

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES FOR AN ANALYSIS ON THE GLOBAL SEMANTICS OF JOURNALISTIC UTTERANCES¹

NOTAS METODOLÓGICAS PARA UMA ANÁLISE DA SEMÂNTICA GLOBAL DE ENUNCIADOS JORNALÍSTICOS
NOTAS METODOLÓGICAS PARA UN ANÁLISIS DE LA SEMÁNTICA GLOBAL DE LOS ENUNCIADOS PERIODÍSTICOS

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ABSTRACT:

This article discusses the possibilities and potentiality of applying concepts from Discourse Analysis (DA), namely, the notion of “global semantics of discourse” by Dominique Maingueneau (2008), to *corpora* of journalistic texts. As such, it investigates the coverage of International Women's Day from 1978 to 2018 by Brazilian newspapers. The insight shows the consolidation of characteristics that appear in different fields of journalistic utterances regarding the condition of women, suggesting a certain recent stabilization in this theme's coverage, as well as highlighting the relevance of French DA propositions for the purpose of Journalistic studies.

KEYWORDS: Journalism; Discourse Analysis; Global semantics; Female condition; International Women's Day.

Introduction

In the introduction of the Brazilian version of *Genèses du discours*, by French linguist Dominique Maingueneau, Sírio Possenti asserts that the book discusses the founding concepts of Discourse Analysis, whilst – by not examining the nature of meaning and its relationship with language – proposing a *less linguistic* or *less grammatical* approach when compared to discourse analysts in general. On the one hand, Maingueneau is closer to Foucault than to Althusser or Lacan, for instance; on the other, by understanding that all discourse is characterized according to *global semantics*, he assesses the *utterance* – comprehended not as an oral or written sentence, but as the very textual surface itself (Possenti, 2008).

Genèses du discours gave light to a new way of analyzing discourse which simultaneously took into account insight obtained by the group work with Pêcheux (for whose theory the consideration of historical factors which influenced discourse is likely the main element) and added certain aspects that affected discourse beyond the

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straightforward relationship between language and history (Possenti, 2008, p. 9).²

As Dominique Maingueneau wrote in the preface to the Brazilian version of *Genèses du discours*:

For me, this book is particularly important, since, for the first time, I have ventured on a theoretical and methodological endeavor. The risk was higher on account of the work supporting itself on a *corpus*, which, by then, was particularly exotic for discourse analysts. In 1980's France, the conjecture was much different than today's – and not at all favorable to discourse analysis. Textual analysis was dominated by semiotics; linguistic analysis, by generative grammar, and the French School of Discourse Analysis was in a state of crisis, undermined by the reflux of Marxism and psychoanalysis (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 12).³

Although not bearing incompatible or antagonistic conceptualizations, Maingueneau's (2008) take on the concepts of *discourse* and *discourse formation* are rather particular when regarding Michel Foucault's (2008, 2012) propositions. In fact, as Maingueneau pointed out, the notion of "discourse" is open to a wide variety of meanings, much alike its correlate "discourse analysis". Furthermore, the method in which Maingueneau delineates these concepts represents a form of "operationalizing" theoretical constructs, which, according to Foucauldian thinking, are often too encompassing.

Its stated purpose is to distance itself both from the perspective that by analyzing textual functionality ends up privileging significant structures, as well as the approach that sacrifices textuality in the name of historical hermeneutics, which, in an attempt to visualize the *unsaid* one wishes to interpret, unravels the utterances. Maingueneau (2008) states, then, to be interested in constituting an analytical method capable of housing historicity in addition to textuality, since discourse constitutes objects as simultaneously "integrally linguistic" and "integrally semiotic":

² Our translation from Portuguese: "*Gênese dos discursos* deu forma a um modo de fazer análise do discurso que levou em conta ao mesmo tempo os ganhos do grupo que trabalhou com Pêcheux (para cuja teoria a consideração dos fatores históricos que afetam o discurso é provavelmente o elemento principal) e acrescentou certos aspectos que afetam a discursividade para além da relação direta entre a língua e a história".

³ Our translation from Portuguese: "Para mim, este livro é particularmente importante porque, pela primeira vez, me arrisquei em uma empreitada teórica e metodológica. O risco era maior pelo fato de que a obra se apoiava em um *corpus* que, então, era particularmente exótico para os analistas do discurso. Na França, no início dos anos 1980, a conjuntura era muito diferente da de hoje, e nada favorável à análise do discurso. A análise de textos era dominada pela semiótica; a linguística, pela gramática gerativa, e a Escola Francesa de Análise do Discurso estava em crise, minada pelo refluxo do marxismo e da psicanálise".

