’ Aristotle means the representation of the speaker that the addressee constructs across the production of discourse.”¹³ Ethos is not what the speaker says explicitly about himself; ethos is a representation ‘implied’ in the discourse. In this article, the ethos signaled by the reporter’s type of narrative is that of the storyteller, like a parent telling a story to his child. The ‘guarantor’ is not immediately perceptible; it must be constructed by readers, who assign to it a temper and corporality. The temper and the corporality of the guarantor are provided by social stereotypes on

which the discourse rests and that, in its turn, it contributes to reinforce. Maingueneau explains, “Such stereotypes circulate in diversified registers of semiotic production; nowadays they are mainly carried by cinema and advertising, but in other periods theatre, painting and novels played a much more important part in this respect.”¹⁴

In the article, the distance between the maturity of the ‘guarantor’ and the youth of the addressee (who is an American citizen) is marked in the ideological positions that highlight restraint, conciliation, the overcoming of ‘culture wars.’ In page 35, she says that “people’s hunger for change is tempered by their faith in restraint.” The nouns ‘hunger’ and ‘faith’ are used in the metaphorical sense. In the next page, 36, it is written as follows: Whether by design or by default, the past now loses power: for the moment, it feels as if we’ve left behind the baby-boomers battles of the past 40 years; the *culture wars* (my emphasis) that took us prisoner and cut us off from what *we have in common* (my emphasis); the tribal warfare between rich and poor, North and South, black and white.” At this point the utterance omits the political polarization of the campaign, choosing to insist in a supposed unity of the American people.

In the beginning of the article the reporter refers to the United States as “a still young country,” and reassures the ethos disclosed. Afterwards, a statement about the electoral event: “An election in one of the world’s oldest democracies looked like the kind they hold in brand-new ones, when citizens finally come out and dance, a *purple-thumb* (my emphasis) day, a *velvet revolution* (my emphasis).” The use of the expression “Velvet Revolution” alludes to the so-called “Gentle Revolution,” the non-violent revolution in Czechoslovakia that saw the overthrow of the authoritarian government and which started on November 17, 1989. And the expression “purple-thumb” addresses

the Iraqi women showing their fingers stamped purple as evidence they had cast their vote in 2005, making this a symbol of democracy. The emphasis on the democratic process and on a peaceful “revolution” in the article presents more evidence of the ethos of the text and its ideological position.

The Presidential Office

Heterogeneity

Eni Orlandi observes that the discursive formations should not be thought as homogeneous blocks automatically working. They are constituted by contradiction, they are inherently heterogeneous, and their borders are fluid because of the continuous configuration and reconfiguration of their relationships.¹⁵ Heterogeneity is the most stressed feature of the cover story of *Time* magazine from October 27, 2008. The cover puts together the pictures of four politicians: two are of past presidents of the United States (Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt) and the other two are of the main presidential candidates of the day, Barack Obama and John McCain. The headline asks: “Does temperament matter?” and the subhead answers: “How a President’s personality can determine success – or failure – in times of crisis.”

The heterogeneity is present in the diversity of discursive formations present in the article. The scene is supported by three types of main discourses which cross each other: the *discourse of counseling* and a variant of it, the *educational* discourse, and also the *discourse of the performing arts*. Counseling (as well as interviewing) is actually another genre of discourse. It is one of the types of culturally salient genres which appear

to be ‘colonizing’ the orders of discourse of various contemporary institutions and organizations.¹⁶ Fairclough observes that in this process, these types of genres have undergone a dramatic expansion of functions as they moved across boundaries between institutions, generating many sub-types and variants forms of discourses, such as the therapeutic, educational, employment and consumer counseling, for example.¹⁷ So it is possible to see this type of discursive formation in the discourse of the press, in advertisements, in enterprises and other social institutions.

These discursive formations are present in the layout of the cover of the magazine. The first type of discourse, educational, is in the lesson of history that the magazine suggests by evoking the historical figures of Lincoln and Roosevelt through black and white pictures contrasting with the colored pictures of Obama and McCain. The effect is clearly to situate the ex-presidents in the past, bringing out their historicity, whereas the color of pictures of the presidential candidates are approximated to today’s “reality” through the use of the colors. Kress and van Leeuwen explain that balanced colors give the impression of ‘reality’ to the images. Grammatical devices which can provide ‘true value’ and ‘credibility’ to a text are called *modality markers*. They are present both in the verbal language and in the visual communication (by means of visual codes). In visual representation, the color has a role as a marker of naturalistic modality.¹⁸ Colors and illumination provide *realism* to the photographic representation. In the case of the analyzed article, it marks the contrast between the present, the current reality, and the past, which is history.

The second type of discourse, which is counseling, can be found in the utterance of the headline and subhead of the magazine cover, through the lexical choices

(temperament, personality) and by the presupposition that “a president’s personality can determine success, or failure, in times of crisis.” In this headline, the magazine asks a question about whether the temperament is important or not and immediately answers it in the subhead. The “answer” of the subhead is also a cue to the ethos of the speaker in the inside pages of the cover story. The ‘guarantor’ of what has been spoken is a type of *counselor*, an advisor. It is that way the reporter addresses the reader. The magazine gives advice about what kind of temperament that is important to be a president.

The scene of the article is constructed in a way that tries to represent *balance* and *temperance*. It can be noticed that the four pictures are distributed on the page in an apparent balance and all have the same shape: the square. Kress and Leeuwen point out that, in our society, squares and rectangles are the elements of the world of human construction. The square represents the world and denotes *order*.¹⁹ However, in the visual grammar, the symmetrical composition establishes a kind of relation of taxonomy, a type of classification. Distributed in two levels, the participants are referred to by Kress and Leeuwen as ‘Superordinates’ (those which are above), and ‘Subordinates’ (these below).²⁰ There is a [strongly] proposed equivalence between Obama and Abraham Lincoln – and more slightly between Roosevelt and McCain – that is visually suggested by the symmetrical composition of the cover’s layout. In the case of Obama and Lincoln, the effect of equivalence is much stronger given to the angle of the two pictures: they are both [Obama and Lincoln] represented as equal in size, placed at equal distance from each other and orientated in the same way towards the centre. It is the arrangement of the pictures that creates a relation of similarity between Barack Obama and Abraham Lincoln.²¹ The resemblance posits the Democrat candidate as an actor who could play

Lincoln's role on a stage. In the case of McCain and Roosevelt, the photographic angles and the eyes are focused in different directions. McCain is looking up while Roosevelt is looking down in a middle distance.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, "Classification processes do not, of course, simply reflect the 'real,' 'natural' classifications. For participants to be put together in a syntagm which establishes a classification means that they were judged to be members of the same class and are to be read as such. As in language, naturalization is not natural. The picture itself constitutes the relation."²² It can be noticed that the only interactive participant in the pictures on the magazine's cover is Obama, since he is the one who looks toward the viewer, establishing apparent direct contact. Kress and van Leeuwen state, "When represented participants look at the viewer, vectors, formed by participants' eyelines, connect the participants with the viewer. Contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level."²³

The similarity between Obama and Lincoln is part of the interdiscursivity of the text. Discourse analysis does not take the ideological positions of the reporter as a *conscious* process to influence the readership. Discourse analysis sees the reporter *signifying* in relation to social memory and historical context. Because of the abolition of slavery, Lincoln has a place in the American history and in collective memory, which is associated with black political activism. As Orlandi remarks, there is not a single discourse that does not have relationship with others. In other words, meanings result from relationships: a discourse points to others which support it, as well as to future speeches.²⁴ However, in articulating the political and linguistic (or the visual representation), the article symbolizes a determined ideological position. It is the

ideological position of the subject of the communicative event which is marked by the linguistic choices. Language is not transparent. The world is not directly apprehensible through the signification of the words. Subjects participating in the communicative events are informed by ideology.²⁵

In the inside pages of the magazine, the cover story repeats the same question of the cover (“Does Temperament Matter?”), but only pictures of Obama and McCain illustrate the article. These pictures are placed in squared frames which occupy the entire right side of the opening pages. They are centered on details of facial expressions and gestures of the presidential candidates, both of them framed in close perspective. These visual representations are cues to the discourse of performing arts and counseling present in the article. The same can be said for the subhead and its lexical choices: “Call it reflexes in crisis. Or instincts under pressure. The qualities that a President needs to succeed are both essential and elusive.”

The candidates and the past presidents of the United States are scrutinized regarding their private lives, their temperament, personalities and emotional characteristics. The ethos of *counselor*, which the reporter uses to legitimize the scene of enunciation is combined with the scenography. This scenography frames the ex-presidents as actors who played a role on the stage of history, and the candidates as aspirants to perform the same role. In the third and fourth pages of the article there are pictures of four former U.S. presidents with headlines, below each picture, that refer to the roles ‘played’ on the stage of history. Hebert Hoover is labeled as “The Engineer.” Franklin Roosevelt as “The Optimist.” Harry Truman as “The Plain Speaker.” Lyndon Johnson as “The Arm Twister.” This kind of label also coincides with psychological

profiles prepared by counseling professionals. Below the labels, there are two topics, one named as “Reputation” and the other as “Reality.” Thus, they suggest a difference between the roles played by the presidents and their real lives.

The first paragraph of the cover story introduces vocabulary of the discourse of counseling: “Of all the false *intimacies* of modern life, the promise of a presidential campaign may be the most misleading. They come into our living rooms every night, plying us with *insight* and *confession* (my emphases); we know the prayers they say and the beer they drink, their tics, their tastes and talismans.” In the fourth paragraph, there is more evidence of the discourse of the performing arts: “The presidency is less an office than a performance.”

Afterwards, through a statement of one of the historians who are the source of the article, there is one more reference to the stage: “We’ve taken temperament and turned it,” warns presidential historian Richard Norton Smith of George Mason University, into “vaudeville.” The reference to the staging arts is on “vaudeville.” Nevertheless, the choice of the verb “warn” (selected in preference to ‘say’), which is a ‘speech act’ verb (because it adds a value of permanence to the statement), to represent the voice of the professor of history emphasizes the power of the journalistic source and gives evidence of educational discourse.²⁶ This evidence points out other possible scenography, the classroom, which is the stage where the professor performs his or her role of teaching the students. The scenography is of a history course. The journalist comments on a question to a professor about the perfect presidential temperament, at the end of the article: “And now *we* are *listening*, as *citizens* and *students* (my emphases).” Grammatical tense and pronouns are shifted to incorporate the perspective of the reporter, who is introduced in

the scene of the communicative event. The voice of the historians who inform the article also gives clues of educational discourse. One of them states: “One of the clearest *lessons of history* (my emphasis) is that there’s no such thing as the foreseeable future.”

The article has a three pages box which appears with the rubric “TIME Roundtable.” The four historians who are the source of the article are gathered for a debate and the conversation is transcribed in the last three pages of the news magazine. In this manner, the magazine gets to reproduce the type of ‘group therapy’ conversation. The headline is: “What Kind of Temperament Is Best? Four historians discuss how the personalities of Presidents can determine how they handle crises.” The magazine reproduces only parts of the conversation between the historians. However, the way that the speech of the debaters is presented – their vocabulary, expressions, ellipsis, omission of words etc. – tries to show authenticity, as if the exact words of the conversation were being used. It is the discourse of the historians, professors and biographers that provides the legitimacy to the discourse of the journalist in front of the reader. This article presents a diffuse scenography. That is, instead of one specific scenography, it displays a set of multiple scenographies and addresses different discourse genres.²⁷

In the interpersonal aspect, this article sets up an identity for Obama and constructs a relationship between him and the reader. Obama is a ‘third party, an ‘other’ participant besides the reporter and the reader, the two people who usually establish a relationship. The relation set up between Obama and the addressee can be noticed in the analysis of the cover picture: Obama looks directly to the viewer and this suggests interaction. Besides, the article constructs an identity of Obama when suggests similarity between him and Lincoln. Similarly, the cover, with where the arrangement of the photos

of Obama and Lincoln both framed by the same angle, gives the impression that they have a physical resemblance. It is an effect caused by the visual design of the cover. Beyond the cover's constructed similarity between Obama and Lincoln, the article also makes an analogy between both politicians when describes Lincoln as a president famous for working with a team of rivals, in other word as someone with a conciliatory spirit.

Talking about the qualities that matter in a president on page 42, the article says,

More important is the confidence that lets you welcome smart people around you – and hope they disagree. Hence Lincoln's famous "team of rivals," says biographer Doris Kearns Goodwin. "How can you do this?" people asked him when he stocked his Cabinet with former adversaries. "He said, 'Look, these are the strongest and most able men in the country. The country's in peril. I need them by my side.' He had the internal self-confidence to know that if he could get them working together as a team, it would be exactly what he needed for his leadership."

Later, on page 43, the article tells an episode of Obama's childhood, so implying similarity in temperament with Lincoln. It says,

When Barack Obama was 6 years old, he was the only the only foreign child in his neighborhood in Jakarta, Indonesia. He didn't know the kids, didn't speak the language. At first the locals were a little freaked out, says Zulfan Adi, 47, who as a kid lived a block from Obama. "He was so much bigger than the rest of us." So they decided to haze him. One day a group of children ambushed him, carried him to the local watering hole and threw him in. They had no idea if he would swim. But when Obama came to the surface, he was laughing. He could have broken free and crushed them anytime he wanted, but it was much better to play it cool, ride it out and make friends with his adversaries.

It should be noticed that this cover story constructs the similarity between Obama and Lincoln without pointing it clearly, that is, without saying in a straight way that they are similar. The article does this surreptitiously, first through the images of the cover and later in the text argumentation. This construction of Obama as a politician somehow

linked with Lincoln (a Republican) shows that the racial identity of the presidential candidate, although not clearly mentioned in the any part of the article, is taken in account by the magazine. Since Lincoln was an icon for the abolition of slavery and the Civil War, this analogy between the two politicians gives indication that Obama's racial identity matters in his representation. Also, the magazine works on the relation between the reader and the [American] national ideology. The reporter reasserts the national ideology when she opts for using the American history to inform the article. She could have used, instead, examples of leaders inscribed in world history. In this manner, the article actualizes the system of cultural representations of *Americanism*, or what *means* to be American.

Modality

Especially on the magazines covers and in newspapers' front pages, the press uses different techniques of layout and design to define ideological positions.²⁸ Those positions can be set up through *modality practices*, which give indications of the truth value or credibility of a statement and refer to the degree of affinity between the speaker and what he or she is talking about. The concept of modality, which comes from linguistics, is also essential in visual communication, because "visuals can represent people, places and things as though they are real, as though they actually exist in this way, or as though they do not – as though they are imaginings, fantasies caricatures, etc." as Kress and van Leeuwen point out.²⁹ Fairclough puts it this way: "Modality concerns the extent to which producers commit themselves to, or conversely distance themselves from, propositions: their degree of 'affinity' with the proposition."³⁰

The cover of *Time* magazine from March 10, 2008 is a perfect example of modality in visual communication. A photo of the silhouette of the back of Barack Obama's head is the cover, which carries the headline "How Much Does Experience Matter?" Subheads say "What it really means for a President," and "Why science says it may be overrated." The cover story is signed by David Von Drehle and the feature that complements the story (the one to which the second subhead refers) has the signature of John Cloud. In the index page, the headline of the cover story says: "How Much Is Experience Worth? History and science show that isn't a simple question." In this cover, the degree of affinity of the speaker with the statement is low. It constitutes, in fact, an *utterance on another utterance*. It is the truth value of a third part's statement which is questioned in the cover story. This happens, firstly, by a process of *nominalization*, also a type of modality through grammatical 'transformation.'

As Fairclough explains, "Nominalization is the conversion of a clause into a nominal or noun."³¹ It is similar to another type of grammatical transformation, the 'passivization,' that is, the conversion of an active clause into a passive clause. In short, there is a modification of the structure 'subject+verb+predicate' of the clause by means of a process of *thematization*, which brings to the main position another element (a topic) that is not the same 'subject' of the active clause.³² The magazine uses a noun, 'experience,' instead of making the statement into an active clause, thus referring to Hillary Clinton and John McCain arguing that Obama is too inexperienced to be a president. But the headline does not approach directly the issue of whether Obama is experienced enough to be a president. In this manner, it refers to an abstract *entity*, which is difficult to precisely define. In the inside pages of the cover story, which has "Does

Experience Matter in a President?” as its headline, Clinton and McCain are briefly mentioned in the subhead: “Hillary Clinton and John McCain are arguing that Barack Obama is too green for the job. But history shows that when it comes to the presidency, experience doesn’t guarantee success.” Using this grammatical device, the magazine manages to distance itself from the statement.

Each one of the subheads of the cover refers to a point that makes the case for the ‘abstract’ value of experience: *history* and *science*. According to Kress and Leewen, “[M]odality judgments are social, dependent on what is considered real (or true, or sacred) in the social group for which the representation is primarily intended.” On this cover of *Time*, the credibility of the statement about ‘experience’ is clearly challenged against the truth value of ‘science’ and ‘history,’ typical in a society such as the United States that values objectivity. Modality is ‘interpersonal’ (constructing identities and relations through language) rather than ‘ideational’ (representing the *ideal* meaning of the sign) and does not express absolute truths or falsehoods. As Kress and van Leeuwen explain, “[I]t *produces* shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others. It serves to create an imaginary ‘we.’”³³

The picture of Obama on the cover has a rhetoric effect. The French semiotician Roland Barthes called this type of effect ‘the rhetoric of the image’. The layout of the cover is very clean, with the color black predominating. Only the logotype and the frame which are part of the layout of each edition of the magazine are in red, as it is usual in *Time*’s editions. The main headline is in sky blue and all others are in white. Also in white is the halo that contours Obama’s head, an effect caused by the refraction of light. Given this effect, the candidate seems to be endowed by ‘natural’ clarity. It is a case of

the denotative function of the image ‘naturalizing’ the connoted message.³⁴ This is the example of modality in visuals that the cover gives.

Modality refers the reality status accorded to or claimed by a sign, text or genre.³⁵ In photography, the image is ‘captured mechanically’ and this reinforces the myth of its ‘objectivity,’ as the British visual semiotician, Daniel Chandler explains.³⁶ Chandler observes that there are many *realities* rather than the single reality posited by objectivists. In this magazine’s cover, the hypothetical *realism* of the photography helps to challenge the credibility of the statement on Obama’s inexperience, like the fields of knowledge mentioned in the subheads – ‘science’ and ‘history.’ At the same time, there is another statement in this picture of Obama’s silhouette: the candidate is ‘naturally’ gifted with charisma. As Barthes notices, “The press photograph is a message.”³⁷ The photographic representation comprises a *denoted* message, which is the analogue itself, and a *connoted* message, which is the way in which society represents to a certain extent, what it thinks of the analogue.³⁸ In photograph, connotation is the imposition of a second meaning upon the photographic message, which is elaborated at different levels of photographic production.³⁹ The photograph’s ‘objective’ mask of denotation can conceal the connotative messages implied in trick effects.⁴⁰

In the first connotative meaning of the cover’s photo, the right of the *spirit* as a fundamental value of liberal ideology is the theme. Spirit, in this case, is synonymous with psyche, character, and a symbolism of the ‘individual.’ A gifted individual has the right to defy the censorship imposed by the supposedly importance of the ‘experience’ in the presidential office. A second connotative message implied in the cover’s photo is science as ‘legitimizer’ of Obama’s gifts. The refraction of light on his head also reminds

the viewer of an x-ray, the photography created for medical purposes. In sum, the image works as a metaphor of the 'Enlightenment,' emphasizing the scientific inquiry and rejecting traditional social, religious and political ideas.

Modality implies some form of power, Fairclough says, because "the speaker is projecting her own perspective as a universal one, or acting as a vehicle for the perspective of some other individual or group."⁴¹ By means of formal choices (in images or verbal texts), the magazine establishes an interactive relationship with the reader, who is directly addressed and tentatively co-opted during the process of interpretation. Through modality, a speaker can reproduce and reinforce traditional social hierarchies of the society in which the communicative event occurs, or try to change them using a persuasive strategy.⁴² In the dialectical relationship between discourse and social structures, discourse can also reflect and constitute a wider process of social change.⁴³ While supporting typical values of the American society (such as the principle of individual rights of capitalism), the analyzed article works for a social change: the possibility of an 'outsider' occupying the highest political office of the nation. On the other hand, it simply reflected and participated in a social change already in process.

The ethos of the speaker is that of the 'objective reporter,' who can 'enlighten' the reader, serving the reader as guardian of the truth. In the scene of this article, the reporter acts as working to provide the objective information that will legitimize the presence of Obama as a strong competitor in the presidential race. Historical data and graphics representing the years of office of past presidents are included on the pages of the cover story. Graphics are considered scientific form of representations, giving more credibility to the enunciation. Photos of John Kennedy and Obama are symmetrically positioned,

both politicians pictured in similar gestures. “Character and charisma” says the caption of Kennedy’s photo, while Obama’s picture, “Learning to lead.”

The article starts by mentioning the inexperience of Kennedy as president and his performance in the Bay of Pigs’ episode, followed by the comparison between the politicians. However, it is again an utterance on another utterance. In the lead of the article, the text reports the speech of an anonymous ‘voice’, which represents common knowledge: “*A story is often told* (my emphasis) at times like this – times when American voters are choosing among candidates richly seasoned with political experience and those who are less experienced but perhaps more exciting alternatives. *Once upon a time* (my emphasis), the torch was passed to a new generation of Americans, and a charismatic young President, gifted as a speechmaker but little tested as an executive, was finding his way through his first 100 days. On Day 85, he stumbled, and the result for John F. Kennedy was the disastrous Bay of Pigs.” Thus, using verbal modalities practices, the magazine disqualifies the utterance as an irrational belief. The remarks of the text show low modality, that is, disagreement between the writer and what is being written about, as in the fourth paragraph: “But if one *moral* (my emphasis) of the Bay of the Pigs is “Beware of charisma” or “Timeworn trumps callow,” what do we make of the mistakes and miscalculations of deeply experienced leaders?”

The use of these popular sayings and the vocabulary from the discursive field of children’s tales show the process of disqualifying the truth value of the utterance of the anonymous common ‘voice.’ The irony present in the beginning of the fifth paragraph gives more evidence of this process. The reporter asks: “Wouldn’t it be nice if time on the job and tickets punched translated neatly into superior performance? Then finding

great Presidents would be a simple matter of weighing resumes.” The ironic tone of the writer is used for scornfully commenting about the common knowledge belief of how important experience is to a President. The irony is, therefore, echoing someone else’s utterance (the anonymous voice). Fairclough calls this “the intertextual nature of irony.”⁴⁴ The real function of the ironic utterance is to express some sort of negative attitude towards someone’s else utterance.⁴⁵

The cover story is divided into two parts. The second part is totally grounded in data presented with a scientific appearance. The ‘lead’ of the article, the picture that compounds the layout, and the headlines are about research in the medicine field. It reports on an experiment realized with nurses to measure their performance and the influence of years of experience on their work. The experiment was done with the help of a robot simulating a patient, that is, everything is very technical and scientific in the magazine’s representation. The findings of the experiment point out that “the numbers of years of experience in a domain is a poor predictor of attained performance,” according to a headline placed in the middle of the page. Opening this part of the cover story is the headline “The Science of Experience,” and the subhead, “Would you prefer a doctor who has practiced medicine for 30 years or just 10? Research into expert performance shows that choice isn’t simple.”

Two types of scenography constitute the scene of enunciation in this article. The first one is the *documental*, a sort of scene of factual political journalism, in which biographies and episodes of the history are presented as ‘facts’ which will illuminate the truth. The writer is the objective journalist, supposedly ‘enlightening’ the reader. This can be noticed in the metaphors used to refer to experience and to reader reaction believing in

a myth: “There’s something *egglike* (my emphasis) about the concept of experience as a qualification for the highest office. *At first blush* (my emphasis), the ideal appears to be something you can get you hands around.” The second scenography is inspired by the scientific research and addresses a laboratory: it is the scene of an experiment.

The representation of Obama emphasizes his youth, leadership, charisma, natural talent, and, finally, his potential as a *learner*. This can be noticed, for example, in the lexical choices of the captions of Obama and Kennedy’s pictures: “Learning to lead,” and “Character and charisma.” The reader is directly addressed by the writer, who tries to persuade the addressee to not dismiss the candidacy of Obama because of his inexperience. In the second part of the cover story, the addressee is invited to try an ‘experiment’ grounded on scientific data and rely on the charisma and character of Obama as the true values demanded for the Presidential office. The last sentence of the article evidences this by the words used: “And in the end, determining which of the presidential candidates pays more attention to your concerns requires not adding up their years of experience but far a more complex calculation: deciding what their experiences have led them to *truly value* (my emphasis).”

Public Service

The cover story of *Time* magazine of September 22, 2008 is a very evident example of the media instilling a sense of nationhood and shaping national cultural identities. The cover’s picture brings together Obama and McCain dressed as blue-collar workers in an obvious photographic montage. They have their sleeves rolled up and hold

work tools and helmets with the American flag symbol. Seated in a trunk which also has the American flag symbol, they are side by side, McCain on the right and Obama on the left, and [imaginarily] “look” at the viewer. The headlines of this cover story are: “21 ways to fix up American, Second Annual National Service Issue” and “McCain and Obama reveal their plans for national service.”

The metaphor of military service to signify “community service that provides a public service,”⁴⁶ as well as the *discourse of the national culture* are clear in this article, which posits the presidential candidates as models of identity to be followed by the addressees. There is another metaphor on this cover illustrated by the candidates: the presidential office is presented as blue-collar work, a job accessible to the ordinary man. It appears both in the characterization of the candidates and in the vocabulary of the headline that says “fix up.” In this manner, the magazine might provide to a ‘common man’ model-reader the feeling of belonging and responsibility for work that could be primarily seen as the government’s job. The reader might as well construct his identity to follow the example of the two politicians and to play a role as important as theirs.

An evidence of the metaphor of the military service appears in the index page heading to the cover story: “National Service: Your Country Wants You! – a call goes out, with 21 ways you can give back and pay it forward to current and future; plus, Obama and McCain in their own words.” As Fairclough explains, metaphors are not just superficial stylistic adornments of discourse. He observes, “When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way.” The metaphors

are some cues to the article nurturing national belonging, trying to shape identities through the narrative of a national culture.

In the inside pages, the article has as its headline “A Sense of Community,” and subhead, “When he takes office in January, our next President will surely take steps to help more Americans serve. But you don’t have to wait that long to get started.” This headline is a *nominalization*: it transforms itself into a theme addressing the reader to what follows, in the subhead, the calling to the social engagement. A theme was created, a new entity appeared in this headline. This is a feature of nominalization which is of considerable cultural and ideological importance, as Fairclough remarks.⁴⁷

“Nominalization turns processes and activities into states and objects, and concretes into abstract,” he says.⁴⁸ The article uses a nominalization that works in the affective component of the national culture; that thing that the members need to share in order that they belong to the same culture, which Raymond Williams called a “structure of feeling.”⁴⁹

The visual design shows more evidence of this work on the emotional of the readership. In the right hand page of the cover story, the picture mixes photography with drawing: a hand holds a rake and passes it to another hand, which seems to be moving in the direction of the rake in order to take it. The background shows a blue sky and, on the bottom side of the picture, the roof of houses and buildings appear to symbolize an American city. The colors of the [very colorful] picture show maximum color impregnation, that is, they are extremely saturated. This fact indicates high modality and *affection* in visuals of sensory type. The picture is not a realistic photo, with a sort of naturalistic representation. It is rather a stylized blend of a picture with a drawing which

appeals to ‘sensory’ qualities: the emotive value of color. Kress and Leeuwen point out that from the point of view of the ‘sensory’ definition of reality (as is the case of the article’s picture), “colors are there to be experienced sensually and emotively.”⁵⁰

In this picture, the opening hand that receives the rake is on the right and thus represents the New, according to the informational values attached to various ‘zones’ of the image (left and right, top and bottom, center and margin). Kress & Leeuwen explain that the placement of elements endows them with specific informational value.⁵¹ What is on the right is New and what is on the left is Given. The hand that holds the rake is on the left and represents the Given, that is, a piece of information with which the reader is already familiar. Grounded on the analysis of press layouts, Kress and Leeuwen assert, “For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be New means that it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer.”⁵² Thus, it is important to notice here that the picture with the hands is on the right side of the layout and the text is on the left.

The picture has an old-fashioned style: it is a kind of illustration from the 1950’s, addressing the baby boomers’ generation, which is mentioned in the body of the article. This picture works as a synthesis of the verbal text, a fact that is confirmed through the textual analysis. For example, in the first sentences of the fourth paragraph, the magazine’s text says: “The service movement is uniting the two largest generations in American history, the *baby boomers and the millenials* (my emphasis). They are the demographic bookends of America, and together they comprise more than half of the U.S. population. Both have a strong commitment to civic engagement.” The article

nurtures nationalistic sentiments in the new generations of Americans, actualizing the “invented traditions” of the [American] national culture.⁵³

As Stuart Hall observes, the *narrative of the nation* is told and retold in national histories, literature, the media, and popular culture. He says,

These provide a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, national symbols and rituals which stand for, or *represent*, the shared experiences, sorrows, and triumphs and disasters which give meaning to the nation. As members of such an ‘imagined community,’ we see ourselves in our mind’s eye sharing in this narrative. It lends significance and importance to our humdrum existence, connecting our everyday lives with a national destiny that preexisted us and will outlive us.⁵⁴

The narrative of the nation, as Hall explains, emphasizes *origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness*.⁵⁵ The national character is represented as primordial and unchangeable through all the vicissitudes of the history: from the nation’s birth, it is unified continuous, ‘changeless,’ eternal. The invented traditions are the set of practices, “rituals of symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviors by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past.”⁵⁶ In this manner, the article articulates the continuity of an essential national identity, which implies service to the country. This characteristic would be transferred to the successive generations, according to what the picture with the hands suggests.

In the body of the article, there are all the ingredients mentioned by Stuart Hall. In the last paragraph of the first page, a set of stories, historical events and national symbols are evoked to foster civic engagement. It reads, “National service is part of our DNA. From the signers of the Declaration pledging their lives and sacred honor, to Ben Franklin’s community fire-insurance company, to all the volunteer associations Alexis Tocqueville saw when he visited America, service is a key part of the story we tell

ourselves about this country. The ideas for national service we write about in this issue are as old as the Liberty Bell and as modern as long-distance digital tutoring. And they are part of a new American story that we are inventing every day.”

The cover story is a *bricolage* of small articles and notes, a total of 21, suggesting ways of participating in community public services. Some of the articles are signed by entrepreneurs, executives and mainstream politicians, such as Senators Edward Kennedy and Orrin Hatch, Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, and ex-U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell. The language as a whole mixes the vocabulary of the political discourse of social engagement and the discourse of charitable appeals. In topic number 5, for example, the headline is “Rethink Christmas” and the note is signed by John Dilulio Jr and John M. Brigdeland, who are identified as people who “worked in the White House on community-service initiatives during President George W. Bush’s first term.” In the third paragraph, the reader is interpellated as in an advertisement: “You can change that. Make December a special month for remembering the aged who are disabled, impoverished or aching with loneliness. Redefine Christmas as a season for preparing to bring hope and peace year-round to needy older neighbors.” The picture in this part of the cover story is of Santa Claus featured as Uncle Sam, pointing his finger at the viewer. At the bottom is the classic sentence, “I want you.”

The scenography of this cover story is very specific: a calling to serve the nation, using the already mentioned metaphor of military service. At this point, the discourse of the magazine is not clearly distinguished from the discourse of the government and organizations which could be performing the calling. The magazine itself assumes this calling. The intertextuality is clearly manifested by the signature of the small articles and

by the texts of messages of the presidential candidates at the end, closing this cover story. Besides, there is the constitutive heterogeneity marked by the presence of the narrative of the American nation, its stories and historical events. In this sense, the magazine seems to be only actualizing the national character. Through this cover story, *Time* provides material, that is, *discourse* that can make a collectivity and allow particular individuals to assert and establish distinctive identities for themselves.⁵⁷ In this case, we are talking about the collectivity of the United States and the American identity.

However, the magazine does more than just actualize invented traditions and the [American] national character. It also reflects and works for a social change in terms of cultural diversity and inclusiveness. In the discourse of the national ideology that the article reproduces, there is the presence of changes in the social structures and social relations of the institution to which they refer, that is, the American society. According to Fairclough, the social changes in discourse are linked with the concept of hegemony, “in the sense of a mode of domination which is based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups, and the generations of consent.”⁵⁸ The design of a multicultural society, in which the African Americans share the same ‘structure of feeling’ that characterizes the national culture is a preoccupation of the article. Indications of this can be found in the main photos of the article. In the index page, for example, the headline photo shows students involved in volunteering activities, and an African American child stands out. The caption says: “Service first: City Year students learn to give, page 48.”⁵⁹ Also in the photo that opens the “User’s Guide” section, “21 Ways to Serve America” there is a group of multiethnic students, many of them African American.

The article works the national culture as a cultural commodity. The American national culture appears as an object of consumption. In this sense, the consumers 'buy' identity, an American national identity. The citizens are 'customers' of the politicians and institutions that promote social engagement as a form of acquiring 'political capital.' The preoccupation with the inclusiveness of the new generations and the cultural diversity of the society is also a preoccupation with a new generation of consumers. An advertisement posited at the end of the 'User's Guide' and before the words of the presidential candidate is evidence of this. It is an advertisement of the non-governmental organization of older people, AARP (American Association of Retired Persons), whose chief operating officer is the writer of one of the topics of the cover story. The advertisement occupies the whole page and features the photo of an African American boy, who is smiling and posited on the right side of the picture. On the left, one can read: "My grandma is a superhero. Her superpower is giving."

This work of construction of national identities uses the presidential candidates as identity models. McCain and Obama are mentioned in the opening pages of the article. Obama's past job as community organizer is compared to McCain's service to the Navy. In this manner, the metaphor of military service to describe community public service is reinforced. Also, the Democrat nominee is represented as a role model to inspire the new generations of African Americans. The articles signed by the presidential candidates are side by side and are symmetrically positioned: Obama's word on the left and McCain's on the right. The article by Obama, "A Call to Service," starts talking about his experience working as a community organizer. Then, from the second paragraph onward the candidate talks about his plans for national service, if elected, and the needs of the

country, but he largely uses the first person in the plural, “We.” It is only in the last sentence of the article that he uses “I” again. In this manner, the representation of Obama is linked with a national collective “We.” And his identity appears as if marked with this nationalistic symbolism.

Ideological War

Time incorporated patriotism and national ideology in the cover story of July 7, 2008. On the cover and in the inside pages, the article is full of pictures of national symbols, primarily the U.S. flag, and photos representing nationalistic feelings of the U.S. citizens. The cover has the colors of the national flag: the frame is red as usual, but the logo is blue this time, with white as the background. The headlines follow this color standard and they are mostly in blue – only the main one is in black, a neutral color – with the signature of the author of the article in red, as well as the signatures of Obama and McCain for the messages they wrote on the topic of the story. Because the color white dominates this cover, the small drawing of the American flag placed in the center of the layout is highlighted. By reproducing the colors of the flag, the headlines get more attention to that national symbol. The headline of this cover story, placed right below the flag, says, “The Real Meaning of Patriotism,” and the subhead, “Why both parties get it wrong – and how to fix it.”

The headline of the cover story presents a *presupposition*. As Fairclough explained, “Presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or ‘given.’”⁶⁰ The phrase “the *real* meaning of patriotism” presupposes that there is a meaning of patriotism which is not real. In other words, it

presupposes a running definition which is not true, but unreal, imaginary. The term ‘presupposition’ is one of the types of implicitness that the linguistic pragmatics distinguishes.⁶¹ Fairclough suggests to take an intertextual view of presupposition, and to assume that presupposed propositions are a way of incorporating the texts of others. He observes that “in many cases of presuppositions the ‘other text’ is not an individual specified or identifiable other text, but a more nebulous ‘text’ corresponding to general opinion (what people tend to say, accumulated textual experience).”⁶² In the subhead of this cover, the magazine gives an indication that such general opinion is linked with the positions of the political parties that dispute the presidential election: “Why both parties get it wrong – and how to fix it.” And the primary headline is formulated by the contestation of another text.

It should be noticed that the magazine evaluates [as wrong] the running definitions of patriotism and also points to the way of fixing it. Thus, the magazine says which is the *right* way, and establishes its version as *the truth*. Presuppositions contribute to the ideological constitution of subjects.⁶³ In the case of this article, *Time* tries to produce a meaning of patriotism, a ‘new’ meaning (as it is pointed in the headline of the inside pages), which is defined by the magazine. Thus, the magazine acts in the construction of a narrative of nation.

The placement of the national symbols, the U.S. flag and a button in the center of the cover, as a symbolic kernel, reveals how the magazine posits the national ideology and its systems of cultural representations. In Kress and van Leeuwen’s *Reading Images*, if a visual composition makes significant use of the centre, placing one element in the middle and other elements around it, the books refers to the central element as Center and

to the elements around it as Margins. The authors state, “For something to be presented as Center means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient.”⁶⁴ This point provides a clue that the place in which the magazine situates the national symbol on the cover is a privileged one. Another point is that the flag used on the cover is a drawing, not a photo. Such detail follows Kress and van Leeuwen’s observation about some contemporary layouts of the press which use this type of placement: “the centre is often a symbolic drawing, a kind of logo almost, unifying the information surrounding it around a central meaning.”⁶⁵

Kress and van Leeuwen also explain that in certain cases, the placement of elements as Center and Margins appears combined with another type, adding informational value to the visuals.⁶⁶ In the case of this cover, the Center and Margins are combined with Ideal (which is the informational value of the top) and Real (the informational value of the bottom) types of placement.⁶⁷ The authors say, “The upper section tends to make ‘emotive’ appeal and show us ‘what might be;’ the lower section tends to be more informative and practical, showing us ‘what is.’” The national flag is on the first half of the cover, as if doing an emotive appeal to American patriotism. Below, there is the text of the magazine, which tries to define “the *real* meaning of patriotism.”

It should be noticed that choosing a drawing instead of a photo to represent the flag also aids this contrast between unreal (a drawing) and real (written information). The placement of the flag against a white background provides salience to this drawing and thus reinforces the ‘power of the centre,’ as Kress and van Leeuwen refer to it.⁶⁸ The salience here is a result of a color contrast. Also, the drawing is of an inclined flag with shade on the right and a small button on left. This positioning of the flag makes a vector

to the text below, that is, establishes a connection between these two elements (the drawing and the headlines). Additionally, it reproduces the shape of a triangle. Kress and Leeuwen say that triangles are “a symbol of generative power, and represent ‘action, conflict, tension.’ ”⁶⁹ This meaning just reinforces the national symbol presented as a center of power by the cover of the magazine, as well as a motive for polemic between different groups of electors.

In the index page, the magazine shows its engagement in the U.S. national ideology. The headline to the cover story says: “We Pledge Allegiance.” The subhead complements: “Winning in 2008 will mean balancing loyalty and dissent.” The *Pledge of Allegiance* addresses an oath of loyalty to the American national flag composed by the Baptist minister Frances Bellamy in 1892 (“I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all”).⁷⁰ By using the pronoun “We,” the magazine and the citizenry who pledge loyalty to the country are blended in the headline. This pronoun inserts the reporter and the magazine in the immediate context of the utterance. Thus, the magazine posits itself in the nationalist landscape, nurturing the [North] American identity.

The caption of the index’s picture, in which appear three waving American flags, makes allusion to the national anthem (“The Star-Spangled Banner”): “Star-Spangled Banners: Symbols of patriotism, page 25.” In the inside pages, the cover story starts from a right page, something that is not usual in magazine layouts. The national flag is used again as a type of logo and is on the center at the top of the page, contrasting with the white background. Right below, there is the highlighted headline “The New Patriotism,”

followed by the subhead “Americans honor their country in dramatically different ways. Why those differences can make America stronger.” Once more, the position of the flag in connection with the headline and subhead reproduces the shape of the triangle. In that manner, the magazine continues investing in the meaning of ‘power of the centre’ and the representation of ‘action, conflict, tension.’

It should be noticed that the subhead indirectly mentions the ideological conflict between different forms of nationhood, and points to the centrist position as the most powerful (“those differences can make America *stronger*”). So, the visual grammar reproduces the proposition of the cover story: there is conflict between two narratives of nation and the center is the right way. This other way leads to what the headline calls “the *new* patriotism,” since the first page of the article is positioned on the right, where is usually situated the informational value referred to as New by Kress and Leeuwen. This first page is in fact an introduction to the cover story and the presidential candidates’ messages. The threesome formula is repeated on the bottom of this page with headlines that point to the article by Peter Beinart and the messages of Obama and McCain.

The headline of this first page is a nominalization and the subhead provides an example of the topic as an active clause. The effect of abstraction given by the transformation of clauses into a type of noun which represents processes as entities – the so-called nominalization – is explicitly mentioned in the first sentence of this page. It says, “Patriotism has always been the most *abstract* (my emphasis) of American virtues – which may be why we fight so ferociously over the symbols that help us to define it.” The abstract character of patriotism is reinforced in the nominalization of the headline. This conversion of an active clause in to a nominal group allows the agents of the clause

to be deleted in the headline. Thus, neither the headline nor the subhead directly refer to Republicans and Democrats, and that makes it easier for the magazine to assume a conciliatory center position.

In the second sentence of the first paragraph, following the sentence mentioned above, the article states, “Too often those symbols – flags, anthems, slogans – which are meant to unite us, end up dividing us.” Afterwards, the article goes on presenting nationhood to the readers by means of its descriptions, such as: “the meaning of patriotism is simple: love of country,” “a nation that is based on ideas, not blood,” “Our patriotism shapes our responsibilities..., what it means to be an American,” “there is nothing more important than those ideals,” and “there have always been twin strains of patriotism in our history, two different definitions of American exceptionalism.” Thus, it is possible to perceive the national symbols mentioned by the article being continuously reinforced in the discourse of the news magazine. It does not refer to a critical, rational approach of those symbols, but rather to an emotional appeal and to the dissemination of the national ideology.

In the fourth paragraph of this introduction, the magazine mentions the two political parties and the conflict they are talking about: “Conservatives and liberals have been arguing about these two strains [of patriotism] for years, and that debate has become the pivot of our politics. Republicans have contended that they are the true legatees of the nation’s heritage and attack Democrats for being ashamed of America. Democrats in turn depict Republicans as chest-thumping nationalists who prevent America from living up to its ideals. Both of these are caricatures.” Afterwards, the magazine asserts that “What *we* (my emphasis) need going forward is third-way patriotism, a new patriotism that blends

the faith of *our fathers* (my emphasis) with, as Lincoln said, the unfinished work remaining before us.” Again, the magazine incorporates the American identity and reaffirms the national culture.

Although pointing to a ‘third-way patriotism’ and warning against making patriotism a worship akin to that of a king or religion, in the second paragraph of this introduction, the magazine does not raise a rational discussion on the meaning of national symbols as the body of myths that compound a culture. Instead, the similarities between the cult of the country as a patriotic site and the religious practice are made clear in this article, whose scenography addresses the religious scene. In the first two pages of the story by Peter Beinart, there are many pictures of people wearing adornments with the colors of American flag and references to national symbols, many of them associating religion and war, like the signs which state: “God, guns and guts made America free,” and “God bless America and our troops.” The headline “Patriot Games” is clearly an allusion to the movie *War Games*. In another picture, a man holds a cross over the chest where is written what seems to be the name of a victim of war.

Obviously, the magazine is reporting the political conflict between conservatives and liberals, more specifically between the so-called Left and Right of the American politics, which blends religious views with politics in the United States. However, the article does not directly approach this contentious and tense ambience, neither does it give up the nationalistic rhetoric itself. On the contrary, the article reinforces the nationalistic rhetoric and uses it as way of arguing for a [conciliatory] third-way patriotism. The political *dissension* presented in the American society at the time is not

highlighted in this article, which adopts an editorial-like style and invests in the *consensus*, proposing a centrist, less divisive view of the country.

While performing what may be called ‘teaching nationhood’ to the readers, the article gives a cue of the place of the national symbols as a way of constructing communities and uniting people around a nation that is as part of a system of cultural representations. In its first paragraph, for example, the introduction says that national symbols “which are meant to unite us, end up dividing us.” It is consent which is searched for and valued by the article. The magazine shows the role that Stuart Hall has identified as the one to be played by the media in the end of the 1970s. Hall explained that consensual views of society represent society as if there are no major cultural or economic breaks, no major conflicts of interests between classes and groups. According to the scholar, “[T]he media are among the institutions whose practices are most widely consistently predicated upon the assumption of a ‘national consensus.’”⁷¹

The subhead of this article is an example of this search for a consensual view. It says, “Conservatives think patriotism is a tribute to the past. Liberals believe it’s a key to the future. Here’s what both sides can learn from each other.” Thus, the magazine tries to construct a representation of Americanism in which the viewpoints of the two political parties – the conservative Republican view and the liberal Democratic view – are equally important to the social identity of the nation. In the *narrative of the nation* that the magazine tells, the discourse of the ‘Americanism’ represents what ‘America’ is, gives meaning to the identity of ‘being American’ and fixes ‘America’ as a focus of identification in Americans hearts.⁷²

Recognizing the ‘invented traditions’⁷³ and the myths of origin as components of the narrative of [American] national culture, the article does not discard what it says to be the belief of conservatives, “a tribute to the past,” as it is written in the subhead. But the article also courts the liberals as using them to represent the inclusion of the new generations of American-born immigrants’ children. It is precisely the liberal candidate, Barack Obama, who will represent that third-way that the magazine defends, which mixes the mythology – such as the American dream tale and the myth of the self-made man – with the new, the ‘future’ that they link with the Democrats, and the social change that includes different ethnic groups in the American society.

In the introduction, there is an indication of this when the speaker mentions a specific book to refer to the third-way patriotism the magazine is claiming. He says, “That new patriotism, as Eric Liu and Nick Hanauer write in *The True Patriot*, means ‘appreciating not only what is great about our country but also what it takes to create and sustain greatness.’ That formulation is what this campaign should be about: defining America’s course in the 21st century.” The authors of that book are sons of immigrants that identify themselves as the American Dream and claim for the Democratic Party “a compelling story that can capture the moral and political imagination of most Americans,” as they mention in their book.⁷⁴

When mentioning Obama, the magazine’s introduction says: “In Barack Obama, the first American presidential nominee, the mixed-race child of a single mother, we have a candidate whose perspective on – and experience of – America are different from those of any other nominee in history. In Jonh McCain, we have the son and grandson of admirals who suffered grievously for his country and has spent his life as a public

servant. To say that one of these represents the American Dream and the other does not is to set up a false choice. As they show in their own words on the following pages, both men embody the *great traditions* (my emphasis) of American patriotism.” In this manner, the magazine gets to link the life story of the candidate of the Democratic Party with a narrative of nation and, mainly, with a myth of origin: the so-called American Dream.

Obama is represented as the candidate who personifies this third-way patriotism, especially because of his racial/ethnic background. The first four paragraphs of the article talk about Obama, the patriotism view of Republicans and the mistakes of past Democratic politicians who dismissed American national symbols and lost elections because of this. After the first subtitle, the reporter writes about the Republican view on patriotism. He says: “What McCain’s title [of his book] implies is that patriotism isn’t a choice; it’s an inheritance. Being born into a nation is like being born into a religion or a family. You may be called on to reaffirm the commitment as you reach adulthood – as McCain did by joining the military – but it is impressed upon you early on, by those who have come before.”

The problem that the article points out about patriotism is the identification of America’s national traditions with racism and exclusiveness. Although the article does not state that directly, it suggest the identification in sentences such as: “And when [patriotic] celebration is linked to the claim that America’s national traditions are racist – as it sometimes is on college campuses – conservatives begin to suspect that multiculturalism is leading to outright disloyalty.” Also, a headline in the middle of the article asserts, “Conservative patriotism risks becoming clubby. But if it can be too exclusionary, liberal patriotism risks not being exclusionary enough.” Thus, the article

advocates the ‘patriotic cause,’ but also it works on the integration of the people of different backgrounds – specially the African-American – in the narrative of nation.