The units of discourse constitute, in effect, systems, significant systems, utterances, and, in that regard, are related to textual semiotics; although they are also related to the history which provides reason to the structures of meaning they manifest (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 16).⁴

As the author points out, the enunciability of a given discourse – the fact it is an object of utterance generated by a set of individuals – does not constitute itself as an accessory element, but rather as something “somewhat radical, which conditions its whole structure” (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 16)⁵. Hence, for Maingueneau, it is necessary to articulate a single analytical approach that equally works for utterances and enunciation, text and context, in such a way that does not tear apart – or even distinguishes these elements from one another – the conditions for the production of a given discourse and its sociohistorical enrolment in textual composition, from lexical variety to syntax and cohesion rules.

On that account, this paper discusses the possibilities of transposing the approach developed by Maingueneau (2008) – proposed in *Genèses du discours* for a corpus comprised of religious discourse – to the analysis of journalistic subjects; especially taking note of the author’s propositions regarding the notion of discourse’s “global semantics”. As such, an approach of methodological character was promptly combined with the analysis of journalistic coverage regarding International Women’s Day⁶ in Brazil between 1978 and 2018, a period spanning the end of prior press-censorship enforced by the military dictatorship and the country’s contemporary political configuration, comprising *redemocratization* and the New Republic. More specifically, three Brazilian newspapers of record were examined: *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*.

From the specific coverage of events and discussions surrounding March 8th, it was sought to verify how utterances regarding issues which concern the debate on Women’s condition in Brazil are framed. The hypothesis was that within a vast timeframe such as the aforementioned period, it should be possible to observe changes and ensuing patterns regarding different ways of enunciating beyond the surface of content and into

⁴ Our translation from Portuguese: “As unidades do discurso constituem, com efeito, sistemas, sistemas significantes, enunciados, e, nesse sentido, têm a ver com uma semiótica textual; mas eles também têm a ver com a história que fornece a razão para as estruturas de sentido que elas manifestam”.

⁵ Our translation from Portuguese: “[...] algo de radical, que condiciona toda a sua estrutura”.

⁶ According to research carried out by Angela Zamin (2014), although not consensual, there are general characteristics which researchers often associate with newspapers of record, such as: being highly esteemed and traditional; leaning towards economics, international subjects and politics, with an emphasis on the latter; assuming a well-learned reader base; having elevated printing and circulation values; as well as praising and providing opinion articles with a significant platform (Zamin, 2014).

different discourse propositions. As per Maingueneau (2008), the existence of enunciation rules manifested throughout several dimensions of discourse are connected to the restrictive system within the formation of a given discourse. Conforming these conditions and assumptions, the Brazilian press coverage of International Women's Day was verified to have been characterized by a certain stabilization of utterance approaches regarding the condition of women in these news vehicles, suggesting the emergence of a discursive formation in the field of journalism, whose origins seem to stem from highly visible feminist discourses within these media services, especially what is referred to as "diffuse feminism" (Pinto, 2003).

From key-concepts of French DA to Journalism

The goal was to communicate with Maingueneau's (2008) proposition: to overcome the dichotomy between discourse depth and surface beyond suggesting perspectives in between one level or the other. Henceforth, it is necessary to distinguish a few fundamental concepts: *discursive formation*, *discursive surface* and *discourse*. According to the author, discursive formation corresponds to a "system of restrictions with good semantic formation" and opposes the discursive surface, which concerns the "set of utterances generated according to this system"; that is, the system of restrictions for discursive formation (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 20)⁷.

As Maingueneau points out, it is possible to trace an analogy between his concept of discursive surfaces and the notion of "discourse" according to Foucault, which, as is well-known, comprehends a set of utterances generated by a single discursive formation. Maingueneau, on the other hand, uses the term "discourse" when referring to the relationship between the concepts of "discursive formation" and "discursive surface", similar to the colloquial use of the word "discourse". In other words, he means the virtual set of utterances that may be generated from the restrictions of a given discursive formation.

Although at a first glance this may seem like an irrelevant detail, the distinction between Maingueneau's grasp on the concept of discourse regarding Foucault's takes indicates a fundamental aspect of the type of discourse analysis carried out by the author. As such, the discourse analyst must consider, when constituting their *corpora*, not only what *was said*, but also what *might be said* on account of analyzing discursive formation through its own semantic aspects.

⁷ Our translation from Portuguese: "sistema de restrições de boa formação semântica" and "conjunto de enunciados produzidos de acordo com esse sistema".

If the set of restrictions that define “language” – Saussure’s and linguists’ – supposes that it is not possible to utter everything, discourse, on the other hand, supposes that, within a particular language, for a society, for a place, for a moment defined, only but a fraction of the *utterable* is accessible, and this *utterable* constitutes a system and delineates an identity (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 16).⁸

From this particular concept of discursive formation, Maingueneau formulates the concept of *discursive competence*, which tries to integrate the historical dimension to a cognitive notion and discusses the role of the subject within discursive phenomena. Hence, the possibility of analyzing what *might be said* – not only what *was said* – from the perspective of discursive formation analysis, in its own semantic aspects, is reinforced. The author, accordingly, defends the hypothesis that discourse is *sociohistorically inscribed*, meaning it passes through the system of semantic restrictions for each discursive formation.

As such, the main focus of a discourse analyst, according to Maingueneau, must be the comprehension of a discourse’s *global semantics*, whose determination stems from the restrictions of discursive formation to which each discourse is attached. In the author’s words:

A procedure grounded on “global” semantics does not apprehend discourse by privileging this or that within its “layout”, but rather integrating all simultaneously, both regarding the utterance and its enunciation (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 75).⁹

From the general overview of his global semantics, Maingueneau (2008) proposes, as a path to discourse analysis, the identification of what he refers to as *isomorphism* (Maingueneau, 2005). Through investigation led by the author, it is possible to assert the analysis of isomorphism as a means of comprehending how and why certain discourses become dominant in certain historical periods. Therefore, one must look into discursive production without severing its sociohistorical ties, whilst also not disregarding the particularities of each textual structure type; that is, not simply focusing on its ideological nature.

⁸ Our translation from Portuguese: “Se o jogo das restrições que definem a “língua”, a de Saussure e dos linguistas, supõe que não se pode dizer tudo, o discurso, em outro nível, supõe que, no interior de um idioma particular, para uma sociedade, para um lugar, um momento definidos, só uma parte do dizível é acessível, que esse dizível constitui um sistema e delimita uma identidade”.

⁹ Our translation from Portuguese: “Um procedimento que se funda sobre uma semântica “global” não apreende o discurso privilegiando esse ou aquele dentre seus “planos”, mas integrando-os todos ao mesmo tempo, tanto na ordem do enunciado quanto na da enunciação”.

Based on this concept of discourse, Maingueneau formulates a hypothesis regarding the *primacy of interdiscourse*: for the author, heterogeneity constitutes discourse and connects, inseparably, both the Same and the Other of a given discourse. According to this approach, discourses are not created independently and are not meant to be posteriorly examined by variable circumstances in regards to something; instead, discourse is *created* in regards to something.

Although Maingueneau's (2008) considerations are relevant to the analysis of any verbal utterance, some specificity must be brought to attention when it comes to journalism. Hence, if one summons the author's words, it is because one attempts to comprehend how journalistic utterances are constituted according to the idea of a *global semantics restriction system*. Then again, regarding the analysis of journalistic discourse, similarly to Foucault (2012), one begins by analyzing the *said* within utterances effectively formulated as research objects, given the nature of this *corpora*.

Through the dialog between these authors, an analytical pathway capable of dealing with ruptures and discursive invariance was designed – particularly in attempts to identify these ruptures as a *means* for a more effective description of invariance. In other words, it is only possible to determine consistency in this field of research if there is a way to identify the limiting areas of discourse; its reciprocal delineation – *otherness* as an identifying factor.

Henceforth, it is important to remind oneself that, seen as a “discursive field”, Journalism abides by specific disputes over legitimacy and capital out in the field, which are interconnected with enunciation standards more or less disseminated around their restraints (the matter of objectivity, pluralism, separation of information from opinion etc). Thus, a way of cementing interdiscursivity in the field regards the inevitable interaction between “constituting discourses” (Maingueneau, 2010) of Journalism, those that define its structure and values and are able to control those that remain.