Such a position is made clear when the article mentions Obama as the politician who can redeem the American history of racism. It says, “Obama’s political persona is also deeply bound up with youth, promise and liberation from the constraints of the past.” The standpoint of the article on multiculturalism in the U.S. is that immigrants’ descendents should be assimilated into the national culture. There is evidence of this discourse of cultural assimilation in the following sentence: “If some conservatives worry that America’s recent immigration wave is fracturing the nation, Obama represents the liberal faith that assimilation is relatively easy and that newcomers don’t divide America; they improve it.”

The messages of the presidential candidates on the meaning of patriotism help to compound the scenography of religiosity. Both are presented in pictures as preachers delivering their speeches: the gestures and lightning help this effect. Obama appears with a microphone and one arm opened, and from the perspective of a viewer who sees him from below. McCain has white light at his background. The headlines of their messages address the country using a discourse that, because of the vocabulary, recalls the religious discourse: “A Faith in Simple Dreams” by Barack Obama, and “A Cause Greater Than Self,” by John McCain.

Economy

The cover story of *Time* magazine from August 11, 2008 shows the introduction of the economy in the debates over the presidential election. With the pictures of Obama

and McCain on the cover, the magazine links the presidential dispute with the economy and suggests this topic as fundamental to decide the election. The main headline says “Job # 1: The Economy.” Afterwards the diverse articles that compound the cover issues: “Henry Paulson’s plan for getting the U.S. back on track,” “Joe Klein on what Obama and McCain would do,” “Michigan’s blues and why they could decide the election,” and “Plus: Bill Gates on how to make capitalism work for everyone.” Presented as a “special report,” the issue shows Obama’s and McCain’s pictures in black and white over a white background that highlights the colors of the main headline and the ‘special report’ logo, which are in red, as though signifying danger and calling for attention. The highlight of “Job # 1” in yellow reinforces the emphasis on the dangers around the economy and the necessity of attention to the topic.

All other headlines are in black and grey (a variation of black), except for the words Obama and McCain, which are respectively blue and red. The colors black and grey of the headlines (including the logo *Time*, in black), the pictures of the presidential candidates in black and white as well as the white background emphasize the meaning of ‘attention’ of the red color. The value of red is well known in the Western culture and reproduced in traffic lights. The colors of the names of the presidential candidates and the positions that they occupy on the cover – McCain on the right and Obama on the left – suggest that the magazine is emphasizing the political parties that they represent. They put each candidate’s name in the color that represents his party and their pictures in the positions associated with Republicans and Democrats. In that manner, the magazine provides a political approach to the economic crisis, and suggests that a political action is expected on the issue.

The first article of the special report is about the actions of Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson on the economy, especially in connection with the bailout of firms in financial trouble, such as Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. The headline of the article is evidence of the expected political action I mentioned earlier: “Hank Paulson didn’t screw up the economy. But he has to fix it.” Although this article is not directly related to the presidential election, the candidates are included in an excerpt of the text that mentions them: “The candidates for President are watching closely: both Barack Obama and Jonh McCain have generally endorsed Paulson’s actions, but it’s clear that – with Obama’s candidacy propelled in part by economic discontent – McCain has a greater stake in the current Administration’s success. Either way, the next President’s options will be determined in large part by what Paulson can pull off in the next few months.”

For this analysis, the articles that follow are the most important, because they involve a certain representation of Barack Obama during the electoral campaign. They are referred in the index page as: “In the arena: Joe Klein defends Big Government,” “Campaign’08/Economy: Where the candidates stand on the one issue that matters most,” and “Campaign’08/Michigan: A tour of a new electoral battleground.” All of them are part of the special report of the cover. Joe Klein’s article links economic crisis and political dispute. It should be highlighted here that the headline used in the index page to refer to this article situates very clearly the writer as the author of the utterance (“Joe Klein defends Big Government”). Thus, the magazine’s editorial opinion appears detached from the writer’s view.

This article is particularly important because it reveals an ideological shift in the United States’ political economy landscape. As the index page’s headline states, the

writer defends a more active role of the state in the economy. The candidacy of Obama appears as if it was connected with this new proposed economic model that the magazine calls 'Big government.' The time and context for the story is very stressed in the article. That is to say that the marks of the situation of enunciation – to use a term of French discourse analysis – are prominent in the article. It is as though the time [of the statement] were an indication of a necessary change in the nation's economic model. In the text of the article this idea is corroborated by the intertextuality brought out in the references to the ex-president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, and his neoliberal political rhetoric.

“The Recession Election. To solve this crisis, the next President will have to make government work again” is the headline and subhead of Klein's article. A nominalization eliminates the verb and creates a group of nouns to attribute a characteristic to the presidential election (“the recession election”). The presupposition that the government is not doing its job is implied in the headline (“the next President will have to make government work again”). But the article's rationale is constructed primarily through the intertextuality that places Reagan's political rhetoric as the symbol of an economic model which has failed.

In the first paragraph, the article mentions McCain's intentions of working on a balanced budget, as he stated during a speech. The writer comments, “This set off a reflexive think-tank hiccup of outrage of the sort we've been living with since the days of Ronald Reagan.” In the third paragraph, the article talks about an economic summit held by Obama with his covey of advisers. About these advisers, the writer says, “They had cleaned up the Reagan-era mess.” In the next paragraph, in commenting on the economic

crisis, the article states, “It also is happening at the end of the political pendulum swing that began with Reagan’s remarkably foolish statement in his first Inaugural Address:

‘Government is not the solution to our problem; government is the problem.’”

Afterwards, a new paragraph starts again mentioning the ex-president: “Reagan’s nostrum has been the guiding philosophy of the past 30 years, a period of disdain for governance – even Bill Clinton said, “The era of Big Government is over” – that reached its nadir in the sloppiness of the current Bush Administration.”

It should be noticed that the text is constructed as a defensive counterpoint to Reagan’s discourse, a president who made history for his rhetorical skills and who was considered a great communicator.⁷⁵ As William Lewis observes, in doing rhetorical criticism of Reagan’s second inaugural address, when the U.S. was living through serious economic troubles and foreign policies failure, Reagan came onto the scene with a vision of America that reinvigorated the nation. He comments, “This familiar and well accepted story follows the pattern of many political success stories in which the hero rescues the country from a time of great trouble. This story is special however, in that Reagan is said to have accomplished the feat through the power of his speaking.”⁷⁶ For Lewis, stories are not just a rhetorical device that Reagan used to embellish his ideas. Reagan’s message is a story, that is, he used story-telling to direct his policies, ground his explanations, and inspire his audiences.⁷⁷ In this sense, the former U.S. president’s rhetoric had a strong *emotional* appeal, and was grounded on myths applied to the origin of America.

Striking a different note, the analyzed article of *Time* appeals to the readership’s reason. Using subjective modality, the writer puts this way his appeal to the rational decision of the electorate: “I suspect that this debate, more than foreign policy, health

insurance or low-information trivia, will be at the heart of the general-election campaign.

We are at a moment of real economic peril, a recession different from most because it is happening at a hinge of history, as economic power becomes distributed more evenly around the world.” Later, at the end of the article, he comes back to the issue:

“Ultimately, the public’s decision on Barack Obama won’t rest so much on his race or exotic-sounding name as on the willingness to take a chance on a candidate who is promising a real break from the recent past – a government that is part of the solution, not part of the problem.”

Here, two points deserve to be mentioned. The first is a derisive remark on an irrational, exclusively emotional decision on the presidential election, an election that demands rationality to provide a solution for the economic mess, according to the article. The second is the construction of Obama’s candidacy as the antithesis of the neoliberal discourse of Reagan’s era, this one representing the past. The article suggests that the electorate will let alone issues concerning the racial identity of Obama and take a chance on the ideological identity constructed to him, which is represented as the rupture with the neoliberal past and failing politics. In other words, it is implied that giving up those personal issues to take on new ones is a desirable, good thing to do.

The writer assumes the ethos of a watchdog reporter who demands from the government a more active role to fix the problems of the country in the economy and infrastructure. He asserts, “It is an era that has been marked by a growing disconnect between the very rich and the middle class (median family income has dropped by an estimated \$1,000 during Bush years). And it is an era when even the most rudimentary responsibilities of government have been neglected – like keeping up the country’s

infrastructures.” However, two different political views of the role of the state in the economy are at stake: two visions which are represented as ‘the past’ and ‘the new.’ In this scene, a new ideology seems to be emerging and hindering the hegemonic project of the neoliberal thought. As Fairclough observes about the concept of hegemony in a discourse theory approach, “The hegemonic struggle between political forces can be seen as partly a contention over the claims of their particular vision and representations of the world to having a universal status.”⁷⁸

The construction of Obama as a representative of the ‘new’ philosophy and as a politician identified with a more interventionist role of the state in the economy – in opposition to the neoliberal thought that defends non-interference of the government in the markets – can be seen in the page that displays the candidates’ positions on the matter. The headline is “A Voter’s Guide to the Economy. How Obama and McCain propose to create jobs and ease the pain on Wall Street and Main Street.” Below this headline there are the pictures of both candidates side by side, each one heading a column where their standpoints on economic issues are reported. The headline for Obama’s picture is “The core of our economic success is...each American does better when all Americans do better.” For McCain, the headline is “Small businesses are the job engine of America, and I will make it easier for them to grow.” Below each headline, the magazine summarizes the position of the candidate. It says: “Obama sees a more active role for government in job creation. In the short term, he supports a second stimulus package in addition to the \$168 billion one already passed,” and “McCain portrays himself as a traditional fiscal conservative, emphasizing tax cuts and a balanced budget. He has not weighed in on a second stimulus plan.”

The headline for Obama emphasizes collective good and wealth more equally distributed among the American population. McCain's headline highlights small enterprises. Thus the first is focused on people, whereas the second seems to focus on business. McCain is presented as a 'deficit hawk'⁷⁹ while Obama is said to believe in a more active role for government, although the magazine only mentions this in regard to job creation and to a second stimulus package. This second point is interesting because, with the bailout, the executives of the financial market who had neoliberal positions claimed they needed the intervention of the government to help the companies in trouble. Investors and some of financial professionals seem to be among the target audience of the magazine – a reader model, in discourse analysis terms.⁸⁰ There is evidence of this in the terms of the headline of the page, which aims to show how Obama and McCain propose to create jobs and “ease the pain on Wall Street and Main Street.”

Investors are mentioned in this analysis because, among the population possibly interested in such bailout, they are in large numbers. Many of them are entrepreneurs and professionals who may be experiencing layoffs. The headline talks about the candidates' plans to create jobs. An illustrative example of how the economy could affect the presidential election is offered in the article which comes after the candidates standpoints displayed in the 'Voter's Guide.' In this article, the discourse of the entertainment dominates the scene, comparing the election dispute to a sporting event, a kind of tournament. The headline says, “Michigan Blues,” and the subhead, “A dreadful economy has Michiganders looking for change in Washington, but doubts about Obama make this Democratic state a toss-up.”

The headline alludes to the cultural environment of Detroit, a predominantly African-American that defined the trends of national popular music with the famous Motown Records in the 1960s. Motown is a nickname for Detroit Michigan, the capital of the auto industry in the U.S.. It is also the name of the musical style that began with Black musicians in the Detroit area (characterized by pop and rhythm and blues beats) was named.⁸¹ This allusion to the African-American population is evidence that the article implicitly portrays the sort of racial conflict that characterizes the election in Michigan and speculates on voters' responses to the economic crisis and Obama's ethnic identity.

The example of racial conflict is given through the contrast between the behavior of the electorate of Detroit (which has a Black majority) and Oakland County, described as a wealthy and affluent area, "a once solid Republican bastion that has grown more Democratic in recent years." The article asserts, "Oakland is one of the new battlegrounds of 2008," and "Directly northwest of Detroit, Oakland County is the center of wealth in Michigan – it's where Eminem moved after he made his millions – and has escaped the worst of the prolonged slump. When the Pistons relocated from Detroit, they chose Auburn Hills for their new home." In that same paragraph, the article also mentions other celebrities who are residents in Oakland, such as the Republican Mitt Romney and the pop star Maddona. Many paragraphs later, a Democrat politician is quoted as explaining the electoral behavior of Oakland voters. He says, "Often there's a reaction against Detroit in Oakland County." About Detroit voters, the writer comments: "It's a fairly safe bet that the nation's first black presidential nominee will turn out the vote in the country's most predominantly black city."

On one hand, the economy may change the political landscape in Michigan, according to the article, primarily because of the unemployment of highly trained workers in predominantly Republican areas. It says, “Despite its wealth, Oakland is feeling pain from the economic downturn. The most recent round of auto-industry cuts has walloped white collars engineers and researchers who call Oakland County home.” On the other hand, the candidacy of Obama may be impacted by his African-American identity, because of the corruption scandal of another African-American politician, Detroit’s Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick. The article states, “But the danger for Obama is that years of scandalous headlines about a young black man in power in Detroit will have a much subtler impact on the way suburban voters view Obama’s candidacy.”

At this point of the article, two issues are brought out affecting the election: the racial identity of the candidates and the gender relations. About Detroit’s Mayor, the magazine comments, “And in Detroit, which lies just on the other side of Mile Road, Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick faces a long litany of legal and ethical woes stemming from his affair with a co-worker.” On Obama’s strategy to reach Michigan’ voters, the article says: “That may explain why Obama and his wife have visited the state five times since he clinched the Democratic nomination and have made more stops in Oakland County than in any other parts of the state.” In that manner, the magazine subtly reports on issues on racial identity and gender relations influencing the election, and how the Democratic candidate dealt with those matters.

Naturalizing the Economic Crisis

Time magazine's cover story of October 6, 2008 can be seen as a media representation of the effects of the economic crisis in the American society. The impact that the economic situation caused in the social environment is represented mainly through the images that compound the layout of the article. The cover and the inside pages are full of meaningful visual language, such as a diagram in form of a spiral – named the 'panic spiral' – and photos of the presidential candidates in a labyrinth. Besides this sort of representation, the article shows a mix of genres. The news discourse appears connected with the business discourse in a way that makes evident the bonds between the corporate world and the media, both trying to politically influence the electorate. Also, the agents of the economic crisis are eliminated from the article. The text works on the naturalization of the economic crisis, representing it as an inevitable consequence of the American cultural environment.

The cover of *Time* illustrates a ballot, that is, a piece of paper used to cast a vote in election. Through this ballot in the cover, the magazine calls on the readers to elect the candidate who can rescue the economy. The headline asks, "Who can Rescue The Economy?" and below as a sort of subhead, "Vote for One," followed by a caption of the magazine explaining that the readers should mark the ballot pictured and send it to Time Ballot P.O. Box. Below there is the ballot that presents three options accompanied by pictures of the candidates: (1) John McCain, Republican, (2) Barack Obama, Democrat, and an unexpected (3) "None of the above, Help!" alternative, represented by the iconic Edvard Munch's painting *The Scream*. This later option is an indication of the situation of vulnerability and pain of the electorate, caused by the economic crisis. The color red

predominates in this cover as signifying ‘danger.’ The question of the headline, by being followed by the ballot with the pictures of the presidential candidates, implies a presupposition: only the new president will be able to rescue the national economy, since the third option presented is hopelessness. By emphasizing the political parties of the candidates (for the “None of the above” alternative appears the word “Help!” instead of the party), the magazine links the solution to the crisis with the type of political ideology represented by the candidates’ parties.

The picture that illustrates the last option of the ballot is the most famous work of the Norwegian artist Edvard Munch. In the late twentieth century, this painting acquired an iconic status in popular culture, representing anguish and existential despair. As the literary and cultural critic Fredreric Jameson, professor at Duke University, comments in his book, *The Scream* is “a canonical expression of the great modernist thematic of alienation, anomie, solitude, social fragmentation, a virtually programmatic emblem of what used to be called age of anxiety.”⁸² It is important to recall that in the aftermath of the 2004 presidential campaign that reelected George W. Bush liberals sold bumper stickers with the same *The Scream* drawing and the slogan: “Four More Years.”

The reproduction of a ballot and the invitation to the readers to vote and send the ballot to Time P.O. Box works as a visual modality marker. The cover of the magazine simulates an election and the real act of voting in the presidential election. The bottom caption states “Mark your ballot and send to ATTN:TIME BALLOT, P. O. Box 60001, Tampa, Fla. 33660-0001. You can see the result in an upcoming issue and on time.com.” It gives a more realistic character to the layout, implying a sort of voting. As Kress and van Leeuwen observe about page layouts, the participants [elements] are heterogeneous

and can be verbal (headlines, block of copy, etc.), “but the semiotic means which bring them together into a coherent semantic structure are always visual.”⁸³ They continue, “The key to understand such texts therefore lies above all in an understanding of the visual semiotic means which are used to weld these heterogeneous elements into a coherent whole, into a text. Visual structures relate visual elements to each other.”⁸⁴

Thus, the headline in the index page reinforces the presupposition that the new president can rescue the nation from the situation of crisis. It says, Campaign’08: The Economy – How to pick a President amid financial chaos.” And the picture which opens the cover story in the inside pages gives one more example of the economic crisis as it was being represented in the national media. Taking almost the two opening pages of the cover story, an illustration shows Obama and McCain amid a maze, a labyrinth built with dollar bills. Cramped in a single column, the headline asks, “The Financial Crisis: Who Can Lead Us Out of This Mess?” This headline and the placement of the candidates in a labyrinth show the future president being represented as a savior of the nation, even before the election. Besides, this layout gives one more example of the representation of the economic crisis in the American media.

It should be noticed that for completely interpreting these visuals the readers have to make use of their ‘encyclopedic competence,’ in the words of Maingueneau. The French scholar refers to the knowledge that is common to the members of a particular culture and makes possible the understanding in a communicative event. For him, the linguistic competence and encyclopedic knowledge demanded by the texts vary according to the reader model of the publication.⁸⁵ In the case of the visuals of this cover story, they address the Greek mythology and the legend of the Minotaur, a creature (part

man, part bull) who dwelt in a maze, known as “the Labyrinth,” in the city of Crete.⁸⁶

The Minotaur was killed by an Athenian hero, Theseus, who led Athenian prisoners back out of the labyrinth.⁸⁷

By means of the Greek myth, the magazine provides an analogy between the character of the Athenian hero and the role of the future president of the nation.

Therefore, this is a visual metaphor. As the semiotician Raymond Chandler notes, metaphors need not be verbal and even advertisers frequently use visual metaphors.⁸⁸

Chandler explains that the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. According to the semiotician, we may think of metaphor as *symbolic*. He claims, “More interpretative effort is required in making sense of metaphors than of more literal signifiers, but this interpretative effort may be experienced as pleasurable.”⁸⁹

The article also uses verbal metaphors for describing the presidential candidates and, at the same time, adopts a scientific, or biological, discourse for conveying these depictions. This type of discourse appears in the lead of the story, in phrases such as “But John McCain and Barack Obama share the genome of the alpha pol,” and “Like the cicada crawling up from earth precisely 17 years after its mom lays her eggs, or the monarch butterfly fluttering a thousand miles to a particular spot, they were driven by something wired, not taught.” The intertextuality of the article, which draws on the scientific discourse and on the business discourse, is an important clue to the ideologies embedded in the text. By borrowing terms from the scientific discourse, the article applies a strategy of *legitimation*, that is, it addresses the supposed authority of the scientific field to legitimate what is being said.⁹⁰ Therefore, it is also a rhetorical strategy

as far as it works to persuade the readers. In the same manner, the metaphors work rhetorically to emphasize the analogous aspect of two subjects, in the case of the analyzed article, the two presidential candidates.⁹¹

In this cover story, the ideology of the markets predominates. The text works rhetorically to naturalize the economic crisis and eliminate its probable agents. The best evidence of this is the illustration of the inside pages of the cover story, which uses a spiral to show how the crisis evolved. In this layout, rather than the spiral format, it is the geometrical shape of the circle which is emphasized by the perspective of the design. With the headline “The Panic Spiral And how the government hopes to break it,” the illustration has also a curved arrow that points to “The Rescue Plan.” According to Kress and van Leeuwen, “Variants of the arrow may affect the meaning of the process in narrative diagram. A curved arrow, for instance, partakes of the symbolic value of the circle, so that the process is represented as ‘natural’ and ‘organic.’ ”⁹² Besides, the shape of the helix, as Kress and van Leeuwen point out in commenting on its use to represent communication models, “combines the desirable features of the straight line and of the circle, while avoiding the weakness of either...It gives testimony to the concept that communication, while moving forward, is at the same time coming back upon itself and being affected by its past behavior, for the coming curve of the helix is fundamentally affected by the curve from which it emerges.”⁹³ In short, the bursting of the economic crisis is represented as a communication process between financial institutions and consumers, in which the flow of information does not allow readers to identify the guilty parties.

The text also works rhetorically through the use of anaphoras, that is, by means of the repetition of words at the start of successive phrases. It occurs from the second paragraph, by making a comparison between Obama and McCain's standpoints. That device is used to emphasize the similarity of standpoints, which is mentioned in the phrase immediately preceding the second paragraph: "And even more uncanny: they [Obama and McCain] chose almost exactly the same words." Afterwards, the second paragraph starts with the nominal group "Here was Obama" followed by a quote of Obama. The third paragraph starts with almost the same nominal group, "Here was McCain," followed by McCain's statement. Equal rhetoric strategy is applied in the fourth and fifth paragraphs, which respectively start with the words, "More McCain" and "More Obama." Finally, the last paragraphs of this rhetorical strategy close with the so-called neological designations, that is, words created from the mixing of the names of both candidates: "McBama" and "O'Cain." By commenting on the use of neologisms in new brands and advertisements, Maingueneau observes that the kind of name which evokes varied lexical unities is conceived to make the imagination work.⁹⁴ In the analyzed article, the idea is clearly to emphasize the similar standpoints of the presidential candidates on the economy, placing both in the same political baseline. The article does, therefore, a comparison and an evaluation of both candidates, who are described from the beginning of the story as natural politicians, whose skills overcome racial and political divergences.

In the comparison done by the magazine, however, although both candidates are presented as having similar standpoints on the national economy, it is the Democratic candidate who is represented as the one who has the best temperament to face the

economic challenge. His calm before the crisis is highlighted by the writer. Describing Obama, the article says, “Image is a very real part of the presidency, and it seems safe to say now, nearly two years into this campaign, that President Obama would do well should times call for unruffled calm. He wore a gray suit that fit like a mother’s caress, nary a wrinkle or bead of sweat visible, and spoke in the same laconic tone you might use to discuss the weather with a co-worker while sorting you e-mail at the same time. He met the press in Clearwater, Fla., the western end of a wide belt of suburbs along Interstate 4 that usually decides who wins the state’s 27 electoral votes. A regional poll out that morning showed him surging, and not even a bank panic was going to make him lose his cool.”

On the other hand, McCain is represented as someone who tends to behave the opposite way in terms of his temperament, being inflamed and concerned about the agents of the financial crisis. The writer puts it this way: “It’s his nature to see problems in terms of personal culpability; while other leaders were debating the best way to set a price for distressed debt, McCain was calling for the head of Christopher Cox, chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Both Obama and McCain maintained that greed is the root cause of our troubles, but in Obama’s mouth it sounded like a diagnosis, whereas from McCain the word landed like an indictment.” In this excerpt, the text shows a preoccupation with avoiding the placement of blame on specific agents for the crisis. This standpoint matches with the work referred to that naturalizes the economic crisis and erases its probable agents. Also is also one more cue of the ideology of the markets presented by the article. The American capitalist culture is pointed as the cause of the economic situation. The writer states, “The fact that Wall Street banks were recently

borrowing 30 or 40 times their available capital to place bets that home buyers would pay off mortgages 10 times the size of their annual paychecks suggests that America's cultural pendulum has swung too far in the direction of the casino.”

The discourse of business can be clearly identified in the layout about the advisers of the candidates. With the headlines “Team McCain: Mixing populist outrage with a pro-business, pro-free-market ethos” and “Team Obama: Conveying gravitas while maximizing the Democrats' economic advantage,” the article describes the advisers through nominal terms which are jargons from the management area used to classify staff, such as “team,” and “resume.” The ‘philosophy’ of the advisers is another point raised, and this shows concern about the ideologies of each candidate in the economic debate that took the presidential election.

In analyzing the discourse of politics in the media, Fairclough uses the term “mediatized political discourse” to describe how the mass media have occupied a role which was played by political parties in the past, with regards to the communication with the electorate. The intertextuality presented in the discourse of business along with the mediatized political discourse focused on the economy give evidence of a linguistic phenomenon that Fairclough called “a movement of appropriation, transformation, and colonization.”⁹⁵ According to him, “One aspect of new capitalism is an immense proliferation of promotional genres which constitutes a part of colonization of new areas of social life by markets.”⁹⁶ In the analyzed article, the magazine appears to be in tune with the demands of the capitalist market. It is the economy colonizing the news discourse.

Foreign Policy

In the cover story of *Time* magazine of July 28, 2005, the war in Afghanistan, which began in 2001 after the September 11 attacks, is the main point. At the time, the economy was not the dominant issue in the presidential debates. Yet foreign affairs and military action were essential topics to be approached by the future president and the magazine closes the cover story with Obama and McCain's statements about what they think would be the best military strategy to deal with the Afghanistan war. This cover story deserves special attention primarily because of its writer. *Time* did not assign a journalist, a reporter to write an article about Afghanistan. Instead of this, a diplomat and well-known researcher, the author of two well-regarded books on Afghanistan and Iraq (*The Places in Between* and *The Prince of the Marshes*), Rory Stewart, is the writer. A British politician of the Conservative party, Stewart is one of the most prominent experts on Afghanistan in the current media. He walked across Afghanistan in 2002 and transformed this experience in a book.⁹⁷ Stewart might be considered a contemporary Orientalist.

Here, I will use the term Orientalism in the sense it was used by the scholar Edward Said, that is, Western study of the Eastern cultures. This professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University received international recognition with his book *Orientalism*, published in 1978, in which he analyzed the representations of the East done by Westerners, mainly in the nineteenth century. Founder of postcolonial studies, Said says that Orientalism goes beyond a positive doctrine about the Orient that exists in the West.

[I]t is also an influential academic tradition (when one refers to an academic specialist who is called an Orientalist), as well as an area of concern defined by travelers, commercial enterprisers, governments, military expeditions, readers of novels and accounts of exotic adventure, natural historians, and pilgrims to whom the Orient is a specific kind of knowledge about specific places, peoples, and civilizations.⁹⁸

Edward Said thought of Orientalism as “a product of certain political forces and activities.”⁹⁹ In sum, a branch of studies linked to the imperialist and ethnocentric societies that produced them. In the analysis of *Time*'s article, Said's theories on the representations of the Eastern culture are seen as important not only because the writer might be called a contemporary Orientalist, but because of the specific layout that this article was given by the editors of the magazine. In this article on the Afghanistan War, *Time* reproduced a vision on the East that is ethnocentric and imperialist, prioritizing the U.S. military actions in the region. In the same manner that blacks have already been seen as the ‘other’ in Europe and U.S., the East has been considered a big “Other’ to the Western world. Thus, it is interesting to analyze the presentation of the perceptions of the first African-American presidential nominee, Barack Obama, regarding the region. Certainly, the Obama's position as the candidate of the Democratic party for President influenced his public standpoints on foreign policy.

A germane point to be observed in the layout of this article is the style of the pictures on the inside pages, which are all in black and white. The photos match the type of narrative presented by the writer, who uses the first person to tell the readers his experiences in Afghanistan. This article reads more like a fictional narrative than a news report. The black and white photos perform a representational (also called *ideational*) function, according to Halliday's grammar applied to images.¹⁰⁰ Its means that they have

an 'instrumental' character, in this sense, and contrast with the colored picture on the cover of the magazine.

In Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images*, the authors discuss the role of color as a marker of naturalistic modality, that is, the 'truth value' or credibility that colors provide to images. Photographs in black and white have the lowest modality in visual representation, which means they tend to be judged as 'less real.' About the differences in the use of color in representations, they explain, "There is a continuum which runs from full color saturation to the absence of color, black and white, in which only the brightness values of the colors, their 'darkness' or 'lightness,' remains."¹⁰¹ The grammar of visual design's rule applied is the following: the greater the saturation or its opposite, the absence of color, the lower the modality. As the authors observe, "We judge an image real when, for instance, its colors are approximately as saturated as those in 35mm photographs. When they are more saturated, we judge them exaggerated, 'more than real,' excessive. When they are less saturated we judge them 'less than real,' 'ethereal,' for instance, or 'ghostly.'"¹⁰²

The effect caused by such layout is the fictional atmosphere given to the article written by Rory Stewart. The speech of the writer assumes a 'less than real,' idealistic characteristic in the inside pages of the magazine. On the other hand, the colors on this cover of the magazine emphasize the 'realistic' nature of the picture, therefore working as modality markers. So, it can be concluded that the magazine deliberately lowered modality in the layout of the inside pages of the cover story on Afghanistan, representing the expert's statement as a promise, as 'what might be,' rather than as reality, as 'what is.'" It should be noted that modality is a concept related to the aspects of language

(including the visual language) that tell readers how much the speaker attaches himself to what is being said.¹⁰³ Therefore, the magazine constructs a distance from what is being said by Rory Stewart (who defends the position of leaving the Afghanistan to Afghans) by using pictures in black and white. The magazine seems to separate of the ‘reality’ of the war from the ‘fantasy’ of peace and friendship. The fact that a type of contemporary Orientalist was chosen to write the article is already evidence of this. Much of the Orientalism of the nineteenth century was compound of reports of exotic travels and fantastic expeditions to the Middle East, belonging therefore to the realm of the fiction.

The photo of the cover shows a solitary soldier on the top of a pile of rubble. He has a small unidentified flag, which is fixed on the ground, on his side. A mountain chain and a very blue sky are the background. Because of the landscape, that flag and the soldier’s uniform, this photo recalls the iconic photo of the astronaut Buzz Aldrin with the American flag on the moon. Presented to the world on July 20, 1969 after the landing of the Apollo 11 space flight, this image not only represented a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union in the space race of the Cold War, but it also became a landmark in the history of the universe’s exploration. One can argue there is a metaphorical meaning in the use of this picture to illustrate the cover on the Afghanistan War. As Daniel Chandler observed, we may think of metaphors as *symbolic*, and requiring more interpretative effort in order to make sense of them.¹⁰⁴ The scholar Norman Fairclough asserts that when we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another.¹⁰⁵ About the use of metaphor to represent disturbing events, which are very common in the news, Fairclough puts it this way: “The ways in which events which disturb relative social

equilibrium (wars, epidemics, ecological disasters, etc.) are metaphorized in the media and elsewhere provides a good insight into the values and preoccupations of a culture.”¹⁰⁶ Thus, we can identify, through the metaphorical meaning of the image of *Time*'s cover, some of the values and preoccupations of the American culture, such as the will to conquer new territories and defeat the enemies.

In the analysis of other elements of *Time* cover's layout, such as the headlines, assumptions that echo the meaning of the picture are identified. The general term 'assumption' is used here to refer to the implicit meaning of texts.¹⁰⁷ In the literature of semantics, it is adequate to use the term *presupposition*. According to Fairclough, presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or 'given.' Fairclough suggests taking an intertextual view of presupposition, assuming that presupposed propositions are a way of incorporating the texts of others. He comments that in many cases of presupposition the 'other text' is not an individual specified or an identifiable separate text, but a more nebulous text, such as a general opinion, for instance.¹⁰⁸

The headline of this cover of *Time* has the word "Afghanistan" in small type, followed by the nominal group "The Right War" below, in much larger type. The subhead reads "Why the West is failing there, and what to do about it." Then, there is the signature "By Rory Stewart," followed by the headline "Plus, Obama and McCain On How to Defeat the Taliban." There is a proposition in a clause introduced by the definite article "the." As Fairclough explains, "definite articles cue propositions which have 'existential' meanings (e.g. 'the Soviet threat' presupposes that there is a Soviet threat, 'the rain' that it is/was raining)." ¹⁰⁹ Using the same reasoning, it can be concluded that if

the war in Afghanistan is “the’ *right* war, there is another war which is *the wrong* one. Since the United States was fighting two wars in the Middle East at the time – the Afghanistan and the Iraq wars – it is implicated that the magazine, if it is not directly criticizing the Iraq war, at least it is giving voice to ‘other texts’ that condemned such war. One of those voices was Obama, who had already stated that he was in favor of the withdrawal of troops from Iraq in some of his previous speeches and was reaffirming that in his message to the magazine.

Another point to be emphasized is the way that the subhead refers to the sides that are involved in the war conflict. In mentioning that “the West” is failing there, the magazine emphasizes Afghanistan as a country from ‘the East’ and puts the fight in terms of a ‘clash of civilizations,’ using a term coined by the political scientist Samuel P. Huntington.¹¹⁰ In addition, when mentioning the words of the presidential candidates, the magazine’s headline does not refer to their political standpoints on the conflict or regarding that country. Instead of this, the headline very clearly announces the candidates’ strategies to “defeat the Taliban,” focusing rather on the military action than policy, and representing the future president primarily as a commander in chief.

In the index page, the headline to the cover story is “Afghanistan: The situation in the country is worsening. Here’s what we can do.” In the inside pages, the headline reads “How to Save Afghanistan” and the subhead, “A violence subsides in Iraq, it’s surging in Afghanistan. A veteran diplomat and student of the country on what it really needs – and why more troops won’t help.” First, the correspondence between the headlines of the index and inside pages of the cover story should be noted. The situation in Afghanistan “is worsening” and violence is “surging” assert both headlines. Also, they propose to say

“what *We* can do” and “how to save Afghanistan.” It is obvious that, when the magazine uses the first person, it is not referring to the newsroom or the Time corporation itself but to the United States, or more precisely, to the Western world. Therefore, it is a type of representation of the East that reinforces the stereotypes that specialized scholars, such as Edward Said, have pointed out in the western view of the Arab countries. In a condescending way, *Time*’s headline announces the way to ‘save’ that country.

In Teun A. van Dijk’ *Discourse and Power*, the critical discourse analyst observes that a feature that has often been found to characterize western news discourse is the ethnocentric, stereotypical portrayal of Third World nations and people. He puts it this way:

Although not all news about the Third World is of the ‘coups and earthquakes’ brand (Roseblum, 1981; Schramm and Atwood, 1981), it certainly focuses on only a few types of events and actors, which are generally stereotypical if not negative: poverty, lack of (our type of) democracy, dictatorship, violence and civil war, and technological and cultural ‘backwardness’ (see Said, 1981, for the currently highly relevant coverage of Islam).¹¹¹

Teun van Dijk also discusses, in that book, the combination of ethnocentrism with the self-affirmation of tolerance as a feature of contemporary ‘western’ culture. He states, “In the same way that democracy, technology, Christianity and western values are thus, at least implicitly, presented in textbooks, political discourse and the media as superior to other cultures, western ‘tolerance’ is contrasted with, for example, intolerant cultures, at present especially with Muslim fundamentalism (Said, 1981).”¹¹² The scholar classifies that behavior as a form of anti-Arab racism, which is emphatically denied, for example, by claiming the universalities of western values. In truth, those cultural claims are closely linked with the management of world politics, from van Dijk’s viewpoint. He asserts that

“in the same way as white people may deny racism and at the same time present themselves as tolerant citizens, western culture as a whole may deny racism or ethnocentrism, and emphasize tolerance.”¹¹³

The photo of the opening pages of the article shows two men (it is only possible to see their back) holding hands as trying to walk through the metal structures of an incomplete bridge. The caption reads “A little help from friends: Kabul residents cross an incomplete bridge. Infrastructure projects are the best way for the West to make a difference in the lives of Afghans.” This picture can be seen as a metaphor of the type of attitude of the West towards the East which the magazine tries to project. It is a West that is “friend”, worried about to “save” the country and “make difference in the lives of Afghans.” This is very similar to the western ‘tolerance’ that van Dijk mentions.

However, it should be noted that both men featured in the photo are eastern, given the kind of outfit they show. Thus, it is not a portrayal of the ‘west’ holding hands with the ‘east.’ It is rather a metaphor of friendship, in which the representation of the Arab man as the ‘other,’ or more precisely, as the ‘enemy’ is preserved. A clear cue of this is the fact that in all other pictures accompanying the article the participants highlighted are children. Besides, the faces of the two men cannot be seen in the first picture shown. In the photos following, a boy carries a little child and a group of girls are spotted by the camera. Their faces can be seen and they mostly look to the camera. In the last picture, there are some few Arab men and American soldiers, but the children are more noticeable.

The captions of the children’s photos read “From hell to hopelessness: Refugees fleeing the Taliban insurgency, like these from Helmand province, flock to Kabul, where

the government provides them with little support,” and “A lesson in self-reliance: Children prepare for class at a village school near Kunduz; tired of waiting for the government to build the school, villagers built it themselves.” In the last picture, the caption reads, “Happier times: U.S. soldiers patrol outside Kabul and distribute medicine in 2006. In recent months, the Afghan capital has come under repeated attack by the Taliban.” In short, the only photo where soldiers appear talks about “happier times” and shows a benevolent action of the U.S. army. In addition, the caption mentions “repeated attack by Taliban” and it is placed exactly in the feature with the messages of the presidential candidates, both in favor of increasing the troops in Afghanistan.

The opinion of the writer of the article contrasted with the standpoints of Obama and McCain given at the end of the article. The author of the article tells the readers in the middle of the text: “Both Barack Obama and John McCain say that as President, they would send additional combat brigades – from 7,000 to 15,000 – to tame the insurgency in Afghanistan.” But his position against it is explicit as he states, “Transforming a nation of 32 million people is a task not for the West but for Afghans.” In spite of this, the layout and edition of the article appear to be ideologically biased to exalt the military actions of the United States in Arab countries and repeat clichés on the coverage of the Eastern countries.

The same can be said about the messages of the presidential candidates. Obama’s featured message it is one of few in which the candidate of the Democrats ostensibly uses the first person singular. In other messages, Obama preferred to use ‘we’ instead of ‘I,’ creating ties with the members of the national community. Because this particular message is related to war strategy, the pronoun in the first person of the singular helps to

construct Obama's image as a commander in chief. In the second paragraph, he states, "Instead of being distracted from the most pressing threats that we face, I will harness all elements of American power to overcome them. My first order as Commander in Chief will be to end the war in Iraq and refocus our efforts on Afghanistan and our broader security interests." In that manner, he is represented as a potential leader to solve the security issues of the country, and as a defender of the interests of the nation. McCain, on the other hand, defends the Iraq war, showing a position against Obama's ideas. He straightforwardly criticizes Obama's standpoints on the subject, appearing as a polemic candidate.

Thus, the ideological content of *Time's* cover story on the Afghanistan is communicated through the visuals and the layout of the article written by Rory Stewart. The imperialist and ethnocentric discourse by which the West confronts the East, and representation of the Eastern people and countries in a way that is advantageous to aims of western politics, is present in the magazine, although the author himself tries to show different perspectives on Afghanistan. The low modality provided by the black and white pictures that illustrate the article is one of the devices that diminishes the truth value, or credibility, of the expert's statement on the country. In that manner, the magazine manages to distance itself from the ideas advocated by the writer, while investing in the representation of the U.S. President as a commander in chief and emphasizing military strategy.

The Fall of Prejudices

Time's cover story on October 20, 2008 is special coverage of the electoral campaign that comments on the reasons for the leadership of Obama in the polls and directly approaches racial issues. The main headline reads "Why The Economy Is Trumping Race" and is followed by the headlines announcing articles that compound the report on race and the presidential election: "How Worried White Voters Are Turning Toward Obama," "Why Obama's 'Foreignness' Became The New Race Card," and "How Black Voters Will Feel If Obama Loses." This is a very important special edition to analyze, since issues on race and class are approached in a straight-forward manner by the articles and related to Obama's representation. It is Obama's face that illustrates the cover of this edition of the magazine, showing the candidate's photo in two different registers: in color and in black and white.

Analysis of the articles allows identification of certain positions of the news magazine. Again, *Time* reproduced national ideologies, reinforcing the imagined community of the nation and the national consensus. On one hand, its discourse seems to contribute to social change since the articles ideologically work for the inclusion of African-Americans in the national community and for overcoming racial prejudice against the black population. On the other hand, it apparently provides legitimization to racism and shifts the focus of racial conflict from the white-black dichotomy to Americanism-Foreignness, transforming the immigrant into the 'Other.' In addition, class issues are very present in the articles, especially in the first one which describes the white working-class voters. The magazine and its journalists clearly take the position of the economic elite who distance themselves from prejudiced views held by the white

working class. The figure of Obama appears as the outsider politician who, because of his social identity as African-American, can unite Americans against the social and economic threats of world globalization.

Ideologically, the cover story works to reinforce the in-group solidarity among the members of the national community. Thus, it also defends the in-group (in terms of a national culture) as a whole and legitimizes racism as a characteristic of the human nature, as the feature “Race and the Brain” (following article about ‘Obama’s foreignness and the new race card’) suggests. Instead of attacking racist ideologies against immigrants, which are called ‘the new race card’ by the magazine, *Time* highlights Obama’s identity as African-American and emphasizes the symbolic capital that this identity confers to him. In this sense, the media elite represented by *Time* demonstrates hegemony as defined by Fairclough (grounded on Antonio Gramsci), “a mode of domination which is based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups and generation of consent.”¹¹⁴

Obama’s candidacy is presented either as an update of the achievements of the Civil Rights movement or as a face-keeping appearance of U.S. society in front of the world. The face of Obama on the cover of *Time* appears in realistic 35 mm color photography on the right side, and in nonrealistic highly saturated black and white photography on the left side, where Obama’s face turns into white. According to the theory of grammar of images, as Kress and van Leeuwen propose it, colors saturated as those in 35 mm photos are judged realistic whereas colors more or less saturated than those are ‘more than real’ or ‘less than real.’¹¹⁵ Thus, it can be noticed that the magazine provides higher modality (‘truth value’) to the identity of Obama as an African-

American. At the same time, the presidential candidate is represented as a potential synthesis of the white and black electorate, the one who can aggregate both racial groups within the nation.

In that manner the magazine works against racist ideologies that exclude the black population from the in-group national society. However, that manifestation of prejudice is primarily attributed to the white working-class in the articles. In the index pages, the headline for this story says, ‘Campaign’08: Race: A report from a Missouri county that always votes the winner.’ In the inside pages the headline reads “The Limits of Race” and the subhead, “It once seemed potent enough to cost Obama the election. But as the economy falters, race is receding. A battleground report.” The scenography of the article is that of a road-movie, in which the action takes place during a journey. The article is signed by journalist David von Drehle. The ethos of the writer is that of a researcher in the field, as the terms ‘battleground report’ suggest. The map of Missouri compounds the scenography of ‘road-movie’ and is placed right before the lead of the article. The pictures were taken outdoors, on the streets in Missouri, and at least one of them shows a truck and a car. The main headline mentions a ‘race,’ exploring the double meaning of the word (as contest of speed and descent).

The scenography is constructed by the text at the beginning, in the lead of the story, with the writer stating, “Lincoln County, MO., A Fast-Growing exurb northwest of St. Louis, is one of a handful of U.S. counties that always vote for the winning candidate in presidential elections. This perfect record goes back more than a half-century. And it explains why I recently set out for that oracle county, traveling across the middle of bellwether Missouri to ask how the ultimate swing voters – the white working class – are

looking at this year's decision." The second paragraph continues with the writer describing his trip and accounting for his experience in the field, looking for informants. In that manner, his ethos is shaped by the text. He writes, "I followed a cord of suburban and rural communities that connects the urban Democratic strongholds of Kansas City and St. Louis. After stops along the way, I found myself in Lincoln County, driving through a little subdivision of newly minted homes called Ashleigh Estates, looking for voters to interview."

The place visited in the trip is depicted as representative of the white working-class electorate, located in a state that has defined elections' tendencies in the past. Obama is represented in the manner in which he was presented on the cover of the magazine, that is, as a candidate that congregates whites and blacks' votes. The writer states, "Obama appears to be succeeding in his effort to get past traditional racial politics. A majority of all voters agreed with the notion that Obama 'isn't white or black; he's a little of both.'" The final phrase presents quotation marks ("isn't white or black; he's a little of both") but there is not any indication of a specific author of such a statement; it is attributed a "majority of all voters" of two *Time* polls (with national and estates' samples), as the journalist puts it. Therefore, an anonymous voice is used to represent the thought of the electorate from Missouri.

The article presents polls and shows graphics of their results, thus giving scientific legitimization to the report and providing high modality to the statements. This is evidence of the magazine's commitment with what is being said, that is, with the utterance. The article is constructed primarily on the accounts of ordinary people and uses terms and vocabulary of the everyday language in the citations, although this is not a

demand of the journalistic writing. This is a resource that increases the ‘truth value’ of the report. The interviewed are placed in the article as informants and representatives of the ‘universe of the research.’ The racist standpoints presented in the text are scorned by those interviewed themselves, never by the writer. In one of the quotes, the interviewed individual states, “I hear this crap about ‘Oh, I ain’t voting for a black man.’ I say, “Haven’t we evolved?” ” The writer uses a metaphor to comment on such a passage and at the same time to send a message to the white working-class electorate. He closes the text this way: “Perhaps we have. And if so, when the story is told, the moral might be that white and black begin to fade when the color that matters is green – the green of money we can no longer count on.” Since a metaphor is a rhetorical device, this shows that the text is used in an attempt to persuade the reader.

It is undeniable by such evidence that the magazine works against racist ideologies that divide the United States through the black/white dichotomy. However, by situating such ideologies in the working-class electorate, the magazine denies racism among the economic elites. Teun van Dijk, who studies racism in the world press, says that the denial of racism in the press is part of a positive self-presentation strategy, which is an important element in journalistic discourse.¹¹⁶ According to him, “in present-day European and U.S. societies, where discrimination and racism are officially banned, and norms have developed that do not tolerate blatant expressions of outgroup hate, denials take a much more prominent role in discourse on ethnic affairs.”¹¹⁷ In van Dijk’s *Discourse and Power*, it is called ‘elite racism’ when the elite “denies racism among the own elite group but recognizes that others, especially poor, white people, may fail to be as tolerant.”¹¹⁸

The discourse analyst made those comments mainly about racism against minorities and immigrants in European and U.S. societies. Although the magazine speaks against the black/white dichotomy, the same cannot be said in term of racism toward immigrants. *Time* magazine echoes the findings of van Dijk on racism and the press, as the articles which complement the cover story show. First, there is the article signed by Ta-Nehisi Coates, an African-American journalist who has his picture on the page. The headline reads “What if He Loses?” and the subhead, “Many blacks didn’t think Obama would get this far. So how will we react if he comes up short?” Afterwards, there is the article on Obama’s ‘foreignness,’ signed by journalist Peter Beinart, who is identified as “senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.” The headline reads “Is He American Enough? Race will matter on Election Day. But it’s not about black and white.” The series of articles is closed with a ‘scientific’ approach on race and the brain, whose headline reads “Race and Brain. We’re hardwired to react suspiciously to other race. But we also have the tools to overcome it.”

In the article “Is He American Enough?” the magazine comments on the Republican strategy “for injecting race” into the 2008 political campaign. The writer states, “In 2008, with their incessant talk about who loves their country and who doesn’t, McCain and Palin are doing something different: They’re using race to make Obama seem anti-American.” The reason for that, according to the article, is not just Obama’s biography, but a measure of the times. The text puts it this way: “The racial wedge issues of the 1970s and ‘80s – busing, crime, welfare, affirmative action – have all but disappeared. When pollsters compile lists of Americans’ top concerns, those barely register. What is on the rise is an anxiety about globalization. Support for unregulated

free trade has cratered on the Democratic left. Hostility to illegal immigration is red hot on the Republican right. And beyond the partisan divide, it's the same demographic that is most upset about both: working-class white."

Thus, again the white working class is mentioned as racist, previously being against black minorities and in present article against immigrants. This text does not deride that form of racism, such as in the first article (although through the voices of the interviewed), but it in fact legitimizes it. The point of the text is Obama's defense against the accusations of being foreign and unpatriotic. The article performs such defense by claiming Obama's identity as a black American. The text of the black journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates writing on the impact of Obama's defeat in the African-American community provides a clue to this. Although Coates complains about negative portrayals of blacks in the media, in the next article the writer Peter Beinart emphasizes the political achievements of the African-American population and its integration in the American civil society. Surely, it works to reinforce the in-group identity of African-Americans as members of the national community. However, the racist ideology is grounded on the view of the world as divided between 'Us' and 'Them,' and the 'Other' is present. The references to globalization and illegal immigrants are evidence of this "Other."

In the text, Obama's racial identity is invoked to legitimize his 'Americanness.' Not by chance, Obama appears surrounded by supporters of different colors and protected by a black bodyguard who watches his back in the picture that illustrates the article. The caption reads "Crowd control: Obama with supporters, and a bodyguard, in Waterfront, Mich.." In this article, African-Americans are represented as attached to the U.S. national culture. The writer says, "In fact, because slavery ruptured ancestral ties of

language and culture, African-Americans often have fewer transnational connections than Americans whose forebears traveled voluntarily to these shores. Our national vernacular is filled with antiblack euphemism, but *cosmopolitan* isn't one of them." In the last paragraph, the text states, "Fifty years ago, America's racial challenges came largely from within, as black Americans demanded full equality in the country they had inhabited for hundreds of years. Today many of America's racial challenges come from without, as Third World immigration transforms the nation and U.S. worker and leaders struggle to come to terms with China and India, the emerging, nonwhite superpowers." Thus the magazine emphasizes nationalistic rhetoric to the detriment of the black diaspora, an identity based rather on ethnicity than in a country.

About Obama's image, the article notes that the presidential candidate has come to personify a more globalized, multicultural and cosmopolitan America. The text says, "It's one reason many liberals love him: he embodies a new America, more diverse, more tolerant and more open to the world." Obama's candidacy and election appears, therefore, as a face-keeping or positive self-presentation of the nation. On the other hand, the article points out this feature of Obama as his weakness as well. The text states, "As the face of America has changed, so has the face of American racism. Old-fashioned antiblack bigotry still exists, but today, far more than 20 years ago, white Americans are likely to associate dark skin with foreignness." In this last sentence, there is a *euphemism* which is revealed by the word racism in the first sentence. Certainly, the sentence is referring to a shift in the target of American racism, from blacks to immigrants.

The racism toward immigrants is justified in terms of fear of terrorism and economic competition. The article says, "It is these 21st century anxieties – anxieties

about changes from outside America that seem beyond average Americans' control – that represent the Republicans' best shot at unhorsing Obama now. In March, Pew found that 56% of high school-educated white voters see newcomers as threatening, compared with less than a third of those with a college degree. White voters who haven't graduated from college, according to a Pew poll in September, were more than twice as likely to think Obama is Muslim as those who have." At once, the discourse of the article preserves the country's self-presentation, avoiding "a moral indictment of the nation as a whole as racist,"¹¹⁹ in van Dijk's words, and reinforces Obama's candidacy as ideologically consistent with democratic tolerance.

The strategy of self-presentation is still more evident in the last article of the cover story. Using the well-known metaphor of the human brain as computer, the text presents racism as a characteristic of human nature and, in this manner, 'naturalizes' the racist behavior. The article starts talking about the human being in general without mentioning cultures or countries in particular. The writer says, "Like all other animals, our species emerged in a world where there was critical value in distinguishing between members of your own tribe – who nurture you and protect you – and members of other tribes, who see you as a competitor for food and mates." Afterwards, the writer mentions culture, but he does not explain which culture he refers to, western culture or U.S. culture. He states, "And in a culture like ours, in which race is an issue we grapple with nearly every day, the impulse may have heightened over time." In that manner, the text excuses racism against immigrants. Van Dijk puts it this way: "the press made it easy for prejudiced readers simply to apply such existing prejudices in their own evaluation of the new immigrants."¹²⁰

The article describes experiments and studies carried out by psychologists and scientists of Harvard and New York University on the association of images of black and white faces with positive and negative words and feelings. According to the article, the researchers found out that “When people see a member of a different race, the first part of the brain to react is the amygdala, which process alarm and fear.” In the middle of the article, the writer says, “Phelps conducted other studies in which the images included such friendly faces as Will Smith’s and Harrison Ford’s and found that this helped control the amygdala too. ‘The more you think about people as individuals,’ she says, ‘the more the brain calms down.’” Two points should be noted in this excerpt. First, it includes two American national celebrities as representatives of the two races of the country. Second, it prioritizes the individualistic approach over the social, ethnic identity. As individualism is an important value of American culture, it appears clearly there is a nationalist rhetoric working for a national consensus and against a cultural division. On the other hand, the in-group solidarity among non-dominant classes is prevented by the supposed prejudiced view of working-class whites presented by the cover story.

Personalization

Motherhood and Gender Identity

Time magazine of April 21, 2008 featured a cover story on Obama’s mother. The cover is illustrated with a photo of a family album that shows Obama as a child being supported and protected by his mother. The headline reads “Raising Obama,” and the subhead “How his mother made him who he is.” The cover story is signed by the reporter, Amanda Ripley. This cover story is interesting because at the same time that it

reproduces traditional social structures – such as reinforcing some stereotypical views regarding gender roles – the article challenges language structures of journalism, as well. The discursive change in which the magazine collaborates is related mainly to the way the article constructs Obama’s identity. The text highlights motherhood and, through the figure of the “mother,” it discursively produces a male identity (in its representation of Obama) in relation to women (his mother and even his wife and daughters, who are mentioned in the text and pictures in the article). Analyses of news discourse have shown that women’s magazines tend to produce, in their pages, the feminine identity in relation to men.¹²¹ Although *Time*’s article initially performs the same on the cover, the article inside the magazine takes a different path and constructs Obama’s identity’s in relation to his mother.

However, the femininity presented in the article through the reference to Obama’s mother is still portrayed to the reader through a patriarchal lens. The concept was probably intended to appeal to a mainstream audience – composed of high and middle class white males – so the magazine opted for the familial and domestic approach in the construction of Obama’s identity. In the middle of the article, for example, Obama’s political career is compared to a family business by means of a metaphor. The text says, “It turns out that Obama’s nascent career peddling hope is a family business. He inherited it. And while it is true that he has not been profoundly tested, he was raised by someone who was.” As Mari Boor Toon, professor of communication and rhetoric at the University of Maryland, explains, “needing mothering and being mothered is a universal experience.”¹²² In her article on how motherhood was used as a strategy by the labor movement’s leader, Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, to identify with a male audience, Toon

uses the term ‘shared memory’ to designate a phenomenon considered essential to coalition building for heterogeneous groups. She puts it this way: “The force of shared memory is that it acts as a springboard, a bridge and vehicle by which individuals and collectives are readied to transcend the existential and historical realities which might separate them.”¹²³

By focusing on Obama’s personal story, the magazine makes a move that Fairclough points out is increasingly frequent in the media. He says that “the mass media are shifting the boundary between the public and private sphere of social life.”¹²⁴ According to him, this is “also manifested intertextually in a mixing of discourse practices for the private sphere with those of the public sphere, with the result that some sections of the media use a stereotypical version of popular speech.”¹²⁵ In *Time*’s article, this mixing of discourse practices appears in the intertextuality presented through the extracts of Obama’s autobiographic book, *Dreams from my Father*, as well as in the images from his family album, such as the photo on the cover. Besides, the text sets a scenography that refers to the counseling (or therapy) scene and constructs the ethos of the writer as a type of “therapist,” who is analyzing Obama.

On this cover, which shows an image that belongs to the private life of Obama and that is not inserted in the field of the [journalistic] professional photography, the “feminine” maternal role of caring and nurturing is exploited. The attitude of the participants in the picture makes this clear: the woman looks to the child, carefully grasping him; the child is seated on a thin fence and seems to be really supported by the arms of the young woman. The child smiles and looks directly at the viewer, while the woman looks to the child, not to the viewer. It is the little boy who is in the center of the

picture. In that manner, the boy draws the attention of the viewer. The same can be said about the headline and subhead: only the name of Obama is mentioned (*Raising Obama*) whereas the feminine participant is referred just as his mother (*How his mother made him who he is*). Thus, this cover not only reproduces a traditional view regarding gender roles (a woman caring and nurturing) but also defines the woman portrayed in terms of her relationship with a man (in that case, her son, Obama). However, the direction that the story takes in the inside pages shows a contradiction between the message on the cover and in the article itself.

In the index page, it is she who is spotlighted and appears smiling to the viewer in a picture. The caption reads, “Like mother... Obama’s little-known influence, page 36,” and shows intertextuality, since it performs an imitation of a popular proverb (“Like father, like son”). As Mangueneau explains, proverbs have a “sententious” tone; they are assertions about how things work, about how the world works, saying what is true.¹²⁶ A proverb carries the authority of a commonsensical anonymous voice. According to Mangueneau, to utter a proverb means to make heard another voice, a voice from the “popular wisdom,” by means of our own voice.¹²⁷ He asserts that the speaker uses the proverb for introducing a specific situation in a predetermined general frame, leaving to the audience the task of establishing the relationship between them.¹²⁸ It should be noted that the caption of the magazine just introduces the proverb (*Like mother...*) and, through the ellipsis, leaves to the reader the task of ending the quotation. This is evidence of Obama’s identity being discursively constructed by the magazine in relation to a woman, his mother. Another clue in the index is the headline of the cover story, which says,

“Campaign’08: Obama – A Mother’s Story: Few know about her, but this adventuresome woman had the most to do with who he became.”

The inside pages show the photos of Obama’s and his mother’s faces placed side by side on the center of the layout. Both are smiling and positioned in a similar manner in relation to the viewer, which creates the impression of equivalence between the participants of the layout. As Kress and van Leeuwen observe, the proposed equivalence between participants is visually realized by a symmetrical composition, in which they are “placed at equal distance from each other, given the same size and the same orientation towards the horizontal and vertical axes.”¹²⁹ The picture of Obama’s mother is a black and white photo, being situated on the right side. Obama’s picture is colored and placed on the left. Thus, Obama’s mother comes up as the ‘New’ while he appears as the ‘Given,’ according to the visual meanings of layouts disclosed by Kress and van Leeuwen.¹³⁰ It should be noted, however, that the two are not situated in polarized positions. They are side by side, in the center of the layout, but one is on the right-hand page while the other is on the left-hand page. In addition, the modality conferred by the colors makes Obama’s picture appears as “realistic,” while the photo of his [deceased] mother is ‘less than real,’ ethereal, and linked to the past through the black and white register of her youth.¹³¹ She appears as a teenager in the picture of the opening pages of the story. The caption reads, “Firstborn: Obama’s mother, pictured here as a sophomore in high school, had her son at 18. She dropped out of college and went on food stamps.”

The visual effect caused by placing the photos side by side creates resemblance and contrast at the same time, as though the layout suggested that they should be complementary. The contrast is accentuated by the difference between the coloration of

the photos and also by the different genders of the participants. The similarity in the position, size and expression of the participants seems to communicate that they are like the two faces of the same coin. The white background emphasizes the contour, positioning and expression in the photos, as well as the relation of similarity between them. The complementary relation is implied mainly by the idea of feminine and masculine as two halves which complement each other. Obviously, the representation of Obama as biracial is also implied in this layout, where Obama appears as a true African-American (given the “truth value” of the colored picture) who has a white heritage (present by means of the black and white photo of his mother).

The headline says, “A Mother’s Story: Barack Obama’s greatest influence was a woman most Americans know nothing about. How her uncommon life shaped his views of the world.” The terms used in this headline (*influence, life shaped, views of the world*) are from the field of the ideas. They show that the article focuses on the discursive construction of identities and relationships, and therefore works ideologically. Furthermore, the text itself draws attention to ideological issues, since it points to an identification between Obama and his mother concerning their anti-ideological posture in life. The writer states, “When Obama gets donation from people who have never believed in politics before, they’ve responding to his ability – passed down from his mother – to make a powerful argument (that happens to be very liberal) without using a trace of ideology.” In the following pages, the layout spotlights an excerpt of the text with a quotation of Obama: ““She wasn’t ideological. I inherited that, I think, from her. She was suspicious of cant.”” Such insistence upon the absence of ideology shows that, in

representing Obama, the magazine chose to focus on the individual rather than his social, collective identity.

The text begins by including the reader, positioning the readers alongside the magazine's voice as it constructs Obama's identity. The writer says, "Each of us lives a life of contradictory truths. We are not one thing or another. Barack Obama's mother was at least a dozen things. S. Ann Soetoro was a teen mother who later got a Ph.D. in anthropology; a white woman from the Midwest who was more comfortable in Indonesia; a natural-born mother obsessed with her work; a romantic pragmatist, if such a thing is possible." According to Matheson, texts that include the reader are frequent in magazines. They work "to blur the line between the reader and the magazine."¹³² In that manner, the readers participate in constructing Obama's identity. It should be noted here that the article begins drawing attention to the multiple identities each person has ("We are not one thing or another"). What is said about Obama's mother also can be applied to him and his biracial identity, since she was "his greatest influence" and "shaped his views of the world," as the subhead states. Besides, the symmetry of the layout's photos suggests the relation of equivalence between Obama and his mother, Ann Soetoro, as well as the proverb evoked in the index page. Another important clue is the quotation of Obama's *Dreams from my Father* in the beginning of the article, written as an epigraph, saying the following: "What is best in me I owe to her."

The contradictions between the diverse identities of Ann Soetoro are emphasized by the writer through the use of a cohesive marker and a modality marker (a romantic pragmatist, "*if such a thing is possible*"). The writer uses the conjunction "*if*" – which is a marker of cohesion in the text – and makes a comment, showing her degree of affinity

with what is said. This modality marker in the text has the function of drawing attention to the different positions that Obama's mother assumed and are mentioned in this first paragraph of the text. In this sense, the conjunction "if" has an important role. As Fairclough points out, "It would be misleading to regard these types of surface cohesive marking¹³³ as simply objective properties of texts. Cohesive markers have to be interpreted by text interpreters as part of the process of construction coherent reading of the texts."¹³⁴ Because of this, cohesion may turn out to be a significant mode of ideological work occurring in a text. In the case of this article, the conjunction "if" introduces a clause that reinforces the contradictions of personality of Obama's mother as well as the diverse, sometimes contradictory, identities that people can take on during lifetime.

The next paragraph starts with a statement made by Obama. The writer puts it this way: "When I think about my mother,' Obama told me recently, 'I think that there was a certain combination of being very grounded in who she was, what she believed in. But also a certain recklessness. I think she was always searching for something. She wasn't comfortable seeing her life confined to a certain box.'" The tone of Obama's statement, which is personal, subjective, and confessional, should be noted here. The verb 'think' in the first person singular works as a marker of 'subjective' modality to express Obama's degree of affinity with the proposition of the article. This proposition is clearly expressed in the layout, headline and subhead (*How her uncommon life shaped his views of the world*). It is also important the way that the writer situates herself in the text and in relation to Obama. She observes, "Obama *told me* recently." In this manner, the ethos constructed by the text addresses the discourse of counseling, with the writer appearing as

a type of counselor who hears Obama talking about his feelings and thoughts, giving his confessions concerning his family and childhood.

In the third paragraph, Ann Soetoro is described according to the characteristics associated with the feminine. Some of the definitions presented by the text are the following: “Obama’s mother was a *dreamer*,” “She *fell in love* – twice – with fellow students from distant countries she knew nothing about,” “She leaned on her parents and friends to help raise her two children,” “‘*She cried a lot*,’ says her daughter Maya Soetoro-Ng, “if she saw animals being treated cruelly or children in the news or a sad movie – of if she felt like she wasn’t being understood in a conversation.”” After those paragraphs about Ann Soetoro, the text begins to talk about Obama, situating him in relation to her. It reads, “Today Obama is partly a product of what his mother was not. Whereas she swept her children off to unfamiliar lands and even lived apart from her son when he was a teenager, Obama has tried to ground his children in the Midwest. ‘We’ve created stability for our kids in a way that my mom didn’t do for us,’ he says. ‘My choosing to put down roots in Chicago and marry a woman who is very rooted in one place probably indicates a desire for stability that maybe I was missing.’” Thus, Obama’s mother is portrayed as a romantic and emotional female, while Obama appears as a realistic and stable male.

Besides the confessional, personal, tone of Obama that the article keeps showing, it should be noticed that his identity is discursively constructed in contraposition to his mother’s identity. Whereas the article uses stereotypical ideas on the “feminine” to depict his mother, Obama is associated with the common sense views of the “masculine” and has this masculinity reinforced. In this manner, the equivalence to a woman that the

magazine uses to represent him, does not present a risk to his masculinity before the audience. At the same time, the magazine plays with the idea of the feminine and masculine genders as oppositional and complementary to each other. It should be noted that Obama's wife is mentioned as a supporter to his "desire for stability."

As the feminist researcher Gayle Letherby observes, "[W]omen have historically been characterized as 'sensitive, intuitive, incapable of objectivity and emotional detachment and ... immersed in the business of making and maintaining personal relationships.'"¹³⁵ The depictions of Ann Soetoro in the first paragraphs of this article, as well as the photo on the cover, emphasize this type of representation of women. On the other hand, Obama is highlighted as "a product of what his mother was not" and thus as a logical, down-to-earth male. About stereotypical representations of genders involving issues on reason and emotion, Letherby notes:

[T]he history of reason is the history of the gendered metaphor, with women being synonymous with non-reason: 'Culture vs. nature, mind vs. body, reason vs. emotion, objectivity vs. subjectivity, the public realm vs. the private realm – in each dichotomy the former must dominate the latter and the latter in each case seems to be systematically associated with the feminine.'¹³⁶

There is evidence, therefore, that in its representations of Obama and his mother, the article of *Time* magazine was grounded on the gendered metaphors.

Beyond issues on gender representation, the article also addresses racial identity matters, drawing attention to Obama's biracial identity. The writer states, "Ironically, the person who mattered most in Obama's life is the one we know the least about – maybe because being partly African in America is still seen as being simply black and color is still a preoccupation above almost all else. There is not enough room in the conversation

to the rest of a man's story." It should be noted that the article focuses on Obama as an individual, inviting the reader to see the candidate from this individual perspective rather than as a member of a social group, the African-American community. The writer situates the discussion on Obama's racial identity as an individual issue, using plain language, such as in a conversation with the audience.

Those discursive choices are associated with the scenography which is set up by the text, related to counseling. The writer 'incarnates' a counselor who heard Obama's private thoughts, while at the same time sharing feelings and states of mind with her readers. According to Maingueneau, scenography gives authority to discourse. It has a persuasive effect on the audience and implies ideological positions, since it defines implicitly what legitimates discourse.¹³⁷ Maingueneau puts it this way: "Texts are not made to be contemplated, they are traces of discourse which try to convince subjects, to make them adhere to their universe. That adhesion is not only intellectual, in a sense it is 'physical,' too."¹³⁸ In the case of the article analyzed there is what Fairclough calls 'synthetic personalization,' that is, "the simulation of aspects of interpersonal meaning on the basis of strategic calculation of effects."¹³⁹ By means of the scenography of 'counseling,' the text shows authority and, as Fairclough notes, it obtains "permission to enter conversational territory – the feelings, states of mind, private thoughts, and personal motivations of others – that might be 'out of bounds.'

In this cover story, *Time* magazine works persuasively, making the reader look at Obama as an individual rather than a member of a racial group. The article uses feminine figures to define him, drawing attention to the private realm of his life. In this manner, the magazine deviates the focus from the ideological and social aspects implied by

Obama's African-American identity to his personal characteristics. Through the symbolism of motherhood, a universal experience, the article tries to reach an audience that probably has life stories very different from Obama's story. In such an attempt, however, the text reproduces some gender stereotypes and, at the same time, introduces discursive changes.

Identity Consumption

In the special issue "The Democrats" of *Time* magazine from September 9 2008, the photo on the cover shows the face of Obama spotlighted in a way that, against the dark background, it recalls the shape of a sculpted face, the type of mask used by actors of ancient theatre. The impact of this photo, which shows Obama looking directly at the viewer, is increased by the fact that, beyond "Special Issue: The Democrats," right above the magazine's logo, there are no other headline on this cover. In this manner, Obama's identity, his personality or, more specifically, his *persona* is the focus of this cover story. The word *persona* is used here because it comprehends the diverse meanings which the magazine exploits. It simultaneously means a character in a play, the personality that a person (as an actor or politician) projects in public, and an individual social façade in the analytic psychology.¹⁴⁰

As in other articles, *Time* represents politicians as if they were actors who perform on a stage. In addition, the article analyzed presents a diffuse scenography that mixes analytic psychology, dramatic staging and personal beliefs. This means that the article draws upon the language from other genres, thus performing some functions of these

genres.¹⁴¹ An important point of the article deserving attention is the offer of identification through the representation of Barack Obama. The so-called lifestyle magazines, such as men's and women's magazines, are more related to the idea of consuming identity, in which the readers perform a style through consumption.¹⁴² Nevertheless, there is evidence in this cover story that *Time* portrayed Obama as a "performer" politician, a type of celebrity who has his image and self offered for the consumption of the audience. He appears as a role model who incorporates a chain of values attributed to his identity positions in the political stage.

This special edition also includes many pages of a photographic essay with the presidential candidate, his wife and daughters during a campaign trip. Those photos feature familial moments of the Obamas, displaying their way of life. In addition, there is a feature article on Obama's global roots, which tells the history of his ancestors and describes his family tree, in two very illustrated pages. These are evidence of Obama's identity being consumed by the readership. In the case of this cover story, the magazine links Obama to the *brand* of the Democratic Party. This cult of the personality shows an "aesthetization" of the politics being promoted by the magazine, in which the candidate's identity is constructed and offered for identification in the same manner that actors' lives are presented to public consumption.¹⁴³

Matheson's *Media Discourses* suggests that "people's sense of who they are and of who others are is not only revealed in language but is constructed there."¹⁴⁴ For him, this identity is a performance rather than an essence, and magazines are a key site within contemporary culture where identities come to be accorded legitimacy and power. In short words, consumer magazines would be "performing" identity in the pages of those

publications. In this sense, this cover story of *Time* is emblematic. On the cover, Obama is framed in a very close shot, and gazes at the viewer. According to the meanings of the visual grammar by Kress and van Leeuwen, a close shot denotes “intimate, personal” interaction with the viewer.¹⁴⁵ The gaze of the represented participant at the viewer characterizes the type of “demand” picture, that is, a photo that directly addresses the viewer (as the second-person pronoun “you” in written language). The *eye level angle* of Obama in the photo realizes “equality” in the interaction with the viewer.¹⁴⁶ In sum, it works as an invitation to the readers. An invitation to identify the candidate of the Democrats (“*Special Issue: The Democrats*” reads the only headline), the one who incorporates the liberal thought. In this manner, the cover constructs identity and the readers perform identity by reading the story.

The index page shows two pictures of Obama (one in a caucus and another as child with his father) and the headline reads “Obama’s five faces – and the one he’ll need to win.” The caption for both photos says, “Obama, now and then: The candidate’s many faces on the campaign trail in 2008, page 28; with his Kenyan-born father in Hawaii in 1972, page 46.” The headline for the second article mentioned in the caption says, “Family Portrait: The candidate’s global roots.” It comes right after the headline for the photographic essay, which reads, “Photo Essay: On the road with the Obamas.” Photos and headlines of this index give evidence that, beyond the Democratic label, it is Obama’s identity and particular story of life which are offered for the consumption of the reader.

The inside pages of the cover story open with a very unusual layout. The right page is almost blank, having at the top on the right a small inscription, “The Democrats.”

In the center of this white page appears a one column question, through which the magazine directly addresses the reader asking, “When you look at this photo, what do you see?” Immediately below, there are alternatives to be chosen and signaled in the squares, such as in a multiple choice test. They are ordered as follows: “1. Black Man; 2. Healer; 3. Novice; 4.Radical; 5. The Future; All of the above.” Furthermore, these choices, also in one column, read, “Your answer, explained. The Five Faces of Barack Obama, By David von Drehle.” The whole left page is a picture of Obama standing in front of the camera, at a medium shot, looking at the viewer and smiling. The candidate wears a necktie and a shirt with sleeves lightly folded and has his arms crossed in a way that shows his watch. There are no headlines or captions on this page. The background is dark, giving salience to the represented participant.

There are many clues in this layout about construction and consumption of identity, which are confirmed by the reading of the article and browsing through the magazine’s issue. As Kress and van Leeuwen observe, the discourse analyst should look at the whole page as an *integrated* text. They explain,

Our insistence on drawing comparisons between language and visual communication stems from this objective. We seek to break down the disciplinary boundaries between the study of language and the study of images, and we seek, as much as possible, to use compatible language, and compatible terminology in speaking about both, for in actual communication the two and indeed many other come together to form integrated texts.¹⁴⁷

Following this proposition, one must look for evidence in the layout and pictures of the analyzed articles and try to think of the text as a “whole integrated.” The reading of images can be really revealing of the meanings of a text, and helpful in guiding the

analysis. In the analysis of this special edition of *Time* magazine, the images have a particular role, since they display lifestyle and offer identity.

In this article, the question on the left page (*When you look at this photo, what do you see?*) refers directly to the readers, by means of the second-person pronoun “you.” The picture on the right does the same, since Obama looks at the viewer. This is a visual form of direct address. Kress and van Leeuwen say that this visual configuration “acknowledges the viewers explicitly, addressing them with a visual ‘you.’”¹⁴⁸ They also describe this type of picture as an “image act,” because the producer [of the text] uses the image to *do* something to the viewer. They assert, “It is for this reason that we have called this kind of image a ‘demand’: the participant’s gaze (and the gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her.”¹⁴⁹ If the participant smiles, as in the case of Obama in the opening pages of this cover story, the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with him, according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s *Reading Images*.

Whereas Obama is seen at an intimate distance, because of the close shot, on the cover of the magazine, he appears at a *social* distance, given the medium shot, in the opening pages, and in details of the large photo provided in the following pages of the text that make his profile. This shows that this article focused both on Obama’s public image, his persona, and on his intimate self. The frontal angle of the photo implies involvement, according to Kress and van Leeuwen. They put it this way: “The frontal angle says, as it were: ‘what you see here is part of our world, something we are involved with.’”¹⁵⁰ Involvement with the reader is also suggested by the written text of the page on the right through the use of the possessive pronoun in the clause “*Your* answer,

explained.” About the issue, Kress and Leeuwen’ *Reading Images* comments, “How is ‘involvement’ realized in language? Perhaps the system of possessive pronouns comes closest to realizing the kinds of meanings we have discussed here.”¹⁵¹ Thus, the reader is invited to construct, by means of the language, Obama’s identity together with the writer.

It should be noted that while the magazine gives a multiple choice list about Obama to the readers in the opening pages, in the end of the article the same multiple choice list is reproduced but then with the last alternative (*All of above*) already checked, as if the magazine was saying that all of them are facets of Obama’s identity. Another important issue related to the reading audience of *Time* is the way that the article is gendered. Although *Time* is not a men’s magazine in the sense of a lifestyle magazine, the magazine shows that the ideal reader of the magazine to its producers is a upper or middle class male, the member of cosmopolitan elite. *Time* also sells a way of life to this audience. It is enough to analyze the photo of Obama on the opening pages to reach this conclusion. He is wearing some of the objects of consumption which are representative of empowering to white-collar [male] professionals: a formal shirt, a necktie and a watch. At the same time, he appears casual and relaxed, because of the smile and the folded sleeves. This is not a photo of a fashion magazine, but it could pass for one.

Also the alternatives presented to the reader start with “Black Man.” The magazine could use the term African-American, but that does not denote gender. Instead of this, the magazine chose to emphasize his manliness, using the term “Black Man.” Likewise, the male identity is reinforced in the pages of the photographic essay of this special edition. Obama appears focused on his work, reading a text (giving the ultimate edits to a speech), in the first photo. The second photo, also in two pages, shows Obama

in the role of father: surrounded by his daughters and wife. In this photo, Michelle Obama is in the center of the picture, in the foreground. One of the daughters holds the leg of Obama, who is at the far right and protectively touches her back. The other daughter is on the far left of the photo. Because all the participants in the photo are looking to the left (to something that is out of the look of the viewer) and Obama is on the far right, their eyes form a vector, a kind of arrow, that emanates from Obama. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, the participant from which the vector emanates, or which is fused with the vector, is the active participant, the “Actor” in the action process that is pictured.¹⁵² The last photo shows Obama exercising, doing chin-ups in a metal bar. He wears a suit and there is an American flag on his left side. The photos of this essay caught Obama in moments that not just depict his way of life, but also invest in his image as a role model and in his identity of gender. Even the feminine figure of Michelle, in the second photo, serves to reinforce the gender role in the portrayal of Obama as father and husband.

The text of the cover story makes a profile of Obama through the use of vocabulary of analytical psychology. This article does not borrow from the discourse of counseling, neither is its style like that of everyday conversation. Its vocabulary is more sophisticated, leaning to the literary and analytical, although still casual. The article mentions psychotherapy as a way to define Obama’s personality. The lead of the article reads, “If Barack Obama had not chosen a life in politics, he might have made a fine psychotherapist. He is a master at taking what you’ve told him and feeding it right back. *What I hear you saying is...*” The use of italics instead of quotation marks to indicate Obama’s words, in this paragraph, shows the candidate’s views as already incorporated

into the text. As Maingueneau explains, the quotation marks are *added* to the statement, while the italics are *incorporated*.¹⁵³ Furthermore, there are many citations of Obama's books, *The Audacity of Hope* and *Dreams from My Father*, from which the writer uses extracts as anecdotes narrated in the tone of theatrical sketches. It should be noted how the writer constructs Obama in this text: as an actor playing a role, the character of a psychotherapist.

The paragraph afterwards is an example of the intertextuality presented by the article, which borrows from the autobiographical books of Obama. It says, "Open his book *The Audacity of Hope* to almost any page and listen. On immigration, for example, Obama first mirrors 'the faces of this new America' he has met in the ethnic stew pot of Chicago: 'in the Indian markets along Devon Avenue, in the sparkling new mosque in the southwestern suburbs, in an Armenian wedding and a Filipino ball.' Then he pivots to give voice to the 'anxieties' of 'many blacks' and 'as many whites about the wave of illegal immigration,' adding: 'Not all these fears are irrational.' He admits that he knows the 'frustration' of needing an interpreter to speak to one's auto mechanic and in the next breath cherishes the innocent dreams of an immigrant child." The writer starts the paragraph using the imperative form, telling the reader to open and listen to Obama's book. As Matheson observes, there are situations (such as in the analyzed article) in which the imperative "works to blur the line between the reader and the magazine – it speaks and we act."¹⁵⁴ This brings us quickly into the line with the world that the writer has constructed, according to Matheson.

The identity of Obama is constructed in this article as "the face of the new America," as the article refers to, that is, a multiethnic society, according to depictions of

the texts. In this paragraph, there is evidence that his identity is constructed as multicultural and cosmopolitan; therefore, it fulfills the demands of the globalized world and of the reader model of *Time* magazine. Also, the vocabulary deserves attention. The writer borrows from psychoanalysis to build the text, using terms as “anxieties,” “frustration,” and “Not all these fears are irrational.” In many other parts of the text, he draws upon this *discursive formation*, mainly in the beginning of the paragraphs, such as writing the following: “*Consciously or unconsciously*, Obama has been honing this technique for years,” “He has been called a window into the *American psyche*,” and “Both his rhetorical style and his ingrained disposition tend to *obscure rather than reveal*.” It shows that the writer tries to draw a type “psychoanalytical” profile of Obama for the consumption of the audience.

That vocabulary also gives evidence of the focus of the text in the *persona* of Obama, which is constructed by the magazine and the reader. The third paragraph reads, “He has been called a window into the American psyche. Or you might say he’s a mirror – what you see depends on who you are and where you stand. Obama puts it this way: ‘I serve as a blank screen on which people of vastly different political stripes projects their own views.’” The writer uses for the second time the word *mirror*, as though he was raising the multiple identities that Obama can perform. The own words of Obama’s quotation speak about a blank *screen* on which people projects their views. Again, therefore, Obama appears as an actor who can play different roles, according to the position of reader (“*what you see depends on who you are and where you stand*”). Therefore, those excerpts give evidence of the mix of two genres that the text draws upon to represent Obama: the psychoanalytical and the dramaturgic.

Along the alternatives referred to by the article, Obama is constructed first as a black politician who is not grounded on identity politics, that is, an African-American who reinforces his identity as American citizen rather than as a member of the black community. In the last paragraph of this excerpt, for example, the text reads, “Figures like [Jesse] Jackson and [Jeremiah] Wright have invested a lifetime in the politics of black identity. Obama’s success, whether it culminates in the White House or not, signals the passing of their era. So it is no wonder that young voters have been key to his candidacy. Having grown up in the era of Oprah Winfrey, Denzel Washington, Tiger Woods and, yes, Henry Louis Gates Jr., they are better able to credit Obama’s thesis that ‘there’s not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there’s the United States of America.’” Secondly, he is represented as the politician who can redeem America from the racist past and at the same can rescue the nation from adverse times. The text uses the term “the healer” to designate Obama in this excerpt. It says, “This is what he *preaches*: the seemingly unlimited power of people who are willing to trust, cooperate and compromise. Bringing people together for action, what he calls ‘organizing,’ holds ‘the promise of *redemption*.’” Here, there is evidence of the third genre that the text draws on to construct discursively Obama; this is related to his personal beliefs, to faith. Obama is suggested as a redeemer to the “sins” of racism.

Third, Obama is an outsider politician, who is at an advantage exactly because of his limited experience in Washington politics. The article calls him “the novice” in this area and concludes, “For a man given to Zen-like circularities – ‘We are the change we seek’ – the best proof that he can unite people to solve problems might be his ability to unite them to win an election.” Fourth, as a conservative son of the counterculture

generation, he is presented as the ideological product of the challenges that his generation brought to the generation of his mother and the Civil Rights movement activists who contested the system. At this point, the writer tells the readers about Obama's impressions of the civil rights activist Frank Marshal Davis. He says that "Obama recalls 'thinking back on Frank and his old Black Power dashiki self. In some ways he was as incurable as my mother, as certain in his faith, living in the same '60s time warp.'"

Finally, he appears as the representation of the new, the change in politics, "the future" as the article itself refers to him in this excerpt. The writer starts the second paragraph of this section with Obama's words to *Time*; it reads, "I think that the ideological battles of the '60s have continued to shape our politics for too long." And the writer concludes stating, "Obama is the first national politician to reflect their [younger Americans'] widespread feeling that time is marching forward but politics is not, that the baby boomers in the interest groups and the media are indeed trapped in a time warp, replaying their stalemated arguments year after year. The theme recurs in conversations with Obama supporters: He just feels like something new." In that manner, Obama is accepted and even celebrated by the text, being represented as a politician who is beyond ideological positions contesting the system. Thus, although he is a result of the fights that followed the Civil Rights movements, his image is promoted as the antithesis to these ideologies and as a conciliatory factor.

Winners and Losers

Journalist Joe Klein, whose articles appear in a *Time* magazine column, wrote the cover story for *Time*'s issue of May 19, 2008. On the cover is a photo of Obama smiling

at the viewer, with a headline on the left that reads, “And The Winner* Is ...” At the bottom right in very small letters, the caption for the asterisk says, “*Really, we’re pretty sure this time.” This edition uses a rhetorical trope, a metaphor, to illustrate the cover based on Klein’s article. His article criticizes both the populist approach in politics and the pervasiveness of show business in current politics fostered by the media. He asserts, “[W]e allowed our public life to drift toward too much show biz.” In this sense, it might seem that the cover reflects the article’s criticism. However, by using the metaphor of the Oscar – the annual awards for cinematic achievements – for representing Obama as the winner in the fight for the Democratic Party’s nomination, the magazine is, in truth, reproducing the type of posture of the media that the writer criticizes in the article.

To echo the writer’s criticism the magazine would have had to make the cover ironic in an ostensive way. The ironic effect, however, is prevented through the modality that the asterisk and its caption realize. As Fairclough observes, “Traditional accounts of irony describe it in terms of ‘saying one thing and meaning another.’”¹⁵⁵ The discourse analyst notices that irony depends upon interpreters being able to recognize that the meaning of an echoed text is not the text producer’s meaning.¹⁵⁶ The semiotician Daniel Chandler puts it this way, “The evaluation of the ironic sign requires the assessment of its modality [the “truth value”] status. Re-evaluating an apparently literal sign for ironic cues requires reference to perceived intent and to truth status.”¹⁵⁷ Thus, the high *modality* demonstrated by the clause related to the asterisk (“*Really, we’re pretty sure this time*”), that is, the high degree of affinity of the magazine with the statement (that Obama will be the winner) avoids a perception of irony by the reader.

The *resemblance* implied in the use of metaphors reveals the way that the magazine constructs the reality. As Chandler points out, “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.”¹⁵⁸ The use of the metaphor of showbiz to announce the victory of Obama as presidential nominee of the Democratic Party therefore serves to confirm Klein’s complaint about the dominance of “showmanship,” as Klein refers to it, in U.S. politics, since it is in the discourse of entertainment that the magazine finds material for composing its cover. In that manner, *Time* also reaffirms Fairclough’s comments on the metaphor. According to him, “Some metaphors are so profoundly naturalized within a particular culture, that people are not only quite unaware of them most of time, but find it extremely difficult, even when their attention is drawn to them, to escape from them in their discourse, thinking, or action.”¹⁵⁹ This gives evidence of how the aesthetic aspects of the political life and politicians’ public identities are embedded in American society.¹⁶⁰

In the metaphor that the magazine presents through this cover, the polyphony – or intertextuality, for Fairclough – is made clear by the use of the slogan of the Oscar ceremony (“*And the winner is...*”) as headline. According to Maingueneau, the slogan is associated primarily with propositions and, such as the metaphor (a rhetorical trope), it is employed for creating persuasive effect.¹⁶¹ He says that the slogan has similarities with the proverb, an assertion about the world that the speaker, or writer, uses to introduce a particular situation into a pre-established general frame, leaving to the audience the task of determining the relation between them.¹⁶² It should be noticed that the headline on the cover is just composed of the slogan and the ellipsis. There is the photo of Obama, but

the text does not directly mention his victory as the nominee of the Democratic Party, leaving to the readers the task of associating the slogan to his victory.

In the photo on the cover, Obama appears to be looking directly into the viewer's eyes, which implies a form of contact with the audience, even though it is an imaginary one. Kress and van Leeuwen classify this type of photo as a "demand" picture, since the participant's [represented] gaze demands something from the viewer, "demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him."¹⁶³ In addition, there is the Obama smile, which asks the viewer to enter into a relation of "social affinity" with him, as Kress and van Leeuwen explain. There are some contexts, such as posed magazine photographs in which, as the case of this cover, the "demand" picture is preferred. Kress and van Leeuwen continue, "[T]hese contexts require a sense of connection between the viewers and the authority figures, celebrities and role models they depict."¹⁶⁴ Therefore, rhetorical and persuasive effects may be identifiable on this cover of *Time* that put Obama in connection with the readers.

Regarding the photo on this cover, it also should be noted that the position of Obama's left hand (supporting his face), his head slightly leaning to the left and his elbow over the table, forming a vector (or arrow) makes Obama the "Actor" of the picture, that is, an active participant of the photo. According to Kress and van Leeuwen, "The 'Actor' is the participant from whom or which the vector departs, and which may be *fused* with the vector to different degrees."¹⁶⁵ In the case of this photo, the headline placed at the opposite side of the vector fused with Obama forms another arrow, given the position of Obama's head, shoulder and right hand over the table, and thus a triangle is composed. Triangles are "a symbol of generative power," in the glosses of the meaning

of a triangle in visual dictionaries, according to Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images*.¹⁶⁶ In this manner, the magazine visually portrays Obama as emanating power.

The headline to the cover story in the index page confirms the message that the image of the photo attempts to make. It says, "Obama's Moment: How he thrived by not pandering." On the side of a picture of Barack and Michelle Obama together, the caption reads, "The Obamas go onstage on primary eve, page 20." It should be noticed that this caption uses the vocabulary that addresses showbiz and the fact the couple is spotlighted, showing the importance of Michelle in the representation of Obama. It becomes still more important because of the type of argumentation that the writer uses to construct the story on the inside pages. The writer puts Hillary Clinton against Obama, in a way that he appears as a winner primarily because she was the loser. Following the cover story, for example, there are two articles: one about Clinton's mistakes ("Her five blunders," in the index) and another about Obama's wisdom ("What he learned from its politics," in the index pages). Whereas the writer argues for Obama's success using some gendered concepts to deride Clinton (such as mentioning that "She had always been the superego of Team Clinton; now she was gallivanting about, playing the id"), the feminine figure of Michelle on the side of Obama helps to neutralize apparent sexism.

On the inside pages is a big photo of Obama entering an outdoor rally and looking ahead (the viewer cannot see what he is seeing). On the right side of the layout, in one column, there is the text by Klein. The headline reads "The Game Changer" and the subhead, "Barack Obama has refused to play by the old political rule. He's about to be rewarded for it." The headline shows a nominalization. As Fairclough observes, "Nominalization is the conversion of processes into nominals, which has the effect of

backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit.”¹⁶⁷ In the analysis of the article, it is apparent that it never identified Obama as the agent of Clinton’s defeat in the race for the Democratic Party’s nomination. The article constructs Obama as a winner in consequence of Hillary’s mistakes during the campaign and, also, for avoiding what the writer classifies as the populism of Clinton.

The writer starts the article commenting on Hillary Clinton’s attitude toward her political campaign. To describe Clinton as a populist, the writer uses a metaphor in the first paragraph. He says, “On the Saturday before the North Carolina and Indiana primaries, Hillary Clinton stood on the back of a vintage pickup truck in Gastonia, N.C., and let fly in the most impressive fashion – a *woman transformed from Eleanor Roosevelt into Huey Long* in two short months. First, the writer refers to Hillary Clinton as a *woman* (thus emphasizing her gender); and through the metaphor of a transformation compares her to the legendary first lady Eleanor Roosevelt and to the former governor of Louisiana, Huey Long, considered a populist politician. On the next page, still depicting Hillary, the writer criticizes her more directly. In an excerpt transformed into a headline by the layout, the text says, “Clinton’s paste-on populism changed absolutely nothing. And her slim margin of victory in Indiana was provided, appropriately enough, by Republicans.”

The writes comments on Clinton in a certain demeaning way, and because he refers to her gender often in the text, makes clear that there are some gendered considerations. Regarding the attitude of Clinton that he is criticizing, for example, the writer asserts, “my cynical low-information political brain was saying, *You go girl* (my emphasis). This was fun to watch.” Here, he is evidently using an irony, “saying one

thing and meaning other.”¹⁶⁸ But given the intertextual nature of irony – its polyphony – the writer is also echoing someone else’s utterance. As Maingueneau explains, the ironic statement presents the peculiarity of deriding and subverting itself, at the same moment it is uttered. Such a phenomenon is classified as a case of polyphony (or intertextuality), since this type of statement might be analyzed as a kind of performance in which the speaker (or writer) expresses, with his or her voice, the voice of a ridiculous character who would be speaking seriously.¹⁶⁹ The speaker maintains distance from this character through a tone of voice or mimicry, which is still based in “a blatant mismatching between apparent meaning and situational context,” in Fairclough words.¹⁷⁰ This last case is what occurs in the article, in which the writer is criticizing Clinton’s attitude but suddenly offers a phrase of encouragement, “*You go girl.*” There are also other cues that work as a “tone of voice” in the written text, such as “my cynical low-information political brain.” It should be noted that the writer chose an expression applied only to females to ridicule Clinton. Afterward, the writer completes his rationale, stating, “She had always been the superego of Team Clinton; now she was gallivanting about, playing the id.” Here, he defines Hillary by her husband, Bill Clinton, again presenting a type of gendered depiction of the situation.

But it is not just questions of gender that the analysis of this cover story raises. This article also clearly addresses an audience that belongs to an affluent social class defending its interests against those who have blue-collar jobs, the so-called working class. The reference to the working class is classified in the text as political populism and attributed by the text to Hillary Clinton, as the comparison with Huey Long illustrates. According to Huey Long’s official website, “Long was revered by the masses as a

champion of the common man and demonized by the powerful as a dangerous demagogue.”¹⁷¹ Without examining the character and political skills of the former governor of Louisiana, it can be noticed that politicians who are identified with the label “populist” and who have strong appeal among the masses usually are not well-regarded by the upper-classes.

The article makes very clear the positions of its ideal reader in an extract in which the writer comments on Rush Limbaugh counseling Republicans who attended Democratic caucuses to vote for Clinton, and thus “bring ‘chaos’ to the Democratic electoral process by voting for their favorite whipping girl,” in the writer’s words. The text says, “Clinton’s new glow, her newfound stump proficiency, her symbiosis with Limbaugh, seemed an eerily Faustian narrative. But, as we know, those sorts of bargains tend to end badly. In this case, the upper-crust liberals who seemed ready to flee Obama in Pennsylvania – the sort of people who would run out and buy a hybrid before they’d support a reduction in the gasoline tax – decided to vote their faith that Obama was running an honorable campaign rather than their fear that his membership in Jeremiah Wright’s church would render him radioactive.” The intertextuality presented by the article in the allusion to the myth of Faust (“*Faustian narrative*”), which is a basis of many literary works, and in the vocabulary addressing the scientific field (“render him *radioactive*”) implies two points. First, it shows that the reader model of the magazine is constructed as someone with a good general knowledge of literature and science, at least enough to make possible the communicative event realized through the article. Mangueneau classifies this kind of competence (which permits the communication) as “encyclopedic wisdom” – in essence, knowledge that varies according to the society in

which we live and the life experience of each person.¹⁷² This article demands a good level of “encyclopedic wisdom” from its readers. Second, it gives clues of how the article constructs Clinton, since she is compared to a character (Faust) who made a deal with the devil, exchanging his soul for power.

On the other hand, Obama is constructed as an optimistic, anti-cliché winner, who triumphed over adversity through education, as a type of self-made man. The headlines for the articles that follow the cover story are meaningful. Referring to Clinton, the headline reads “The Mistakes She Made” and the subhead, “Hillary Clinton began the race with all sorts of advantages, but she and her advisers never grasped how much had changed.” Referring to Obama, the headline reads “How He Learned To Win” and the subhead, “Trounced in his first big race, Barack Obama retooled and won a Senate seat. How the ward politics in Chicago gave Obama an education that has earned him a shot at the presidency.”

In this last article, Obama’s education at Harvard, and his good relations with members of the White and Black elites of Chicago are emphasized, as well as his 2004 victory in the Democratic primaries for the Senate. In this article, the magazine also stresses some points of Obama’s biography that constructs the candidate’s racial identity as ambiguous. A commentary about Jeremiah Wright as his pastor reads, “While Wright has been a liability to Obama this year, in 2004, when Obama faced doubts on racial authenticity, he was a campaign asset. ‘It affirmed his roots,’ said [Delmarie] Cobb.” Here, the text shows manifest intertextuality, by using the direct speech of the source, Delmarie Coob, described as a “black Democratic consultant who supports Hillary Clinton for President.” Since Obama is constructed as a winner and an antithesis to the

populism of Clinton, a candidate seen as “honorable” by the “upper-crust liberals,” as Klein’s article puts it, the ambiguity of his racial identity serves as another positive factor. It is another anti-cliché feature of a candidate who is represented as change.

Notes

¹Discourse analysis considers that in every text, a ‘scene’ is set by the speaker, such as in the theatrical performing arts.

² Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 45.

³ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen assert, “If the Reacters in such pictures are women, they often seem to gaze into the middle distance, as if they have mentally withdrawn from their immediate surroundings. If they are men, they tend to have their eyes firmly fixed on far horizons.” (*Ibid.*)

⁶ Also worth of notice is one of the headlines of an article written by Joe Klein which occupies two pages placed right before of the cover story. It states, “Those who say Obama won because of the financial crisis are telling only half of the story. He won because of how he *reacted* (my emphasis) to the crisis.”

⁷ Verbal enunciation is the act of speaking. Enunciation is to specifically communicate.

⁸ Dominique Maingueneau, *Análise de Textos de Comunicação*, trans. Cecilia P. de Souza-e-Silva and Decio Rocha (Sao Paulo: Cortez, 2004), 85.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 229.

¹⁰ Dominique Maingueneau, “Analyzing Self-Constituting Discourses,” *Discourse Studies* 1, no.2 (1999): 191.

¹¹ *Babylon English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “Quidditch.”

¹² Maingueneau, *Análise de Textos*, 165.

¹³ Maingueneau, “Analyzing Self-Constituting Discourses,” 194.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

¹⁵ Eni P. Orlandi, *Análise de Discurso: Princípios & Procedimentos*, 5th ed. (Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2003), 44.

¹⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 54

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

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- ¹⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 165.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, 81.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 43.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 81.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 122.
- ²⁴ Orlandi, *Análise de Discurso*, 39.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 49.
- ²⁶ A 'speech act' verb is a verb which adds the value of a performance, an action, to a statement.
- ²⁷ Maingueneau, *Análise de Textos*, 90.
- ²⁸ Milton Jose Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso: Introducao a Analise de Discursos*, 2nd ed. (Sao Paulo: Hacker Editores, 2002), 38.
- ²⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 161.
- ³⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 142.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 27.
- ³² Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso*, 67.
- ³³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 160.
- ³⁴ Denotation refers to the literal meaning of word, the dictionary definition. Connotation, on the other hand, refers to the associations that are connected to a certain word or the emotional suggestions related to that word.
- ³⁵ Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: the Basics* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 60.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 163.
- ³⁷ Roland Barthes, *The Responsibility of Forms: Critical Essays in Music, Art, and Representation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1985), 3.
- ³⁸ Barthes, *Responsibility of Forms*, 6.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.
- ⁴¹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 159.
- ⁴² Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso*, 67.

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- ⁴³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 35-36.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Babylon English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "National Service."
- ⁴⁷ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 183.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 182.
- ⁴⁹ Silvio Waisbord, "Media and the Reinvention of the Nation," in *The SAGE Handbook of Media Studies*, eds. John Downing et al. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), 386.
- ⁵⁰ Kress and Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 169-170.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 183.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 187.
- ⁵³ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983). The term 'invented traditions' comes from Hobsbawm and Ranger's book, which argues that many practices which are considered traditional are in fact quite recent inventions, often deliberately constructed to serve particular ideological ends.
- ⁵⁴ Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Modernity and Its Future: Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV*, eds. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 293.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 294.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 126.
- ⁵⁸ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 9.
- ⁵⁹ City Year is a national organization that places young adults to tutor and mentor students for a year in low-income schools.
- ⁶⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 120.
- ⁶¹ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 59.
- ⁶² Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 121.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 206.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Ibid., 193.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 213.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 53.

⁷⁰ Richard Ellis, *To the Flag: The Unlikely History of the Pledge of Allegiance* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2005), 1.

⁷¹ Stuart Hall et al., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 55.

⁷² Stuart Hall used similar words to refer to 'Englishness' and 'England' in "The Question of Cultural Identity." *Modernity and its Future : Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV*, eds. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 293.

⁷³ " 'Invented tradition' [means] a set of practices, ... of a ritual or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviors by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past." (Ibid., 294).

⁷⁴ Eric Liu and Nick Hanauer, *The True Patriot: A Pamphlet* (Seattle, WA: True Patriot Network, 2007), 4.

⁷⁵ William F. Lewis, "Telling America's Story: Narrative Form and the Reagan Presidency," in *Readings in Rhetorical Criticism*, Carl R. Burgchardt, ed., 3rd ed. (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2005): 262-285.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 262.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 263.

⁷⁸ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 45.

⁷⁹ The article uses this term to classify one of the groups that fight for political power in America, that's why we repeat the term in this analysis. According to the *Babylon English Dictionary*, 'deficit hawk' is an American political slang term for those who place great emphasis on keeping the federal budget under control, and deficits low. (*Babylon English Dictionary online*, s.v. "Deficit hawk.")

⁸⁰ According to Maingueneau, as the press texts are addressed to a large number of readers, the addressee is a kind of image to whom the writer should attribute some abilities that will allow the message to be decoded. This image of an intended reader is called reader model. (Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 47)

⁸¹ *Babylon English Dictionary online*, s.v. "Motown."

⁸² Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 11.

⁸³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 55.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 47.

⁸⁶ Richard P. Martin, *Myths of the Ancient Greeks* (New York: New American Library, 2003), 128.

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- ⁸⁷ Ruth B. Edwards, "The Story of Theseus," in *The Quest for Theseus* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 16.
- ⁸⁸ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 128.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.
- ⁹⁰ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 219.
- ⁹¹ Donald Matheson, *Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts* (New York: Open University Press, 2005), 180.
- ⁹² Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 70.
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 219.
- ⁹⁵ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 33.
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ Rory Stewart, *The Places in Between* (Orlando: Hartcourt, Inc., 2006).
- ⁹⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979), 203.
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 179.
- ¹⁰¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 164.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 163.
- ¹⁰³ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 180.
- ¹⁰⁴ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 127.
- ¹⁰⁵ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 194.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 197.
- ¹⁰⁷ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 212.
- ¹⁰⁸ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 120-121.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.
- ¹¹⁰ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilization: Remaking of the World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).
- ¹¹¹ Teun A. van Dijk, *Discourse and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 58.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, 131.

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- ¹¹³ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 9.
- ¹¹⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 163.
- ¹¹⁶ van Dijk, *Discourse and Power*, 138.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid., 150.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid., 145.
- ¹²⁰ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 149.
- ¹²¹ Ibid., 80.
- ¹²² Tonn, Mari Boor, "Militant Motherhood: Labor's Mary Harris 'Mother' Jones," in *Readings on the Rhetoric of Social Protest*, eds. Charles E. Morris III and Stephan Howard Browne, 2nd edition (State College, PA: Strata Publishing, 2006), 348.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 11.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid.
- ¹²⁶ Mangueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 170-171.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid., 170.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid., 171.
- ¹²⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 81.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid., 186-187.
- ¹³¹ Ibid., 163.
- ¹³² Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 68.
- ¹³³ Fairclough is referring here to grammatical devices which give cohesion to a text. He is grounded in Haliday, who distinguishes four main types of surface cohesive marking: 'reference,' 'ellipsis,' 'conjunction' and 'lexical cohesion.' (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 176).
- ¹³⁴ Ibid., 177.
- ¹³⁵ Gayle Letherby, *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 2003), 23.
- ¹³⁶ Ibid., 22-23.
- ¹³⁷ Maingueneau, "Analysing Self-Constituting Discourses," 192.
- ¹³⁸ Ibid., 194.

¹³⁹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 216.

¹⁴⁰ *Babylon English Dictionary online*, s.v, “Persona.”

¹⁴¹ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 48.

¹⁴² According to Matheson, “Such magazines are called lifestyle magazines because they offer identity as a style of living, and a style that can be performed primarily through consumption – the idea that to have is to be.” (Ibid., 65)

¹⁴³ The term was coined by Walter Benjamin, who wrote about the introduction of the aesthetic in the political life by Facism, which gave expression to the masses while preserving property in the canonic text “The Work of Art in the Mechanical Age of Reproduction” (Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* [New York: Schocken Books, 1969], 217-51).

¹⁴⁴ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 58.

¹⁴⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 130.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 154.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 183.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 122.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 143.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 145.

¹⁵² Ibid., 74.

¹⁵³ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 165.

¹⁵⁴ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 68.

¹⁵⁵ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 123.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 123.

¹⁵⁷ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 135.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 127.

¹⁵⁹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 195.

¹⁶⁰ According to Fairclough, “The ‘aesthetization’ of fields such as politics or business is the shift away from these fields being seen as operating according to purely rational principles, and the tendency for both social agents within them and analysts of them to attend more to their aesthetic aspects.” (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 212).

¹⁶¹ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 171.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 122.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 126.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 57.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 53.

¹⁶⁷ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 179.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 123.

¹⁶⁹ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 175.

¹⁷⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 123.

¹⁷¹ The Long Legacy Project, "Huey Long, the Man, His Mission, and Legacy," <http://www.HueyLong.com>.

¹⁷² Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 42.

Chapter 5: Lula in *Veja*

This chapter will examine *Veja*'s articles on Lula. There are 12 articles, which were published as cover stories in a period of approximately nine months. The texts are analyzed individually. They were selected on the basis of a preliminary survey and, then, coded in terms of the topics, as depicted in chapter three. These categories of research are the same as those applied to the analysis of *Time* magazine's articles on Obama's electoral campaign. They are grouped as follows: (1) *the victory*; (2) *the presidential office*; (3) *public service*; (4) *ideological war*; (5) *economy*; (6) *foreign policy*; (7) *the fall of prejudices*; (8) *personalization*, and (9) *winners and losers: predictions*. The same types of discourse analysis procedures used to analyze the articles of *Time* magazine are used in the analysis of *Veja*'s articles.

This research focuses on the scenes constructed by the utterances; on the identities and ideological positions that the texts constructed for the readers and Lula, as a candidate running for the presidential office at the time; on the ethos of the writer as conceived by rhetorical analysis; on the meaning of the layouts and pictures on the covers and inside pages of the magazines; on the intertextuality (discourses and fragments of other texts which appear in the articles); on patterns of the language and rhetorical devices used to persuade the readership and influence the interpretation of the texts in particular ways. The reading and the textual analysis of the articles were carried out in Portuguese, the language in which the articles were written. However, the report of the findings and the descriptions presented in this section of the dissertation are in English.

The researcher made a free translation of all extracts, headlines, subheads, and captions described in this chapter.

The Victory

On October 30, 2002, *Veja*, Brazil's leading weekly magazine focused its cover story, released as a special report, on the first election of Luis Inacio Lula da Silva to the presidential office. "The first president from humble origins" states the headline on top of the cover, right above the logo of the magazine. Below is the photo of Lula smiling at the viewer. He shows the Brazilian national flag, loosely stretched out on his chest. On the bottom and over the flag, in capital letters, the headline reads, "Historic Triumph." Placed on the left side of Lula's photo, there is the subhead that reads, "His challenge: to restore growth and correct social injustices without jeopardizing the gains of the Cardoso era." The caption of this photo, in very small letters, only reads, "Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, 57."

This cover story of *Veja* seems emblematic of how the Brazilian elite saw the victory of Lula in 2002, and perhaps his entire government over eight years. In the article, Lula is portrayed as a simple man and a Brazilian from humble origins, a migrant from the Brazilian Northeast, symbolizing the low-income classes and able to lead the masses. The article constructs a narrative of the political trajectory of Lula around his defeats and mistakes. And in the extracts in which his successes are mentioned, the article suggests sacrifice and martyrdom, by means of metaphors, such as in the comparison with the Greek myth of Hercules. Along the pages, the cover story oftentimes refers to the power of Brazilian institutions, and Lula's victory is attributed to the democratic state

of the government in Brazil. In this manner, the magazine maneuvers to relate Lula's electoral success to the president at the time, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. *Veja* appears, thus, as a guardian of the social order and its institutions.

On the cover, the word "victory" is not mentioned even once nor is the status of Lula as president-elect. The headline at the top of the cover ("*The first president from humble origins*") does not have a verb; it is a theme that deletes the possible agents of the event (the voters who elected Lula, and Lula himself who gained the election). The main headline of the cover ("*Historic Triumph*") is a nominalization, that is, a type of *grammatical metaphor* which represents processes as entities by transforming clauses (including verbs) into a type of noun. As Fairclough explains, "[N]ominalizations often entails excluding social agents in the representation of events."¹ It is a resource for generalizing and abstracting that can obfuscate agency and responsibility, according to the discourse analyst. In the case of this cover, the use of the word "triumph" instead of "victory" also influences this effect of abstraction. While "victory" addresses the result of a specific event and implies agency (a triumph over an opponent), "triumph" relates more to a state of mind or an entity. Also the use of the adjective "historic" blurs the agents of the event even more, since the triumph announced might be that of history.

The Brazilian flag that Lula shows to the viewer reinforces this idea of triumph of the national history, or of the Brazilian democracy, as the magazine refers to it in the editorial page of the issue. Seen in that flag loosely stretched out was the last word of its motto, "*Ordem e Progresso*" (Order and Progress), easily recognized by any Brazilian. The subhead pointing to Lula's challenge implies a presupposition, that is, a proposition which is taken by the producer of the text as already established or "given."² This

subhead presupposes the idea that the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso brought achievements to the nation (“His challenge: to restore growth and correct social injustices *without jeopardizing the gains of the Cardoso era*”). The same subhead says that it is necessary to restore the growth and correct social injustice, directly pointing out Lula’s future tasks, but it does not mention what the gains of the Cardoso era were, or at least to what kind of gains the magazine is specifically referring. The match of the Brazilian flag with the word “progress” coming up, the headlines “historic triumph” and “the first president from humble origins” along with the “gains of the Cardoso era” seems to suggest that the triumph was of the Brazilian democracy, and pursuant to aims of its leader at the moment, Fernando Henrique Cardoso.

It should be noted that blue is the color which predominates in this cover and which is highlighted in the flag. Although green, yellow, blue, and white compose the colors of the national symbol, normally green and yellow are used to symbolize the country, such as in sports events. For example, the official shirt of the Brazilian national soccer team is usually yellow and blue is just a second option for matches against teams that display the same colors. Curiously, the color of Lula’s political party, the Workers Party (PT), is red, whereas the color associated to the party of the former president Cardoso, the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), is blue.

In the index page, Lula is referred as president-elect in the caption of a picture that shows him wearing a red t-shirt and waving his right hand from a balcony. In front of him, there is now the flag of his political party. The position of that flag shapes a triangle and at the same time forms a vector that fuses with Lula’s body, making him the “Actor” of the picture. Thus, the magazine means that although the Workers Party might be “a

symbol of generative power,” as Kress and van Leeuwen put it, in fact Lula is the active participant, who emanates power. The caption reads, “The president-elect Luis Inacio Lula da Silva: a long walking to the power.” There is no mention to his political party.

On the right hand side of the page, next to the index, the editorial of the magazine displays the headline “The real utopia,” and shows a picture of Lula hugging his political opponent, the candidate of Cardoso’s party, Jose Serra, in a broadcasted election debate. The caption reads, “Lula and Serra hug after the last debate: victory of civility.” The editorial text confirms the meanings of the cover. The first sentence states, “The country held a feat of which every Brazilian citizen should be proud.” Some sentences later, the text explains, “A year ago, the idea of a leftist postulant, of humble origins, reaching the presidential office and not plunging the country in an economic crisis, or perhaps an institutional one, sounded like a fantasy. With the election of Luis Inacio Lula da Silva last Sunday, another ritual of passage was accomplished by the Brazilian democracy.” The preoccupation with the maintenance of institutional and financial order and the idea that, at certain point, Lula’s election could mean risk to the democratic achievements are clear in the words of the editorial. As Lula won the election, the magazine praises what it calls “the undeniable maturation of the Brazilian democracy,” which is an abstract institution, and not the voters, the agents of this process. Once again, but now in the space where the magazine expresses its opinion, *Veja* plays the role of guardian of the social order and of the Brazilian democratic institutions.

Inside the magazine, the color red (symbol of the Workers Party) is used on the two opening pages of the cover story’s layout. The letters of the text are white on the red background. On the left side and breaking the redness of the layout, there is an old picture

of Lula and his sister as young children in a family photo album. The layout is in the style of an old-fashioned photo album, using shades of light blue, which appear to symbolize the past. This picture is on the left page of the layout, while the text is on the right page. According to Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images*, the right element in a polarized composition realizes the value of the "New," while the left element is the "Given."³ Therefore, the magazine represents the picture as the "Given" and the information reported as the "New." The caption of this picture reads, "Lula at 3 with his sister Maria: shoes borrowed from the photographer." The headline of these pages states, "Lula changes the history," with the letters of the word "Lula" starting in the right page and going to the left, establishing a connection. In such compositions, as Kress and van Leeuwen puts it, "the Given leads to the New."⁴ In this manner, *Veja* features Lula rising from his former status as a poor child, symbolized by the picture and explained by the caption, to his status as a political leader.

These opening pages of the special report on Lula's election are not signed and they introduce the article that starts in the subsequent pages. Therefore, they offer a type of message from the magazine to the readers. The subhead placed at the center of the right page reads, "In choosing the candidate of the Workers Party as the new president of Brazil, the constituents recognized the existence of two powerful forces: Lula and the institutions of the country." It should be noted that unlike the cover, this layout is plain red, the color of the Workers Party, and mentions Lula's political party. In commenting on a layout with the text printed in white letters on a black background on the *left* page, Kress and van Leeuwen assert that it is a feature of *negative* "Given."⁵ Using the same criterion to analyze this layout of white letters on a red background on the *right* page, it

can be said that it is a *negative* “New.” The conclusion of Kress and van Leeuwen about using white letters on dark background also can be applied to the layout analyzed here. They assert, “It describes, not the world of the reader, but a world unreachable for the reader.”⁶ In the specific case of these pages, in the text *Veja* is approaching a world ideologically linked to poverty and working class political activism, Lula’s world. It can be assumed, therefore, that a separation between the world depicted and the world of the ideal reader of the magazine has been constructed. The target audience of the magazine is the upper middle class from the Southeast of Brazil, mainly the *Paulistas*, who live in the richest state of the country (Sao Paulo).

In mentioning Lula as one of the “powerful forces” in the country, the subhead repeats what the index picture also indicates, that is, the magazine attributes the victory of Lula to his individual characteristics rather than to his political party, the Workers Party. The reason for this distinction appears to be the ideological position of the magazine and its readership, which express suspicion regarding the members of that party. As evidence, there is the cover of the previous edition, which is mentioned in the editorial page of this issue. A note illustrated with the picture of such cover states, “The cover story of *Veja* last week (“What the radicals from the Workers Party want”) caused a record number of letters from the readers. There were 964 commentaries. *Veja* would like to proudly note that the article did not *deserve* (my emphasis) a single factual correction from the readers who wrote against or in favor of its publication.” That cover showed the drawing of a wild dog, a monster of three heads, each one of them displaying the face of a socialist icon: Marx, Lenin, and Trotsky. It should be noted the use of the verb *deserve* in the note – a verb of abstract meaning and which implies a subjective judgment and a merit – to

assert that no corrections had been made in the article, when the magazine could have simply used a verb such as 'have.'

Thus, the magazine presents Lula's election as an individual event – the ascension of a man from humble origins – rather than a social expression of discontentment, that is, the result of the collective will of the Brazilian population. In the first paragraph, for example, the text reads, "The boy Lula depicted in this photography shows a lot about the achievement of the man Lula last Sunday in the ballots." Some sentences later, the text states, "Poor boys, like Lula, were not born to be presidents of the Republic of Brazil." The text links racial and social exclusion in Brazil when it compares Lula to the writer Machado de Assis, a cultural icon of the Brazilian nineteenth century. In the conclusion, the paragraph reads, "Like Machado de Assis, who was born mulatto, epileptic and poor in a slum of Rio de Janeiro and yet became the best Brazilian writer of all times, Lula challenged history for reaching the highest office in politics. His victory represents the triumph of an idea and a strong individual will, but it is also the certification of the quality of Brazilian democracy."

In the next paragraph, the article maintains that Lula as president is proof to the world that "the democracy in Brazil, and consequently in Latin America, is not pursued only to save the face of the elites that alternate in power." Further, the text asserts, "Brazil stands out as a nation of extraordinary social mobility, with the arrival of a man of the people to the Presidency." This reasoning, however, fits neither in the argumentation of the beginning of the text nor in the headline that reads that "Lula changed the history." If poor boys were not born to be president in Brazil, as the text asserts, Lula is the exception that confirms the rule. In addition, the clause that advocates

a democracy that “is not pursued only to save the face of the elites that alternate in power” grammatically presupposes the existence of a standard, a model of power alternation *among the elites* of Brazil and of Latin America. As if corroborating this presupposition, in the last paragraph the text states, “The Brazilian institutions are prepared to work independently of the doctrines and the political convictions of the Chief of State.” The text seems to affirm that the control of the institutions is not in Lula’s hands, and remains under the control of elites.

The following pages also start with white letters on a dark background, now dark blue. The headline reads “Twelve years in the opposition” and the subhead, “The arrival of Lula, a former lathe operator, at the Palácio do Planalto⁷ is the result of a disciplined and political-obsessed work of two decades.” Besides keeping the same individual viewpoint on Lula’s election, the new paragraph reinforces Lula as the exception who confirms the rule, in asserting that his success is “the victory of the improbable.” The representation of Lula as a man from humble origins and a poor child continues in this article signed by the journalist Thais Oyama, but now it mentions the social and economic differences among the regions of Brazil. The article emphasizes Lula as the poor migrant from the Brazilian Northeast who triumphed over his adversities and surpassed a destiny pattern.

Like the red pages texts, which begins by mentioning the title of a book chapter by Machado de Assis (“The boy is the father of the man”), this article also makes use of intertextuality to represent Lula as a Brazilian Northeastern migrant. The text addresses a song of Northeastern regionalism that chronicles the migrant pattern of Lula’s story. The article reads, “The Northeastern migrant who disembarked in Sao Paulo and mounted in a

*pau de arara*⁸ [flatbed truck], arrives at Palacio do Planalto boasting not just the merit for having succeeded over the logic that condemned many like him to exclusion but also for having turned the script of the conventional political trajectory upside down.” As Bryan McCann, professor of Latin American History at Georgetown University, explains,

Migration from the Northeast to Rio and Sao Paulo was one of the fundamental trends in the social, political, and economic upheavals that reshaped Brazil in the decades approaching mid-[twentieth]century. Drought, economic stagnation, and a landholding structure that virtually precluded the existence of viable small farms pushed hundreds of thousands of rural laborers out of the Northeast. Expanding industrial opportunity, political centralization and cultural allure pulled them toward the big cities. (...) By mid-century, the journey from Northeast to Southeast itself was iconic, a passage representative of more complex movements, appearing in numerous forms in both high and low culture.⁹

Veja's article addresses this iconic passage by using terms of the song *Pau de Arara*, a musical version of this migrant pattern. In such a song, McCann reports, “the narrator – considerably more down-at-the-heels – catches a ride on a flatbed out of his dusty, provincial town, carrying only a small sack containing all his worldly goods.”¹⁰

The chorus of this song says, “I suffered [misfortunes] but I got here.” And this is the way the article represents Lula. The article constructs a narrative that is a succession of defeats and failures in the political and personal life of Lula (such as the first time he met the father) until his victorious presidential election. In the first paragraph, the last sentences assert, “[Lula] built his victory on the basis of defeats. And, thanks to them, he forged the person he is nowadays.” Even when the magazine mentions that Lula won a seat in the legislative body of Brazilian Congress as the Representative with the most votes nationwide in 1986 elections, the narrative of misfortunes continues. The text reads, “Ironically, his single victory in the ballots until then represented his major purgatory. He never hid that he hated the experience in the Congress.” From the first to the last

paragraph of the article, there is not a single passage that does not mention some negative event in Lula's biography.

The article also emphasizes the passionate character of Lula, featuring him as displaying an emotional and, according to the writer, choleric temperament. At least in three paragraphs of the article, Lula is described as bossy and irritable, even though the writer does not present any factual evidence to illustrate the depiction; everything is narrated on the basis of backstage information. Finally, in the last paragraph of the eight pages, the article recognizes Lula's victory. It concludes, "Based on adversities, Lula matured, as well as the party he created, and constructed an extraordinary biography from now on [since he just won the Presidency]. Now, he gets out triumphant in his fourth attempt in the presidential election. The question that one makes is whether he will know how to behave in his victory with the same common sense that he showed before the defeats." Closing the article, there is a box featuring Lula (chained) as the Greek hero Hercules. The headline reads, "The Twelve Labors of Lula," in allusion to *the twelve labors of Hercules*, an episode of the Greek legend that in Seneca's tragedy symbolizes the punishment of Hercules for his choleric temperament, according to experts.¹¹

The magazine shows a great preoccupation with the behavior and future attitudes of Lula in the presidential office. The text constructs Lula as a rude, wild man, reproducing prejudiced stereotypes about the migrant from the Northeast – the article even refers to the habit, attributed to Northeastern men, of drinking *cachaca* (a Brazilian liquor). However, at the same time, the magazine seems to try to tranquilize its readership of the economic elite, assuring that Lula is now a mature man and that the Brazilian institutions will work independently of his "doctrines and political convictions." With

these the pages, there are many photos of Lula at different times, followed by statements which start with more extremist comments (“We cannot; we do not want to, and we should not pay for the foreign debt,” in 1985) and proceed to more balanced ones (“The agreement with the IMF can give Brazil the tranquility to breathe,” in 2002). It is as though the magazine were playing the role of supporter of the status quo. As if the whole edition was saying to the members of the economic elite, who comprise its target audience, that, yes, Lula would be an outsider as president, but he is only an exception to the usual. In addition, it implied he would attain the presidency properly restrained. Thus, those readers could stay tranquil because their worlds would not be threatened.

Power and Vigilance

On January 8, 2003, *Veja* presented in its first edition of the year a cover story on Lula’s inauguration, which happened on January 1. The magazine highlighted the fact that the event had a popular presence never experienced before in a Brazilian presidential inauguration and pointed to the huge popularity of the president-elect as the cause for such presence. However, the great preoccupation of the magazine’s text and cover is the security of the new president. In the coverage of great civic and popular celebration, the article presents a text full of reprimands regarding Lula’s behavior in his interaction with the Brazilian people and represents the viewpoint of an economic elite regarding the popular expression. In this cover story, *Veja* gives evidence of taking on the watchdog journalism, which aims to hold public personalities accountable for their actions, as a means of vigilance that intends primarily to preserve the hegemonic social order and the control of the population, as some scholars have pointed out about the Brazilian press.

It should be noted that concerning the posture of the new president, this cover story shows a primary preoccupation with the *physical contact* that he establishes with the populace. The magazine focuses on “the risks for personal security of the new president” in the cover story of a presidential inauguration that was an important popular event. With a tone of severity across the narrative, the text of the magazine constructs for the writer the ethos of a grave and pragmatic businessperson, interested mainly in how the economy and the market will be ruled, who looks with perplexity and disapproval on the demonstrations of joy and affection of the crowd toward Lula. While the magazine presents a quite partisan coverage, supporting the former president and looking suspiciously at the new ruling party, there is more at stake than just partisan politics. There are ideological matters in terms of how the magazine represents Lula. Those questions address the relations of the Brazilian elites with the commonality, and the rank and file, and are linked to nation-building issues.

On the cover, Lula appears with the first lady Marisa Leticia Lula da Silva, both standing in the Rolls-Royce they used in the inauguration’s parade. Lula waves to the people as his wife smiles. The crowd surrounds the vehicle, and a rain of confetti falls on the couple. In the picture are also spotlighted the driver of the car and the military escort, who is looking after the security of the new president. This military man is the only one in the picture who looks directly at the viewer, thus establishing some kind of [imaginary] contact with the reader. But it is not a friendly contact, since his look expresses suspicion. The headline mixes the name of Lula with the word “*lua de mel*,” which means *honeymoon* in Portuguese, and reads “Lula de mel.” The L which is added to “*lua*” to compose “Lula de mel” is written in orange, whereas the other letters of the

headline are white. The subhead says, “From now on, obligation starts.” In this manner, the magazine uses the images of the presidential couple and the metaphor of a wedding to represent the relationship of Lula with the population that elected him. As Fairclough notes, “When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another.”¹² The *metaphorization* of reality in this cover is based on the common knowledge belief that the enchantment of this initial phase of the marriage ends with the demands of daily routine.

The image of the couple over the rain of confetti works to construct the metaphor of a wedding, as well as the headline referring to a honeymoon. The cover’s headline presents a deviation over a lexical unity, in this case a proper noun (Lula). As Maingueneau explains about the use of *deviated designations* in the name of brands and products by advertisements, there is a metaphorical work in this procedure, which consists of transferring to the product certain semantic traits of the lexical unity.¹³ This is a rhetorical strategy that presents the advantage of being supported by terms which already have a strong semantic baggage, according to Maingueneau.¹⁴ In this headline, the name Lula is related to the connotations associated to the word “*lua de mel*,” that is, to the expression “honeymoon.” One of the implications of such word is the expected end of this enchanted beginning of a marriage following the wedding. The phenomenon of polyphony is presented here by means of an anonymous collective voice. The subhead (“From now on the billing starts”) reinforces the metaphor.

In the index page, there is yet another photo of the couple, who appears waving from a balcony. The caption of this picture highlights the popular reaction. It reads, “Lula and his wife, Marisa: inauguration amid popular euphoria.” Also, the headline of the

cover story in the index emphasizes the popular emotion. It says, “Lula occupies the Presidency in the arms of the people.” The editorial on the next page comments about Lula’s inaugural speech and qualifies it in its headline as “a good beginning.” In this editorial, as well as in the cover story that continues on the inside pages, the magazine focuses especially on the country’s economic policy, emphasizing primarily the speech of the new minister of finance, Antonio Palocci. The editorial begins by mentioning the new minister and finishes with his statement assuring that economic stability will be kept. It says, “The new Minister of Finance recognized that he is keeping the success recipe of his antecessor. ‘We are not going to reinvent basic principles of economic policy,’ assured Palocci. It was a good beginning.” The magazine establishes a type of rhetorical struggle between economic rationality, which compounds the ethos of the writer of the cover story, and the popular outburst of emotion that characterized the 2003 presidential inauguration.

In the opening pages of the article, a picture of Lula occupies the entire left page. Thus, it is presented as the “Given.” In the picture, the same military man on the cover is shown seating in the car with the president. The caption reads, “In the middle of the people– Lula waves to the crowd in Brasilia, on board a Rolls-Royce: vibrant party and risks to the personal safety of the new president.” Lula is waving in such way that his arms form a vector (or arrow) that points to the right page, in which is the article on the inauguration, treated therefore as the “New,” the message, the ‘issue,’ and the key information.¹⁵ Such vector is pointed to the upside of the left page, in which in large letters there is an excerpt of Lula’s inaugural address. As Kress and van Leeuwen observe, the ‘Actor’ in a narrative visual ‘proposition’ is “the participant from whom or

which the vector departs, and which may be *fused* with the vector to different degrees.”¹⁶ In addition, a photo with a vector leading to the text on the side page in a layout shows a sense of connection between text and picture, with the “Given” leading to the “New.”¹⁷ This connection is emphasized by the content of this part of the text, which addresses the biography of Lula, the “Actor” of the photo, and his history of social ascension.

The left page clearly shows two separated levels in its design, given the headline placed in the middle of the page, in white capital letters over a black background, thus marking two different planes: one with the extract of Lula’s speech, and the other with the article placed in two columns (another form of distinction). According to Kress and van Leeuwen, there is a connection between the place of the elements in a visual composition structured along the vertical axis (the case of this page) and the informational value of top and bottom. They explain, “The upper section tends to make ‘emotive’ appeal and shows us ‘what might be’; the lower section tends to be more informative and practical, showing us ‘what is.’”¹⁸ In this manner, the extract on Lula’s inaugural speech carries the informational value of “Ideal” in the magazine layout, whereas the article at the bottom is presented as the “Real.” In other words, the statement of Lula is represented as idealized and emotive, while *Veja*’s article appears to oppose these characteristics, displaying more ‘down-to-earth,’ practical information.

The headline of this page reads, “A day in history.” The extract of Lula’s speech on the top of the page reads, “When I look at my own life as a Northeastern migrant, the boy who sold peanuts and oranges on the docks of Santos,¹⁹ became a lathe operator and a union leader, founded the Workers Party and believed in what he was doing, and now occupies the position of chief executive of the nation, I see and know with full clarity and

with all conviction, *we* (my emphasis) can be more.” This extract in the article and many other passages of text which cite the inaugural speeches of the ministers of the new government exemplify a “genre chain.” Beyond the mixing of genres (speeches and news report) that the text presents, usual in contemporary journalism, the genre chain is established when the official words of the new members of the government are transformed from genre to genre. According to Fairclough, “Genre chains are an important factor in the enhanced capacity for ‘action at a distance.’”²⁰ In the case of this news article, there is an ‘action at a distance’ of Lula on the representation of the media, despite the partisanship of the magazine.

This excerpt of Lula’s inaugural in *Veja* gives evidence of the capacity of the new president to shape his public identity. It also shows how the media, even though involuntarily, such as in this case, helped to construct his relationship with the audiences. By closing the quick narrative of his biography with a phrase in the first person plural, Lula includes the collective, the country’s population in a “dream that comes true.” Because of his history of “a common man,” a symbiotic relationship between Lula and the populace, who feel represented in his figure, can be established.

The first paragraph of the article highlights the historical relevance of the 2003 presidential inauguration. To emphasize the historicity of the event, the magazine uses the repetition of words in the beginning of successive sentences, a rhetorical effect that also can be referred as *anaphora*. It reads, “The first week of January 2003 is already inscribed in Brazilian history. *It is historic* (my emphasis) to witness the arrival to power of the former laborer, who during the inaugural speech, summarized in a few words his extraordinary biography from a *Nordestino*²¹ migrant to President. *It is historic* (my

emphasis) to witness the giant and vibrant popular demonstration that greeted, sang, screamed and cried at Lula's inauguration in Brasilia." In the end of this paragraph, there is the first warning of the article. The last sentence states, "With so many novelties, Lula takes command of the country with a powerful impetus – *for good or evil* (my emphasis)." Thereafter, the article turns into a succession of warnings and moral judgments about the behavior and rhetoric of the new leader and his ministers and the attitudes of the masses as well.

The text of the magazine classifies as "dangerous" the "spectacular popularity" of the president and forecasts disappointment of the society with his governmental administration that was just starting. The fourth paragraph reads, "The president will have to be prepared to sooner or later face the feeling of disappointment of certain groups of society." Then, the article refers to the metaphor on the cover and states, "Therefore, It is time to use this good moment to do what needs to be done, using the honeymoon of the first 100 days in office in the best way possible." It continues, "To this end, it is vital that the members of the PT²² government and the president himself not get lost in the *poetic idea* (my emphasis) that they are reinventing history." Beyond the metaphor of the cover, therefore, there is another concept already expressed in the visual language ("Ideal" and "Real") that appears in this excerpt of the article: Lula's discourse as poetic and idealistic, in opposition to *Veja's* article as practical and realistic. It should be noted the modality markers which are present in the use of the adjective ("poetic") and verbs ("get lost" and "reinventing"); they imply judgment and the magazine's text distancing itself from certain propositions.²³

The partisanship of the magazine is evident in that same paragraph of the article, in which the text explains the expression “reinventing history” and at the same time reprimands Lula, defending the former president. It says, “In his speech to the mass that greeted him in front of the Palacio of Planalto on inauguration day, Lula did what a popular leader does – he excited the audience. In reference to his primary project, the *Fome Zero*,²⁴ he said that it was ‘the first day in the fight against hunger’ in Brazil, as though the country had been created yesterday. Or as if no former president had tried to fight poverty before him. Such a posture is natural in the enthusiastic liturgy of speeches to the masses, but it cannot be taken literally in the office.” In the layout of these pages of the cover story (fourth and fifth pages), this excerpt of the text is placed right below the photos of the former president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. In doing that, the magazine shows a direct reference to the president of the opposition party.

The article also shows favoritism for the former party in the government when commenting on the two ministers of the Workers Party who “gave eloquent signs of realism and solidity” in their inaugural addresses. One of them was the minister of finance, Antonio Palocci, whose speech is mentioned twice by the article because of the praises to his antecessor in the office. The other minister of the Workers Party pointed to as a realist in the article, Jose Dirceu, is mentioned as “the leader who controlled the radical wings of the party and who brought the *red flag* (my emphasis) to a center-left position to win the election.” While the magazine uses several figures of speech in its discourse – such as the *metonymy* “red flag” to refer to the Workers Party²⁵ – it criticizes (by means of another trope, irony) the new minister of Culture, Gilberto Gil, for having used a metaphor to explain his policy in office.

The references to the new minister of Finance keeping the former economic policy, the criticism of the “poetic idea” of the Workers Party’s members, and the ironic view on the speech of the minister of Culture are part of the ‘economic rationalist’ ethos that the text presents. The magazine wrote ironically about the minister of Culture using the metaphor of a human body being massaged in vital points (as in Oriental massage techniques) to describe the intended cultural policy. Yet, the text mocks other expressions that the minister used during his inaugural speech. Closing the paragraph on the speech of the minister, the article states, “Nobody understood a word.”

The minister of Culture at the time, Gilberto Gil, is a popular musician and a key figure in *Tropicalismo*, a Brazilian art movement from the 1960’s.²⁶ He was born in Bahia, the Northeastern state housing the largest Black population in the country, and as an Afro-Brazilian he represented increased diversity in the new government. The article admits the higher number of diverse officials of Lula’s government. It says, “With men and women, Whites and Blacks occupying high offices in the administration, Lula’s government showed greater degree of diversity than its predecessors.” Afterwards, the text uses *irony* to comment on this feature of Lula’s staff. It continues, “With the inauguration of the new ministers, the variety of audience and the different tones of speech, it became apparent that this government has a diverse fauna and reflects the old Brazilian melting pot – it has former rubber tappers, pop stars, feminists, businessmen, ex-guerrillas, diplomats.” The tone of sarcasm that constitutes irony is present in the use of expressions such as “diverse *fauna*” (used for animals) and “*old* Brazilian melting pot,” and in the reference made to the occupational and political activities of new the staff as a substitute for the differences in terms of gender, race, and class.

According to Chandler, the frequent use of irony may be associated with reflexiveness, detachment, or skepticism. He explains, “It sometimes marks a cynical stance which assumes that people never mean or do what they say.”²⁷ Chandler notes that with large audiences the use of irony constitutes a form of ‘narrowcasting,’ because not everyone will interpret the same remark as irony. The semiotician observes, “The evaluation of the ironic sign requires the retrospective assessment of its modality [the truth value] status.”²⁸ By using this trope frequently, the magazine gives evidence that its *ideal reader*²⁹ is socially distinct from the Brazilian masses. Also, it puts the text in a skeptical, distant stance from the government that had just begun. The skepticism is apparent from the metaphor on the cover. It shows the elitism of the writers of the magazine, who believe that their views are those to be taken seriously.

The last pages of the article display pictures of the audience on the inaugural day. The pictures emphasize the crowd breaking the rules to celebrate (“*invading* the lake of the Congress”) and the presence of indigenous people at the ceremony. A picture of one native (in indigenous outfit) is placed side by side with a picture of a young non-native woman with painted face and in a bustier, suggesting similarity. Indigenous and popular handicrafts with the name of Lula and the Workers Party are also spotlighted. The last sentences of the article offer advice to Lula, given his mixture with the common folks. They read, “Lula should make some effort to avoid excessive physical contact with *strangers* (my emphasis). If not for discreet behavior, at least because of the interest of the country.” In this manner, the text shows contempt for the crowd that attended the celebration. The intimacy with the masses is pointed out as inappropriate by the article (“As President, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva is not a common citizen anymore, neither a

prestigious political leader. He is the incarnation of the republican power in its highest realm.”). The irony is that while the magazine shows scorn for Lula and for the populace at the same time and criticizes the proximity between them, it also constructs his public identity as ‘one of them,’ thus reinforcing the identification of the masses with him.

The Presidential Office

The cover of *Veja* on June 12, 2002 was illustrated by the framed pictures of many former Brazilian presidents. The squares are arranged in a way that they seem to compose a type of “frame” themselves to the largest frame in the center, in which there is no picture. Instead of a picture, the headline and subhead appear in amber and white letters on a black background. The headline reads “From where the power of the President comes” and the subhead, “History shows that the success of a government depends mainly on the individual characteristics of the incumbent of the position.” In this cover story published a few months before the 2002 presidential elections, the magazine gave evidence of its representation of the presidential office and of Lula as a presidential candidate. The text shows the ethos of a literary narrator, whose starting point in the narrative is history by means of citing former presidents of Brazil and of the United States. The conclusion of the article – pointing to a discussion on the economic and political situation of Brazil at the time – as well as its admonitory tone gives cue to the magazine trying to influence the electoral scene. The text is focused on rhetorical persuasion rather than on neutral information.

In terms of *Veja*’s representation of the presidential office, the *presupposition* implied in the cover story’s headline is illustrative. As Fairclough explains,

“Presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the production of the text as already established or ‘given,’” and there are various formal cues in the surface organization of the text to show this.³⁰ In the headline of this cover story is implied the existence of a special source of power of a President. This source appears as mysterious, invisible, and intangible; its meaning, therefore, surpasses the visible and materially established process of electoral choice by voters. The will of the voters, the choice of the people as agents of this power neither is referred in this headline nor in the subhead, which presents the proposition that the individual characteristics of the president are one of the main sources of his power. Here, the cover individualizes and personalizes the political system, minimizing the power of the civil society and political parties.

This cover does not follow the pattern of ‘Ideal’ and ‘Real’ organization. Although the ‘square’ as a geometrical shape predominates on the cover, “the visual composition makes significant use of the center, placing one element in the middle, and the other elements around it.”³¹ These are the words of Kress and van Leeuwen, describing the information value of the center and its margins in a visual. According to them, “For something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient.”³² The portraits of the former presidents on the cover are presented in an old-fashioned style, with the same golden baroque frame. The colors of the cover range from white to amber, suggesting a yellowish cast caused by aging. The appearance of antiquity is an allusion to the past and to the history that the magazine cover stresses. In this manner, the former presidents appear as ‘empowered’ by this invisible, intangible power that had ruled throughout Brazilian history. Kress and van Leeuwen say that even when the Center is

empty, it continues to exist *in absentia*, “as the invisible (denied) pivot around which everything else turns, the place of the ‘divine ruler.’”³³ It should be noted that the portraits are displayed as if they were on a wall, in a way that recalls the old collections of families’ members portraits, which were a mark of the wealthy and powerful lineage in the last century. The power of a president, thus, is represented as somewhat “monarchic,” such as a “divine right.”

The opening pages of the article once again place the golden frame in the center of the layout. The borders of those two pages reproduce the drawing and the colors (yellow and green) of the Brazilian presidential sash³⁴ in a rectangular frame. The headline reads, “The power of the sash.” A border frames each pair of pages of the article, which has a total of 10 pages. As if emphasizing the meanings of the cover, the subhead reads, “History shows that individual qualities of presidents are more decisive to the success of the government than political and economic circumstances.” The frame in the center of the layout has the contour of a man wearing the presidential sash, but inside the outline is empty. The bottom side of the layout shows the pictures of the four main presidential candidates as molds to be cut and pasted in the empty frame. From left to right, Lula is the first, followed by the candidate of the government at the time, Jose Serra, and the others, Anthony Garotinho and Ciro Gomes, on the right page. In three of those pictures (Lula, Serra, and Garotinho), the candidates appear to be looking directly at the viewer. However, only the candidate of the government, Jose Serra, appears to be smiling at the viewer.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, the gaze of participants in pictures creates a visual form of direct address and constitutes an ‘image act,’ because the producer uses

the image to do something to [act upon] the viewer.³⁵ This kind of image is called a ‘demand’ because the participant [of the picture] demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her. Kress and van Leeuwen explain, “Exactly what kind of relation is then signified by other means, for instance by the facial expressions of the represented participants. They may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them.”³⁶ In this layout, the candidate who disputes leadership at the polls with Lula, Jose Serra, from the party of the president at the time (Brazilian Social Democracy Party) is the only one represented as confidently demanding a relation of social affinity with the readers. Lula stares at the viewer, but his facial expression suggests lack of confidence and preoccupation. It is a gloomy look, given his frowned forehead in the picture. He is represented as *frowning* at the viewer.

The article is interesting for this comparative research because part of the narrative of the text itself is constructed by using the United States as a model. Details of the history of the Republic and of presidents in the United States are used as an example of personality influencing the presidential performance. The text mentions the United States as pioneering the study of the temperaments and personalities of presidents, and as the inventor of the Presidency. However, at the same time the article makes a linkage between the concept of a monarch, a king, and the figure of a president. That connection is made by means of *coherence*, that is, the way that sentences and episodes of the text are meaningfully related in order to make sense. As Fairclough explains, texts set up positions for interpreting subjects that are ‘capable’ of making connections and inferences, necessary to generate coherent reading.³⁷ Fairclough asserts, “These connections and inferences may rest upon assumptions of an ideological sort.”³⁸ For

example, the cover story of *Veja* reads, “The U.S. historians were the pioneers in this type of study [of presidential personality]. After all, the Presidency of the Republic was the U.S. peoples’ invention, as the national founders gathered to write the United States Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787. *It was the first attempt of composing an organized government without the figure of a king* (my emphasis).” In this manner, the article links these sentences in a way that leads the reader to interpret the figure of the president as a replacement for the king’s authority.

In the sentences immediately afterwards, the article uses manifest intertextuality and inserts a quotation by an American writer, Dave McCullough, author of the book *Power and Presidency*. His quote mentions an “invisible power” that can be called “personality, human nature or character,” an “individual psychological motor” to be taken into account as analyzing a presidential performance. By emphasizing such terms, the text constructs a type of mystic aura around the presidential figure. This ‘work’ of construction continues in the text through the use of phrases [with anaphorical function]³⁹ as substitutes for the words “presidents” and “presidency,” such as “these special Brazilians” and “higher position in the political hierarchy of the country.”

The mystic atmosphere around the presidency is reinforced by the literary tone of the narrative, which is filled with anecdotes on the former Brazilian presidents. In one of the anecdotes that the article addresses, the former president Juscelino Kubitschek appears as “a man capable of even performing miracles,” such as make hail to get ice for his whisky. Evidently, the text makes clear, that this is just “one of the most delicious anecdotes of the period” of his presidency, not a fact, but the vocabulary employed nurtures the rhetoric effect of inspiring a sense of magic around the presidential figure.

The stories and anecdotes narrated are *legitimized* by historians identified as the sources of the article. Except for the four initial pages of the article and the last one, all other five pages display photos in black and white. However, most of the pictures are in black and white because that was the available photographic technique at the time referred to. Others are in black and white to match the visual composition of the layout. Kress and van Leeuwen observe that “visual modality rests on culturally and *historically* (my emphasis) determined standards of what is real and what is not, and not on the objective correspondence of the visual image to a reality defined in some ways independently of it.”⁴⁰ In the case of this article, the absence of color (black and white) increases the historical value and authority of the photos, using them as a modality marker and also a strategy of legitimization, along with the historians who are sources of the article. Such modality markers help to insert the text into the register of the past and to construct a world of tradition and distant power to the reader.

This world of tradition and history composes the *scenography*,⁴¹ or ‘scene’ designed by the text, which emanates an elitist, aristocratic ambience. The first years of the Brazilian Republic that the article evokes were also an age in which Brazil was a rural society, ruled by the military and controlled by a rural aristocracy, landowners who transmitted their status to their heirs. As the editorial of this edition of the magazine notes, at the time of the Old Republic “the popular will was of very little worth, almost nothing.” The same editorial states that this had changed because of the birth of public opinion, and mentions the impeachment of a former Brazilian president, an episode in which the press played a fundamental role. However, it mentions democracy neither as electors [as agents] choosing their president nor as the people’s will detached from press

influence. One of the references to the United States compares the power of U.S. presidents to the authority of a monarch. It says that “the country had presidents with powers larger than the crowned heads of Europe.” The text quotes an American historian, Michael Beschloss, who says that U.S. presidents organized power in a way similar “to the monarchs and their courts.” The paragraph concludes with another quote by Beschloss, who asserts, “The Kennedys were our royal family.” This is evidence of the ‘scene’ constructed by the article, a scene in which the presidential power is exclusive of an aristocratic ruling elite aside from Lula’s election in October 2002 and onwards with the Workers Party rule.