Moreover, a second degree of interdiscursivity in the field regards the interweaving of journalistic practices, immersed within the task of mediating discourses from several fields (political, economic, scientific, cultural etc). Interdiscursivity may manifest itself as “intradiscursivity” or “transdiscursivity”.

Consequently, one must resonate with the peculiarities the discursive fields described by Maingueneau (2008) as global semantics components have regarding their role when considering journalism. This is due to the fact that, unlike other fields (such as the religious one, for instance) the journalistic field relies on relatively common guidelines which are enforced by their own constituting discourse; such is the case of *cohesion modes* and *enunciative deixis* (space-time inscription of the utterer in the utterance).

Taking these particularities into account, a concise and productive proposal regarding the systematization of the discursive fields which must be brought to light by a thorough analysis of the global semantics of journalistic utterances, which may even be employed as an analytical tool capable of identifying the conformities different discursive formations have within the field of journalism, formulated as such:

- Thematic frameworks. According to Maingueneau (2008, p. 82), “what matters is not the theme, but how it is semantically treated”¹⁰. Different semantical treatments may refer to different restriction sets, indicating the entanglement between journalistic utterances and several discursive formations. A beginning procedure through which the thematic framework may be analyzed within journalistic utterances concerns the editorials or segments in which certain themes are discussed.
- Intertextual traits. According to Maingueneau (2008), internal intertextuality concerns the recovery of discourse within the discursive field, whilst external intertextuality concerns the establishment of relationships with other fields; in both instances, the restrictive sets from each discursive formation intervene. Regarding journalistic discourse, both forms of intertextuality are relevant: internal intertextuality is provided by quoting journalism’s founding literature, whilst external intertextuality is provided by quoting or referring to discourse from the different social fields, which frequently interdict amongst each other.
- Social representations. Within this analytical field, what matters is both the vocabulary employed in journalistic discourse as a means of representing certain groups or social agents – as Maingueneau (2008) points out, words are relevant to discourse analysis when, through reiteration, they represent semantically solidifying aspects of discourse – as well as images constructed/summoned by language as a means of representing these groups.
- Incorporation modes of reported speech: Correlated to what Maingueneau (2008) calls the *cohesion modes* of discourse, incorporation modes of reported speech concern the ways through which journalistic utterances develops its internal remissions; in other words, the modes through which, in journalistic writing, the discursive *chaining* and *framing* are generated. Thus, it is possible to comprehend which channels are made visible by the analyzed news outlets as well as what type of visibility is granted to them.

Methodological procedures: International Women’s Day in the Press

Analysis of changes regarding discursive matters or restriction systems as well as the emergence of discursive formations within the journalistic field must be founded in

¹⁰ Our translation from Portuguese: “o importante não é o tema, mas seu tratamento semântico”.

the articulation of utterances throughout timeframes vast enough so that they evidently showcase the analyst regularities and irregularities. Nonetheless, profiling in terms of the quantity of analyzed material – without influence over the sample’s time span – may be done in order to enable a proper analysis.

Regarding the analysis of coverage concerning the female condition in light of International Women’s Day – an empirical matter – the focus was shifted exclusively towards newspaper covers. This profiling did not constitute a random line of thought, since newspaper front pieces enable visibility devices and lay foundation to what the paper considers more important according to their editorial philosophy. Even still, there were approximately 43,800 cover pieces published between 1978 and 2018 – quite a large research sample, especially for a paper.

Thereupon, in order to generate a more concise sample size, the covers of each of the chosen newspapers published in a single month yearly over the 40-year time span, were selected interspersed, beginning on December 1978. This type of profiling is not detrimental to the collection of empirical data for the composition of the *corpus*, given that for Discourse Analysis, utterances considered individually do not represent relevant units of research: instead, they must be looked upon through reiteration; concurrently, no utterance is completely original on its own.

A methodological approach was designed from the assimilation of articles regarding International Women’s Day published by the following newspapers: *O Estado de S. Paulo*, *O Globo* and *Folha de S. Paulo*, on March 8th 1981, March 8th 2005 and March 8th 2017. According to the sampling criterion which considered interspersed months in order to constitute a research *corpus*, the month of March was brought to evidence four times throughout the entire observation period: in 1981, 1993, 2005 and 2017.