About the Brazilian presidents, the article says that although “delicious details of the quotidian of the chiefs of government” are well-known, the influence of their traits of character on the public business has not been investigated. Some paragraphs later the article approaches the “inevitable depersonalization of the image” that affects Brazilian presidents, according to the article. The text quotes a photographer who had published a photo book of nine Brazilian presidents. It reads, “‘They stay for years surrounded by servile people, who have a ready smile on their faces when someone gets close, and slowly they unlearn the simple things, such as to hold a grandchild or to take a cab,’ says [Orlando] Brito.” Thus, the magazine represents the presidential office as a privileged position of the elite, and its incumbent as a powerful figure, very distant from the people’s world.

In this scenery, Lula is the outsider who aspires to the position and leads the polls. The caption of Lula’s and Serra’s pictures in the beginning of the article reads, “Lula and Serra: leading the competition to see who occupies the seat that was Cardoso’s.” The

article mentions Lula again after narrating stories of Brazilian and Latin American presidents who took impulsive decisions related to the economic policies of their countries. The text concludes this passage with a type of warning. It reads, "A president can. In the Latin American landscape the president can do a lot, even though [politically] weakened." Then, the next paragraph starts with commentaries on the changes that the new times demanded from the presidents, who have now to concede many points, "particularly with regards to outward appearances." Then, the article reports the changes in the look of the politicians influenced by political marketing. It mentions the one hundred suits of president Cardoso and quotes the president explaining to Lula, who was visiting the presidential residence, that he had not chosen any of those outfits. Afterwards the article comments, "Today, Lula, presidential candidate and leading the polls, already has a rich pile of suits. He did not choose any of them. His advisors determine the model, color, and brand."

Again, the article makes a link between the sentences that influence the interpretation of the reader. In that paragraph, the text coherence rests upon two assumptions. First, the clause implies that Lula conceded primarily in regards his appearance, his image, to be elected ("*At times of incredible exposure, they concede in almost everything that is related to the image*"); thus, the doubts concerning his ideas, temperament and ideologies should remain. Secondly, his apparent changes were planned and determined by consultants to project a certain image ("*They switch glasses, do plastic surgeries and diets to meet the demands of the consultants to present a youthful and vigorous image.*"), so his image was fabricated, invented. As Fairclough observes, coherence depends on assumptions which interpreters bring to the process of

interpretation.⁴² He explains, “Texts postulate, and implicitly set up interpretative positions for interpreting subjects who are ‘capable’ of using assumptions from their prior experience to make connections across the intertextually diverse elements of a text, and to generate coherent interpretations.”⁴³ The ideological nature of the assumptions of the text points to an interpreter who distrusts Lula’s candidacy.

It should be noted that the article was addressing former presidents. Then, it suddenly shifts the target of commentaries from presidents to presidential candidates in electoral campaigns – those who usually try to meet the demands of the political consultants in order to win the election, in Brazil. But the text uses the pronoun “they” in reference to both (presidents and presidential candidates), without making a clear distinction between them. In this manner, the sentences of the text are connected to present Lula as indeed an outsider in this world of ‘aristocratic’ lineage, until that moment. The text suggests that he is just a fabricated leader and does not authentically belong to that world of power that the article reported.

Public Service

The cover story of *Veja* on November 6, 2002 is an example of how the magazine saw and represented the future government of Lula, newly president-elect at the time. In addition, it shows the construction of a *Paulista* identity along with the text.⁴⁴ This identity is constructed through the representations of the three politicians that the magazine presents as the heads of the future staff of Lula and as relevant figures in the Workers Party. It is also built through the discourses that the article presents, such as the ‘enterprise discourse,’ which deals with public service in the fashion of a private

business.⁴⁵ By means of modality markers, the magazine got lowers its commitment to the statement given, that is, the writers distance themselves from the information provided. Two types of ‘scenographies’ are mixed in the text – the scene of a theatrical spectacle and the scene of an enterprise environment. The text also gives evidence on how the magazine represents the political power in Brazil, as well as the ideologies advocated.

The pictures of three key figures of the future staff of Lula as president are cover illustrations. They appear as the characters of Alexandre Dumas’ novel, *The Three Musketeers*, in an obvious montage. In the illustration, besides wearing the typical costumes of the musketeers of the French novel – the recurrent theme of films productions – they hold swords and make the well-known gesture of the musketeers to signalize their motto (“*All for one, one for all*”), with the edges of the weapons touching one another. The headline reads “The summit of the new court,” and the subhead, “The three musketeers with whom one needs to talk to be heard in the government of Lula.” A small caption gives their names, “Antonio Palocci, Luiz Gushiken and Jose Dirceu.” By means of this *visual metaphor*, the magazine represents the trio as guardians of Lula and, at the same time, as the heads of the future government.

Besides manifest intertextuality through the reference to Dumas’s novel, such characterization of the future ministers as fictional figures – or as actors that perform a movie or a play – is also a modality marker. As Daniel Chandler explains, “Modality refers to the reality status accorded to or claimed by a sign, text or genre.”⁴⁶ He continues, “In making sense of a text, its interpreters make ‘modality judgments’ about it. (...) In doing so, they draw upon their knowledge of the world (and social codes) and of

the medium (and textual codes).”⁴⁷ Those judgments are in part made in reference to cues within the texts, the so-called modality markers. In this cover story, the deliberate introduction of a theatrical genre diminishes the reality status of the utterance and also gives indication of the magazine’s low degree of commitment with what is being said. The magazines distance itself from the news reported by representing the new Lula government and its staffers as fictional characters.

The modality markers in this sense appear in many excerpts of the article, such as in the headline of the inside pages that carries the motto of Dumas’s musketeers. The first two pages are illustrated with a picture of Lula saluting a crowd; the headline reads, “One for all...” The next pages carry the rest of the musketeers’ motto. The headline reads “...And all for one,” and displays a photo of the three staffers. The first sentence of the article reads, “Living the delights of his first week as president-elect of Brazil and cheerfully hosted in his visit to Brasilia [capital of the country] as if he were a *popular artist* (my emphasis), Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva presented to the country his holy trinity – the troika that had high influence in his campaign, which has deep domain over the Workers Party and, possibly, will have a relevant role in the formation of his government.” In this excerpt, the article refers to Lula as a “popular artist,” and on the side places his photo with an expressive gesture before the crowd, as if he were an actor performing to the audience. These are modality markers that give evidence of assessments that the writer makes.

There is more evidence of low modality pointing to the sort of commitment that the writers of the article make. These modality markers also are indications of the type of scenography that the article presents. The clearest evidence is a sentence in the second

paragraph. It reads, “In the position of government, the Workers Party now is dealing with the reality plane, not with the political *theater* (my emphasis) as it did until yesterday.” The text also states, “With its ascending trajectory, the PT [Workers Party] became a party with many stars of first magnitude,” and “In the Workers Party, to be a star that shines before the masses is something different from shining within the party.” In these extracts, the text is emphasizing ‘stardom’ and ‘spectacle’ in reference to the Workers Party and Lula as president-elect. As Kress and van Leeuwen observe, modality is ‘interpersonal’ rather than ‘ideational.’ They explain, “It does not express absolute truths or falsehoods; it *produces* shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others.”⁴⁸ According to them, modality serves to create an imaginary ‘we,’ because “it says, as it were, these are the things ‘we’ consider true, and these are the things ‘we’ distance ourselves from.”⁴⁹ This is what the article does by presenting a skeptical view of the seriousness of the Workers Party and Lula’s government. It constructs a type of ‘interpretative community’ by sending, through the modality markers, cues to the readers about the credibility of the future government, as the writers of the article assess it.

In the case of the modalization of the cover, the visual metaphor realized in the characterization of Lula’s staff as “the three musketeers” is also the way in which the magazine constructs their identities and the relations among the members of the future government. It constitutes an evaluative modality because it indicates the attitude of the writer toward what he is saying.⁵⁰ As Chandler notes, “Metaphors need not to be verbal.”⁵¹ He explains that in visual metaphors, as with the verbal ones, viewers are left to draw their own conclusions as to the points of comparison. Chandler observes that

given the basis in analogy, “Visual metaphors can also involve a function of ‘transference,’ transferring certain qualities from one sign to another.”⁵² This is exactly how the headline with the motto of the three musketeers works. Such headline is a strategy to capture the meaning of the motto in Dumas’ novel. According to Maingueneau, to capture a text means to imitate it, taking the same direction that text takes.⁵³ Thus, the choice of genre (fictional) to represent Lula’s staff is meaningful, as well as the text – *The Three Musketeers* – used to perform this representation.

Such visual metaphor takes advantage of the knowledge of the audience of Dumas’ novel to hint assessments on Lula’s staff, but it also expresses the magazine’s view on the functioning of public administration and government structures. Once more, the magazine makes an analogy between the presidential system and the monarchy, since the ‘musketeers’ of Dumas were members of the royal guard in the French monarchy. The headline on the cover (“The summit of the *court*”) makes the same comparison. Fairclough asserts, “When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another. Metaphors structure the way we think and the way we act, and our systems of knowledge and belief, in a pervasive and fundamental way.”⁵⁴ The magazine chose to represent public administration as an absolutist monarchic power. In this manner, the metaphor reveals the way the magazine sees the power structures in Brazil, as well as the type of relation that a part of the Brazilian press (represented by this medium) cultivates with the political establishment.

Although Brazil was living in a democratic period, the major newsweekly magazine of the country kept symbolically constructing, such as the Brazilian press did

during the military dictatorship a link between an audience without voice and the political society. As the historian and professor of communication Mariava Barbosa explains, in authoritarian periods of Brazilian history, the press became the *only* possible intermediary between the population and the authorities.⁵⁵ In regimes of absolute absence of freedom of the press, journalists learned how to cultivate close ties with the political system. The majority of population, however, kept apart from the access to political authorities.

Public administration is also represented as a hierarchical and exclusive power, and is compared to the functioning of a private enterprise, by means of ethos of the writer. The text deploys the ‘enterprise discourse’ to establish the social identity of Lula and the staffers that are called “the three musketeers.” By means of this discourse another ‘scenography’ is set up by the text, that one of the enterprise environment. The ethos signaled by the writers of the article is that of a businessperson in conversation with peers. Thus, it constructs the ideal reader as a businessperson as well. However, as the text emphasizes the *Paulista* identity of the heads of Lula’s staff several times, it seems that in fact it is the *Paulista* ethos which is evoked by the article, albeit mixed with the businessperson character.

By spotlighting the three figures as ‘the musketeers’ of Lula and the heads of his staff, the article emphasizes the *Paulista* ‘hegemony’ in the government of Brazil, disclosing regional divisions in Brazilian politics and in the press coverage of the political field. In the pages that show a large picture of a meeting of the government staff discussing the changes on the way, the caption reads, “Cardoso, in Brasilia, during a meeting with the team that will give information to the new government, in the most civilized transition of the country: in both groups close to Cardoso and to Lula, there are

only 'Paulistas' and party founders. In the index page, a picture of these politicians shows up with the headline calling attention to the cover story. The caption reads, "Gushiken, Palocci and Dirceu: the Workers Party that commands." The headline to the cover story reads, "The Iron Trio of the Workers Party's government." In the inside pages of the cover story, the narrative constructs a representation of these politicians that reproduces the *Paulista* ethos, as it is disseminated by common knowledge in Brazil.

There are clues of representation of public administration as a hierarchical and exclusive power in the type of discourse used to describe the new staff. The presence of words from the vocabulary of the Roman Catholicism is the strongest clue. For example, the article says that "Lula da Silva presented to the country his *holy trinity*," and that "the *cardinals* of the party demonstrated realism last week, keeping *faithful* to the austerity promised during the campaign." About one of the staffers, Antonio Palocci, the text says that he "is among the first *converted* to the practice of capitalism, as demonstrated during his first term as mayor of the city of Ribeirao Preto." The reference to the three staffers as the 'holy trinity' is again repeated in other extracts of the text. Such words are used as figures of speech in the article, specifically as metaphors. The comparison rests upon the Catholic Church hierarchical structure of power and ideological action. In fact, the vocabulary of the religious discursive field – more specifically the one derived from Catholicism – very often appears in the Brazilian press.

As Fairclough observes, "Some metaphors are so profoundly naturalized within a particular culture that people are not only quite unaware of them most of the time, but find it extremely difficult, even when their attention is drawn to them, to escape from them in their discourse, thinking, or action."⁵⁶ Brazil was colonized by the Catholic

Portuguese. Its official religion is Catholicism. The metaphors of this article show (as do many other productions of the Brazilian journalistic field) how the memory of the hierarchical structures of power of Brazilian history is still [ideologically] present in language use and culture, particularly in the journalistic culture of Brazil. The presence of the ‘order of discourse’ of Catholicism in the text of the newsweekly magazine is a very meaningful cue. By choosing words from the ‘order of discourse’⁵⁷ of Catholicism (such as “holy trinity,” “cardinals” and “converted”), the writers are borrowing from this institution and its historical-social *memory* its authority and, at the same time, legitimizing their text by means of them.⁵⁸

The *Paulista* hegemony in the future government of Lula is reinforced in the body of the narrative. First, the text asserts, “Any president, it does not matter his origin neither ideology, has a group of closer collaborators.” Then, the text signals the domain of the state of Sao Paulo in Brazilian politics. It reads, “The first election of the president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in 1994, marked the apex of a group of *Paulista* politicians, all founders of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party.” The paragraph concludes, “The team of Lula has similarities in its origin – it is also composed by politicians that made their career in Sao Paulo and are likewise founders of the Workers Party.”

The *Paulista* ethos in the representation of the three members of Lula’s staff appears in depictions that are mixed with the ‘enterprise discourse.’ The descriptions of the three politicians emphasize characteristics that common knowledge construes as traits of the *Paulista* people. Those features mix up with the persona of a businessperson. For example, Luiz Gushiken has his Asiatic origin stressed. Sao Paulo has a huge Japanese community, responsible in part for the fame of ‘hardworking’ people that its inhabitants

have. The representation of Gushiken goes into the realm of the business culture when the text describes some strategies he taught to Lula, a sort of 'self-help' for businesspeople characteristic of the 'enterprise discourse.'⁵⁹ It reads, "He was already a Buddhist, already followed a macrobiotic [diet] and, when preparing Lula to the debate of the campaign, appealed to him to relax and gave speeches full of analogies. 'You cannot be the tiger,' he said to Lula, trying to convince him to present an image of being a statesman on television. 'The tiger leaps for the jugular of the enemy, but now you are an eagle that flies above the other birds, hovering majestically over the enemy until, at the right moment, it pounces.'"

The representation of Jose Dirceu emphasizes the workaholic characteristic of the politician. The article reads, "The president of the Workers Party is a demanding and compulsive worker. 'He is the type who scolds even answering machines,' says a co-worker who closely knows him." Finally, Jose Palocci is portrayed as the ideal staffer. The text states, "He is the guy who never brings problems to Lula. Palocci just appears before the boss with solutions at hands, and is always with a fresh and smiling face, as if he had just taken a shower." With a type of conversational discourse, the writer presents the ethos of a co-worker talking about business enterprises. In this 'enterprise environment,' Lula is represented as the boss who is influenced, and at the same time protected, by his three closest advisors.

The last sentence of the article reads, "The first manifestations of Lula's musketeers last week, however, seems to reaffirm what, at close doors, the cardinals of the party had been assuring before the election: the reactionary and radical wings of the Workers Party are under the control of the hierarchy of the party, and it is not expected

that they will bother [the majority of the party] to the point of frustrating the game.”

Thus, the ‘three musketeers’ of Lula, as the article says, are actually represented as the keepers of the order and hierarchies in force, on guard against the radicals of their own party. In sum, the article seems to convey that despite the fact that the people elected to the federal government an outsider from an ‘unrealistic’ political party (from the magazine viewpoint), the *Paulista* hegemony, the social hierarchies, and the order are going to remain untouchable.

Ideological War

Leftists as Warlike

On the cover story of *Veja* for October 23, 2002, the political party of Lula’s candidacy, the Workers Party, is constructed as an ideological enemy, a socialist threat. The possible victory of Lula is associated with future problems steaming from members of the party, represented by the magazine as radicals and belligerent, angry people. The illustration on the cover makes this representation clear. Over a blue background, there is a mad dog with three heads and superposed faces (tiny labels hanging from each neck show the names) of three socialist icons – Marx, Trotsky and Lenin. The dog is restrained by the collar from which an emblem with the star symbol of the PT (Workers Party) hangs. This dog is red, the color associated to the Workers Party, and his tail has the shape of a devil’s tail, as represented in the cartoons. The headline reads, “What the radicals from the PT want.” The subhead reads, “Among the Petistas [members of the

Workers Party], 30% are from revolutionary wings. They were silent during the campaign. If Lula wins, they will charge a price.⁶⁰ The PT says that it will not pay.”

Above, on the left corner, the headline of another article, in white letters on red background, reads, “Brazil: The risk of a default on its [foreign] debt.” In placing together those headlines on the cover, the magazine associates a probable Lula victory with the lack of payment of the Brazilian foreign debt. It should be noticed the choice of the representing verb, “want,” selected in preference to “say.” The verb “want” implies a demanding attitude in the representation of the Workers Party’s members, and yet it appears to be linking to the idea of unpaid debt. As Fairclough notes, ‘speech acts’ verbs often mark “the illocutionary force of the represented discourse (the nature of the action performed in the uttering of a particular form of words), which is a matter of imposing an interpretation upon the represented discourse.”⁶¹ In the case of this cover, *Veja* imposes a certain interpretation on the discourse of the Workers Party and shows a huge bias against Lula’s political party.

In the inside pages, the tone of the cover story announces a class struggle. The scene designed by the text is that of a war, in this case an ideological war. The ideological combat that the text sets up is clearly defined as a dispute between capitalism and socialism, that is, between the wealthy capitalists and the working classes. By representing the ‘enemy,’ the magazine constructs an identity for itself and to its readers, even though the article did not direct reference to his target audience. In terms of Lula’s representation of Lula, the magazine makes a distinction between him and his party and, at the same time, it raises doubts on his ability to control the radicals, as the article classifies them. In the index, for example, his photo has a caption that reads, “Lula, the

moderate candidate, will have to face the radicals of PT.” The headline calling attention to the cover story reads, “The challenge of Lula for controlling the radicals of PT.” The modality introduced by the adjective “moderate,” in the caption of the index, suggests a certain irony and doubt of Lula’s political abilities. Lula is represented as more moderate but still attached to (from the magazine’s viewpoint) ‘dangerous’ ideologies. Notice also that he is said to be a “moderate *candidate*,” and not a ‘moderate person’ or ‘moderate politician.’ In this manner, it can be interpreted that this moderation is related to his candidacy and, therefore, temporary.

To construct the Workers Party as an ideological enemy, its ‘demonization’ is done mainly through markers of *modalization* (meaning the use of grammar, vocabulary and images as a way to impose evaluations), discourse representation (reported and quoted speeches) and metadiscourse (when the text producers distinguish different levels of the text within their own text).⁶² For example, the headline of the opening pages of the cover story reads, “It must be held back.”⁶³ It refers to the members of the party that the magazine calls radicals and represents as a mad dog in the visual metaphor on the cover. The cover illustration appears in the center of the layout, but now there is a caricature of Lula trying to hold the mad dog. The subhead reads, “Marxists, Leninists and Trotskyists who comprise the radical heart of Workers Party are preparing to charge a price, if Lula is elected.” The headline presents a marker of modality in the verb ‘must’⁶⁴ used as a modal auxiliary and meaning an obligation for Lula, as the illustration implies.

But as Fairclough explains, there are different types of modality which go beyond cases of explicit modalization, i.e. cases in which there is an explicit marker of modality, such as the modal verbs (can, will, may, must, would, should, etc.).⁶⁵ Because it is related

to the degree of commitment of the speaker, or writer, within the represented discourse, “modality is a very complex aspect of meaning,” as Fairclough puts it.⁶⁶ He says, “How one represents the world, to what one commits oneself, e.g. one’s degree of commitment to truth, is a part of how one identifies oneself, necessarily in relation to others with whom one is interacting.”⁶⁷ For example, the illustration of this article shows a representation of Lula and of the Workers Party that implies evaluation but also the construction of the identities of Lula and his party. By means of the metaphor of the ‘mad dog’ that the magazine chose to represent the party, the text ‘acts’ rhetorically and imposes a certain view on the PT through the comparison that will be interpreted by the viewer. Therefore, it constructs identity.

A curious detail about the illustration: Lula is dressed in a conventional manner, wearing a suit and a blue tie with yellow stripes, but the tip of his tie is red, a color that symbolizes the PT. The image suggests to the readers that despite the visual changes he went through during the campaign, Lula was still committed to the ideologies that the magazine presents as a threat to democracy. This is an example of *modalization* through an image that also shows the construction of Lula’s identity. As Fairclough asserts, “The use of objective modality often implies some form of power.”⁶⁸ In the subjective modality, it is clear that the speaker’s own degree of affinity with a proposition is being expressed (I think/suspect/doubt). Fairclough says, “[I]n the case of objective modality, it may not be clear whose perspective is being represented – whether, for example, the speaker is projecting her own perspective as a universal one, or acting as a vehicle for the perspective of some other individual or group.”⁶⁹ If grounded on the historical context of

the Brazilian press and its relation with power, this group could be identified as the wealthy elites of the country.

Also, the text gives clues that the magazine is acting as a vehicle for the perspective of the wealthy elites of Brazil. Firstly, there is the discourse representation strongly figuring in the article. To construct a representation of the political party of Lula's candidacy – since Lula, among others, founded the party – the article uses what it says to be the discourse of the PT members. Along with the text, the writer (journalist Carlos Graieb) uses indirect discourse representation, that is, the reported speech, and direct discourse, which is the speech in quotation marks. However, there are several statements, mainly in the beginning of the article, which are in quotation marks but do not have their source identified. Those statements are presented as an anonymous voice of the Workers Party representing the ideas of the radical members.

Commenting on the different political trends within the party, the writer says, “Those trends, which often fight one another to prove who is ‘more revolutionary,’ have several *flags* (my emphasis) in common. They advocate ‘expropriation of the assets of the big bourgeoisie,’ the re-nationalization of privatized enterprises, the muzzling of the press (under the euphemism of ‘social control of the mass media’), the final abolishment of the market.” In this excerpt, the text links the interests of the media companies to those of the big corporations and the upper classes. As Fairclough points out, “[W]hen one ‘reports’ discourse one necessarily chooses to represent it in one way rather than another.”⁷⁰ The metaphor of “flag” is used to represent the causes advocated by the party. While the word ‘cause’ carries the connotation of a principle, a belief, a licit and often noble struggle, the word ‘flag’ signalizes identification among the trends but

does not display the same connoted meaning. In this manner the text avoids a sympathetic representation. Equally worth noticing is that all the ideas reported in this excerpt are attributed to the radical wings of PT, but there is not a specific person, or even a written text, identified as the source of the statements. The phrases in quotation marks do not have their sources identified either. This fact indicates that the writer used the quotation marks as a marker of modality, that is, as a manner of distancing himself from the propositions mentioned.

In the same paragraph, the text also uses irony, and yet more metaphors related to the Catholic Church, to refer to the members of the party and their relationship with Lula. It reads, “The recent conversion of Lula to the rules of capitalism sounds like unforgivable heresy to these apostles of socialism. They sincerely hope that everything has been only an election skit.” The recognition of irony in this case is based on the tone of sarcasm provided by the adverb (sincerely) and the reference to a skit. However, as Chandler observes, “The evaluation of the ironic signs requires the retrospective assessment of its modality. Re-evaluating an apparently literal sign for ironic cues requires reference to perceived intent and to truth status.”⁷¹ It means that the recognition of irony may be based on “interpreters’ assumptions about the beliefs or values of the text producer,” as Fairclough puts it.⁷² Regular readers can easily recognize ironic cues in their newspapers or newsmagazines. Therefore, the ironic cues of the article are evidence of the ideological positions attached to the magazine and recognizable by the readers.

The scene of ideological war is constructed in the representation of the discourse of the Workers Party’s members. The text puts discourse as a threatening to the democracy in the country. An excerpt of the article maintains, “A controversy that was

very fierce in the political party, during the 1990s, echoes in their speech [of the Workers Party's members]. It has to do with the concept of democracy. *For more extremists, the electoral struggle is merely a necessary step in the conquest of power* (my emphasis). *Once past this stage, it would be possible to dispense with representative democracy.*" Notice the use of words such as "conquest," "power," "electoral struggle," "extremists," "controversy," and the reference to the threatening of democracy if Lula wins. The vocabulary evokes a war that is primarily ideological and recalls the Cold War, placing socialism against capitalism and using the rhetoric of defending democracy as a way to undermine Lula's candidacy.

The photos displayed in the seven pages of the article also help to construct that scene of ideological war. In the two pages following the opening of the article, the layout gives evidence of the class struggle fostered by the text. A picture of a demonstration of the Landless Movement shows a crowd lifting a huge banner with the symbol of the organization. On the side, there is a small picture of the leader of the movement. The caption reads, "Demonstration of the Landless Movement and the leader Joao Pedro Stedille: with the support of the Shiites⁷³ from PT." Under the photo of the Landless' leader, Stedille, there is an extract of a song from the movement, an excerpt handpicked by the writer of the article. It reads, "Under sun and rain, we all have to fight. We are the owners of ourselves, our motto is to occupy. Man, woman, and child want a better world. If we occupy, we produce! With strength, hope and sweat. Occupy, resist and produce. I am a Latin American, Brazilian exploited by wealthy tyrant." The caption reads, "Excerpt of *Bourgeois does not hold the hoe*, the Landless Movement song." In the bottom of the pages there are boxes displaying four different trends of the Workers Party,

also with small pictures of the leader inside. The headline reads, “The trends of PT: How the radicals of the party are grouped.” The layout links the Workers Party to the Landless Movement and, at the same space, spotlights a content of class struggle in the activism of both organizations. The extract selected by the writer to represent the Landless Movement places the organization as an enemy of the wealthy elites. In addition, the picture of the demonstration associates the Landless Movement with the Workers Party.

The next pages highlight two female Representatives from the Workers Party as examples of the radicals within the party. Congresswoman Heloisa Helena is featured in an interview. The headline quotes her using the verb “irritate.” It reads, “The speech of a light [*sic*] PT irritates me.” By highlighting this statement, the magazine uses the interview to legitimize the proposition of the cover, that is, the portrayal of the PT as a party of radicals, revolutionaries. However, it should be noted that the examples of ‘extremists’ that the article highlights are two Representatives, members of the Brazilian Congress who were elected by voters and who politically act in the limits of the representative democracy. In the previous pages, the leaders of the diverse trends of the party are all identified as regular politicians or labor activists. The exception is Stedille, who is widely known in Brazil as the leader of the Landless Movement. But there is no example of extremists who could be called terrorists, that is, people who use acts of violence to achieve political goals. To construct the scene of war, the magazine displays a photo of Colombian guerillas on the last page of the article. The caption reads, “Colombian guerillas of the FARC⁷⁴: for the radicals, they are ‘victims of the imperialism’.” The text says that the FARC are “among the groups with which the radical

wings of the Workers Party feel affinity.” Thus, the image of the Colombian guerillas appears associated with the Workers Party on the pages of the magazine.

Likewise, the photo of Representative Heloisa Helena shows a big picture of Ernesto Che Guevara, the major figure of the Cuban Revolution, behind her. The caption reads, “Senator Heloisa Helena: “I am against honoring commitments to the International Monetary Fund mafia.” The submission to the rules of the IMF and the maintenance of international contracts appear as the primary concerns of the magazine. The suspension of payment of the foreign debt, with its consequent effect on businesses and financial markets, is presented as the greatest threat posed by the PT government. Such stance gives evidence of the fear that the election of Lula posed to the wealthy elites of Brazil, and positions the magazine as a mouthpiece of those elites. Fairclough points out “a tendency for the providers of news to act as ‘mediators,’ figures who cultivate characteristics which are taken to be typical of the ‘target’ audience and a relationship of solidarity with that assumed audience.”⁷⁵ In the case of *Veja*, this cover story shows the magazine very committed to ideological positions of the economic elite.

Lifestyle and Economic Discourse

The cover story of *Veja* on December 18, 2002 gives evidence of the presence of economic discourses in the text of the magazine and shows how a news article can ideologically work to shape economic realities. A second aspect of this cover story is the construction of readers as consumers of identity, or lifestyle, on the pages of the magazine. In the article, the lifestyle that is placed for consumption of the readers is the one of the future president of the Central Bank of Brazil,⁷⁶ Henrique Meirelles, a

Brazilian financier with an international career. The text exemplifies the discursive practice, that is, the language adopted by the article's writer, as motivated by the lifestyle the magazine desired to project to the reader. The use of the economic discourse is related to how the magazine wants to project itself as a medium of the lifestyle its audience aspires to. Lula's choice of the financier Meirelles as head of the Central Bank is the main news of this cover story. But the focus of the magazine is on the 'ideological turn' that it attributes to Lula, given the measures that the president-elect announced. The article evidences the ideological polarization that the magazine promotes. Whereas the magazine offers to consumption of the readers a lifestyle based on the figure of the future president of Brazilian Central Bank, it emphasizes Lula as an exponent of the Workers Party and of the working class.

The written text predominates on this cover of *Veja*. The cover is preponderantly red with the headlines in white huge letters. Lula appears on the corner of the *left* side of the cover, and he is almost out of the layout frame. Only part of Lula's body is visible. Lula looks outside the layout frame, so the viewer cannot see at what he is looking. Lula smiles and looks directly at some point between his side and his back, as if he were walking and leaving behind someone who walked along with him. In very big capital letters, occupying the center of the cover, the headline reads, "Who could imagine..."⁷⁷ Then, in much smaller letters the subhead appears divided in four clauses. It reads, (1) "An international banker will head the *Petista*⁷⁸ Central Bank; (2) A former Trotskyist will be Minister of Finance; (3) The government of the PT will keep the interest rates high as long as necessary; (4) Lula got back from the U.S.A. calling [George W.] Bush an ally." On the left corner of the top of the cover is another headline that matches the cover

story. It reads, “Parties, money and power: The *style* (my emphasis) of Henrique Meirelles, the new president of the Central Bank.”

The tone of the main headline of the cover is sarcastic. In Portuguese, the headline’s phrase is usually used to express surprise before an unexpected attitude from someone, as if the speaker (or writer) were doubting what he, or she, witnesses. Although the headline shows ellipsis, this phrase usually displays a question mark because it commonly appears in the beginning of questions, or exclamations, in which case there is an exclamation mark. The headline and the information on the subhead occupy most of the cover layout. Lula, on the extreme left corner, is almost leaving the scene in which the news of the economic policy of the future government is spotlighted. The color red (here symbolizing the leftist ideology of the Workers Party) in the background and the positioning of Lula on the layout suggest that Lula’s leadership and leftist ideology are going out of the scene to give space to financiers and to neoliberal ideologies. The gaze suggests Lula is leaving something, or someone, behind. The magazine does not openly say that, but it insinuates that what he leaves behind are his ideologies.

In the index page, the headline to this cover story reads, “The Workers Party gets a shock of reality.” On the side, there is a picture of the future president of the Brazilian Central Bank. It is a posed picture, in which Meirelles wears a suit and, from a social distance, slightly smile at the viewer. The caption reads, “Henrique Meirelles: a *Tucano*⁷⁹ in the Central Bank of PT.” The headline for the article on Meirelles is right below the headline of the cover story, as a sort of complement. It reads, “Who the future president of the Central Bank is.” In the inside pages, a large picture of the future Minister of Finance, Antonio Palocci, and Meirelles is placed in the center of the layout. Because of

the size of the picture frame, Palocci is positioned on the left page and Meirelles on the right side. In this manner, Palocci is presented as the “Given” while Meirelles is the “New,” the key point of the article. The headline is “The doctor and the master of the market.” However the text uses a slang to refer to Meirelles as a “master.” The word used is “*fera*,” which literally means “beast” in English and is used as an adjective in Brazilian slang, signifying “expert,” “master,” someone who has excellence in a certain field. Thus, the headline praises Meirelles and it refers to Palocci as a doctor because of his college degree as a physician.

Another point worth mentioning about the headline: it alludes to the *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, a book by the Scottish novelist Robert Louis Stevenson. In Brazil, the title of this book was translated as “The doctor and the monster,” so this is the way that movies and performances inspired by Stevenson’s work are known in the country. In this case, the magazine uses a metaphor to represent the relationship of Palocci and Meirelles. By referring to that book in the headline, the text tries to *capture* the meaning of Stevenson’s work. The famous book by Stevenson narrates a case of split personality; within the same person there were two distinct personalities. Thus, the headline implies that the two figures represented will work as if they were one, such as two sides of the same head. The subhead reads, “The head of the economy of the PT’s government will join together a former Trotskyist and an international financier. It is incredible, but their thinking is very similar.”

The first paragraph of the article shows that the nomination of Meirelles to the Central Bank is in fact the main news reported. The second sentence begins with the phrase of the cover headline. It reads, “Who could imagine that the president-elect, Luiz

Inacio Lula da Silva, a man of union origin and whose life was dedicated to change ‘everything that’s there’ would choose an international banker and a *Tucano* politician to head the Central Bank?” A sentence later the text states, “The same president who once demonized neoliberalism and American warmongering, visited the president George W. Bush and got back from the United States saying that now he has the resident of the White House as an ‘ally’. In the same week, Antonio Palocci, a physician and former Trotskyist who was mayor of Ribeirao Preto,⁸⁰ is enthroned in the Ministry of Finance, and the market considers it to be the most normal thing in the world.” Thus, the text gives evidence of its focus on the economic discourse and the neoliberal ideology.

About the extract transcribed above, it should be noticed that the text emphasizes Lula as “a man of union origin” and at the same time highlights Meirelles as a man of the financial market and a member of the political party of the president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, the Brazilian Social Democracy Party. The text ideologically works on a polarization between the two political parties. Also, the tone of sarcasm on the headline of the cover is made clear in the reference to Lula as “the same president that once demonized neoliberalism and American warmongering.” Afterwards, the statement that “the market considers it the most normal thing in the world” works as a metaphor to mean that the financial markets did not show any reaction to the announcements of the president-elect about his staff. In this clause, the magazine uses the word “market” as a reference specifically to the financial market, something very common in *Veja* magazine and in the Brazilian press as a whole. The use of the word “market” to refer to the banks, bankers, and the financial system is a type of nominalization (a grammatical metaphor)

that deals with the market as an abstract entity and conveniently omits the agents that control that organized institutional structure.

The ethos signaled by the economic discourse of the writers (the journalists Lucila Soares and Malu Gaspar) is that of ‘mediators’ between the market and the reader. The text assumes the voice of the ‘market’ speaking to an audience capable of acknowledging the connections that form its ideological framework. In a paragraph about the nomination of Meirelles to the Central Bank, the writers comment, “The day after the announcement of his name, that *fluid and reactive entity called the market* (my emphasis) seemed to have assimilated better the choice and gave the usual demonstrations of satisfaction: the U.S. dollar fell 1.3% and ended up at 3.70 reais,⁸¹ the Brazil risk⁸² has declined, and the Brazilian debt securities had a slightly upward movement.” Later, the text reads, “It is typical of the market to look for weaknesses in the conduct of the public finances and imagine negative scenarios.” In this manner, the text fosters an economic discourse that conceives the ‘market’ as an abstract entity full of authority to dictate the economic reality. It is a ‘market-driven’ approach to social and economic policy that is characteristic of the neoliberal ideologies.⁸³

According to Chouliaraki and Fairclough, “Because of the potency of economic discourses in shaping economic realities, there are considerable economic interests at stake in achieving the hegemony of this discourse (and so the marginalization of others) within the economic discursive field.”⁸⁴ In this excerpt, Chouliaraki and Fairclough were referring to the discourse of flexibility in the workplace, but their statement can be applied to other forms of economic discourses (such as the neoliberal discourse) as well. In this article, the neoliberal market-driven discourse predominates over other viewpoints

in regard to economic policy. The discourse of the Workers Party is marginalized in the text of the magazine. The modalization can be noticed in the cover headline that reads “Who could imagine...,” implying evaluation of the PT’s discourse and a low commitment of the magazine to the information provided in the subheads.⁸⁵ In the first paragraph of the article, commenting the announcements made to the future staff of Lula, the writers say, “It is all very strange. But, oddly enough, this may be the right thing to do right now.” In this manner, the writers give once more low modality to the announcements of the Workers Party. The writers distance themselves from the way of thinking of the party by referring to the measures announced as “very strange” and using the expression “oddly enough.”

The magazine puts in doubt the credibility of statements related to the future government of Lula and the Workers Party.⁸⁶ For example, the text reads, “The PT could barely hide its disappointment at the lack of enthusiasm for the announcement of the Central Bank president, *the first insertion of the party in the real world of market economy* (my emphasis). The PT believed that Meirelles biography would have the effect of an electric shock of *credibility in favor of Lula’s government* (my emphasis).” Thus, the text ideologically works on the construction of the economic reality from the viewpoint of neoliberal discourse, while it marginalizes the discourse of the PT and surreptitiously suggests that the future government of Lula will lack credibility.

As Chouliaraki and Fairclough notes, “[D]iscourse is a form of power, a mode of formation of beliefs/values/desires, an institution, a mode of social relating, a material practice. Conversely, power, social relations, material practices, institutions, beliefs, etc. are in part discourse.”⁸⁷ In this sense, the media works ideologically by “offering images

of and categories for reality, positioning and shaping social subjects, and contributing for the most part to social control and reproduction.”⁸⁸ This is the way that *Veja*'s article works by categorizing “the real world of the market economy” and by offering the lifestyle of Meirelles for the consumption of the readers. In this cover story, reality is shaped according to the view of the agents of the financial system.

About Meirelles, the text reads, “Henrique Meirelles, 57, was head of Bank Boston in the United States. He is the brightest Brazilian financier executive with international career, a success that he brags about through memorable parties.” The text invites the reader to check the profile of Meirelles on the next pages. In that following article, the headline reads “Parties, money, and power” and the subhead says, “The style of the new president of the Central Bank, the Brazilian who went farthest in the international financial world.” The article is illustrated with the same posed picture of Meirelles that appears in the index (he slightly smiles at the viewer). The information spotlighted on the future president of the Central Bank is mainly related with his social identity and lifestyle. The layout displays subtitles pointing to information such as his age, weight, and height, social life, relationship with friends, personal wealth, when he won his first million, diet, exercises practiced, best virtue according to him, worst flaw according to him, cars, leisure, cigar brand, outfits, professional feats, and much more filling almost the whole two opening pages of the article. The next two pages are illustrated with pictures of Meirelles at the parties that he gave and with his wife, a German psychiatrist raised in Brazil. The image of Meirelles, his identity as a wealthy and successful executive of the financial market, is clearly offered for the consumption of the readers. His identity is represented as a lifestyle that the readers aspire to have and

can 'consume' by reading the magazine. It should be noted that his pattern of consumption (cars, cigar brand, outfits, diet, etc.) and his projection as a successful professional and influent man are also emphasized in the article.

Conversely, Lula has his 'otherness' regarding the presidential office emphasized, and he is represented as displaying inappropriate behavior for his new status. Lula is shown in a meeting with Bush. Although both men are smiling, the caption calls attention to the lapel pin that Lula carries. The text criticizes him for using a pin with the star symbol of the Workers Party, while Bush has a pin with the flag of the United States. The caption comments, "Even though intentional, that was a slip in the protocol. Lula is president of all Brazilians, not only of the PT." However, at the time, Lula was still president-elect, that is, the winning candidate of the Workers Party who would be attending, in the next year, the presidential inauguration in order to officially be the new president of Brazil. The body of the article also presents Lula as breaking rules, as though trying to represent him as an outsider in the presidential office. About the invitation to the new staffers, the text says that "in Brazil, a rule of behavior was respected in order to preserve the authority and the image of the president." The text refers to the tradition of reserve about invitations to become future members of the government. Afterwards, it reads, "This is a liturgy that had been preserved in the country. In some invitations made by Lula, that rule was broken. The negotiation was publicized by the invitees in a way never seen before." The magazine does not notice that, in this case, the rules were broken primarily by the media that published stories about the invitations. This is evidence that the magazine constructed Lula as an outsider to the presidential office, someone whose

future appointees did not deserve the same deference that the former presidents of the Republic of Brazil.

Economy

The cover story of *Veja* on May 22, 2002 shows how discourse naturalizes the signification of the world from hegemonic positions. By means of assumptions grounded on commonsense, dominant (at the time) neoliberal ideologies become naturalized in the discourse of *Veja*, as the text demonstrates. Such ideologies are linked to the representation of the globalized financial markets as inevitable processes in operation. The magazine ideologically works to the hegemony of the neoliberal economic and political discourse, and thus gives evidence of textual mediation between the voices of power and its readership. But discourse needs to be interpreted to act ideologically. This issue and the use of commonsense assumptions to construct a narrative give a clue about the *ideal reader* of the magazine. More than a member of the narrow wealthy elite of the country, the intended reader of *Veja* seems to be primarily a middle class person who aspires to the upper-class lifestyle that is fostered on the pages of the magazine.

The illustration on the cover mixes two types of visual representations: graphics and photography. It also mixes two different types of narrative processes in visual language: an 'Action' process and a 'Reactional' process, according to Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images*. Each one of the narrative processes is related to a type of visual representation. On this cover, two graphic lines are the main 'participants' of the visual representation. They appear over a dark background suggesting a spread sheet filled with squares. The line on the top is red and rises forming an arrow, or vector. The

caption of this arrow reads, “Intention of vote for Lula.” Right below is another graphic line in blue, also rising but more variable, and this line leans toward the graph line above. The caption reads, “Brazil Risk.⁸⁹” On the right bottom of the cover, there is a photo of Lula, who is [imaginarily] looking at the graphics placed above. His gaze is toward the top. The separation between the two types of visual representations is marked by the drawing of the edge of a poster. Lula’s face emerges from behind the poster, over a red background that also marks the border between both kinds of visual representation. On the left side of Lula’s picture, the headline in white letters reads, “Why Lula Scares the Market.” On the top of the cover, above the logo of the magazine, there is another headline to an article that is part of the same cover story and takes the extension of a whole line. It reads, “Entrepreneurs compete for the schedule of the *Petista*.”⁹⁰

In the form of how the elements of this cover (headlines, photo, graphs, logo, and squares on the background) are arranged, it can be noticed that there is a vertical elongation of the visuals. Besides, the gaze of Lula in the picture forms a vector to the top. The squares that predominate in the background of the cover are elements of the mechanical, technological order.⁹¹ About geometrical shapes and how they are elongated, Kress and van Leeuwen emphasize the features of vertical and horizontal elongations. According to these scholars, “*Vertical elongation* creates a more pronounced distinction between top and bottom, and hence a bias toward hierarchy, and towards ‘opposition’ generally (what is most important or otherwise dominant goes on top, what is less important or dominant is relegated to the bottom).”⁹² It shows the magazine represents the reaction of the ‘market’ against Lula’s leading in the polls (displayed in the graphs) as

the dominant issue of the cover story, more important than the figure of the candidate himself.

In the visual representation made by the graphics, the two arrows meaning “Intention of vote for Lula” and “Brazil risk” are the ‘participants’ of the ‘Action’ process. As Kress and van Leeuwen explain, “When a narrative visual proposition has two participants, one is the Actor, the other the ‘Goal.’ The ‘Goal’ is the participant at who the vector is directed, hence it is also the participant *to whom* the action is done, or *at whom* the action is aimed.”⁹³ Such scholars also observe that in the case of a visual representation not compounded by human elements, “The ‘Actor’ is the participant from which the vector emanates, or which itself, in whole or in part, forms the vector.”⁹⁴ In the case of this cover of *Veja*, the ‘Actor’ is the vector “Intention of vote for Lula,” which is directed to the “Brazil risk” graphic line, the ‘Goal.’ It is the graph line “intention of vote for Lula” that instigates the *movement* of ‘Brazil risk.’ Besides more faithfully reproducing the geometrical shape of an arrow than the line related to the Brazil risk, in the graph line “Intention of vote for Lula,” the vectorial relation is amplified by means of the color red that is bolder than the light blue of the former. Thus, the magazine represents the ‘market’ as suffering an action caused by the ‘intention of vote for Lula.’

The graphics represent an ‘Action’ process that could be translated into verbal language as “Intention of vote for Lula elevates the Brazil Risk.” Therefore, it has a transactional structure, that is, a verbal paraphrase of the process uses a transitive verb, with direct object.⁹⁵ However, another narrative process is on this cover: it is a ‘Reactional’ process formed by the graphs, Lula’s picture and the vector formed by the

gaze of Lula directed to the top. In this ‘reactional’ process, Lula is the ‘Reacter’ and the action represented by the graphs is the ‘Phenomenon.’ Kress and van Leeuwen explain,

When the vector is formed by an eyeline, by the direction of the glance of one or more of the represented participants, the process is reactional, and we will speak, not of Actors, but of Reacters, and not of Goals, but of Phenomena. The Reacter, the participant who does the looking, must necessarily be human, or a human-like animal – a creature with visible eyes that have distinct pupils, and capable of facial expression. The Phenomenon may be formed either by another participant, the participant at whom or which the Reacter is looking, or by the whole visual proposition, for example a transactional structure.⁹⁶

Thus, it can be concluded that the proposition represented by the graphs became the ‘Phenomenon’ while Lula is the ‘Reacter,’ in that ‘reactional’ process also presented on the cover of *Veja*.

It should be noted that transforming an action process into a phenomenon is a type of *nominalization*. Even the presentation of the information through the use of a diagram, as the cover does, is a kind of nominalization. Kress and van Leeuwen say that diagrams are akin “to certain forms of nominalizing writing, while naturalistic images, with their human participants and their more concrete, specific processes, are akin to story-writing.”⁹⁷ The nominalization is also in the text on the captions, “Intention of vote for Lula,” and “Brazil Risk.” Notice that specific actions appear in noun form and the agents – the electors who intend to vote for Lula, and the institutions who determine the risk ratings – are hidden. Conversely, the main headline of the cover (“Why Lula scares the market”) puts Lula as the subject of the clause, that is, as the agent of the action. This headline implies the presupposition that Lula scares the market. Also, the headline transforms a

process involving financial agents (the institutions and people in charge of risks rating) into an abstract entity, the ‘market,’ which does not act as an agent.

The nominalizations on the cover are part of the process that *naturalizes* economics and the financial markets, transforming them into inevitable conditions developed without human agents. The index page displays another picture of Lula, this time as the ‘Actor,’ the participant who is fused with the vector formed by the position of his arm and finger pointing to his forehead. The caption reads, “Why the markets get nervous with Lula,” and portrays the market as an entity with mood and emotions. The headline to the article reads, “The Lula effect.” This headline is a nominalization itself highlighting the *result* and hiding the agency. Such nominalization includes Lula’s name and the use of a term (“*effect*”) which is commonly applied in medicine and environmental sciences to refer to *natural* phenomena.

Fairclough notes, “The hegemonic struggle between political forces can be seen as partly a contention over the claims of their particular visions and representations of the world to having universal status.”⁹⁸ In this cover story, *Veja* supports the interests and hegemonic aspirations of neo-liberalism, which are partly a matter of seeking universal status for a particular representation and visions of economic change, as Fairclough points out.⁹⁹ The magazine could have found another way to represent the issue. For example, it could have said that financial institutions (and their managers) had decided to elevate Brazil’s risk rating and then it could have pointed out diverse reasons for this, including alternative views. Financial speculation, with financiers aiming profits in the stock market after the presidential election, could have been one of the reasons considered, but this possibility is only slightly mentioned in the body of the text and

disregarded in the cover story. Instead of doing that, the magazine chose the neoliberal version and represented the market as an abstract entity without agency.

Another evidence of the magazine's representations ideologically working for the neoliberal hegemony is the way the information is distributed along the eleven pages of the cover story. The cover story is divided into three articles, with different headings in the inside pages, but the main headline on the cover refers to the *second* article of the series, whose heading reads, "What they fear in Lula. Although the headline on the cover announces "Why Lula scares the market," and the caption of the index says "Why the markets get nervous with Lula," the cover story begins with the article that reads "Entrepreneurs on Lula's agenda" on its heading. On the cover, the headline for this article appears on the top, over the logo of the magazine, and it is much less emphasized than the headline "Why Lula scares the market." This detail shows that the magazine chose to stress the reaction of the international bankers in the face of Lula leading in the polls. Obviously, the hegemonic struggle between political forces, in such a context, also involved the political parties and candidates that were competing for the presidency of Brazil. By publishing articles that show bias against Lula's candidacy, the magazine also gives evidence of partisanship.

The partisanship is also evident by means of the contradiction disclosed with the publication of an article on entrepreneurs competing for having meetings, followed by another article on the fear that Lula incites on the 'market,' as if it were an abstract entity. In the first article, the first paragraph announces appointments of Lula with bankers, entrepreneurs and agribusiness leaders. It reads, "Lula's calendar for the next months has appointments with bankers, entrepreneurs and agribusiness leaders. Given the candidate's

scarce time, foreign investors of Citibank, Deutsche Bank, Bank of America and Merrill Lynch are in a wait listing. In order to attend to all the requests, consultants of the Workers Party's candidate are asking entrepreneurs to organize themselves by groups of economic sectors. In June, Lula will speak to Brazilian bankers, in an event organized by the Brazilian Federation of Banks. The major foreign chambers of commerce, such as Brazil-United States, Brazil-France and Brazil-Germany, are preparing an integrated meeting to listen to Lula's proposals. This is a noteworthy change." Despite the fact that bankers, entrepreneurs, and foreign investors were having meetings with Lula and considering his economic proposals, as the text mentions in this extract, the magazine publishes a cover that emphasizes the fear of Lula, based on the risk rating variability.

The key information in the opening pages of this first article is Lula's favoritism in the 2002 presidential election, as the graphics on Lula leading in the polls (with the pictures of each candidate placed on the right side of the layout) imply.¹⁰⁰ The four-page article starts trying to justify the reasons why entrepreneurs were scheduling meetings with Lula. The first sentences of the second paragraph read, "This interest [of the entrepreneurs] can be explained by some objective factors. First, Lula shows real chance of being elected president." After four paragraphs explaining Lula's leading in the polls by means of partisan politics, such as the coalitions that the parties were building and the weakness of the opponent candidate from the government's party, the text begins a new paragraph. It reads, "None of this means that Lula is elected or that Serra¹⁰¹ is out of the race especially because the campaign did not reach its peak. However, the perception that the things are not going well to the Brazilian Social Democracy Party has produced a climate of tension among an elite that certainly is not included in the mass of 42% of

voters who are with Lula. They are entrepreneurs, bankers, investors – the so-called ‘market,’ whose nerves are shaken with each point raised by the PT candidate in the polls.”

The excerpt above shows that the article constructs the candidate of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party as Lula’s main adversary, even though there were other candidates who were closer to Serra in the ranking of votes than Lula himself. In the graphic that illustrates the article, Lula has 42% of the votes, while Serra has 19%, Anthony Garotinho, 15% and Ciro Gomes, 12%. In addition, the article presents the Brazilian Social Democracy Party as the party of the elite, and positions the 42% of voters who were willing to vote for Lula as part of the ‘mass,’ that is, as common people. In addition, the text defines who the agents that compound the ‘market’ are and, by means of nominalization aggregating the economic elites and transforming their members in an abstract entity, it maintains that they dislike Lula’s leading in the polls.

At the end of the same paragraph, the text emphasizes the position of the international economic elite, as if it were alerting its readership. It reads, “Another example: 59% of the Brazilians have not heard about the position of foreign banks which advised investors to reduce investments in Brazil because of the leadership of Lula. That is, the majority of the electorate ignores the ‘Lula risk.’ It would be better for the PSDB, if the voters knew the risk and feared it.” Then, the article announces that the magazine interviewed members of 26 institutions representing entrepreneurs, and 21 workers organizations.

The text opposes the two sides. It asserts, “Among the entrepreneurs, the majority say that they are worried about how the Workers Party will deal with the foreign debt, the interest rates, and the balance on the public finances. The workers are shown to be calmer

regarding the economy in an eventual government of the PT.” In doing so, the article incites a class struggle between the entrepreneurs and the working class, linking each side with a political party and candidate. The text constructs Lula as the representative of the working class and opposed to the entrepreneurs, who would have the PSDB candidate, Jose Serra, as their favorite in the presidential race.

The text focuses on class struggle, economy, and ideological positions to foment doubts about Lula’s steadiness. The article reads, “But, in the field of economic definitions, the candidate [Lula] has an odd vulnerability. His big challenge will be to prove that all the changes in his speech – which is carefully worked for the TV programs that the publicist Duda Mendonça conceives – are not mere electoral makeup. In its history, the PT always showed an ambiguous behavior.” The paragraph closes stating that “Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, in 1989, the ideological discussions lost their vigor,” and that because of this, “the ambiguity of the [Workers] party regarding economic policy became more evident. *On this field, the ideas of the PT and Lula continue with the splendid clarity of a nebula* (my emphasis).” By means of that irony,¹⁰² a rhetorical device, the text surreptitiously imposes a negative evaluation on the ideas of Lula and his political party concerning economic policy.

This article closes with a statement by a financial expert who had been president of the Central Bank of Brazil during the government of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party. The text reads “The economist Gustavo Loyola, a former president of Central Bank, explains that the preoccupation of entrepreneurs and of a part of society with a possible victory of Lula is not grounded on prejudices, although they should not be despised.” Then, the text describes the metaphor used by Loyola to refer to Brazil, to its

people, and to its leaders. He compares countries to airplanes and says that the United States is like a Boeing, so it does not matter who the pilot is. According to him, Brazil would be “a shabby aircraft of one of those firms that transport miners in the Amazon. Any responsible person wants to know who the pilot will be before it takes off.” In this manner, the text draws attention to the prejudices of the economic elite of Brazil regarding the nation, its people and the Northern regions of the country. The economist shows disdain for the Brazilian nation, exemplifying prejudices that arose in the days of colonial Brazil, and which persist until nowadays in the heart of the elites.

The second article that compounds the cover story (“What they fear in Lula”) has a big picture of Lula’s face as an illustration, which takes almost the right page of the opening layout. Lula appears with a worried expression. The caption reads, “Lula: It is criminal to speculate just five months before the election.” Lula and his statement are treated as ‘New’ and problematic information, according to the ideological Given-New structure depicted by Kress and van Leeuwen.¹⁰³ The text of the article seems like an editorial, and occupies the whole right pages, being presented as ‘Given,’ commonsensical, self-evident.¹⁰⁴ The article starts by stating, “The PT scares the market because the economic thinking of the party has not followed its political achievements in a proportional manner.” It comments that “it is the case of asking whether the PT really changed, and further, whether the changes are really honest.” There are not facts in this lead, just opinions which are presented as self-evident.

In this part of the cover story the ideological work of the magazine in favor of the neoliberal hegemony is more evident. It says, for example, that “the PT lacks familiarity with the functioning of the globalized world in which Brazil enters now, although against

the will of Lula's followers." About the financial speculation that Lula refers to in the caption, the text reads, "In part, that behavior [of the Brazil risk] is provoked by a wave of speculation. Nothing more *natural* (my emphasis) and old than the investors' hope of making money with the moves of currencies and securities in the stock market." Thus, the text naturalizes the financial markets and turns speculation into *hope*. The article criticizes Lula's statement on the use of the election for financial speculation, extending the criticism to Left wing politicians. It asserts that "all the Left nurtures the idea of controlling this Darwinist mechanism [of the market]," and that "every politician from the Left would like to eradicate, tame, control, or simply rate the world financial market." In this point, the article makes it clear that the Brazilian economic elite is worried about the world financial market. The text constructs Lula as a threat insofar as he can tax and control amounts of money that come and go out the country.

As the speech of Lula in the 2002 electoral campaign clashed with this representation, the text implies that the candidate carried out just cosmetic changes. It reads, "What impairs the immediate assimilation of the new image of Lula is the suspicion that at least a fraction of what he has been presenting in this campaign has a cosmetic ingredient, a veneer of marketing. *That is the perception that many have of Lula* (my emphasis)." Obviously, every political candidate has some ingredient of marketing. By means of *coherence*, which leads the reader to specific interpretations, the text acts rhetorically, by trying to persuade the audience about the image projected by the candidate.¹⁰⁵

The third article of the cover story series seems to be part of that rhetoric strategy of *Veja*. The text emphasizes the changes in Lula's personal image, and the role played

by the publicist Duda Mendonça. The headline reads, “Life starts at 40,” in a reference to the 42% voters who intend to cast votes for Lula. The subhead reads, “Under the baton of Duda Mendonça, Lula switches suits, ties, and the barber, convinced that image really matters.” In the main picture, Lula appears while being filmed for a political advertisement, as an actor in a performance. Also featured in the photo, the publicist Duda Mendonça appears making movements that remind viewers of those of the conductor of an orchestra. The other pictures of the pages are in a feature box about Lula’s dental treatment, and highlight the changes in his smile. In this manner, the article emphasizes the visual changes of the candidate and stresses the influence of the publicist on his image. Thus, the text constructs Lula as a type of actor in a performance, and under the care of a director.

Foreign Policy

On the cover of December 2003, *Veja* magazine put George W. Bush, president of the United States at the time, and his meeting with Lula, president-elect of Brazil (before the presidential inauguration) as the main subject of the edition. The cover story focuses on the meeting of both politicians, since Lula was traveling to the United States to meet Bush before the presidential inauguration. The story shows how *Veja* deals with topics related to Brazilian foreign policy and particularly, in this case, with issues related to international trade, a matter closely connected with economic globalization. In the coverage of the future meeting of Bush and Lula, the article highlights policy differences between the two countries and their political leaders and emphasizes the creation of the FTAA (the Free Trade Area of the Americas). In terms of ideology, the article neither

presents the defense of the [Brazilian] national interest nor fosters a Brazilian nation-building ideology. On the contrary, what prevails in the text of the magazine is the neoliberal discourse of the business sector determining the priorities of the Brazilian state.

The national ideology that the article signals is one that contrasts United States and Brazil, to the disadvantage of the latter. The text constructs the image of Brazil and Lula by means of a comparison that emphasizes the power of the U.S. economy and the leadership of George W. Bush. The text written by journalists Thais Oyama and Eduardo Salgado calls to mind the concepts of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Brazilian intellectuals, who imported [eugenic] ideas of European superiority, as the historian Thomas Skidmore described in *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*.¹⁰⁶ In this case, the North American [with European origins] civilization replaces Europe in terms of the economic success that the article praises. Also, there is an undercurrent of racism in the search of ‘scientific’ reasons for Europe success, as Skidmore points out.¹⁰⁷ In a similar manner, the authors Oyama and Salgado seem to buy the construction of Latin America as the inversion of the United States stereotype of racial purity fostered by Americanism. In his book on the Americanization of Brazil during World War II, the historian Antonio Pedro Tota notes,

For a long time, Americanism had forged a discrediting image of Latin America. The white Protestant man was valued. He was always mentioned as leading progress in the fight against uncivilized life and created an opposite image for Latin Americans. According to this concept, to the south of the Rio Grande was the America of the Indians, the blacks, the women, and the children. This America needed to learn the lessons of progress and capitalism to abandon this ‘inferior’ position. This America needed, ultimately, to be domesticated.¹⁰⁸

This image of superiority after World War II, a trend currently criticized by American intellectuals,¹⁰⁹ appears to have been imported by the writers of *Veja*'s article as well.

The illustration on the cover shows Bush characterized as an old Roman Emperor, showing his armor with the eagle, symbol of the U.S. government. Lula appears on the cover in a small photograph of his face. The headline reads "Lula goes to Caesar," and the subhead says, "The meeting of Lula and Bush in Washington marks the beginning of a long negotiation that will define the type of nation Brazil will be." This cover represents the United States as an Empire and Bush as the leader of such an Empire. The headline emphasizes the fact that Lula went to meet Bush, and implies the assumption that he conceded to the Empire. In fact, the cover is ironic about Lula. As Fairclough observes on the intertextual nature of the irony, "an ironic utterance 'echoes' someone else's utterance."¹¹⁰ By featuring Bush as a Roman emperor, *Veja* is echoing an anonymous utterance that the magazine attributes to Lula, based on what is said to be [in Brazil] a leftist view by politicians on U.S. imperialism. But there is disparity between the meaning the cover is giving voice to and the real function of the magazine utterance which is to express a negative attitude towards Lula, such as sarcasm.¹¹¹ The use of a drawing, instead of a picture of Bush, works as a marker of modalization and reveals the low commitment of the author with the utterance.¹¹² There is an evident and intentional exaggeration, since Bush is not a Roman Emperor. The drawing, as well as the small picture of Lula on its side, allows the readers to recognize that the meaning the magazine is giving voice is not the meaning of the text producer's meaning. The headline ironically suggests that Lula is conceding to the empire. In this manner, the magazine

surreptitiously imposes a view on Lula as an ideological opponent of American capitalism.

In the inside pages, the article links the destiny of Brazil to the United States. The headline reads “Brazil decides its future in the empire,” and the subhead, “The meeting between Lula and Bush is the beginning of an arduous discussion of the FTAA. It will be more decisive in shaping the Brazilian economy than any other internal measure of the new government.” Thus, the text highlights the FTAA, which is represented as an important agreement to Brazilian economy, despite the fact that Latin American countries had already at the time presented many reasons against the FTAA. Some of those cons are mentioned in the article, such as the technological disadvantage of developing countries competing with U.S. industry for a consumer market. Latin American governments feared to have their industries damaged and become economically dependent on the United States. Years after the publication of such article, those disagreements have come to stagnate negotiations, turning the free trade area into a non-viable one.¹¹³ Yet the text fosters economic globalization, in spite of the fact that it could harm [Brazilian] national interests.

The opening layout is a polarized composition of two pages. In this layout, Bush appears on the margin of the left page as if he were extending his arm to shake hands with Lula, who is placed on the edge of the right page. Two columns of text written in white letters over a dark background separate them. Thus, Lula is represented as ‘New’ and problematic information, while Bush is the treated as ‘Given,’ that is, an “agreed-upon point of departure for the message,” according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s analysis of the grammar of visual design.¹¹⁴ In addition, because only the side contour of Bush

appears and he looks straight to the front, a vector is formed from the position of his body and arm pointing to Lula's hand. As Kress and van Leeuwen explain, "When a narrative visual proposition has two participants, one is the 'Actor,' the other the 'Goal'. The 'Goal' is the participant at whom the vector is directed, hence it is also the participant *to whom* the action is done, or *at whom* the action is aimed."¹¹⁵ Thus, Bush is the 'Actor' in a transactional process (for instance, "establishing dialog" or "looking for the partnership"), while Lula is the 'Goal.' This process then becomes the phenomenon of a reactional structure in which Lula is the 'Reacter': a vector formed by the direction of his glance and the angle of his right hand, leads from him to Bush.¹¹⁶ In short, Bush is the one represented as conciliatory even though it was Lula who was traveling to meet him.

In the construction of Lula's and Bush's identities, the text emphasizes the different ideological standpoints of both politicians, opposing one another. The first clause of the article refers to the presence of Lula in the White House not as the president-elect of Brazil, but stressing the symbolism of his political identity [as a leftist and former union leader]. It reads, "Luis Inacio Lula da Silva will be sitting in the Oval Office of the White House on Tuesday." Only in the second clause does the text mention of him as president-elect. About the scheduled meeting, the article reads, "It will be the meeting of two worlds; the confrontation of two distinct visions and of two histories which just crossed each other under those circumstances by reason of the many twists and turns of life." This first paragraph continues by constructing Lula as an ideological opponent of the United States. It reads, "The most fascinating about this meeting is the past that each side presents and the future they may end up constructing together. For more than twenty years, Lula, a former metalworker, build a career as union leader and

politician with a leftist viewpoint of the world and, therefore, an openly anti-American stance. Lula has always referred to the United States as a neoliberal oppressor center and the headquarters of the wild globalization that destroyed the economy of peripheric countries.” Thus, the text also gives clue to the irony on the cover. About Bush, the same paragraph reads, “Bush is a politician of the oligarchic American right wing and perhaps the American president who is more convinced of his status as the leader of an empire not only powerful but which has, from his point of view, the monopoly on morality.” In this manner, the text constructs a narrative that stresses the differences between the two men.

The depiction of differences between the two politicians is extended to the differences between the United States and Brazil. In this part, Lula is referred to as president of Brazil. The second paragraph reads, “If there are differences between the two presidents, the countries they represent are even more unequal. The United States is coming from a century described by historians as the American century.” Then, the article begins a eulogistic narrative of the American feats. The last sentences of this paragraph read, “This *relationship of superiority* (my emphasis) also applies to the cultural industry, to sports, media and almost all fields influenced by human creation. The United States is, in its relationship to the rest of the world, the most powerful country that ever existed in human history.” In the following paragraph, the text begins to comment on Brazil. It reads, “Brazil, on the other hand, is still a developing nation.” As Fairclough notes, discourse and texts set up connections and inferences that establish ideological positions to the interpreters in order to generate coherent readings.¹¹⁷ By means of coherence, *Veja*’s article leads the reader to a *hierarchical* view on the relationship between the two countries, in which Brazil appears in an inferior position.

It should be noted that more than a vision of Brazil at the time, *Veja*'s article presents a text lacking any nurturing of [Brazilian] national ideology. On the contrary, the text shows an ideological position in favor of the neoliberal thought and the global capitalism. It clashes in some excerpts with the nationalist standpoint that the article attributes to Lula and the Workers Party. Commenting on the [problematic] economic situation of Brazil in 2002, for example, the text manages to save the face of the president who was ending his term, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, whose neoliberal policies promoted the privatization of government-owned corporations in Brazil. It reads, "Brazil is a nation unequal, unfair rather than a poor country. Even the successful experience of stabilization through the Real Plan¹¹⁸ ended up producing among the population the *feeling*¹¹⁹ (my emphasis) that something went wrong. That is why, in the recent election, 52 millions Brazilians voted for Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, the opposition candidate who will be sitting with the American Caesar in the White House on Tuesday." Thus, the text represents the economic challenges that Brazil faced at the time as a "feeling," something intangible and subjective, rather than a concrete fact reflecting on the daily routine of the Brazilian people.

As if it were written in the interest of the FTAA, the article uses an editorial tone for expressing opinion on economic policy, and for defending the neoliberal politics of the nineties. About globalization, it states, "Like any seismic movement, the retreat of globalization left perennial marks on the world economy. Some accomplishment of the period remains as valid as before. Many countries had circumstantial problems because of the opening of their markets, but the concept of open markets continues to be a powerful tool for the modernization of economies. *A country may suffer for unlocking its*

trade barriers to powerful countries that do not make the same in relation to agricultural products from poor nations. But no nation will achieve development with an isolationist and autonomous business model (my emphasis).” Thus, the article seems to be backing the creation of the FTAA.

One of the big pictures of the article shows a demonstration against the FTAA, in which some flags of the Workers Party appear. The caption mentions “the anti-FTAA feeling of the Workers Party.” On the following pages, another big picture shows Bush greeting American troops. The caption reads, “Bush with the American troops: the military, economic and cultural power of the United States over the planet has no parallel in history.” With the article, there is also a series of six pictures of meetings between U.S. presidents and Brazilian presidents, from 1947 to 1995. The photos are featured in boxes with two headings that read, “What united us” and, “What separated us.” It is a mixture of fascination and desire for the wealth of the U.S. that appears in the ethos of the writer of this story. The ethos signaled is that of the businessperson who is primarily interested in making money and lacks nationalism.

In the representation of Lula and of the Workers Party, former nationalist postures are criticized and pointed out as unrealistic. The article mentions, for example, that four years ago “Lula put the Free Trade Area of Americas as the second in the scale of his worst ideological enemies, second only to ‘neoliberalism and wild globalization promoted by large multinational companies.’” In the end of the paragraph, it reads, “Those are statements that sound as a distant and diffuse echo nowadays.” Then, a new paragraph starts by saying that the leadership of the Workers Party had given “eloquent *signs of realism (my emphasis)* in the first international visits of the president-elect last

week.” Business and trade seem to be the measure of reality for the magazine, whose cover story ends referring to Brazil and the United States as “associates,” as if these countries were corporations.

The Fall of Prejudices

The cover of *Veja* on September 25, 2002 shows the red star that is the symbol of Workers Party (with the initials of the party in Portuguese, PT) wearing the Brazilian presidential sash. The drawing of the star appears over the photographic background of a blue sky above the *Palacio do Planalto*, the official workplace of the Presidents of Brazil. The headline on the cover is presented in the form of a question. It reads, “Is the Workers Party ready for the presidency?” This cover is marked by the absence of Lula, the candidate of the Workers Party. Although the presidency has an incumbent and the cover refers to elections in which a Brazilian president will be chosen, the illustration and the headline exclude *people* involved in the election process and focus the representation on the political party. In doing that, the magazine draws attention to the Workers Party rising to power if Lula wins, and introduces a doubt that shifts discussion from the personal profile of the presidential candidate to the ideological field of his political party.

In the headline on the cover, modality is realized by means of the question formulation. The headline suggests doubt and shows low modality, that is, low affinity of the magazine with the proposition (the PT in the presidency). Also, this headline presents a presupposition. It *presupposes* the proposition that the Workers Party would not be ready for the presidency. By appearing as a question, the headline suggests a proposition that is more difficult to contest. As Fairclough observes, “Presuppositions are effective

ways to manipulate people, because they are often difficult to challenge. An interviewee in a media interview who challenges a presupposition in a question from the interviewer can easily appear to be dodging the issue.”¹²⁰ Additionally, the presupposition reveals the ideological work on the readership. Fairclough continues, “Manipulative presuppositions also postulate interpreting subjects with particular prior textual experiences and assumptions, and in so doing they contribute to the ideological constitution of subjects.”¹²¹ Thus, the magazine works ideologically in positioning and shaping social subjects, its readers. Particularly this question on the cover invites the readership to feel doubtful about the oppositional political party (at the time) as one having the conditions to occupy the executive branch.

Only a small headline on the top, which calls attention to a story on Jose Dirceu, the president of the Workers Party at the time, prevents Lula from being totally absent from this cover. It reads, “Jose Dirceu: The man who is the head of Lula.”¹²² In doing so, the magazine reinforces the idea presupposed from the absence of Lula in the cover story’s headline – the idea that the Workers Party would be in charge with the victory of the candidate. It should be noticed that the president of the political party is pointed out by the magazine as “the head of Lula,” that is, the one who ultimately decides the political direction to be taken. In the index page, the same type of representation of Lula appears. The picture that calls attention to the cover story shows Lula in an electoral rally. The caption reads, “The *petista* ¹²³(my italics) Lula in a rally in the capital city of the state of Para.” The heading of the cover story reads, “The chances of doing a viable government that the PT has.” Therefore, the magazine continues emphasizing Lula as a

politician of the Workers Party and his party as politically “immature” to take on the presidency.

In the inside pages, the article shows its interdiscursivity,¹²⁴ or constitutive intertextuality, as Fairclough puts it. Quoting the French philosopher and literary critic Julia Kristeva, Fairclough explains that intertextuality implies the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history.¹²⁵ He observes, “By ‘the insertion of history into a text,’ she means that the text absorbs and is built out of texts from the past (texts being the major artefacts that constitute history). By ‘the insertion of the text into history’ she means that the text responds to, reaccentuates, and reworks past texts.”¹²⁶ Thus, according to the discourse analyst, there is an “inherent intertextuality and therefore historicity of text production and interpretation.”¹²⁷ This cover story of *Veja* is constituted by other orders of discourse other than the news discourse. It borrows from the discourse of the Roman Catholic Church and appears to be built on the historical register of the Inquisition, a former ecclesiastical court of the Catholic Church created to discover and punish heretics. In the fifteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition investigated Jews and Muslims who had been forced by the state to convert to Christianity. They were under suspicion of continuing to adhere to their old religion.¹²⁸

The article uses religious symbols and Catholic concepts as iconic signs in the picture and layout elements (headline and subhead). The headline reads “New Christians of Capitalism,” and the subhead, “Newly converted to fiscal discipline and market economy, Lula and the PT want to rule Brazil. Polls show that they are not far from that goal.” The headline is an allusion to the Jews and Muslims who converted to the Christianity and were under suspicion at the time of Inquisition. By using the expression

“new Christians of the capitalism,” the headline acts as a metaphor for representing Lula and the Workers Party. By means of such metaphor, a rhetorical device, the headline compares Lula and the other members of the Workers Party to the people who were forced to convert to Christianity, but secretly maintained their former religious beliefs. As Chandler notes, “Typically, metaphor expresses an abstraction in terms of a more well-defined model.”¹²⁹ He observes that “the basis in *resemblance* suggests that metaphor involves the iconic mode. However, to the extent that such resemblance is oblique, we may think of metaphor as *symbolic*.”¹³⁰ In fact, since metaphors apparently disregard ‘literal’ or denotative resemblance they can be seen as symbolic as well as iconic.¹³¹ In the case of this headline, the magazine manages to cast doubt on Lula’s ideological sincerity also in its inside pages, using a symbolic comparison.

The photograph of the opening pages is also a metaphor, but a visual metaphor. On visual metaphor, Chandler notes, “As with verbal metaphors, we are left to draw our own conclusions as to the points of comparison. Advertisers frequently use visual metaphors. Despite the frequently expressed notion that images cannot assert, metaphorical images often imply that which advertisers would not express in words.”¹³² This assumption also can be applied to the photo of this layout of *Veja*. It is a huge picture of Lula, which occupies two thirds of the two initial pages of the article. Lula appears in a frontal angle, social position (medium shot), holding a yellow rose. Behind him, on the wall of the auditorium where he was delivering a speech, there is an adornment sculpted as golden wings. From the perspective that the picture was taken, it looks like wings come from Lula’s back. Thus, the image represents Lula as a *false* ‘angel.’ The caption reads, “Peace and Love – Lula’s speech to the military in Rio de

Janeiro: Nobody doubts the democratic vocation of the candidate of the PT.” This caption is an ironic statement, since it means the *opposite* of what it says, thus based thus on binary opposition.¹³³

As Chandler puts it, “Irony may thus reflect the opposite of the thoughts or feelings of the speaker or writer (as when you say ‘I love it’ when you hate it) or the opposite of the truth about external reality (as in ‘There’s a real crowd here’ when it’s deserted).”¹³⁴ The ironic statement of this caption also carries meanings related to recent Brazilian history, more specifically linked the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985. In the coup d’état that overthrew the civil president in April, 1964, the military alleged defense of ‘democratic principles’ (in truth, capitalism) and the fight against communism. Chandler notes, “The evaluation of the ironic sign requires the retrospective assessment of its modality status. Re-evaluating an apparently literal sign for ironic cues requires reference to perceived intent and to truth status.”¹³⁵ Therefore, the use of irony in the caption exemplifies how memory (historicity) is part of the discourse production. The way the memory “triggers” the discursive practice is fundamental to the identification of the ideological content.¹³⁶ In the case of this cover story, *Veja* borrowed from authoritarian and conservative discourses inscribed in the culture and collective memory of the Brazilian people.

In editorial-like tone, the ethos signaled by the text is that of the representative of public opinion, a judge analyzing the behavior that Lula exhibits and demanding explanations of his ideological convictions. The text raises doubts on Lula’s adhesion to capitalist discourse from start to finish. In the lead, for example, the last sentence mentions that for the adversary candidate, Jose Serra, “the smiling and flexible Lula on

the TV is only a marketing invention.” Then, in the end of the next paragraph, the text reads, “Lula is applauded at the meetings with bankers, entrepreneurs, and cattle farmers, *but* (my emphasis) the ambiguity around him is yet to be dissipated.” Afterwards, the writer (who is not identified, since the article is not signed) makes the ethos of representative of the public opinion clear in the following except: “What most of the public want to know is how the Workers Party, which for twenty years has prepared itself for the construction of socialism, will do now that it faces the challenge of governing according to the capitalist patterns that it promised to follow.” As the article is not signed, this ethos that the text constructs can be attributed to the magazine.

The type of grammatical construction that presents clauses with *adversative* relation, such as the one quoted above (“Lula is applauded at the meetings with bankers, entrepreneurs and cattle farmers, but the ambiguity around him is yet to be dissipated”) oftentimes appears within the article. It gives evidence of the rhetorical schema used by the magazine. In the schemata, groups of statements are linked together and combined in a rhetorical mode through the architecture of the text. As Fairclough observes, “At one level, analysis of cohesion focuses upon functional relations between clauses, and can be used to investigate such ‘rhetorical schemata’ in various types of text.”¹³⁷ This rhetorical schema is used mainly to link the successful (according to the polls) image of Lula as a candidate to the image of those said to be “the radicals of the Workers Party.” That is the reason the article uses the plural form as referring to the “new Christians of capitalism.” The subhead also gives evidence of this relation, as it mentions that “Lula and the PT want to rule Brazil.” In the third and fourth pages, the article is even more explicit. It is accompanied by the picture of a crowd of members of the Workers Party. The caption

reads, “Militants: The behavior of the Workers Party radicals in a likely victory of Lula is still an incognita.”

Within the text, the relation between Lula and the so-called radicals of the party is constructed by means of cohesion between the sentences. For example, this excerpt reads, “Lula may be presenting a late change, but he seems to have legitimate reasons for it. Particularly because he cannot come back in the political path that he has followed until now. He is using his last cartridge.¹³⁸ He is compromising all the positive biography he has created at this stage of his life in this election. *However* (my emphasis), it is also a mistake to imagine that the sudden transformation imposed upon him, first by the changes of the world around him and second by electoral demands, has mesmerized the entire Workers Party. *The new image of Lula can not be taken as the final demonstration that the PT denied their full former convictions* (my emphasis). This will only be revealed during a virtual PT government.” The last sentences of this excerpt give evidence of the connection between Lula and radical groups of the PT that the magazine tries to establish and is apparent from the illustration and headings on the cover to the layout and written text.

This rhetorical schema of the cover story, aiming to cast doubt on Lula’s political ideas, is clear in a feature on the last two pages of the article, in which statements of Lula in two different periods of time (the past and in the present) appear side by side. The text uses loose statements, without mentioning the context to which they belong. As a matter of fact, some statements from the left column (present) have no relation with those ones in the right column (past), but they only serve the purpose of putting Lula’s political ideas under suspicion. The arrangement of the utterances in two columns is a way of

suggesting relationship between them and surreptitiously imposes an evaluation on the changes of Lula's ideas. Such rhetorical structures are complemented by the argumentation of the text. One excerpt reads, "This Lula of the campaign made everything to erase that Lula of recent history." Some sentences later, it continues, "It is worth saying that changes are frequent in politics. In campaigns, the candidate fits the tastes of the electorate. This is a classical maneuver, and it is in the politics handbook. Like artists, candidates always try to please the audience." These are evidences of the ideological work of the text by means of argumentation.

The rhetorical strategies of the article reveal how the magazine uses argumentation for expressing opinions and setting ideological positions before the readers. The verbal and visual metaphors used in the text and layout are also elements of the rhetorical structures. As the discourse analyst Teun van Dijk observes, rhetorical structures are optional, "and serve especially in persuasive contexts, and more generally to attract or manage the attention of recipients."¹³⁹ Consequently, they are studied as a means to emphasize or de-emphasize meaning as a function of ideological opinions. Teun van Dijk asserts, "Rhetoric, defined in this sense, is essentially geared towards the persuasive communication of preferred models of social events, and thus manages how recipients will understand and especially how they will evaluate such events, for instance as a function of the interests of the participants."¹⁴⁰ In the case of this cover story of *Veja*, there is clear evidence that the rhetorical structures of the text plays an important role in creating positions of an ideological nature for the readers.

Personalization

The cover of *Veja* on July 4, 2001, is a rare occasion in which the magazine focuses its coverage of Brazilian presidential elections on the persona of the candidate Luis Inacio Lula da Silva. While *Veja* hid the persona of Lula and emphasized his political party (which was often represented as a troublemaker) in the period closer the presidential election, in this cover the key point is Lula and the transformations he has been through in order to win the presidential race. A close up of Lula's face illustrates the cover. The candidate appears serious and gloomy in this photo and [imaginarily] looks at the viewer. The headline reads "Lula Light," with the word "light" in English, as it is used in Brazil to classify less caloric food or drink products (they carry labels indicating whether they are "light" or "diet," with these words usually in English). The subhead complements this approach, "In an attempt to appear likeable and escape his fourth defeat, the candidate of PT now talks of making wide alliances and defending the stability of the currency."

The headline is another metaphor used by the magazine. It shows intertextuality, giving an example of the colonization of the new discourse by "discourse types associated with commodity production," as Fairclough puts it.¹⁴¹ In the case of this headline, the intertextual configuration presents also the genre of advertisement. The metaphor of the cover refers to a drink or food product as advertised for market consumption. By using that headline, the magazine represents Lula as if he were a product advertised in its version as "light." Furthermore, this headline is a grammatical metaphor, that is, a nominalization, in which a new entity is created ("Lula Light"). Fairclough explains, "Nominalization is the conversion of processes into nominal."¹⁴²

According to him, “Nominalization shares with the passive the potentiality of omitting the agent, and the variety of motivations for doing so.”¹⁴³ With this headline, the cover focuses on Lula, but avoids representing him as an agent of a process, in this case, the electoral process. In fact, the metaphor of this cover implies that the new shape how Lula has been presented to the audience is a product of electoral marketing.

The subhead makes it clearer in its grammatical structure, starting the clause with “In an attempt to appear likeable and escape his fourth defeat.” According to Fairclough, the initial part of the clause is the theme. He observes, “The theme is the text producer’s point of departure in a clause, and generally corresponds to what is taken to be (which does not mean it actually is) ‘given’ information, that is, information already known or established for text producers and interpreters.”¹⁴⁴ The role played by Lula as an agent in the electoral process is relegated to second place in the sentence that concludes stating, “the candidate of PT now talks of making wide alliances and defending the stability of currency.” This choice of the magazine is of considerable ideological importance. The magazine chose to emphasize that Lula would be *attempting to appear* likeable and also that he had been defeated three times before the present election. Two presuppositions, or assumptions, can be identified in this subhead.¹⁴⁵ First, the subhead implies that Lula is not a likeable person, since he is just *attempting to appear* likeable. Second, there is the assumption that he was changing only for the purpose of “escaping his fourth defeat,” that is, those would not be sincere, honest changes. There is a clue to this second presupposition also in the use of the adverb “now,” which works as a type of remark that the magazine makes on Lula’s actions (“the candidate of PT *now* talks of making wide alliances and defending the stability of the currency”).

The picture that illustrates the cover seems to be used to corroborate the presupposition that the candidate would not be likeable, as implied by the headline. His facial expression denotes preoccupation. He looks directly at the viewer's eyes, therefore contact is established, even if it is only on an imaginary level.¹⁴⁶ This type of visual configuration addresses the viewer with a visual 'you' and constitutes an 'image act,' as Kress and van Leeuwen explain.

The producer uses the image to *do* something to the viewer. It is for this reason that we have called this kind of image a 'demand': the participant's gaze (and gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her. Exactly what kind of relation is then signified by other means, for instance by the facial expression of the represented participants.¹⁴⁷

In the case of the picture of this cover, Lula gazes at the viewer as if he were begging for something (such as votes, or being likeable). The image is a close-up, therefore its interactive meaning is intimate, personal. The producer uses the image to put Lula face to face with the viewer and make him intimately confront this viewer. The text of the subhead implies that he tries to appear likeable to *escape* his fourth defeat. The worried facial expression of Lula is accentuated by his grey beard. The cover seems to be saying that Lula is getting old; he already has three defeats in his background and now is trying for his fourth and probably last attempt. Lula's facial expression in the image displayed by this cover suggests that by facing the viewer, Lula shows his intimate persona, which neither would be friendly nor sympathetic.

The emphasis on the previous defeat of Lula appears as a way of concealing the good results of his candidacy in the polls. Clue to this is the information of the index page, which clashes with the approaches of the cover and the article. In the index, Lula

appears smiling and making a gesture that reminds the viewer of the letter “V” for “victory.” The caption reads, “Rejection to Lula decreases, and the Petista leads the polls.” Also, the headline of the cover story in the index says, “Lula, from PT, lives his best moment.” The editorial at the side of the index page starts as follows: “The successive failures of the candidate of the PT in presidential elections gave birth to a joke. According to it, there are only two certainties in this election. One is that Lula will be in the second round of the election. The other one is that the candidate who will be elected is his adversary.” Then the editorial talks about the differences in the social context for the present election. It closes with a sentence that asserts, “This set of causes does not mean that the Petista is on his way to the Palácio do Planalto. But it makes his journey less difficult.”

In the inside pages, the article follows the same path. The headline reads, “The Fourth Attempt.” A picture of Lula with a distressed and preoccupied expression takes the whole page on the left, being represented as ‘Given,’ that is, as the information taken for granted by the producer of the text, according to Kress and van Leeuwen’s *Reading Images*.¹⁴⁸ In this case, the layout seems to suggest an oncoming defeat. On the bottom of the pages, a graphic shows the performance of Lula in previous elections as well as polls’ results, including a poll for the 2002 presidential election. It demonstrates that despite the candidate’s good performance in surveys on previous elections, Lula had lost all the electoral races. The subhead reads, “Lula softens his speech, the PT talks of alliances, and the electors say they are more sympathetic to ideas associated with left wing parties.” As the bottom element in a polarized composition (the layout), the graphic carries the informational value of “Real;” it shows us “what is.” On the top of the

opening pages of the article appears the headline (“the fourth attempt”) which is represented as the “Ideal,” or “what might be.”¹⁴⁹ This layout is a polarized composition that matches two types of informational value, “Ideal-Real” and “Given-New.”

The verbal text and part of the graphic showing Lula’s leadership take the space of the ‘New,’ on the right page. The results of opinion polls are the new facts in the article, and presented therefore as “problematic,” “contestable,” “the information at issue” by the layout.¹⁵⁰ The text is printed in white letters on a dark background. Thus, it is a *negative* Given and describes not the world of the reader but a world detached from the reader, as Kress and van Leeuwen observe.¹⁵¹ The article begins by narrating what is already demonstrated in the graphic. It states that Lula led political polls up to a certain point in previous elections, but lost the elections at the end. The text also observes that, in the current election, new facts are coming up. The writers (Alexandre Secco and Rubens Valente) mention the more equal distribution of people who intended to vote for Lula among the different regions of Brazil, whereas the other candidates had backers concentrated in specific areas of the country. Another fact reported is the lower rejection of Lula [compared to other candidates] among the voters. The text reads, “In June, when the last opinion poll was carried out, there was a surprise. For the first time, Lula appeared as the candidate with the lower level of antipathy among the electors.” Thus, the magazine ideologically positioned its reader model out of the population of electors who sympathetically saw Lula’s candidacy.¹⁵²

This is an interesting article to analyze in a comparative research project because it reveals the magazine’s image of its audience as well as the Brazilian population. It is an elitist view. For example, the text points out another “surprising” result of opinion polls.

It mentions that “two thousand people were asked about what they thought of socialism.” The article reads, “Not fewer than 55% of them were favorable to its implementation in Brazil.” Another poll question highlighted was whether Brazil needed a socialist revolution. The text reads, “Around 55% agreed with this proposal. In the survey, 78% of the interviewed want a government with a stronger presence in the economy.” Then, the writers use modality markers that distance themselves from the utterances (the reported results of opinion polls) and show their low degree of commitment to what is being said. The text reads, “As ‘socialism’ and ‘socialist revolution’ are associated with *complex and quite exotic ideas to be in the minds of the average Brazilians* (my emphasis), the National Confederation of Industry [of Brazil] ordered a qualitative research to decipher the popular understanding of these expressions.” Example of modality is the use of ‘scare quotes’ – placing single words or short expression in quotation marks (such as ‘socialism’ and ‘socialist revolution’)¹⁵³ – and the evaluative statements that the writers provide in this sentence.¹⁵⁴

The article states that the research found “the predictable conclusion that ‘socialism,’ in the popular definition, has nothing to do with Marxism, Mao Zedong or Che Guevara.” It continues, “For the Brazilians who the research of the Ibope group¹⁵⁵ heard, socialism is synonymous with ‘union,’ ‘friendship,’ ‘communion,’ ‘sharing,’ ‘respect,’ ‘solidarity,’ and ‘justice.’ In the same manner, ‘socialist revolution’ is related neither with Cuba nor with the Araguaia guerrilla.¹⁵⁶ In the survey, it is equated with ‘social change,’ ‘expansion of employment opportunities,’ ‘corruption reduction.’ It does not matter very much that those interviewed were confused, due to lack of information. According to [the research coordinator] Ney Figueiredo, what mattered is that ‘the PT is

the party that the interviewed associate the most with the ideas they admire.’” Thus, the article represents the interviewed, Brazilian voters, as *confused* and *uninformed* because they have a view of socialism which is different from the writers’ opinion. Because the popular definition found by the survey “has nothing to do with Marxism, Mao Zedong or Che Guevara,” as the text reports, the interviewees’ opinions are disregarded by the text as showing “confusion, due to lack of information.” This is an elitist point of view of the magazine’s writers, who seem to consider their opinions the only ones to be taken seriously.

While the magazine is primarily directed toward high-income people with a strong educational level, the text construes its readership in a different manner. In editorial tone, the article rhetorically acts on an ideal reader that it should not be necessary to persuade, since this reader tends to reflect the magazine viewpoints. One, however, can conclude that the magazine tries to reach and convince other types of audiences, perhaps occasional readers. Milton Pinto, professor of communication in the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, studied editorials in two Brazilian newspapers from Rio de Janeiro (*O Globo* and *Jornal do Brasil*) and found out that they tried to co-opt others than the customary readership, that is, occasional readers who submit themselves to the ‘aura’ of prestige and authority created around the publication.¹⁵⁷ About the style of the editorials, the professor Pinto observed that the writers produced “an opaque and baroque text, rich in ironies and metaphors with sarcastic and humoristic intention” and that they trusted that the style of the editorials by itself could make the reader adhere to their propositions, given the prestige and reverence that reflexive and poetic texts have in Brazilian culture.¹⁵⁸ The same can be noticed about the style of *Veja*’s articles. The

editorial tone of the text makes us consider that, like the Brazilian newspapers studied by the professor of communication, the magazine also tries to reach and convince other types of audience, grounded on its 'aura' of supposed prestige and authority.

The discourse of the magazine is elitist and authoritarian, presenting its views and opinions as the only ones which are valuable. The writers present themselves as the holders of knowledge and deal with the readers as if they were passive receptors of the ideological work of their text. Despite the cover focusing on the persona of Lula, the article itself emphasizes ideological issues related to Lula and to the Workers Party, always linking the party and the candidate to leftist radical views. The article says, for example, that "Lula and the Workers Party tried to get rid of the radicalism that followed them since the foundation of the party, 21 years ago." It states, "It is true that the party keeps hosting groups that advocate preposterous ideas, such as armed movements and the implementation of a communist model of management in Brazil, but overall the Workers Party has been modernized a little." On one hand, the article recognizes that talking about "armed movements" and "implementation of a communist model of management" (a bizarre expression by itself because it joins together words from opposite semantic fields, such as 'communist' and 'management') in Brazil at the time is nonsensical. On the other, it insists on disseminating those ideas, associating them with the Workers Party. There is clearly a mode of ideological 'work' going on in the text, with the writers construing reality for their goals.

On the third and fourth pages, the layout displays statements of Lula in different periods of time, from 1981 to 2001, emphasizing his former socialist standpoints. In doing so, the magazine seeks to represent Lula as a 'flip-flop' politician. Also, the article

characterizes Lula primarily as a *Petista*, and presents the ideas of the political party as anachronistic and unrealistic. It reads, for example, “The Petista lives in a cloister full of divisions and sects and, in most cases, carries a history of militancy in favor of a model of society that no longer exists since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.” Pictures of conflicts between the police and punks during a rally organized by government oppositional parties and unions are displayed in two of the nine pages of the cover story. The caption reads, “Lula had to abbreviate his speech because of the tumult. His eyes became irritated with the gas.” Neither Lula nor the Workers Party’s members had been involved in the confusion, but the photos associate the candidate with the violent acts.

The representation of Lula as an undesirable candidate for the elite appears in many extracts of the text. One sentence, for example, says, “In other times, the idea of having in the Presidency a politician with the ideological profile of Lula caused an emotional earthquake in most Brazilians, specially from the middle and upper classes ,and particularly, among businessmen.” Also, in an interview section with Lula’s publicist, Duda Mendonca, the magazine poses the following question: “Will the elite who resist him [Lula] be ignored?” It is a question that implies the presupposition that Lula is undesirable for the elite. The publicist answers, “It is not possible for someone to get unanimity [in support].” While the article represents the candidate Lula in a negative way, it advocates for the administration of the President at the time, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. An extract reads, “The real world is complicated, and the Petistas seem not to realize it when they make criticism of the administration of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party.” Thus, once again the magazine gives evidence that is biased towards the Cardoso administration.

Winners and Losers

The cover story of *Veja* on October 9, 2002, is part of a whole special edition on the 2002 presidential election. Following an introduction of two pages of the special issue, the magazine published profiles of the four main candidates, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, Jose Serra, Ciro Gomes, and Anthony Garotinho. Those profiles were displayed according to the position of the candidates in research polls. Lula's profile opens the series of articles on the candidates, given his leadership in opinion polls. In the design of this special issue, every article ends with pictures of those people who are part of the candidates' team and the topics of their party platforms. The magazine by itself responds to those topics, making criticism and pointing to the non-viability of programs, without mentioning sources or having the material signed by a journalist. Due to the fact that this was a special edition of many pages, and since the purpose of this dissertation focuses on Lula's representation, the following analysis refers to the material specifically related to him, not to the other candidates.

The cover is illustrated with the pictures of the faces of four main candidates over a dark blue background. In the drawing, their faces spark and appear on a track of light as if they were stars falling from a deep blue sky. The candidates are all smiling. Lula appears in first place, as the probable winner of the first round. The cover seems to recognize the leadership of Lula in the research polls. However, it positions the readers as the ones who will decide for a second round between Lula and another candidate.¹⁵⁹ On this cover, the magazine proposes the readership pick a candidate to run the second round of the presidential election with Lula. This proposition is implied in the headings. The headline reads, "You decide,"¹⁶⁰ and the subhead says, "It is in your hands to choose

whether there will be a second round and with whom Lula will compete. To help you make a choice, *Veja* reveals: How the presidential candidates think, decide, and command. What they are promising to do and what promises they cannot keep.” By means of this cover, the magazine seeks to play a more active role in the political scene, as some Brazilian scholars have been pointing out [about the Brazilian media].¹⁶¹ The magazine is doing more than just backing one of the candidates. It goes beyond the report of the facts in the electoral race and approaches the readers, clearly suggesting directions (a second round) and trying to influence the electoral process.