By means of observing newspaper covers published on March 8th during these four years, references to International Women’s Day were obtained. In 1981, only a single headline was found – in the cover of *Folha* for a special commemorative edition of the *Folhetim* segment; in 1993, no references were obtained from any of the three newspapers; in 2005 and 2017, all three published headlines or feature segments that focused primarily on March 8th within their front pages. It is imperative to note that this data, which shows the higher presence of International Women’s Day references in 2005 and 2017 in newspaper covers, indicates, by itself, an increase in visibility afforded by journalistic outlets to the theme at hand.

These pieces concerning International Women’s Day were picked in order to comprise objects of analytical outline and are justified by the need to profile, amongst the *corpus*, an exact set of texts, which allow further speculation regarding the three

newspapers at hand. Concurrently, with the selected texts, all effort was centered towards a set of utterances that organize themselves around a common theme.

Journalistic utterances analysis: an examination of different discursive fields

a) Thematic framework

The clearest way to map the thematic framework which surrounds journalistic pieces concerning the aforementioned theme – that is, how the female condition is looked upon given the context of International Women’s Day – has to do with observing the editorials in which the analyzed texts were published. Disregarding the features published by *Folha* in 1981 and 2005, all other texts are distributed among lifestyle segments – especially in articles that talk about domestic violence against women – and behavior and/or culture – especially in articles that present data about female education and women within the job marketplace, for instance. It is noteworthy that, regarding the sampling goal, only a single text was located in a political segment: the news piece *Crítica feminina é igual na direita e na esquerda* published by *Folha* on March 8th 2017, about the difficulties female political candidates undergo within different parties.

The feature article published by *Folha* in 2005 reinforces the aforementioned tendency: although the material doesn’t follow the typical division amongst editorials the rest of the newspaper does, these articles are erected upon recurring approaches found in behavior, culture and lifestyle segments. It is important to heed that, even when a subject regarding economics is written about, its framework consists of the logic behind *consumerism* or the academic background and qualification of women, as well as their difficulties when attempting to balance their work and home life etc – which are common approaches not in political or economic editorials, but rather in behavior, culture or lifestyle ones. Approaches that prioritize the macroeconomic or political economics dimensions are not present in the *Folha* feature.

Lastly, regarding their thematic framework, it is possible to rate the recurring *subjects* within these articles in a way that represents how the gender topic is explored in these texts. Thus, it is feasible to identify the following thematic axes: work/consumerism; background/education; child and family care/harassment.

The observation of the aforementioned thematic axes, firstly, points to a constant presence within a subject’s coverage which may be synthesized through means of an indissoluble ambiguity: the woman divided between her personal and professional life as well as the domestic and public space, which is mentioned in the discussion about the social representation of these journalistic coverages. It is important to note that, even

when women are shown to conquer their places within public life, newspapers frame such achievements by not letting them escape the aspect of women's domestic lives. This type of framing is present in articles that delve into professional, marketplace and work matters, within the background/education axis.

The theme revolving violence/harassment is the farthest from this type of framing. Nevertheless, it seems rather symptomatic that articles in which this subject is explored rarely talk about public legislation against gender-motivated violence; once again, it appears that this thematic framework is recognizable by a lack of politics in its approach.

b) Social representation

Grounded on these thematic frameworks and the intertextual traits present in the texts, the representation of women built on the analyzed articles reiterate an indissoluble ambiguity: the woman divided between the marketplace and dedication to family life. Even in articles that emphasized the presence of women in several professional areas, the references to these professionals' difficulties in assimilating domestic and work routines were recurrent.

Another representation constantly reiterated throughout the texts showcases women through an *ethos* of consumerism and simultaneously tilted towards the corporate lifestyle: the woman that overcomes the difficulties imposed by her gender condition is the one who prospers in business and/or her career, whilst, concurrently, being a conscious, well-informed consumer. These representations also reinforce themselves when the lexicon mobilized by the newspapers is considered: *career, work, maternity, education, finances, children* are all recurring key-words throughout the texts.

As can be seen, women's representation in these articles is predominantly focused on individual initiative and private life affairs; rare are the references to public legislation supporting women's participation in politics. Even the texts that are laid with data regarding the gender pay gap, for instance, when resorting to the incorporation of specialized voices, do it with the objective of incorporating *diagnostic* commentary – rarely as a *prognostic means*, which could explore the demand for public legislation or the articulation of collective action.