The two pages of introduction are illustrated with a close-up photo of the presidential sash. The layout background is black with the verbal text in white letters on the right page. The photo of the sash extends from the right page to the middle of the graphic design. The sash’s main ornament – a golden emblem of the Brazilian Republic – has a round form and is situated exactly in the center of the layout. The headline and the subheads are on the left-hand page, filling the empty space and balancing the composition in a way that emphasizes the centrality of the presidential sash. The headline reads, “In the name of the future.” The subhead says, “How will Brazil be in the next four years after Cardoso’s successor wears the presidential sash? Instead of analyzing the declaration of intentions of the political parties, which are fictional, it is advisable to pay attention to the strength of the parties, their allies, to the history of each candidate and to how each one decides and acts.” The headline is an allusion to the Christian trinity (“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Trinity”) and appears in light brown letters, matching the yellow of the sash (yellow and green are predominant colors in the Brazilian flag).

In this composition, the text is 'New' and the picture of the presidential sash 'Given.' In fact, the 'Given' leads to the 'Center' in this layout, which combines two types of visual structure, 'Given' and 'New' (left-right) and 'Center' and 'Margins.' As Kress and van Leeuwen note, "For something to be presented as Center means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information on which all the other elements are in some sense subservient."¹⁶² In former articles analyzed in this dissertation, the magazine also presented symbols of the Presidency of Republic in the same fashion, as dominant elements in the layout. In this magazine layout, the *power* of the presidential sash is presented as 'Given,' as something to be taken for granted, while the information in the verbal text is treated as the 'problem,' the 'issue.'¹⁶³ It should be noted that the candidates appear surrounded by sparks of light on the cover of the magazine. Kress and van Leeuwen assert, "Iconographically speaking the metaphoric range of light is wide – light can signify 'the divine,' 'illumination,' 'hope,' etc."¹⁶⁴ The candidates appear 'illuminated' on the cover, and the layout in the inside pages make significant use of the center to display the sash, thus revealing how the magazine represents the presidential office – as a type of 'divine ruler.'¹⁶⁵ In addition, there is the headline alluding to the Trinity phrase "in the name of the Father."

The text in white letters on black background shows a *negative* 'New.' As Kress and van Leeuwen put it, "It describes not the world of the reader, but a world unreachable for the reader," in this case, the world of the political power, the glittering path to the highest office in politics.¹⁶⁶ Also significant are the representation of the Brazilian nation and the evaluation of national institutions that the magazine presents in this introduction. It reads, "If any of the four well-known candidates really had the power to make Brazil

grow at high rates without inflation; if one could actually create millions of jobs as they promise; if one were able to carry out tax and welfare reforms without causing traumas or deficits, Brazil would instantaneously become a country of European standard. None of this is possible.” The text also states, “Brazil will keep facing hard times. There will be no miracle.”

The text mentions the U.S. presidents Lyndon Johnson and John Kennedy as examples of presidents that made wrong (Johnson) and right (Kennedy) decisions at crucial situations of their administrations. It should be noticed that the magazine often resorts to the U.S. presidential history to illustrate in its texts how a Brazilian president should behave. Following the given examples, the text asserts, “In the case of the United States, by studying the presidential leadership, one can perceive that the U.S. presidents make decisions in a very similar way – it is due to the power of the country’s institutions which shape the presidential decisions both in internal and external affairs. These are bedrocks that Brazil still lacks. Brazilians have a recent democracy, institutions in process of consolidation and, because of this, one should pay attention to the ability to obtain majority in the Congress, to the experience in commanding, to the possibility of understanding the complex engineering of the contemporary world.” Thus, the text shows a total disconnection with ideologies of nation-building related to the [Brazilian] national interest or to the construction of a national ethos. Instead of this, the magazine suggests emulation of the American political institutions. Although trying to interfere in the political scene, the journalists of the magazine show that they assess Brazil with the eyes of an elite that observes the country distantly, as though they did not have strong ties to it.

The article with Lula's profile has a big photo of the candidate getting off an aircraft, with an officer watching him disembark, beside a photographer who is half-cut off the picture's frame. The headline is "The Lula's route to the power." The caption of the picture reads, "Faith in the conversation: Lula never goes into a high-risk situation without rearguard."¹⁶⁷ In the article signed by the journalists João Gabriel de Lima and Thais Oyama, the disposition of Lula to the dialogue is construed as a 'risk.' The lead reads, "If Luis Inacio Lula da Silva reaches the Palacio of Planalto, Brazil will have, perhaps, one of the most accessible presidents of its history. Heads of the executive branch who have propensity for dialogue equally draw sympathy and risks. General João Figueiredo, who ended the military rule, was excessively influenced by his family and the close friends he brought from the barracks to the government. João Goulart, the farmer who was overthrown from the power by the military in 1964, accepted discordant advice and was paralyzed with his decision process." In this text, the magazine represents Lula as a politician who has been following and obeying a route which was previously traced for him by others. The word 'rearguard' (in Portuguese, "retaguarda"), that the caption figuratively uses to suggest the existence of protective forces behind Lula, refers to the group of people who surrounded Lula and to whom he would possibly listen before taking decisions in the Presidency. Thus, Lula is constructed as someone easy to be influenced and susceptible to manipulation.

Constant in the magazine is the reference to the Workers Party in a negative way, always relating Lula's candidacy to the so-called 'radicals of the PT.' This article states that Lula is looking for understanding with bankers, industrialists, and even landowners, but he lacks to negotiate it with "the clusters of radicalism who are sheltered in the

Workers Party and are quiet, waiting for the victory.” The text reads, “The revolutionary militants from those factions installed within the PT machine have high potential for damage. If displeased, they can take the streets and make a lot of noise.” Besides, the article emphasizes Lula as a union leader and founder of the Workers Party, also stressing his lack of formal education. One of the paragraphs starts as follows: “Lula’s history gives clues to how he would behave having power.” It closes the same extract reading, “The unionism was the school of Lula, who has only a fourth grade [education]. In the government, it is predictable that he will show the same *bad habits*¹⁶⁸ (my emphasis) of a successful union leader and the unrivalled head of a political party, a position he reached in the Workers Party.” In this manner, the text goes on constructing Lula chiefly as a union type and a candidate with precarious knowledge.

The text shows social prejudice in some extracts, for doubting the political skills of Lula based on the candidate’s lack of formal education. For example, it says, “By the indications he provides, *Lula is not used to meticulously examining each idea that a presidential candidate should dominate to aspire to the office* (my emphasis). He prefers to use the picking method. He listens to, assimilates, and selects. Last week, when some businessmen publicly opted for voting for the PT candidate, one of the main reasons they alleged was Lula’s demonstrated interest in listening to them.” In that excerpt, the text suggests an implicit meaning in the semantic relation between sentences and clauses: Lula is only apparently listening to the businessmen; in fact he is selecting information, thus they would be misled by giving their votes to the Workers Party candidate. So, the text sets up ideological positions for the readers by means of the assumptions

which are necessary to make connections across its elements, carrying out a coherent interpretation.¹⁶⁹

Another example of a prejudiced view of the education and life story of Lula as union leader is the paragraph that asserts, “The precarious formal education of the Workers Party’s candidate was always a taboo in the party. The party decided to face it and created the Instituto Cidadania [Citizenship Institute] a few years ago, joining university professors and intellectuals who were sympathetic to the Workers Party. *Lula has been using this institute as a life buoy when his academic formation is discussed* (my emphasis). During the last two years, he has been tutored by the sages of the institute.” Although the extract mentions that Lula is actually being educated by skilled members of the political party, it disdains this form of unofficially given education, referring to it metaphorically as a “life buoy” that the candidate uses to walk away from criticisms of his “academic formation.” As Fairclough notes, “When we signify things through one metaphor rather than another, we are constructing our reality in one way rather than another.” By making reference to a life buoy, a life-preserver used to keep afloat a person in danger of drowning, the magazine gives evidence that it construes Lula as a vulnerable candidate given his lack of a formal education.

More evidence of an elitist and prejudiced view on Lula and the Workers Party can be found in other excerpts of the text. For instance, the text starts a paragraph asserting that, in the 2002 presidential campaign, the majority of voters were “buying a package” which was wrapped in the conviction that Lula had converted to principles of modern governance. Following this, the text reads, “Lula reaffirmed these commitments in many occasions. This is great, but will it be enough to ensure the success of the

potential Petista president? For many experts, Lula is not the ideal ruler given the current moment of the Brazilian and the world economies. ‘We need a fish, and Lula is just a man who, according to himself, learned how to swim,’ a banker says. The truth is that the situation will demand more from Lula than that the experts of Instituto Cidadania could teach him in the past years.” Again, the text resorts to the metaphor of a man in danger of drowning, and who learns how to prevent it by ‘swimming’ or using a ‘life buoy.’ This time it occurs by means of discourse representation, that is, manifest intertextuality, characterized by the quote of an anonymous source identified only as “a banker.”

The references to Lula’s humble origins are also present in the text. It reads, “The Workers Party candidate reproduces in politics what he learned in the union. After all, the son of Eurídice and Aristides, poor migrants from the rural region of the state of Pernambuco [in the Brazilian Northeast], succeeded in his life in Sao Paulo by listening to the others.” At a certain point, the text compares Lula to the former president of the United States, Harry Truman, who the article says was regarded as a *hillbilly* (my emphasis) by those in American political power.¹⁷⁰ The text reads, “Truman, who did not have a college degree and usually read biographies, only took collegial decisions and repeated concepts which he did not understand, as long as they did not offend the ‘common sense.’” And about Lula, it reads, “Lula, *like Truman* (my emphasis), also read biographies.” Obviously, the comparison is not only about the habit of reading biographies. There is a certain malice in a text comparing both politicians, and commenting that Truman did not have a college degree and was considered a hillbilly.

In addition, the reference to Truman as a president who took collegial decisions is another form the text uses to imply that Lula has the powerful influences of the Workers

Party behind him and will not make decisions by himself. It reads, “If he wins the election, as it seems very probable, Lula will decide crucial political issues with Jose Dirceu, at least in the beginning of the government.” After mentioning Dirceu as a “radical exiled in Cuba where he was trained in guerrilla warfare,” the article ends by saying, “Lula holds the supreme command of the PT. Jose Dirceu knows it better than anyone else. But if there is someone is capable of influencing Lula’s decisions and even totally reversing them in essence, this person is Dirceu.” Therefore, the article concludes by once again emphasizing the influence of the Workers Party’s key figures on Lula, in addition to stressing their radical leftist past.

This article gives evidence of what the Brazilian scholar Afonso de Albuquerque claims to be an ambivalent attitude toward the liberal political institutions which has been a permanent trait of Brazilian political life.¹⁷¹ While inspired with the American liberalism and advocating democratic principles, the Brazilian elites have always felt comfortable with a political system that, although nominally democratic, for practical purposes has permitted republican machines to govern with firm hands.¹⁷² The dangerous classes that formed ‘the people’ as well as the Brazilian liberal institutions, if “left to their own devices” would produce anarchy and chaos, in the eyes of the elites.¹⁷³ *Veja*’s magazine appears as a mouthpiece of those elites. On the other hand, the Workers Party – and Lula as the figure representative of the working class – threatened those elites because of the possibility of “changes in the orientation of social and economic policy to benefit the less privileged” that the party called for, as the social scientist Margaret E. Keck noted in a study of the Workers Party.¹⁷⁴ Given his humble origins, Lula himself

represented sectors of the population, which had been excluded, finally being empowered to play a role in the political system.

The Anti-Lula

The cover of *Veja* on July 17, 2002 approaches indirectly Lula's candidacy. Lula is present on the cover illustration, in the headlines and also in the article within the magazine, but in fact the story is about the candidate who, among those better positioned in the polls, would be able to face and defeat Lula in the election's second round. The cover displays a big photo of Lula's face in one color (blue) which makes the background of the illustration. Realistic pictures (in full colors) of the two candidates who are pointed to by the polls as Lula's main adversaries appear at the forefront of the cover, in smaller size. The headline reads, "Ciro or Serra: Who will be the anti-Lula?" The contrast between the naturalistic photos (presenting a 'realistic' diversity of colors) of the candidates *Ciro Gomes* and *Jose Serra* and the monochrome picture on the background turns the image of Lula into a type of abstraction. Similarly, the nominalization of the headline creates an abstract new entity, the "anti-Lula."

As *Kress* and *van Leeuwen* observe, the colors play a role as a marker of naturalistic modality (the "truth value" given to a statement by the text producer).¹⁷⁵ Such a role works in terms of a scale of color differentiation, as well as in terms of color modulation and color saturation. According to *Kress* and *van Leeuwen*, "There is a continuum which runs from full color saturation to the absence of color, black and white, in which only the brightness values of the colors, their 'darkness' or 'lightness,' remains. There is also a continuum which runs from full color differentiation to a 'reduced palette'

and even monochrome.”¹⁷⁶ They explain, “[T]he greater the abstraction (away from saturation, differentiation and modulation) the lower the modality.” In the case of this cover, the bluish image of Lula contrasts with Ciro’s and Serra’s pictures in diverse, realistic colors. From the point of view of ‘photorealism’, modality is reduced in Lula’s image. Thus, the magazine is deliberately lowering modality in Lula’s image.

This reading of the cover’s illustration is confirmed by the principle of information value in compositions, as explained by Kress and van Leeuwen. They put it this way: “The placement of elements (participants and syntagms that relate them to each other and to the viewer) endows them with the specific informational values attached to the various ‘zones’ of the image: left and right, top and bottom, centre and margins.”¹⁷⁷ Placed on the upper half of the cover, Lula’s image carries the informational value of top and is presented as the ‘Ideal.’ Ciro’s and Serra’s pictures, on the lower half of the page, convey the information value of bottom and are presented, along with the headline, as the ‘Real.’¹⁷⁸ The upper section in a visual composition tends to show us ‘what might be,’ whereas the lower section tend to be more informative and practical, showing us ‘what is.’ This sense of contrast, of opposition between ‘Ideal’ and ‘Real,’ is ideological.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, the question present in the headline (“who will be the anti-Lula”) presupposes the existence of an adversary who will face and defeat Lula in a second round of the election. As Fairclough notes, “Presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or ‘given’ (though there is the question of for whom they are given).”¹⁸⁰ Definite articles are among the formal cues in the surface organization of the text to show those propositions. Fairclough says that “definite articles cue propositions which have ‘existential’ meanings (e.g. ‘the Soviet

threat' presupposes that there is a Soviet threat, 'the rain' that it is/was raining)."181 If this rule is applied to the expression '*the anti-Lula*' in the headline, one can conclude that it presupposes that there will be a candidate who will work as a type of 'antidote' to Lula's victory. It should be noticed that the magazine also mentioned a "Lula effect" in articles previously analyzed in this dissertation, such as in the category 'Economy.' Antidote is a word that means "remedy, medicine that works against the effects of poison" and which can be synonymous of corrective, neutralizer, nullifier.¹⁸²

About the ideological 'work' of language, Fairclough observes, "Presuppositions are effective ways to manipulate people, because they are often difficult to challenge."¹⁸³ He continues, "Manipulative presuppositions also postulate interpreting subjects with particular prior textual experiences and assumptions, and in so doing they contribute to the ideological constitution of subjects."¹⁸⁴ It means that the presuppositions are directed to a specific audience, individuals for whom the propositions they carry might be interpreted as 'given.' It refers either to the usual reader of the magazine or to the 'ideal' reader (or reader model), that is, the generic and idealized member of an intended audience. In both cases, the article is ideologically positioning subjects in a stance against Lula's election.

It is worth noting that the expression "anti-Lula" used in the headline is also a *nominalization*, which "turns processes and activities into states and objects, and concretes into abstracts," as Fairclough reports.¹⁸⁵ In this cover, a new entity, "the anti-Lula," is created. This feature of nominalization (the creation of new entities) "is of considerable cultural and ideological importance," Fairclough points out.¹⁸⁶ The discourse analyst explains that the nominalization can itself become the focus of cultural

attention and manipulation. “Accordingly, one finds nominalizations themselves taking on the roles of goals and even agents of processes,” he concludes.¹⁸⁷ It seems to be the case of this cover, in which defining who would be facing Lula is to foster an adversary.

This cover shows the interplay of action and reaction. The candidate Ciro Gomes, who appears on the left side of the cover, is an ‘Actor’ in this visual proposition. He is the only participant who is looking at the viewer and, therefore, establishing contact with the reader, even though it is an imaginary contact.¹⁸⁸ In looking at the viewer, his gaze forms a vector, and the participant from whom the vector emanates (or who is fused with the vector) is the ‘Actor,’ as Kress and van Leeuwen explained.¹⁸⁹ However, another vector is formed from the gaze of the participant on the right side, candidate Jose Serra, who seems to be looking at Ciro Gomes. In this case, the process of Ciro Gomes establishing contact with the viewers (voters) becomes the ‘Phenomenon’ of a *reactional* structure in which Jose Serra is the ‘Reactor.’

As a matter of fact, the article within the magazine informs readers that Ciro Gomes was slightly ahead of Jose Serra in the polls, at that point of the electoral race. Thus, the cover emphasizes a reaction of Serra and constructs the climate of fight that features the military metaphor frequently used in elections coverage. As Fairclough observes, “elections campaigns are not as a matter of fact conducted as direct, face-to-face confrontations or arguments: this is the way the media construct them.”¹⁹⁰

The media, through the way in which they select, order and represent material, reduce the complexity and confusion of a campaign to a set-piece argument or combat, blow followed by counter-blow. This is then portrayed as a reality that the media merely reflect, thus disguising the constructive effects that the media themselves have upon the reality.¹⁹¹

The headline of the article reads “The fight to be the anti-Lula,” and the subhead says, “Ciro Gomes and Jose Serra have already been side by side in the PSDB.¹⁹² Now, they are enemies and fight an open warfare for a place in the election’s second round.” They confirm such a ‘script,’ the stereotypical scenario of attack and counter-attack by means of the military metaphor.

In the opening layout of the article, a polarized horizontal composition, *Ciro Gomes* is placed on the left page and *Serra*, on the right page. Between them there is a graphic with the result of polls on the 2002 election. Thus, *Ciro Gomes* is represented as ‘Given’ and *Serra* as ‘New,’ according to the informational value of the left and the right ‘zones’ of the image.¹⁹³ As *Kress* and *van Leeuwen* assert,

For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be New means that it is presented as something which is not yet known, or perhaps not yet agreed upon by the viewer, hence as something to which the viewer must pay special attention.¹⁹⁴

Also, *Ciro Gomes* appears as the ‘Actor,’ from who a vector (a graph line) emanates from his eyes toward *Serra*, the ‘Goal.’ *Serra* appears as a ‘Reactor’ as well, since he seems to be observing the adversary and preparing a reaction. A scene of ‘attack’ and ‘counter-attack’ is visually set up, one of the type that *Fairclough* mentions, and which seems to be a commonplace in the media over the world.

The vocabulary and expressions used within the text follow the military metaphor. In depicting the polls’ results the article reads, “If only the major numbers were regarded, and taking in account that one point in the research is equivalent to 1.15 million electors, each one of them [*Gomes* and *Serra*] has a temporary *army* of 20 million votes until now. Since the elections will just happen in three months, those *armies* tend to move a lot until

it is possible to know on which side they will be on in the *D-day* (my emphases).” There are many other examples of words from the military semantic field within the text; some of them are direct references to the ‘attack and counterattack’ script. For example, the article says, “Last week, the Tucanos¹⁹⁵ prepared the first measures *to recover territory in the fight* for the second place [in the presidential election]. The *counterattack* starts this week, with direct participation of Serra, who has scheduled a trip to Minas Gerais¹⁹⁶ with two objectives (my emphases).” Thus, the scene of ‘military strategy’ is constructed by the text.

This scene puts Ciro Gomes as the main character, given his initial advantage in the poll, but there is now a reaction of Serra. It is a fight for a place in the election’s second round, in which only two adversaries compete. It should be noticed that the ‘war’ that the magazine symbolically set up is really against Lula, who is leading the polls. Lula appears ahead in the electoral race with 34% of the votes against 18% of Ciro Gomes and 17% of Serra. That is, at the time of the article, Lula had twice as many votes as Serra. The first sentences of the article reads, “The electoral scenario in the last week was as follows: except if a new fact occurs, there will be second round and Lula will be there. The question is to know against whom he will be”. In the layout of the next pages, there is a big picture of Lula placed in the center. He has his arms extended and is showing the palms of his hands. Over each one of his palms, the layout displays graphics with Lula and another candidate in first and second rounds. The performance of the two other candidates appears as if they were weighed on a pair of scales, and Lula is represented as the one who defines how much they weigh.

Although Lula appears as the probable winner of the election in this issue of the magazine, the magazine represents this possibility in a negative way. It occurs not just through the use of the military metaphor with the ultimate aim of defeating him but also by means of intertextuality, or discourse representation. This is so in the case of the direct discourse of a research institute poll. The text reads, “‘This election is not recommended for people with cardiac problems or with high blood pressure,’ the political scientist, and director of Vox Populi Institute, Marcos Coimbra remarks.” Obviously, the situation would only be that uncomfortable for those who were against Lula’s victory. In the example above, the medical metaphor is also used. As in the nominalization of the headline of the article, here “the anti-Lula” could work as medicine for a ‘health’ problem.

While Lula is the common enemy and the main target in the military metaphor that the magazine sets off, the candidate of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party, Jose Serra, is represented as the favorite of financiers and entrepreneurs. The article reports the adhesion of some businessmen to Ciro’s candidacy as follows: “Last week, *Veja* interviewed twelve major figures from the industry and financial sectors. Although Serra is pointed as the first option, none stated to be embarrassed about supporting Ciro, if necessary.” An article on Ciro Gomes and the entrepreneurs follows the cover story. The headline of that article reads, “Ciro Gomes and the entrepreneurs.” The subhead says, “Ascending in research polls, the candidate discusses his projects to the government with bankers.” Again, the text positions Serra as the first option among entrepreneurs. It reads, “If the polls are showing that Ciro Gomes is even with Jose Serra, *the preferred among the entrepreneurs* (my emphasis), it is necessary at least to get along with the possibility

that the second round will be different from what was imagined some weeks ago. That was the kind of feeling running in some sparkling offices of the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, last week.” The article also mentions Lula. By remarking that “Ciro is not scaring the entrepreneurs,” the text asserts, “At least, he does not provoke the same panic reaction that Lula causes in some circles.” In this manner, the idea of Lula as the main enemy of the capitalists is reinforced to the readers. After all, he is feared by businesspeople of the elite offices (“sparkling offices,” as the magazine refers to in a figurative sense) from Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, in the Southeast of the country, people who may change their candidate as long as Lula is defeated, as the texts notes.

Notes

¹ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 220.

² Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 120.

³ Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 224

⁴ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 215-216.

⁷ The Palacio do Planalto is the official workplace of the President of Brazil.

⁸ *Pau de arara*, which literally means parrot’s perch, is “the popular name for the rickety, open trucks that transported both cargo and passengers in the Brazilian interior,” according to Bryan McCann. *Hello, Hello Brazil: Popular Music in the Making of Modern Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 96-97.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Louis Rawlings and Hugh Bowden, eds., *Herakles and Hercules: Exploring a Greco-Roman Divinity* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005), 191.

¹² Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 194.

¹³ Dominique Maingueneau, *Análise de Textos de Comunicação*, trans. Cecília P. de Souza-e-Silva and Decio Rocha (São Paulo: Cortez, 2004), 222.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹⁵ According to Kress and van Leeuwen, “For something to be Given means that it is presented as something the viewer already knows, as a familiar and agreed-upon point of departure for the message. For something to be New means that it is presented as something to which the viewer must pay special attention. Broadly speaking, the meaning of the New is therefore ‘problematic,’ ‘contestable,’ ‘the information at the issue; while the Given is presented as commonsensical, self-evident.” (Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 187).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 215.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

¹⁹ Santos is a city and a port in the coast of the state of São Paulo.

²⁰ Fairclough, *Analyzing Discourse*, 216.

²¹ *Nordestino* is the name given to the people whose origin is the Brazilian Northeast.

²² PT is the abbreviation of *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers Party).

²³ According to Fairclough, “Modality concerns the extent to which the producers commit themselves to, or conversely distance themselves from, propositions: their degree of ‘affinity’ with the proposition.” (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 142)

²⁴ Literally, it means “Zero Hunger.”

²⁵ Daniel Chandler defines metonymy as *the evocation of the whole by a connection*. He says, “It consists in using for the name of a thing or a relationship, an attribute, a suggested sense, or something closely related, such as effect for cause.” *Semiotics: The Basics* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 130. In the article, the well-known red flag of the Workers Party replaces the name of the party. Given the context, in this case the expression ‘red flag’ can also be taken as reference to the ‘socialist cause.’

²⁶ The artists who participated in the musical expression of this movement dressed in the style of the hippie movement of the 60’s and were persecuted by the military dictatorship. Some of them, such as Gilberto Gil himself, had to exile abroad during the military rule period.

²⁷ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 136.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

²⁹ This term refers to an *idealized* member of the target audience, not an *authentic reader*. Because the press articles are written for a large number of readers, the receiver is (before being part of an *empiric audience*, that is, the total of individual who will *really* read the text) a kind of *image* to whom the writer should attribute some skills that will allow the understanding of the texts and the accomplishment of the communicative act. (Maingueneau, *Análise de Textos*, 47).

³⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 120.

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- ³¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 206.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Ibid., 207.
- ³⁴ The presidential sash is a cultural mark in Brazil and other Latin American countries, a sign of special honor.
- ³⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 122.
- ³⁶ Ibid., 122-123.
- ³⁷ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 83.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 84.
- ³⁹ Anaphora, in this case, is a grammatical substitute to refer to a preceding word or group of words.
- ⁴⁰ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 168.
- ⁴¹ The term *scenography* is used by Maingueneau, who does an analogy between the theatrical arts and the characteristics of performance of texts. Generally speaking, it is the art of creating performance environments. According to Maingueneau, a scenography gives rise and legitimizes a given text. At the same time, that scenography is gradually validated along the text. (Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 87).
- ⁴² Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 134.
- ⁴³ Fairclough, 1992, 135.
- ⁴⁴ *Paulista* is a person who was born in the state of Sao Paulo, the richest and most industrialized of Brazil. Those people are referred to in chapter 2 of this dissertation.
- ⁴⁵ Norman Fairclough used the term 'enterprise discourse' in a paper ("What might we mean by 'enterprise discourse'?") analyzing political speeches in British society. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (New York: Longman, 1995b). According to Fairclough, there is a colonizing movement of advertising, marketing and managerial discourse, from the domain of commodity marketing in a narrow sense to a variety of other domains. He mentions the presence of the 'enterprise discourse' related to private business in the vocabulary of the speeches of British politicians (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 117).
- ⁴⁶ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 233.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 160.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 107.
- ⁵¹ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 128.
- ⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos*, 173.

⁵⁴ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 194.

⁵⁵ Marialva Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa: Brasil, 1900-2000* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2007), 163.

⁵⁶ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 195.

⁵⁷ “An order of discourse is a particular combination of configuration of *genres, discourse* and *styles* which constitutes the discursive aspect of a network of social practices.” (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 220).

⁵⁸ This claim is based on the concept of *archive* according to Maingueneau. Archives are *corpus* of utterances which depend on the same social-historical stance and are inseparable of a *memory* and of institutions that confer authority and legitimize them. (Milton Jose Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso: Introducao a Analise de Discursos*, 2nd ed. [Sao Paulo: Hacker Editores, 2002], 60).

⁵⁹ In his paper on ‘enterprise discourse,’ Fairclough points out to similarities between particular enterprising qualities and self-reliance. According to him, “[T]he emphasis in the enterprise initiative is upon ‘self-help.’” (Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 125).

⁶⁰ The expression “charge a price” (translated from “*cobrar a fatura*,” in Portuguese) is used metaphorically by the magazine. The magazine means that the *Petistas* of radical wings will demand political and economic measures from Lula, if he wins.

⁶¹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 120.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 122.

⁶³ In Portuguese, “*Vai ser preciso segurar.*”

⁶⁴ In its literal sense, the original grammatical construction means in English: ‘It will be needed,’ or ‘it will be necessary,’ which imply obligation as well.

⁶⁵ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 168.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁶⁸ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 159.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁷¹ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 135.

⁷² Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 123.

⁷³ The word Shiite, in this case, does not refer to the followers of Islam. In Brazil, the word is informally used to designate people who are usually from the left wing, meaning that they are too much attached to their political views. It is a type of metaphor that implies derogatory assessment of leftist political activism.

⁷⁴ FARC is the acronym of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, a revolutionary organization based on Colombia and involved in armed conflict.

⁷⁵ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 109.

⁷⁶ The Brazilian Central Bank plays in the country a role similar to the Federal Reserve System in the United States.

⁷⁷ In Portuguese, “Quem diria...,” an expression that literally means “Who would say...” in English.

⁷⁸ The word *Petista* is a reference to the members of the PT, the Workers Party.

⁷⁹ *Tucano*, that literally means ‘toucan’ in English, is how the members and supporters of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party are called. They received such designation for having the toucan bird as the symbol of the party. This is the political party of the president at the time, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who transferred the presidential sash to Lula on January 1st, 2003.

⁸⁰ Ribeirao Preto is a city in the state of Sao Paulo.

⁸¹ The Brazilian ‘real’ is the currency unit of the country.

⁸² ‘Brazil Risk’ is how the Brazilian media called the risk rating that was taken on in Brazil, for foreign investors’ information purposes.

⁸³ Colin Leys, *Total Capitalism: Market Politics, Market State* (Monmouth, Wales: Merlin Press, 2008).

⁸⁴ Lilie Chouliaraki and Norman Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 4.

⁸⁵ The magazine in the headline of this cover is making a remark on the statement, so expressing its [low] commitment to what has been said, that is, showing low modality.

⁸⁶ According to Kress and van Leeuwen, “The term ‘modality’ comes from linguistics and refers to the truth value or credibility of (linguistic realized) statements about the world. (Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 160)

⁸⁷ Chouliaraki and Fairclough, *Discourse in Late Modernity*, 6.

⁸⁸ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 161.

⁸⁹ It means the risk rating that was taken on in Brazil (for information of foreign investors).

⁹⁰ *Petista* is how is called the member or supporter of the Workers Party (PT).

⁹¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 53.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 55.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1996, 62.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 59.

⁹⁸ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 45.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ According to Kress and van Leeuwen, “[W]hat is positioned on the right is presented as ‘New,’ as information not yet known to the reader, and hence deserving his or her special attention.”(Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 55)

¹⁰¹ Jose Serra was the candidate of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party, the political party of the government at the time.

¹⁰² Daniel Chandler explains, “Irony is a rhetorical trope. It is a kind of double sign in which the ‘literal sign’ combines with another sign typically to signify the opposite meaning.” (Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 231).

¹⁰³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 191.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 187.

¹⁰⁵ According to Fairclough, “[T]exts set up positions for interpreting subjects that are ‘capable’ of making sense of them, and ‘capable’ of making the connections and inferences, in accordance with relevant interpretative principles, necessary to generate coherent readings.” (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 84)

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 27.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Antonio Pedro Tota, *The Seduction of Brazil: The Americanization of Brazil During World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 14.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 123.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² By means of markers of modalization the speaker shows his, or her, sort of commitment with the utterance (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 171).

¹¹³ Paul Kellogg, “Regional Integration in Latin America: Dawn of an Alternative to Neoliberalism?,” *New Political Science* 29, no.2 (2007): 187-209.

¹¹⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 187.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 62.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 65.

¹¹⁷ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 84.

¹¹⁸ The *Real Plan* was implemented during the years of the presidency of Itamar Franco, when Fernando Henrique was the finance minister of Brazil, more precisely in 1994. It consisted of a series of measures aiming to the economic stability of Brazil, which had high inflation rates at the time.

¹¹⁹ In Portuguese, the word used was “*sensação*.”

¹²⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 121.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² In Portuguese, “José Dirceu: O homem que faz a cabeça de Lula.” The word “head” is used here figuratively (as a synonymous of ‘mind’ or ‘brain’) meaning that Jose Dirceu has a powerful influence on Lula.

¹²³ *Petista* is how a member of the Workers Party, the PT, is called.

¹²⁴ According to Fairclough, it means “the constitution of a text from a configuration of text types or discourse conventions.” (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 10)

¹²⁵ Ibid., 102.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 96.

¹²⁸ Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

¹²⁹ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 127.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., 233.

¹³² Ibid., 128.

¹³³ Ibid., 134.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 135.

¹³⁶ Orlandi, *Análise de Discurso*, 30.

¹³⁷ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 174.

¹³⁸ The expression “last cartridge” here is used in a figurative way, meaning he is using the last resource available. Therefore, it is metaphorical expression, therefore.

¹³⁹ Teun van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998), 208.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 207.

¹⁴² Ibid., 179.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 182.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 183.

¹⁴⁵ The word ‘assumption’ here is employed to refer to “the implicit meaning of texts,” as Fairclough uses it (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 212).

¹⁴⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 122.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 55.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 193.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 187.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 215.

¹⁵² The expression *reader model* here refers to the ‘image’ of reader that the journalist (sender) has in the mind when constructing a text (message) to be send to this receptor, that is, the *ideal* reader.

¹⁵³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 119.

¹⁵⁴ According to Fairclough, “Evaluative statements (evaluations) are statements about desirability and undesirability, what is good and what is bad.” (Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 172).

¹⁵⁵ The Ibope group is a Brazilian multinational company that specialized in media, market and opinion research.

¹⁵⁶ The Araguaia Guerrilla was an armed movement against the Brazilian military dictatorship of the 1960’s and 1970’s, founded by militants of the Communist Party of Brazil.

¹⁵⁷ Pinto, *Comunicacao e Discurso*, 61.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 62.

¹⁵⁹ In Brazil, if one of the candidates does not attain more than half of the total votes of the electors, the electoral law determines a second round. In the 2002 election, there was no second round. Lula obtained the necessary number of votes to assure his victory at the first round of the presidential election.

¹⁶⁰ This headline alludes to the title of a popular TV show of Brazilian production, in which fictional stories were staged. Different endings to a story were filmed, and it was left to the audience to choose of the one to be presented. They did it by calling the TV station during the show broadcast.

¹⁶¹ Barbosa, *Historia Cultural*, 40; Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, *Imprensa e Historia no Rio de Janeiro dos Anos 1950* (Rio de Janeiro: e-papers, 2007), 347; Afonso de Albuquerque, “Another ‘Fourth Branch’: Press and Political Culture in Brazil, *Journalism* 6, no. 4 (2005): 487.

¹⁶² Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 206.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 189.

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- ¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 199.
- ¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 206-207.
- ¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 215-216.
- ¹⁶⁷ The word 'rearguard' (in Portuguese, "*retaguarda*") here is used figuratively, meaning protective forces behind him."
- ¹⁶⁸ The word in Portuguese is '*cacoete*,' which in English literally means 'twitch.' In Portuguese, the word '*cacoete*' is figuratively used to refer to a 'bad habit.'
- ¹⁶⁹ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 135.
- ¹⁷⁰ The word used in Portuguese was "*caipira*." Hillbilly was adopted in the translation for meaning "one who comes from a remote rural area." (*Babylon English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Hillbilly.")
- ¹⁷¹ Albuquerque, "Another 'Fourth Branch,'" 487.
- ¹⁷² Robert M. Levine, *The History of Brazil* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 90-91.
- ¹⁷³ Albuquerque, "Another 'Fourth Branch,'" 487.
- ¹⁷⁴ Margaret E. Keck, *The Workers' Party and Democratization in Brazil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 3.
- ¹⁷⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 135.
- ¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 164.
- ¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 183.
- ¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 193.
- ¹⁷⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 120.
- ¹⁸¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁸² *Babylon English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "Antidote."
- ¹⁸³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 121.
- ¹⁸⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 182.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 183.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁸⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 122.
- ¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 74.

¹⁹⁰ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 196.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² PSDB is the abbreviation (in Portuguese) of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party.

¹⁹³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 183.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 187.

¹⁹⁵ *Tucanos* is how the members of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party are called.

¹⁹⁶ Minas Gerais is one of the Southeast states of Brazil.

Chapter 6: Comparative Analysis

This chapter carries out a cross-cultural analysis by category of 24 articles of *Time* and *Veja* magazines, which were examined for how they dealt with the presidential campaigns of Barack Obama (in the United States, in 2008) and Luis Inacio Lula da Silva (in Brazil, in 2002), respectively. The categories were coded in terms of topics as follows: (1) the victory; (2) the presidential office; (3) public service; (4) ideological war; (5) economy; (6) foreign policy; (7) the fall of prejudices; (8) personalization; and (9) winners and losers. The point is how the news magazines constructed the identities of these political figures, given their ‘Otherness’ (in the sense that they differed from mainstream politicians in the presidential office). Other issues analyzed are the way the press inserted itself within the political sphere of the two countries as well as examination of the news magazines’ ideologies.

The Victory

Obama is sympathetically portrayed by *Time* magazine in regards to his victory in the 2008 election. The magazine even inserts itself inside the communicative event. In the cover story on the night of his victory’s celebration, Obama’s reaction to the diversity of the country is symbolically emphasized. He is represented as a ‘conciliator’ of differences within the country. The text sets up a scenography of a fairy-tale type, and the ethos of the writer is of a story-teller. The article shows affinity and proximity between Obama’s discourse and the discourse of the magazine. Like Obama’s speeches during the campaigning, the article reinforces the American Dream and constructs for the readers

positions that are affectively inserted in the American national ideology. Obama's life story appears as a representation of the American Dream itself. By omitting the cultural and political polarization that occurred during the campaign, the magazine insists on a supposed unity of the American people. The ideological work of the text focuses on nationalism that joins together different types of cultures under the umbrella of 'the nation.' In this fairy-tale style narrative, Obama is represented as a type of 'prince charming' who appears to rescue the nation from hard times (which could be taken either as economic or cultural problematic times).

Veja's cover stories on Lula's victory can be taken as emblematic of how the Brazilian elites regarded a former lathe operator turned president-elect of Brazil. Lula is represented as a simple, rude, wild, uneducated man. His humble origins as a migrant from the Brazilian Northeast are emphasized. Particularly in this category, the individual figure of Lula is stressed to the detriment of his political party, the Workers Party. His victory is represented as the triumph of an idea and "a strong individual will." Lula's life story appears as a 'dream that comes true.' Because of his background as a common man, a symbiotic relationship with the populace can be established. The articles suggest that Lula's victory is proof of the democratic state of Brazilian institutions, meaning that democracy in Brazil is not merely rhetoric that saves the face of the elites who alternate in power. Whereas *Veja* presents itself as a guardian of the Brazilian democratic institutions, its primary aim is to preserve the hegemonic social order and the status quo. The texts imply that the economic elites who comprise the target audience of the magazine should stay tranquil because Lula will be an outsider as president, but only as a momentary exception to the rule of elites.

The two magazines have in common the fact they tried to represent the election of an outsider (because of the ethnic or social class background) to the presidential office as a historical circumstance and an assertion of the democracy in their respective countries. In both Brazil and the United States, the specific election of Lula and Obama was presented as a 'dream that came true.' On the one hand, in Brazil, where the myth of racial democracy predominates and a large number of people lived in social exclusion in 2002, the strength of democratic institutions are attributed to the realization of the myth of the self-made man, through Lula's ascension to the presidency. On the other hand, in the United States, where the myth of the self-made man is constantly evoked, democracy is said to be reaffirmed by the election of an African-American, a man from an ethnic background different from those who usually represented Americans. It is worth noting the different way each one of the magazines presented itself in the political context of the historical event. While *Time* magazine shows proximity with Obama's ideas and inserts itself in the political event, suggesting that it has contributed to the democratic process, *Veja* appears as a distant observer of Lula's election, a skeptical witness of the historic occurrence and, above all, a guardian of the social order and the status quo.

The Presidential Office

History and science are addressed by *Time* magazine on this topic. In one of the articles studied, the magazine proposes to deliver 'lessons of history' to the readers, by means of the voices of 'authorities,' professors and researchers from the field of history. Those lessons are related to the type of personality that can determine the success or failure of a president in times of crisis. The magazine suggests what features of

temperament are important to a president. The ethos of the writer is that of a counselor. The presidential office is represented to some extent as a performance on the 'stage' of history. The figure of Abraham Lincoln is recalled as a president who has a place that, within American history and the collective memory, is associated with Black political activism. The magazine constructs a similarity between Lincoln and Obama, leaving it clear that Obama's racial background matters. A second article constructs a scene of scientific research, a scenography of a laboratory experiment. History and science are used to challenge the meaning of experience, which is described as an abstraction. The credibility of statements on Obama's inexperience is questioned as irrational belief. The magazine emphasizes Obama's youth, leadership characteristics and charisma as well as his potential to learn.

In *Veja*, history and literature are used to construct a narrative about the presidential office. The presidential office is represented as a type of lineage and Lula is depicted as a stranger in the 'genealogy' of Brazilian presidents. The text is focused on rhetorical persuasion rather than on neutral information, and it gives a clue to the magazine trying to influence the electoral scene. The magazine implies an invisible, intangible, special source of power of a president. The power of a president is represented as somewhat "monarchic," such as a "divine right." A literary tone in the narrative reinforces the mystic atmosphere around the presidency. Historians are identified as sources for the article and used to legitimize the stories and anecdotes narrated. The magazine uses black and white instead of color photography for increasing the historical value and authority of the images presented. The scenography is that of tradition and unreachable world power. In this scene, Lula is the outsider who aspires to the position

he is not suitable for and changes his appearance in order to convince voters. In other words, the magazine suggests he is a fabricated leader who does not belong to the world of presidential power.

Both magazines individualize and personalize the presidential political system, stressing leadership, the command of the president over the rule of a political party or the people's will. Also, the two magazines appear to be trying to influence the electoral scene, although in different ways. Yet, both media use history and historians to legitimize their rhetoric. However, *Veja* adopts a literary tone, joining together history and literature as rhetorical strategy, whereas *Time* appeals to science (and history) to challenge the alleged inexperience of Obama. Thus, the two magazines gave evidence of the use of rhetorical strategies – *Veja* by representing Lula as a fabricated leader and a stranger in the 'aristocratic' lineage of Brazilian presidents and *Time* by emphasizing personal characteristics, such as charisma, over political experience.

Nevertheless, *Time* uses its rhetoric to concur with social change and foster the candidacy of an African-American politician, an outsider in the presidential office. The ethnic issue is approached by means of the figure of Abraham Lincoln, who is related by the magazine to Obama's candidacy. Differently, *Veja* refers to an invisible source of power of a president that is more linked with an elitist view of lineage and social class than with performance and charisma, such as *Time* suggests. Finally, *Time* asserts the national ideology in referring to American history to construct the article, while *Veja* does not show an ideological 'work' ruled by a [Brazilian] national ideology. On the contrary, *Time* magazine appeals to American history to build the narrative of the cover story.

Public Service

Time magazine fosters nationhood and the sense of belonging to a national community in this category. By appealing to the narrative of the American nation and using the discourse of a national culture, the cover story of September 22, 2008 nurtures nationalistic sentiments in the new generation of Americans, actualizing the invented traditions of American national culture. The scenography of the cover story is that of a calling to serve the nation, using the metaphor of military service. The magazine ideologically ‘works’ on the design of a multicultural society, whereby African-Americans share the same structure of feeling that characterizes the national culture. In addition, the magazine deals with the American national culture as a cultural commodity. In the magazine’s work of constructing national identities, Obama and McCain are presented as role models to the readership. Obama particularly is represented as a role model to inspire new generations of African-Americans.

In the area of public service, *Veja* commented on the future government of Lula as president-elect and the power structures of public administration in Brazil. The magazine deliberately diminishes its commitment with the announcement of the main figures of Lula’s team. The scenography mixes a theatrical scene and enterprise environment. The three staffers mentioned as the most prominent in the future government of the Workers Party – Antonio Palocci, Luiz Gushiken, and Jose Dirceu – are represented as carriers of the *Paulista*¹ identity. In this sense, the magazine suggests the continuation of the *Paulista* hegemony in the new government. Public service is represented as hierarchical and compared to the business environment, by using the

metaphor of an enterprise. By means of metaphor, the public administration and the Brazilian presidential system are again showed as an absolute, and to some degree a 'monarchical' form of power.

While *Time* rests on the national ideology to build a cover story, in this category, *Veja* focuses on the *Paulista* identity and on the hegemonic positions of the politicians from that state in the government. In both cases, there is a process of social construction of identities that is related to nation-making. In *Time*, nationhood is updated by means of narrative and the invented traditions within the text and the magazine negotiates the insertion of African-Americans in the national culture. *Veja* prioritizes a regional identity over a national one, by claiming the political hegemony of a regional group within the nation, the *Paulistas*. Both magazines ideologically work with an imagined community, the sense of belonging to a group, but it happens in very distinct ways in each publication, showing that journalism does not always work on a consensus about the idea of a national culture. In the Brazilian magazine, the consensus at stake is the hegemonic position of a region over the rest of the nation and the hierarchies of social class.

Ideological War

In this category *Time* magazine incorporated the nationalist ideology and also reaffirmed a national culture. The magazine evaluates current definitions of patriotism as wrong and tries to produce a new meaning of patriotism, constructing a narrative of the nation. The magazine posits itself in the nationalist landscape, nurturing the North American identity. The national symbols are presented as a motive for polemic between different groups of electors. *Time* implies a conflict between two narratives of the nation

(Republican and Democrat), and suggests a conciliatory third-way patriotism. The magazine indirectly condemns the ideological conflict between different forms of nationhood and suggests the centrist position as the most powerful. In brief, it opposes dissension and favors a consensus on the idea of nationhood. By teaching nationhood to the readers, *Time* shows how national symbols are used to construct community and to unite people around the system of cultural representations that makes the nation. Obama is represented as the candidate who personifies that third-way patriotism because of his mixed racial background, and as the one who can redeem the country's history of racism.

In this category, Lula's Workers Party is constructed by *Veja* as an ideological enemy and a threat to social order. Lula's victory is associated with problems coming from members of his political party. By means of rhetorical devices, the magazine manages to impose a negative view of the Workers Party, acting as a vehicle for the perspective of the wealthy elites of Brazil. *Veja* shows strong commitment to ideological positions of the economic elites, and the neoliberal market-driven discourse predominates in the text of the magazine. Through the text, the magazine evokes a war that is primarily ideological, placing socialism against capitalism. The texts of *Veja* on this topic give examples of the Brazilian press (represented by that medium) working to shape economic realities. The magazine ideologically works on the construction of economic reality from the viewpoint of neoliberal discourse. A scene of ideological war is constructed in the representations of the discourse of Workers Party's members, who are stigmatized by the magazine's texts. *Veja* ideologically works on a polarization between two political parties, the PSDB (Brazilian Social Democracy Party) and the PT (Workers Party). Lula

is represented as an outsider, one who breaks rules and deserves less deference than the former president-elects.

Both magazines try to influence the political opinion of the readership, but with a striking difference. While *Time* avoids overtly supporting one political party against the other, *Veja* clearly seems partisan, openly criticizing and negatively representing the Workers Party. *Time* ideologically works on a consensus on the idea of nation, trying to co-opt readers with different views on race and politics. The centrist position that the magazine advocates is grounded on a common national identity. In this case, the magazine presents a view more inclusive of national culture, in which people of diverse ethnic backgrounds fit. *Veja*, on the other hand, ideologically works on the political polarization, reducing political views to a fight of capitalism against socialism. Instead of trying to co-opt readers with diverse political views as *Time* does, the Brazilian magazine invests rhetorically in those ideological positions, which it demonstrates to be attached to and can be recognized by the usual readership.

As matter of fact, the American magazine is not neutral. Although not ostensibly partisan, *Time* favors the candidate of the Democratic party, by representing Obama as the personification of the American Dream and the redeemer of American racism. However, *Time* tries to produce social change by proposing an inclusive view of African-Americans in the context of the national culture and representing Obama as part of an American national identity. *Veja*, in contrast, appears to reinforce the status quo, acting as a vehicle for the perspective of the wealthy elites of Brazil. In this context, Lula is represented as the undesirable political leader, a representative of the working class and of the party that is depicted as the ideological enemy.