It is interesting to note that the articles which aim to reinforce the female presence within the workplace or question the gender pay gap, be it either through data or resorting to specialists, carry an assumption of questioning a form of representation interweaved with the common sense notion of women's restrictions regarding domestic life. One may not disregard that the argument for this traditional form of *feminine representation* mostly concerns middle and upper class women, for whom there are the

possibility to choose between working a job or taking care of the house and family; for lower class women, offering their workforce in exchange of a salary is not an option, but rather a necessity. In other words, a dimension of differences caused by social strata is not included in the discussion proposed by newspapers when concerning the female condition – or better yet, even if their social condition isn't explicitly shown throughout these texts, they assume female middle or upper class readers, in consonance with the contract of communication developed by the newspapers. In addition, the represented women are non-racialized and guided through heterocentric values.

It is worth noting still, that, whilst they attempt to positively enforce the presence of women in public spaces, these articles reiterate the *public versus private* dichotomy and barely question or distance themselves from the *man versus woman* binarism, which lies at the core of the Gender Studies field, for instance.

c) Intertextual traits and the accounted presence of extraneous voices

The interdiscursivity traits present in the analyzed texts are mostly due to references regarding research carried out by independent institutes and government organizations, such as data collected by the *Ministério da Educação* (Ministry of Education), the *Secretaria Especial de Políticas para as Mulheres* (Special Secretary of Policies for Women) and the *Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Educacionais* (National Institute of Educational Research) concerning the differences between men and women in terms of educational background, as shown in the article published by *O Estado de S. Paulo* on March 8th 2005. References to data collected by the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística* (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [IBGE]) are also prominent, although through *Folha* via *Datafolha*.

These voices are especially present in the most recent newspaper editions – 2005 and 2017 – and the specialists that speak on behalf of these research organizations have their speech presented as that of authority figures, with quotation marks and direct speech. Note, still, that in a recurring fashion, the publishing of research carried out by these organizations is, in it of itself, the primary goal of these articles: such is the case of the article *Cresce total de doutoras e mestras*, by *Estadão* on March 8th 2005 and the feature article *O que elas querem?*, by *Folha* on March 8th 2005.

A more detailed approach towards the *Folha* feature was required. The supplement is divided into smaller segments: *Society: participation; Society: consumerism and finances; Work: career and education; Personal life: health and culture; Family: destructuralization; Family: children's education*. The articles use data collected by research institutes coalesced with the opinions of experts associated with universities,

imminent personalities of the corporate world and ordinary characters that lend their voices to illustrate these articles. Both specialists and ordinary characters have transposed voices, in most cases, through direct speech: concerning the specialists, quotation marks introduce citations that sort through the chaos of data and numbers throughout the text; concerning the ordinary characters, quotation marks act as indicators of reality.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the feature article does not feature the voices of militants and social movement representatives, except on a single instance: in the article *Representação aumenta à sombra do machismo*, which is a part of the segment *Society: participation*, there is a vague mention towards feminist groups – although, it does not lend them a voice: “[...] Feminist entities are unanimous in claiming there have been advances, yet they still mobilize the fight for equal rights [...] Led by the *Cfemea* (Feminist Center for Research and Advise), these movements created a commission to analyze the Union Budget in order to keep track of expenses on specific policies for women”¹¹. This trend of giving visibility to social movements without providing them a proper speaking platform or quoting them imprecisely is quite recurrent in the articles published by the *Estadão* and *Globo* in the years of 2005 and 2017.

There are exceptions to this trend in the article *1 em cada 3 brasileiras diz ter sido vítima de violência*, published by *Folha* on March 8th 2017. Although the text mainly focuses on the results of a survey carried out by Datafolha and funded by the *Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública* (Brazilian Forum for Public Safety) and provides expert opinion a privileged position, it also presents, through direct speech, the voices of Juliana Gonçalves, organizer of the *Marcha das Mulheres Negras em São Paulo* (March for Black Women in São Paulo), and Djamila Ribeiro, philosopher and black militant. It is interesting to observe the role fulfilled by this device within the article: written by Fernanda Mena, a white reporter, the text seems to revolve around the principle of *lugar de fala* (place of speech) – a theme which is a part of the agenda of social movements that defend minorities and identity politics – by resorting to the voices of black militants in order to comment on the data collected by the survey which addresses the types of violence inflicted upon black women.