Economy

Two types of scenarios appear in *Time* magazine in this category. In both approaches to the economic crisis, the magazine suggests that it expects a political action from the future president. On the one hand, the magazine suggests an ideological shift in the political economy of the United States and defends a more active role of the state in the economy. Obama is the candidate who is identified with a more interventionist role of the state in the economy. The magazine construes his candidacy as an ideological rupture with the neoliberal characteristic of minimum state of Reagan's era. On the other hand, the magazine discourse appears connected with business discourse, revealing its bonds with the corporate world. The text of the magazine works rhetorically to naturalize the economic crisis and avoids the placement of blame on specific agents for the crisis, which is represented as an inevitable consequence of the American capitalist culture. In the two types of approaches, Obama is depicted as the best candidate to deal with the economic situation, either because of his cool temperament or because of his ideological identity defined as an alternative to the Republican economic policy.

In this category, *Veja* supports the interests and hegemonic aspirations of neoliberalism. The magazine ideologically works to promote the hegemony of neoliberal discourses in economy and politics, giving evidence of textual mediation between the voices of power and its readership. The reaction of the international bankers against Lula's leading in the polls is the dominant issue. The magazine naturalizes economics and the financial markets, transforming them into inevitable conditions developed without human agents. The market is portrayed as an entity with mood and emotions. The

text of the magazine focuses on class struggle and economy, opposing entrepreneurs and workers. It places ideological positions before readers, positions that foment doubts on Lula's steadiness. While the magazine shows bias against Lula's candidacy, it presents the candidate of the government's party, Jose Serra, as the candidate of the elite. Those ones who intend to vote for Lula are referred to as part of a 'mass.' The economists who are the sources for the magazine show disdain for the Brazilian people, revealing that the elite's prejudices arose during the birth of the nation remain to the present day. The text represents Lula as an actor giving performance and implies that he went through cosmetic changes determined by his publicist.

While *Veja* advocates neoliberalism and posits Lula's leading in the polls as a threat to the markets and to Brazilian finances, *Time* defends a more active role of the state in the economy and suggests an ideological shift in U.S. economic policies. Despite this difference, both magazines work to present naturalization of the economy and try to erase its agents. *Time* presents the U.S. economic crisis as a natural development. *Veja* deals with stock market flotation as if it were related to mood changes of a type of entity called "the market." Also, both newsweeklies show links with economic powers. In Brazil, *Veja* makes a textual mediation between the voice of the powerful and its readership. In the United States, *Time* reflects the business discourse and bonds with the corporate world. Thus, those media appear to act as allies of the corporate and financial worlds, and the economic discourse is shown to be colonizing the news discourse. It is worth noting that Obama is presented in electoral advantage for representing a rupture and an alternative to a failed economic policy whereas Lula is portrayed as a threat exactly for the changes that his election would impose to the Brazilian economy (in spite

of the fact that the country was facing financial trouble). Either way, the two magazines showed bias in the representation of the presidential candidates. Overtly partisan, *Veja* gives evidence of bias against Lula, but *Time* favors Obama with a very sympathetic portrait.

Foreign Policy

In this category, *Time* reproduces an ethnocentric and imperialist view of the Middle East, and prioritizes U.S. military action in the region. In such representations, the East appears as a big ‘Other’ to the western world. *Time* shows the ethnocentric stereotypical portrayal of the Third World that some scholars point out as a characteristic of the Western news discourse. According to these scholars, Western news discourse focuses on stereotypes and a few types of negative events, such as poverty, lack of (a specific type of) democracy, technological and cultural backwardness, for example.² The point is the ideological work concerning cultural hegemony that the magazine provides, representing democracy, technology, and other Western values as superior to those of other cultures. *Time* appears to be ideologically biased towards the military actions of the United States in Arab countries, exalting them and repeating clichés in the coverage of the Eastern countries. In layout and visual metaphors, it is possible to detect the presence of specific values of American culture, such as the will to conquer new territories and defeat enemies. The magazine focuses on the military strategy and invests in the representation of the U.S. President as a commander in chief. Obama is represented as a potential leader to solve the U.S. security issues, and emphasized as a defender of the interests of the nation.

Veja dealt with topics related to foreign policy and the creation of the Free Trade Area of the Americas by using an editorial tone for expressing opinion on economic policy and defending the neoliberal politics of the nineties. The text neither presents a defense of the Brazilian national interest nor nurtures a nation-building ideology. What prevails in the text is the neoliberal discourse of the business sector determining the priorities of the Brazilian state. The magazine highlights the FTTA and fosters economic globalization, despite the fact that the agreement could harm [Brazilian] national interest. The national ideology that *Veja* signals is one that contrasts the United States and Brazil to the disadvantage of the latter. The writers of *Veja* seem to buy into the construction of a discrediting image of Latin America in contrast with the image of superiority forged by Americanism after World War II. According to such an image, this ‘other’ America [South America] needed to learn the lessons of progress and capitalism to abandon its ‘inferior’ position.³ The text emphasizes the power of the U.S. economy and the leadership of George W. Bush. Lula’s identity is constructed in contrast to Bush’s identity, and the text emphasizes the different ideological standpoints of both politicians, opposing one another.

The ethnocentric and imperialist view of *Time* has similarities with *Veja*’s discourse. They have in common the presumption of superiority of Western-developed countries over either Third World or Latin American nations. There is an undercurrent of racism in the supposition of superiority of certain nations and peoples over others. The difference between *Time*’s and *Veja*’s approaches is the position of each magazine in the context of cultural hegemony. While the U.S. magazine fosters an image of superiority forged by Americanism, the writers of the Brazilian magazine are shown to be under the

influence of the American cultural hegemony. The ideological work of *Time* is focused on a sympathetic view of military intervention in Afghan territory. *Veja* ideologically works to emphasize globalization and neoliberalism. The key point to be stressed is how a native medium of a Latin American country reproduces ideas of superiority that nurtures the cultural hegemony of the United States. Also, there is evidence of Brazilian intellectuals [journalists] in conflict about the place of the nation and its people within the world. On the other hand, by contrasting Western democratic ‘tolerance’ with ‘backward’ intolerant cultures, U.S. journalists collaborate to drum up support for military actions in the Middle East.

The Fall of Prejudices

In this category, once again *Time* reproduces national ideologies, reinforcing the imagined community of ‘the nation’ and fostering a national consensus. The magazine works against racist ideologies that divide the United States through the Black/White dichotomy. However, the magazine denies racism among economic elites, attributing racist ideologies to the working-class electorate. According to some scholars, it is called “elite racism” when the elite denies racism among their own elite group but recognizes that others, especially poor, White people, may fail to be tolerant.⁴ By attributing racism to the working class, the magazine is ideologically working on the self-presentation of the country, avoiding “a moral indictment of the nation as a whole as racist.”⁵ It should be noted that the magazine works to reinforce the in-group identity of African-Americans as members of the national community, but it echoes racist ideologies toward immigrants. The racist ideology is grounded on the view of the world as divided between ‘Us’ and

‘Them,’ and the ‘Other’ is present. The text performs Obama’s defense against the accusations of being foreign and unpatriotic by claiming his identity as a Black American. Thus, Obama’s racial identity is invoked to legitimize his ‘Americanness.’ The magazine emphasizes nationalist rhetoric to the detriment of the Black diaspora, an identity based rather on ethnicity than on a country. On the one hand, the nationalist rhetoric of the magazine works for a national consensus and against a cultural division. On the other hand, it prevents the in-group solidarity among non-dominant groups by portraying working-class Whites as prejudiced.

In this category, *Veja* works ideologically to position its readers against Lula’s candidacy. Close to the 2002 presidential election and given the popular acceptance of Lula (indicated by the polls), *Veja* published a cover story that shifted the discussion from the candidate’s personal profile to the ideologies of his party. The magazine raises doubts about the Workers Party, as an oppositional political party at the time, having the necessary skills to occupy the Presidency. *Veja* borrows from authoritarian and conservative discourses inscribed in the culture and collective memory of the Brazilian people, such as the military and the Catholic Church, to directly confront the possibility that a leftist political party could take over the Brazilian executive branch. By means of rhetorical structures, the magazine doubts Lula’s ideological sincerity and invests in the textual construction of a relationship between him and the group of radicals of the party. The magazine uses rhetorical argumentation for expressing opinions and creating positions of an ideological nature for its interpreters. In this case, the position implies a prejudiced view of a leftist party, the Workers Party, and its working class candidate, Lula.

Time worked for a social change in the 2008 election and presented an inclusive view of the African-American population in the American national identity; however, it echoed elite racism when it attributes the racial prejudice to the White working class. Also, the magazine's text echoes racists ideologies towards immigrants insofar as it propagates national ideologies grounded on the existence of an 'Us' and 'Them,' dichotomy; that is, based on the establishment of the 'Other.' *Veja*, on the other hand, is primarily conservative and works against the possibility of a leftist party and its working class candidate attaining political power. The magazine politically positions its readers against the Workers Party, to the extent that the rhetorical structures of its texts lead the interpreters to negative evaluations. Once again, *Veja* appeared to be working ideologically to maintain the status quo and preserve the place of each social group within the Brazilian society. Therefore, the analysis of this category showed journalism, in both countries, disseminating prejudices particularly against the working class. Although this common point is shared, there are significant differences in the self-presentation of the two media studied, in Brazil and the United States. The U.S. newsweekly magazine sought to show a progressive face, supportive of change. The Brazilian magazine straightforwardly approached political ideologies, letting clear a partisan and conservative standpoint. *Veja* also showed signs of being linked to the autocratic and conservative history of political power in Brazil by making references in its text's vocabulary to the authoritarian past of the country under military rule and for using words from the semantic field of the Catholic Church.

Personalization

In this category, *Time* appears to be constructing an identity for Obama, by means of the figure of his White mother and his own persona as representative of a powerful male. The articles analyzed focused on Obama's personal story as well as on his public image and personality. The first sets up a scene of counseling, with the writer analyzing his statements on his mother. The second constructs Obama as an actor playing the role of an interpreter of the "American psyche" and representing "the face of the new America." Obama's identity is constructed as multicultural and cosmopolitan, fulfilling the demands of a globalized world, and according to the ideal reader of *Time* magazine. To obtain this effect, the magazine borrowed from dramaturgic, psychoanalytical, and therapeutic discursive genres. The articles presented gendered views, showing that the intended audience is composed primarily of males from the upper- and middle- classes. In the first cover story analyzed, motherhood is strategically used to create a sense of identification with Obama. In the second, the magazine emphasizes Obama's manliness and reinforces his male identity for the reader. In this category, the texts focused on Obama as an individual, thus inviting the readership to see him from this perspective rather than as a member of a social group, the African-American community. Also, there is evidence of the cult of the personality, with Obama's identity offered for consumption of the readers. It shows the magazine promoting an "aesthetization" of the political life.

In the analysis of *Veja*, this category brings a rare occasion in which the cover story focused on Lula's persona in the campaign coverage. Except for reports on his victory, *Veja* usually placed Lula out of sight as an individual and emphasized his ideological standpoints and political party. Lula is depicted as a product of electoral

marketing in the cover story illustrated by this category of analysis. The magazine uses a close up image to confront Lula with the reader, portraying him as a candidate always beaten in the electoral race, that is, as a loser. *Veja*'s representation of Lula takes for granted his defeat in the elections and proposes to reveal to the audience the 'dark side' of the candidate, who the magazine suggests is only following rules posed by his publicist when appearing nice and likeable in TV programs. This category shows the elitist view of the magazine toward its readership and the Brazilian people. By means of a textual style that is baroque and full of rhetorical devices, the magazine works on the political persuasion of the audience grounded on the supposed prestige and authority that it holds in the Brazilian society. The writers of the magazine present themselves as the holders of knowledge and deal with the readers as if they were passive receptors of the ideological work of the text. Lula and the Workers Party are once again related to leftist radical views by the text. In addition to representing Lula as an undesirable candidate for the elites, the magazine gives evidence that is biased towards the Cardoso administration.

The main differences between the magazines noted in this category are related to the writing style and journalistic approach. *Time* is focused on the personality of Obama and displays a style that transforms politics into a type of spectacle and that the politician is a celebrity whose identity is offered for the readers' consumption. *Veja* focuses on Lula's ideology and politics as an arena of power, with the writers addressing the audience as if journalists were the holders of the knowledge. By presenting its ideological views as ones to be taken seriously, the Brazilian magazine gives evidence that it tries to act as a political actor in the politics of Brazil. In this manner, *Veja* appears trying to reach public beyond its audience, attempting to reach occasional readers and

ideologically influence them, based on its prestige and supposed authority. *Time* invests in the “aesthetization” of politics, sometimes placing electoral campaign coverage on the same [narrative] footing as entertainment news. Thus, the U.S. magazine appears to be driven to a specific readership, composed of high and middle class males, members of the cosmopolitan elite. While in *Veja* Lula is construed as an undesirable candidate for the elites and portrayed as a loser, *Time* invests in creating a sense of identification of the readers with Obama, and constructs the identity of the candidate as a representative of the powerful male and the face of a younger and changed United States.

Winners and Losers

Time resorts to the discourse of entertainment to compose its cover story in this category. In the analysis of such a category, the magazine gives evidence of how the aesthetic aspects of politics and politicians’ public identities are embedded in U.S. society. Obama is represented in a relation of social affinity with the readers. Rhetorical and persuasive effects are identified in *Time*’s texts regarding this category. The magazine used vocabulary that addressed the showbiz angle. Besides, it stressed Michelle Obama’s presence in the representation of Obama, constructing his male identity by means of the feminine figure of his wife. The text constructs Obama as a winner against Clinton’s mistakes in the presidential campaign, which are pointed to by the magazine. By means of gendered views, Clinton is derided, particularly in the article by Joe Klein, and called a populist. Obama, on the other hand, is construed as a winner and an antithesis to the populism of Clinton. He is portrayed as a type of self-made man who

triumphed over adversity by means of education, and as an optimistic and anti-cliché winner.

In this category, *Veja* appears as if it were trying to influence the electoral process and foster a second round in the 2002 presidential election with an adversary to defeat Lula. The texts show a total disconnection of the magazine's journalists with ideologies of nation-building, national interest, and the construction of a national ethos. Instead, they suggest emulation of U.S. political institutions. It shows an ambivalent attitude of the intellectual elites regarding liberal institutions in Brazil. While those elites look for inspiration in the U.S. liberal principles, they ideologically work for the social order, assuming it dangerous to have the Brazilian people and institutions "left to their own devices."⁶ The magazine portrays the presidential office as an unreachable power position, suitable for a 'divine ruler.' Lula is construed as a vulnerable candidate, given his lack of formal education. As the candidate of the Workers Party and a representative of the working class, Lula is represented as someone who is not able to hold power by himself. *Veja* suggests that, in the case of Lula's victory, the important decisions of the office would be made by other political figures of his party, behind the scenes. Ideologically, the magazine positioned its reader in a stance against Lula's election. The electoral campaign is presented as a scene of attack and counter-attack, a fight in which the common enemy, for the presidential candidates and for the businesspeople of Rio and Sao Paulo, is Lula.

Both *Time* and *Veja* appear to be concerned with the presidential candidates as outsiders. *Time* appears to be backing Obama's candidacy whereas *Veja* suggests reaction against the victory of Lula in a first round. Also, in covering the presidential campaign,

the two magazines use rhetoric and persuasion, although they act differently in regards to the candidates. *Time* draws attention to the introduction of aesthetics in the political life and to the consumption of identity through the figure of Obama, but *Veja* also shows the presidential campaign as a type of show, following the media's script of a fight with attacks and counter-attacks. Both magazines present an elitist view and appear to be addressing an audience composed primarily by businesspeople. If *Veja* negatively portrays the Workers Party and Lula as a union leader, *Time* criticizes Clinton for supposedly populist positions. The main difference here is that while Obama is presented as the candidate to be identified with the aspirations of the readers, in *Time*, Lula is represented as the enemy to be defended against, in *Veja*. However, both stances show that *Time*'s and *Veja*'s are in tune with the thought of the economic elites.

Notes

¹ *Paulista* is a person who is born in the state of São Paulo.

² Teun van Dijk, *Discourse and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 131.

³ Antonio Pedro Tota, *The Seduction of Brazil: The Americanization of Brazil During World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 14.

⁴ van Dijk, *Discourse and Power*, 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁶ Afonso de Albuquerque, "Another 'Fourth Branch': Press and Political Culture in Brazil, *Journalism* 6, no.4 (2005): 487.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Some key points were addressed during the analysis of *Time* and *Veja* carried out in this dissertation. The primary one was how *Time* and *Veja* represented respectively Obama and Lula in the coverage of the presidential election. But other issues were examined, too. As this is a comparative study, the question of how journalism culturally differs in the two studied countries is another important topic of discussion. In this specific point, there is the question of how journalism inserts itself in the political context of the two countries (obviously, the results are limited to the media examined). Finally, underlying all this is the issue of the ideologies carried on by these news magazines in the coverage of political campaigns of the presidential candidates identified with ‘Otherness.’ The national ideologies and those ones related to representations of race, class and gender were topics for which the 24 cover stories of the corpus were scrutinized. Ideology backs all the major findings of this study, since discourse analysis was the methodology used.

Obama’s Portrayal

Summing up, it can be concluded that Obama was sympathetically portrayed by *Time*. Further, *Time* seems to have backed his candidacy. The president-elect was primarily represented as a ‘conciliator’ who symbolically reunites different Americas, ethnically and politically speaking. As a candidate, Obama was pointed out as the personification of a type of third-way patriotism. Because of his racial background, *Time* referred to Obama as the presidential candidate who could redeem America from its history of racism. The magazine worked for Obama’s candidacy when, for example, it

defended him from accusations of being unpatriotic by claiming his identity as a black American. In this matter, the magazine contributed to social change. It concurred with a particular view of the [American] national culture, one in which the African-American population is historically included.

Time also showed that it backed the Democratic candidate when it challenged Obama's supposed political inexperience and pointed out his youth, charisma and leadership as strong advantages in his favor. Yet, there was a cult of the personality around the figure of Obama in the coverage of the magazine. He had his male identity highlighted by the magazine portrayal. Obama was presented as a role model to inspire the newest generations of U.S. citizens, particularly African-Americans. As a matter of fact, Obama's identity was to some degree offered for the consumption of the readership. Portrayed as an anti-cliché winner and someone who triumphed over adversity by means of an education, he was also referred to as the ideal candidate to solve the country's economic problems and defend the interest of the nation in foreign affairs. To conclude, in all the twelve cover stories of *Time* which were analyzed, Obama is represented in a favorable fashion by the magazine.

Time did not officially endorse Obama's candidacy – as the *Washington Post* did, for example – but it admitted to the readers in its editorial in the issue following Obama's victory (the first article analyzed in this dissertation) that it focused the coverage of the presidential campaign on the themes and *the candidate* which defined it. The headline of this editorial read, “Ideas matter. In an exceptional election, we focused on the themes – and the candidate – that defined it. And in the end, democracy triumphed.” Such words in the headline just confirm what the textual analysis of the

cover story of that edition had already made plain: the magazine inserted itself in the political event, situating itself as an agent in service of democracy. It focused on the candidate that represented, in the magazine's editorial words, "the face of the new America," and "an enormous paradigm shift in their [people's around the world] perception of the U.S."

Consequently, the magazine did not claim to be neutral in the 2008 presidential election. On the contrary, it claimed to have acted in favor of democracy for having focused on the candidate that defined the election. Also, the magazine alleged to have forecast Obama's final victory. In an editorial (illustrated with many covers on Obama), Richard Stengel, the managing editor, stated, "In fact, in October 2006 – more than two years before Election Day and four months before Barack Obama even declared he was running – we forecast the final chapter: Joe Klein's prescient cover story, 'Why Barack Obama Could Be the Next President.'" The magazine justifies its focus on Obama as a standard of good and professional journalism itself. It claims that it had focused the coverage on what matters, that is, the themes and the candidate that defined the election, and even that it was able to forecast Obama's victory. In addition, it suggests that it followed the principles of watchdog journalism, by acting for the democracy and people's sovereignty. Evidence of this is the concluding sentence of the same editorial, reminding readers that "the highest office in a democracy is not that of President but that of citizen."

Assessing whether the magazine was neutral or not is important because the research was developed within the field of journalistic practice. The professional tenets, the instances of journalists doing their job and trying to fill the public expectation of

objective journalism are part of the journalism history in the U.S. and points of research for many scholars in the field.¹ The literature review chapter addressed the issue of journalistic objectivity in U.S. journalism history. Nevertheless, this dissertation chose a methodology which is rooted in language studies, the discourse analysis. From this viewpoint, the work carried out here had as its starting point the concept that the discourse is never neutral. In other words, in this dissertation, discourse *is* a mode of political and ideological practice. Fairclough put it this way: “Discourse as a political practice establishes, sustains and changes power relations, and the collective entities (classes, blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations obtain. Discourse as an ideological practice constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations.”² So, the key point of this dissertation was *how* the news discourse acted politically and ideologically during the presidential campaign. To put it differently, what kind of power relations have those media established, or sustained, or yet contributed to change during the presidential campaign?

In terms of language, the analysis pointed out the magazine contributing to social change when backing Obama’s candidacy. Backing the candidacy of an outsider and portraying him as an insider, the magazine’s discourse worked to change mentalities and views of African-Americans’ roles in the context of American history. This change is related to the representations of the nation and Obama during the campaign, and to the insertion of African-Americans in the narrative of the nation and nationhood. The news discourse contributed to change power relations in this aspect. However, it does not mean that the magazine did not ideologically sustain hegemonic positions on class, gender and even race. As the analysis of some articles revealed, there was a shift in racist

ideologies, from the black population to other ethnic groups, especially those ones regarded as foreigners. The working class also was often referred to in a negative way. As Fairclough notes, language and, consequently, the media can contribute to social change, even when they attempt to maintain hegemonic social structures. He asserts, “Discourses are tactical elements or blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy.”³ In fact, there is a tension and a constant conflict in discourse. Quoting Michel Foucault, Fairclough observes that discourse “is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.”⁴ The results of the analysis of *Time*’s coverage of the 2008 presidential campaign reflect Fairclough’s observations.

Nationhood and Ideologies

The point of ideologies addressed in this dissertation can be summarized [concerning the U.S] in a question as follows: what significations of the world have *Time*’s discourse constituted, naturalized and sustained, or contributed to change through the coverage of the presidential campaign studied? Particularly regarding the issue of national ideology, the signification of the world can be narrowed to ‘significations of the nation.’ As Stuart Hall explains, a national culture is a *discourse* and the narrative of the nation is told and retold in national histories, literatures, *the media* and popular culture.⁵ Also, according to Hall, “the media are among the institutions whose practices are most widely and consistently predicated upon the assumption of a ‘national consensus.’ The

analysis of *Time*'s text from this viewpoint found that the magazine nurtured nationalistic sentiments and worked on a national consensus in the U.S. society. Furthermore, the magazine incorporated patriotism and reaffirmed a nationalist culture.

Time appealed to the historic narrative of the American nation and used the discourse of the national culture in most of the cover stories examined. By means of the 'subject positions' that the texts constructed, readers were affectively inserted in the narrative of the nation that the magazine offered. The magazine reinforced the myth of the American Dream, by means of Obama's life story, which appeared as a representation of the American Dream itself. The magazine fostered a national consensus. In doing so, it avoided cultural and political polarization during the presidential race and invested in the unity of the American people, representing different cultures under the umbrella of 'the nation.' The magazine ideologically worked on a representation of the United States as a nation in which African-Americans are part of the structure of feeling that characterizes the American national culture. The figure of Abraham Lincoln, for example, was remembered as a president who has a place in the American collective memory and was associated with freedom for African-Americans.

In the representations of race, gender and class, the magazine appeared to contribute to change; however it reproduced traditional relations of power in some aspects. Although the magazine's discourse struggles against the black/white dichotomy dividing the U.S national culture, it echoed racist ideologies towards immigrants and those from foreign countries. For example, the magazine reproduced an ethnocentric and imperialist view of the Eastern world and Eastern peoples. The East is represented as a big 'Other' to the Western world. The magazine appeared to ideologically promote the

cultural hegemony of western values, which were represented as superior to the values of other cultures.

It is worth noting that the magazine denied racism among economic elites and attributed racist ideologies to the working-class electorate. In this sense, Obama's identity was constructed as multicultural and cosmopolitan, that is, he was the ideal candidate to fulfill the demands of a globalized world and of the readers who were signaled as members of the economic elite. There is evidence that the magazine reflects the thought of economic elites in its rhetoric, which is connected with business discourse. It worked to naturalize the economic crisis and represent it as an inevitable consequence of the American capitalist culture, avoiding the identification of specific agents for the situation. In addition to negative references to working class people, the magazine showed gendered views on its texts, such as the emphasis on the manliness of Obama (in which, the figure of Michelle Obama appears as essential to highlight this characteristic) and the stereotypical portrayal of Obama's mother.

Lula's Portrayal

Different from *Time* magazine in the treatment of Obama, *Veja* did not spotlight the figure of Lula in the 2002 presidential election of Brazil. The Brazilian magazine ideologically worked *against* Lula's candidacy, backing the government's party and the candidates who could be adversaries of Lula in a probable second round (which did not happen, in the end, since Lula won in first round). The magazine many times highlighted the political party of Lula, the Workers Party, suggesting that, as an oppositional party, it would not be ready to occupy the executive branch, and warning against the influence of

its radical members. The so-called radicals of the party were constantly linked with Lula within the text of the magazine. But if during the campaign the magazine avoided spotlighting the figure of Lula, after Lula became the president-elect, it attributed his victory to individual will, emphasizing the personality over the political party and ideologies. This stance shows the preoccupation of the magazine with the ideological issues and the changes in the nature of the ideologies of those ones in political power, given the election of Lula.

However, despite the obvious political views that *Veja* posited, the magazine never officially endorsed a candidate against Lula. It never officially recommended Jose Serra, the candidate of the Brazilian Social Democracy Party, which was currently in power. *Veja*'s political views invariably presented a favorable opinion on the administration of the president at the time, Fernando Henrique Cardoso. It should be noted that this posture did not change with the victory of Lula. The cover story on Lula's victory shows an approach that favors Cardoso's administration, emphasizing the democratic achievements of his government. The election of Lula is presented as a proof of the success of Cardoso's administration.

This posture of trying to seem neutral by not endorsing a political candidate is a common attitude of the Brazilian media, despite the fact that the editorial content often favors or appears to be against specific politicians and particular political parties. This standpoint may sound like a paradox since, in Latin America, news media have been traditionally founded for political purposes rather than for business.⁶ However, it is exactly expected neutrality and impartiality, that is, the 'aura' of journalistic objectivity in the pursuit of the truth, that lends the media authority and legitimization to act as

political players. By claiming to be grounded on the tenets of objective and investigative journalism, the Brazilian news media attribute to themselves a political power greater than those of other institutions.⁷

It was based on that form of power that the magazine placed itself as a watchdog not for the people's sovereignty but for the social order and the hierarchies of power, always warning of the danger of having Lula in the presidential office. In the coverage of his inauguration, the magazine scrutinized Lula's behavior and alerted readers to the risk of his symbiotic relationship with the populace. Lula was represented as a simple, rude, uneducated man and his humble origins as a migrant from the Brazilian Northeast were stressed by the magazine. Given Lula's background, the magazine alleged that his election meant that, in Brazil, democracy was more than just a façade behind elites that alternate in power. Simultaneously, the magazine appeared to reassure the readers that the hegemonic social order and the status quo would be preserved. In this sense, Lula is portrayed as the outsider who aspires to presidential power, leading a world to which he did not belong. The magazine ideologically worked to keep the political hegemony of the state of Sao Paulo and its politicians foremost in the articles related to the future presidency. The Workers Party was constructed as an ideological enemy and the probable victory of Lula was associated with a threat to social order. Lula was construed as a fabricated leader, who only followed the recommendations of his publicist and was susceptible to the influence of the members of his political party.

Lula had his ideological views questioned in all the cover stories of the magazine, during the campaign and after the announcement of his victory. In Lula's first personal profile by the magazine for the 2002 presidential campaign, he is represented as an

inevitable loser, a candidate who was trying for the fourth time and who again would be defeated in a second round. In fact, the magazine acted rhetorically to position the reader against Lula's election in the coverage. Among the language resources that the magazine uses are the metaphors, ironies and lexicon of authoritarian and conservative discourses inscribed in the collective memory of the Brazilian people, such as the military and the Catholic Church. Displaying a conservative view toward the election of a representative of the working class, *Veja* established and sustained relations of power that maintained the hegemony of the wealthy elites of Brazil. Acting as a mouthpiece of these elites, the magazine presented Lula as an undesirable candidate insofar as he challenged the social hierarchies. Furthermore, Lula was even represented as an enemy to be defended against.

Ideologies and the Nation

Although the myth of racial democracy has been kept alive in the minds of the people that constitute the Brazilian society, it is a fact that Brazil, as other American nations, was a national community formed with slavery. As a result, hierarchies of race, gender and class inevitably molded the [Brazilian] national community. In the historical context chapter of this dissertation, it was explained how Brazilian intellectual elites of the nineteenth century conceived the nation and its population, and how they were rooted in European standards and influenced by social evolutionist thought. During this analysis of *Veja*, it was discovered that journalists of the magazine presented concepts and ideas that reflect the wishes of the intellectual elites of the abolitionist and post-abolitionist eras, that is, showing a nation with "a more respectable national pedigree."⁸ These findings show the persistence of social hierarchies from the slavery age in the deep

structures of Brazilian society and, what is more important to this analysis, in the everyday practice of journalism.

Such concepts appeared in the cover stories that referred to examples from U.S. history, suggesting emulation of U.S. political principles. More clearly, they were raised in the foreign policy category, in which the article contrasts Brazil with the United States, always pointing to the disadvantage of the former. *Veja*'s journalists bought into the discrediting image of Latin America which was forged by Americanism as a contrast with the image of superiority of the North American. Therefore, a native medium of Latin America appears reproducing ideas that nurture the cultural hegemony of the United States. The findings also point to an ambivalent attitude of the journalistic elites of Brazil. Journalists of the magazine looked for inspiration in the liberal rhetoric of the United States and the magazine many times presented itself as a guardian of the democratic institutions of the country. However, they gave evidence that they see those institutions and the people as incapable of acting on their own, a position that contradicts the liberal rhetoric.

Also, a primary concern in the texts of the magazine was the preservation of the status quo and the hegemonic social order. Many times, the articles evoked the class struggle, opposing entrepreneurs and workers and referring to an ideological war between capitalism and socialism during the presidential campaign. In that landscape, the Workers Party of Lula was stigmatized, often recalled as a party formed by radical groups. Those representations showed a prejudiced view of the leftist party and its working class candidate. Furthermore, the magazine presented the working classes as dangerous classes, a threat to social order. Surely, these views displayed by the magazine reflect a

treatment of the working classes that has origins in the slavery system, and show the elites themselves with a colonial way of thinking.⁹

This colonial way of thinking was made clear in the way that the magazine deals with regional issues. The magazine prioritized a regional identity over a national one, since it supported the political hegemony of the state of Sao Paulo and its citizens, the *Paulistas* within the national context. The magazine neither nurtured nationalistic sentiments nor advocated the national interest. On the contrary, the texts suggested the neoliberal discourses determining priorities of the Brazilian state. It was from the viewpoint of the neoliberal discourses that the magazine constructed economic reality. By working for the hegemony of the neoliberal discourses, *Veja* gave evidence of making a textual mediation between the voices of power and the readers. The analysis also gave clues to the magazine trying to reach and persuade an audience larger than the usual readership, based on the supposed prestige and authority of its texts. The journalists of the magazine present themselves as holders of the knowledge, dealing with the readers as if they were passive receptor of the ideological content of their texts.

These findings confirm the claims of researchers dealing with Brazilian history and journalism, which were addressed in the literature review and historical context chapters of this work, such as Barbara Weinstein, Afonso de Albuquerque, Marialva Barbosa and Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro. To conclude, it is worth noting that the analysis showed the news discourse, in *Veja*, still struggling to show the dominance of certain views and representations of the Brazilian society. There was not a [national] ‘consensual’ view of the Brazilian society in the articles by *Veja*, and the magazine emphatically propagated the hegemony of specific discourses. These facts suggest that

there was room for discursive change from the ‘orders of discourses’ that circulated in Brazilian society to alternative social discourses and narratives of the nation. This can be one explanation for the victories of Lula in the first and second terms, in spite of the total opposition of the Brazilian mainstream media to his candidacy.

Journalism in Two Americas

The findings of the analysis show both news magazines, *Time* and *Veja*, involved with representations of the nation and with the historical narrative, but in very distinct ways. *Veja* did not foster a nationalistic sentiment as *Time* clearly did. Instead, it invested in the hegemony of one regional group over the rest of the nation, reproducing a colonial way of thinking inside the country. Here, this is called colonial in the sense that it aims at the superiority of one region over others. These findings contrast with the claim that journalism is predicated upon the assumption of a ‘national consensus,’ as Stuart Hall once alleged.¹⁰ In Latin America, more specifically in Brazil, the news media seem to be established rather on the aspirations of the elites than on a national consensus. However, the findings are in agreement with another claim by Hall’s works, the one that the media do in fact, in the ‘last instance,’ reproduce the definitions of the powerful.¹¹ This specific point applies to the journalism of both media outlet investigated.

In *Time*, the analysis showed feelings of national belonging being articulated in the form of discourses that include but also exclude groups of people. By the manner in which the nationalistic sentiments are evoked in *Time*’s coverage of the presidential campaign, with the magazine always working for a consensus about *the national culture*, journalistic practice appears as a tool for the constitution of national ideologies.

Additionally, the emphasis on unity and the disregard of cultural divisions in the U.S. society reveal the American magazine ideologically acting for the hegemony of ‘the national’ and imposing certain views on what is the U.S. culture. The non-official support of Obama’s candidacy seems to be part of the ideological work that the magazine invested in for the hegemony of the national. In this sense, the news discourse would be echoing the advances obtained by the African-American population through years of fighting; a fighting that showed results when this population started to claim rights in the context of the national, as the historical context chapter of this dissertation argued.

The textual analysis also allowed for a contrast of the homogeneity of the texts in *Veja* with the emphasis on authorship in *Time*. The articles of *Veja* repeated concepts, ideas and rhetorical devices, that is, they were very similar in form and language style. *Time*, on the other hand, prioritized the authorship of individual articles, displaying different writing styles, according to the writer who signed the individual stories. From my point of view, this points to a depersonalization and, consequently, disempowerment of the figure of the professional journalist in Brazil. Simultaneously, it suggests emphasis on the power of the medium, as “the authority” and political player, in Brazil. In the United States, perhaps because of the rhetoric of valuing the individuality, the style of individual journalists is seen inside the pages of the newsweekly.

In terms of journalistic language, it is worth noting that both *Time* and *Veja* appealed to rhetoric and persuasive devices in their coverage, by means of visuals or written text. Such a finding spotlights journalistic objectivity as one of the myths of the profession. Also, *Time* magazine often resorted to the entertainment genre in the coverage of the presidential campaign, revealing a strong process of ‘aesthetization of politics’ in

the news discourse in the United States. In the U.S. magazine, the presidential campaign was reported as a type of spectacle and Obama was displayed as a celebrity whose identity was offered for the consumption of the readers. The coverage of *Veja* was more centered on the political parties and their movements in the political arena. However, the Brazilian magazine reproduces in its coverage the media's dominant metaphor of war when referring to political campaigns. Besides, *Veja* portrayed figures representative of the business and financial worlds in a way that their identities are offered for the consumption of the readers in the same manner as *Time* did with Obama. These findings suggest that there are 'frames' which are universal in journalism around the world and already a part of the journalistic practice.

Intended Contributions and Limitation

As a study on the journalistic language, this dissertation aimed at three main contributions. First, it intended to make journalists more conscious of the implications of language choices in the practice of the profession, and readers more attentive to the process of text consumption. In regard to this point, it was intended to draw attention to the social forces, power relations and ideologies that shaped the coverage of the presidential campaigns. Specifically in the case of the presidential campaigns of Obama and Lula, which this dissertation examined, the work endeavored to contribute to the elucidation of the news discourse concerning the candidacy of politicians regarded as 'outsiders' to the presidential offices. This was done by comparing the news coverage of both presidential campaigns in two leading news magazines.

Second, it was hoped to make some contribution to the studies of how journalism interact with nationalism; how it fosters a sense of belonging to a national community and articulates national ideologies within a text; and how the representations of the nation in news media are intertwined with reproduction or changes in the social field. Finally, as a comparative study in journalistic field, it can provide elucidation in terms of how journalism differs according to the nation in which it is practiced, especially concerning its language and political role in the societies approached by the analysis; and about the role played by journalists and the discourses that they disseminate in the daily practice of journalism.

This study was limited by the methodology used, discourse analysis. Although focusing on historical evidence besides the textual analysis of the corpus, this study did not contemplate the reaction of readers to the material analyzed. Obviously, all the meanings of the texts analyzed depend fundamentally on the work of interpretation that readers have done. They are not passive receptors of the content and alternative readings are possible. This study was essentially of interpretative character by one researcher. Future research on the reception of the texts analyzed by general readers would be interesting to complement this work.

Notes

¹ Steven Knowlton, "Introduction: A History of Journalistic Objectivity," in *Fair & Balanced: A History of Journalistic Objectivity*, eds. Steven Knowlton and Karen Freeman (Northport: Vision Press, 2005), 3-5.

² Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 67.

³ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

⁵ Stuart Hall, "The Question of Cultural Identity," in *Modernity and its Future: Understanding Modern Societies, Book IV*, eds. Stuart Hall, David Held, and Tony McGrew (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 292-293.

⁶ Ana Paula Goulart Ribeiro, *Imprensa e História no Rio de Janeiro dos Anos 1950* (Rio de Janeiro: e-papers, 2007), 165.

⁷ Marialva Barbosa, *História Cultural da Imprensa, Brasil: 1900-2000* (Rio de Janeiro, Mauad, 2007), 185.

⁸ Thomas C. Holt, "Foreword: The First New Nations," in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Roseblatt (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), xiii.

⁹ Kim Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition Sao Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick: Rutgers, 1998), 24.

¹⁰ Stuart Hall et al., eds., *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), 55.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 57.

Glossary

aesthetization of politics. The ‘aesthetization’ of fields such as politics or business is the shift away from these fields as operating according to purely rational principles, and the tendency for both social agents within them and analysts of them to attend more to their aesthetic aspects.

aesthetization of public identities. The aesthetization of public identities is the more-or-less self-conscious construction of public identities (e.g. the identities of politicians, leading businessmen) to create particular ‘images.’ Text analysis can contribute to researching this process (and more general processes of ‘aesthetizing’ social life, including everyday life) by analyzing aesthetic (including ‘rhetorical’) aspects of texts and values in texts.¹

anaphora. Use of a grammatical substitute (like a pronoun or a pro-verb) to refer to the denotation of a preceding word or group of words. The relation between a grammatical substitute and its antecedent. In linguistics, anaphora is also used to designate the *repetition* of words in the beginning of successive phrases with the rhetorical purpose of emphasizing what has been said.

cataphora. Grammatical situation in which a substitute word (e.g. pronoun) precedes the word to which it refers.

clause. A clause may be a simple sentence, as opposed to a complex sentence which combines a number of clauses (e.g. ‘she was late’ is a clause, ‘she was late because the train broke down’ is a complex sentence which includes the clause ‘she was late’).²

deixis/ deictic function. In pragmatics and linguistics, deixis (Greek: display, demonstration, or reference, the meaning "point of reference" in contemporary linguistics) is a process whereby words or expressions rely absolutely on context. A word that depends on deictic clues is called a *deictic* or a *deictic word*. The words *this*, *that*, and *those* have a *deictic* function.

discourse. A practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning.³ It is used by social researchers, following Foucault, to talk of the power of language to shape society and culture.⁴

discursive formation. The accumulated and interlinked statements about a topic, which between them comprise a particular way of talking and thinking that shapes how we understand the topic, and which sets the terms for more statements on the topic.⁵

discourse genre. A genre is a way of acting in its discourse aspect – for instance, there are various genres of interviews such as job interviews. Based on the classical literary division of texts into poetry, prose and drama, genre describes the different language use appropriate to different social activities.

enunciation. Verbal enunciation is the act of speaking. Enunciation is to specifically communicate. Term used by the 'French school' of discourse analysis to designate the communicative event.

enunciator. One who enunciates, who states, that is, the speaker (or writer). This term is adopted by the discourse analysts who follow French scholarship.

ethos. *Ethos* is connected to the overall moral character and history of the speaker. In rhetoric, *ethos* is one of the three modes of persuasion discussed by Aristotle in *Rhetoric* as a component of argument. At first speakers must establish *ethos*. He expressedly

remarks that *ethos* should be achieved only by what the speaker says, not by what people think of his character before he begins to speak.

genre mixing. A text is not simply 'in' a genre. Texts often mix or hybridize different genres. Genre mixing is an aspect of the *interdiscursivity* of texts, and analyzing allows us to locate texts within processes of social change and to identify the work of social agents. ⁶

genre chains. Different genres which are regularly linked together, involving systematic transformations from genre to genre (such as official documents and press releases). Genre chains are an important factor in the enhanced capacity for 'action at a distance' which has been taken as a feature of 'globalization.'⁷

grammatical metaphor. An extension of the usual word-based concept of metaphor to grammar. ⁸

hegemony. A particular way (associated with Antonio Gramsci) of conceptualizing power and the struggle for power in capitalist societies, which emphasizes how power depends on consent or acquiescence rather than just force, and the importance of ideology. ⁹

heterogeneity. The same as polyphony. It can be evident, which is also called 'manifest intertextuality' by some authors, such as Fairclough. Or it can be constitutive, as the traces of other texts do not directly quote or allude to other texts.

hibridity. Accounts of contemporary social life stress the blurring and breakdown of the boundaries characteristic of 'modern' societies, and the pervasive hybridity (mixing of practices, forms, etc.) which ensues. ¹⁰

iconic. Signs such as images which are like the things they are representing, as opposed to symbolic signs, where the link between the signifier and the idea is conventional.

Barthes noted that iconic signs are also, however, symbolic, as even objective records such as photographs are posed according to social conventions.¹¹

ideology. Ideologies are representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. Analysis of texts is an important aspect of ideological analysis and critique.¹²

ideational function. Also called representational function. In Halliday's grammar, part of the function of any piece of text is to represent some object or idea, at the same time it performs *interpersonal* and textual functions.

interdiscursivity. The constitution of a text from a configuration of text types or discourse conventions.

interpersonal function. In Halliday's grammar, any piece of text is about establishing a relationship between the speaker and the hearer (or writer and reader, etc.) at the same time as it is about communicating some content.¹³

intertextuality. It is basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth.¹⁴

legitimation. Any social order requires legitimation – a widespread acknowledgment of the legitimacy of explanations and justifications for how things are and how things are done. Much of the work of legitimation is textual. Textual analysis can identify and research different strategies of legitimation – by reference to authority or utility, through narrative, and so forth.¹⁵

lexis/lexical items. Content-carrying words and phrases.¹⁶

metaphor. A figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them (as in *drowning in money*) *broadly* : figurative language.

metonym. A word or image which is able to stand for another, because it is analogous to it in some aspect, but is not usually connected with it. It therefore works rhetorically to emphasize that aspect.¹⁷

modality. The term ‘modality’ comes from linguistics and refers to how the speakers commit themselves in terms of truth with the statements they give about the world.¹⁸ Traditionally, the grammar of modality focuses on *modality markers* such as the auxiliary verbs (must, may, will, should, can) which can be used to give indications of the truth value of the statements. Kress and Leeuwen assert that the concept of modality is equally essential in accounts of visual communication, because “visuals can represent people, places and things as though they are real, as though they actually exist in this way, or as though they do not.”¹⁹

modality markers. They are the signs of language that tell listeners (or readers, etc.) how much the speaker vouches for or attaches him or herself to what is being said.²⁰

multimodal. Kress and van Leeuwen argue that all texts, whether words written down or images on a screen, are made up of multiples modes (image, sound, word, smell, texture, colour) and that contemporary texts (such as glossy brochure) are increasingly multimodal.²¹

naturalistic. Representing what is real; also *realistic*.

nominalization. Nominalization is a type of *grammatical metaphor* which represents processes as entities by transforming clauses (including verbs) into a type of noun.

Nominalization often entails excluding social agents in the representation of events. It is a resource for generalizing and abstracting which is indispensable in, for instance, science, but can also obfuscate agency and responsibility.²² For example, ‘there was much criticism’ instead of ‘x criticized y a lot.’²³

polyphony. In Mikhail Bakhtin’s view of language, which is part of critical discourse analysis, all texts (written as well as spoken) set up in one way or other relations between different ‘voices.’

presupposition. Presuppositions are propositions which are taken by the producer of the text as already established or ‘given,’ and there are various formal cues in the surface organization of the text to show this.

reactional process. Kress and Leeuwen see images as configured by visual conventions that work as a type of language code, a visual grammar. They classify pictures in terms of processes. For example, when in a picture there is a vector formed by an eyeline (by the direction of the glance of one or more of the represented participants), the process is *reactional*.

reactor. In the analysis of photos, Kress and van Leeuwen describe the reactor as the active participant (one of the persons who appear in the image) whose look, in a reactional process, creates an eyeline. The reactor is the participant who does the looking.²⁴

reader model. Also called *ideal reader*. The term refers to an idealized, generalized, generic and abstract, typical intended reader. Thus, it means an *idealized* member of the target audience, not an *authentic reader*. As Maingueneau explains, because the press

articles are written for a large number of readers, the addressee, or receiver, is (even before being part of an *empiric audience*, that is, the total of individual who will *really* read the text) a kind of *image* to whom the writer should attribute some skills that will allow the understanding of the texts and the accomplishment of the communicative act.²⁵

reported speech. Indirect speech, words of another person reported by someone else but not using the exact words.

scene of enunciation. Each type of discourse implies a specific scene: roles for partners (writer and reader in news discourse, for example) in the communicative event, the event itself (including a method for inserting the event in space and time), support material, a method of distribution, a goal, etc. It implies seeing the communicative event as a type of performing act. The *generic scene* is prescribed by the discourse genre.²⁶

scenography. Scenographies are determined according to the content of discourse. Each text constructs its own scenography (or multiple scenographies) by means of the use of language resources, such as vocabulary, types of narratives, etc., which proceeds from the choices of discourse producers. In a scenography are associated a certain representation of the speaker, of the addressee, of the place and the moment of discourse, and a given use of language.²⁷

semiotics. The study of sign processes (semiosis), or signification and communication, signs and symbols both individually and grouped into sign systems. It includes the study of how meaning is constructed and understood.

speech act. The notion of the speech act is a technical term in linguistic and the philosophy of language. Broadly, it is the use of language to perform some act.

syntagm. syntactic string of words that forms a part of some larger syntactic unit.

text: any object that is symbolic – it carries meaning – and can therefore be analyzed by semiotic or discourse analytic methods. Texts range from news articles to pictures to Sony Walkmen.²⁸

textual function: in Halliday's grammar, every bit of text contributes to the whole through the way it takes part in an overall organization of the message.

Notes

¹ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 212.

² Ibid., 213.

³ Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 64.

⁴ Donald Matheson, *Media Discourses: Analysing Media Texts* (New York: Open University Press, 2005), 178.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 216.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 217.

⁹ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 218.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 179.

¹² Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 218.

¹³ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 179.

¹⁴ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 84.

¹⁵ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 219.

¹⁶ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 180.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 219.

¹⁹ Gunter Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 161.

²⁰ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 180.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse*, 220.

²³ Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 27.

²⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 64.

²⁵ Dominique Maingueneau, *Analise de Textos de Comunicacao* (Sao Paulo: Cortez, 2004), 47.

²⁶ Dominique Maingueneau, "Analysing Self-Constituting Discourses." *Discourses Studies 1*, no.2 (1999): 191.

²⁷ Ibid., 191-192.

²⁸ Matheson, *Media Discourses*, 182.

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