It is also worth mentioning the article titled *Fiéis aceitam aborto e preservativo*, published on March 8th 2005 by *Estadão*. Once again, one can see that the text is grounded

¹¹ Our translation from Portuguese: “[...] Entidade feministas são unânimes em afirmar que houve conquistas, mas continuam mobilizadas na luta por igualdade [...] Capitaneadas pelo Cfemea (Centro Feminista de Estudos e Assessoria), esses movimentos criaram uma comissão de análise do Orçamento da União para acompanhar os gastos com políticas específicas para as mulheres”.

on statistical data: the article shows the results of a survey led by IBOPE (Brazilian Institute for Public Opinion and Statistics) for the NGO *Católicas pelo Direito de Decidir*. Concurrently, however, the article provides a platform to a non-governmental organization that defends women's rights, including the right to abortion, under the guise of Catholicism. Throughout the text, there are several transcriptions of direct speech from the NGO's representative, Dulce Xavier, as well as a housewife who speaks favorably on behalf of the data collected by the survey.

Although the text provides a voice to women engaged with the debate revolving around abortion, it is imperative to observe that these voices are shown throughout the text as a means of reinforcing the collected data – which are, in turn, presented as strong reality indicators. Furthermore, by the end of the article, also shown in direct speech, a declaration by Dom Estevão Bettencourt, Professor of Theology and Principal of the *Faculdade de Filosofia da Arquidiocese do Rio*, questions the opinions of the other interviewees. Presented as the voice of a specialist, not that of a religious man, Bettencourt's voice receives highest praise within the article's foundation when compared to the other statements, which are displayed as *common sense*.

These tendencies observed throughout the more recent analyzed articles are out of tune with what was verified in the feature published by *Folha*, 1981: in this supplement, practically all texts were signed by women, referenced to as militants, connected to social movements and several feminist collectives; although many also occupied the position of experts connected to the academy. Overall, the content of the supplement was opinion-based and proposed a more generalized approach to diversified issues when compared to the ones in the recent publications: they discuss matters such as abortion, homosexuality, marriage etc through a critical lens.

Final considerations

It is worth observing a few outstanding traits in the covers onto which the headlines for the analyzed journalistic articles were published, which seem to reinforce and tie together the observations obtained by examining the several discursive fields within the journalistic discourse at hand.

In the March 8th 1981 *Folha de S. Paulo* cover, for instance, the headline for a feature in the *Folhetim* segment, in commemoration of International Women's Day, is found heading a box located in the first column to the left of the page, where the highlights of the edition are shown. The title *A mulher*, accompanied by a miniaturized illustration which is found in the feature cover, introduces a brief headline which highlights the

challenges lived by women in the job marketplace and the “redefinitions of marriage and maternity”¹².

In the March 8th 2005 *O Estado de S. Paulo* cover, right under the header and in the last column to the right, a headpiece titled *Dia internacional da mulher* contains the headlines *Brasil tem mais mestras e doutoras* and *Católicos aceitam aborto e camisinha*; a little further down the headline *Homem é ciência; mulher é arte* highlights Arnaldo Jabor’s column for March 8th. All of the headlines, although allocated to the superior portion of the page, receive less emphasis than the articles of the segments within the First Segment associated with conventional political themes: the discontinuance of the Lula-FHC case by the Supreme Federal Court and the resignation of the then Bolivian President, Carlos Mesa.

In the March 8th 2005 *O Globo* cover, in the last column to the right and almost at the footer, there is the headline *Mulheres já são maioria em mestrado em doutorado*. Differing from the *Estadão* cover, there is no vignette connecting the headline to International Women’s Day. The headline also does not showcase an image, and receives less emphasis in the cover than articles regarding city lifestyle and violence, such as *Leblon, entre o público e o privado* and *Cariocas ajudam a proteger turistas*, as well as news about economics and traditional politics – *Descontos de até 70% acirram guerra por passageiros de avião* and *Bolívia: Mercosul pressiona por uma solução democrática*.

In the March 8th 2005 *Folha* cover, there is a similar tendency to the one observed in the other two newspapers: the headline for the feature regarding International Women’s Day is shown with less emphasis than news about national politics – *STF rejeita pedido do PSDB para acionar Lula* – international politics and lifestyle. The headline *Caderno avalia mulher no país* is found in a colored box located in the first two columns to the left of the page, halfway down the cover. Within the brief text in the box, there is an emphasis on aspects regarding women’s places within the job marketplace, educational background, gender pay gap and internet behavior. Similar compositions are also present in the March 8th 2017 covers for *Estadão*, *Globo* and *Folha*.

From these observations, two main aspects emerge: first, the fact that the headlines for the articles regarding International Women’s Day received, in general, less emphasis in the page layout than traditional news regarding politics and economics; second, and most importantly, the fact that these headlines are circumscribed to limited editorial space separated from the rest of the coverage, whether it be by assigning them to feature articles or by their graphical presentation through resources such as boxes and lines.

¹² Our translation from Portuguese: “as redefinições do casamento e da maternidade”.

These divisive lines seem to translate how newspapers approach the female condition in dates such as International Women's Day: by means of negotiated visibility.

The negotiated character of this visibility is also manifested in how the utterances are structured, as previously shown by the examination of their various discursive fields. What these observations suggest is that, as the years progress and the gender discussion reaches higher public notoriety, the visibility granted by newspapers to these issues does, in fact, increase. Concurrently, notwithstanding, higher visibility granted to these discussions seems to be accompanied by an interdiction of political discourse by discourses from different social fields. Notably, it is possible to highlight an interdiction of the political field operated by discourse from the scientific field – which is evidenced by the growing presence of specialists consulted with by newspapers to the detriment of militants, representatives of social movements etc – and, overall, from the economic field – which is evidenced by an “economicalization” and “neoliberalization” of coverage regarding International Women's Day.

This hierarchy in the way how voices from different fields interweave and are granted access within the journalistic discursive field impacts the way utterances are constituted. Considering, above all, the coverage of the past few years, it is possible to detect the emergence of a new discursive formation, which became apparent throughout the last decade, simultaneously amplifying and restricting (as is the nature of discursive formations) the coverage of the feminine condition in newspapers.

If, on the one hand, this discursive formation seems to be influenced by higher visibility and the diffusion of topics that interest mediatized feminism, on the other, it seems to incorporate restrictive values that are characteristic of the neoliberal economic discourse: the focus remains on the individual, stories of resilience, entrepreneurship (of oneself and all else), empowering narratives, financial/material success etc. This examination points towards an important modulation of the theoretical perspective of Maingueneau (2008) when transposed into the journalistic field: whilst the analysis indicates the conformity of a discursive formation from the interaction between different discourses (that is, from interdiscursivity), as the author defends, the nature of this encounter seems to extrapolate that of a controversial relationship (as pointed in *Genèses du discours* regarding the interaction between discourses from the religious field), assuming the characteristics of a negotiation mediated by prioritized discourse with the potential for interdiction.

In short, within Journalism, the discursive genesis is located within a complex interdiscursive mesh, whose interactive nature must be described in function of the specificity of the empirical materiality that is to be analyzed.

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RESUMO:

Este artigo discute as possibilidades e potencialidades da transposição de conceitos da Análise do Discurso (AD), nomeadamente, a noção de “semântica global do discurso” de Dominique Maingueneau (2008), a *corpora* compostos por materiais jornalísticos. Para tanto, investiga a cobertura de jornais brasileiros sobre a o dia internacional da mulher entre 1978 a 2018. As reflexões apontam para a consolidação de características manifestas em diferentes planos dos enunciados jornalísticos sobre a condição da mulher, sugerindo certa estabilização recente nos modos de enunciar sobre o tema, e destacam a pertinência de proposições da AD Francesa a estudos do Jornalismo.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Jornalismo; Análise do Discurso; Semântica global; Condição feminina; Dia Internacional da Mulher.

RESUMEN:

Este artículo discute las posibilidades y potencialidades de transposición de conceptos del Análisis del Discurso (AD), es decir, la noción de “semántica global del discurso” de Dominique Maingueneau (2008), a *corpora* compuestos por textos periodísticos. Para ello, investiga la cobertura de los periódicos brasileños sobre el Día Internacional de la Mujer entre 1978 y 2018. Las reflexiones apuntan a la consolidación de características que se despliegan en diferentes planos de los enunciados periodísticos sobre la condición de la mujer, lo que sugiere cierta estabilización reciente en las formas de enunciar sobre el tema, así como destacan la relevancia de las propuestas del AD Francesa para los estudios de Periodismo.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Periodismo; Análisis del Discurso; Semántica global; Condición Femenina; Día Internacional de la Mujer.