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**PROTESTING GENRES:
SEMIOTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF 2015 BRAZILIAN
DEMONSTRATIONS**

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Orientador: Prof.^a Dr.^a Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard

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2015 BRAZILIAN DEMONSTRATIONS**

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This work is dedicated to all those
who suffer in discourses of hate and
intolerance.

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There are two ways to escape suffering it. The first is easy for many: accept the inferno and become such a part of it that you can no longer see it. The second is risky and demands constant vigilance and apprehension: seek and learn to recognize who and what, in the midst of inferno, are not inferno, then make them endure, give them space.

(Italo Calvino, 1974)

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims at exploring genres in protesting fields and at analyzing how the texts use semiotic resources in order to represent and evaluate social actors. The *corpus* of my research was grouped according to semiotic resources proposed by Szaniecki (2007): there are 4 texts that use the human body as a resource, 7 digital texts and 60 samples of banners, posters and/or signs from 2015 Brazilian demonstrations (March, 15th; April, 12th; and August, 16th). The data analysis was based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), proposed by Fairclough (1992) and Van Dijk (2008). For the construction of the concept “protesting genres”, I used the categories proposed by Critical Genre Analysis (CGA) (Meurer, 2002; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2008). The discursive content of the messages were analyzed in terms of the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) as well as appraisal theory (White, 2011). Intertextuality (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 1992; 2014), recontextualization (Bernstein, 2003) and satire (Simpson, 2003) were also explored as tools for the analysis. The findings of this work points to new practices of politics through different uses of semiotic resources in protesting genres. These texts are multimodal and persuasive discourses, working with political issues and representing/evaluating political personalities. Through these representations, discourses of hate and intolerance are neutralized and naturalized, producing and circulating offensive identities of the people represented in the texts. Therefore, protesters use their texts to attack politicians and parties that they want to bring down.

Keywords: Protesting genres; Critical discourse analysis; Brazilian demonstrations; Politics; Discourse of hate; Multimodality; Representation of social actors; Social change.

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RESUMO

Esta dissertação tem como objetivo explorar gêneros discursivos em cenários de protestos e analisar como os textos usam recursos semióticos para representar e avaliar seus atores sociais. O *corpus* de minha pesquisa foi agrupado de acordo com os recursos semióticos propostos por Szaniecki (2007): há 4 textos que usam o corpo humano como suporte, 7 textos digitais e 60 amostras de cartazes das manifestações brasileiras de 2015 (15 de Março, 12 de Abril e 16 de Agosto). A análise teve como base a Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD), proposta por Fairclough (1992) e Van Dijk (2008). Para a construção do conceito “gêneros de protesto” (“protesting genres”), foram utilizadas categorias propostas pela Análise Crítica de Gêneros (ACG) (Meurer, 2002; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2008). O conteúdo discursivo das mensagens foi analisado em termos da representação dos atores sociais (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) assim como da teoria da avaliação (White, 2011). Intertextualidade (Bakhtin, 1986; Fairclough, 1992; 2014), recontextualização (Bernstein, 2003) e sátira (Simpson, 2003) também foram exploradas como ferramentas para a análise. Os resultados deste trabalho apontam para novas práticas de política através de diferentes usos de recursos semióticos nos gêneros de protesto. Esses textos são discursos multimodais e persuasivos que trabalham com questões políticas e representam/avaliam personalidades políticas. Através dessas representações, discursos de ódio são neutralizados e naturalizados, produzindo e circulando identidades ofensivas das pessoas representadas nos textos. Assim, manifestantes usam seus textos para atacar políticos e partidos que eles desejam tirar do poder.

Palavras-chave: Gêneros de protesto; Análise crítica do discurso; Manifestações brasileiras; Política; Discurso de ódio; Multimodalidade; Representação de atores sociais; Mudança social.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 INITIAL REMARKS

Demonstrations are very common happenings in times of people's discontentment with the government and political instability. People go to the streets in order to claim their rights, to complain about the government, and to express their beliefs. Civil unrests are part of Brazil's past (such as "Diretas Já", 1983-1984) and present: a range of demonstrations have emerged in the country since the protests of June-July 2013 which began with the increase of bus fare. They are considered "the largest and most significant protests in Brazil for a generation" (Saad-Filho, 2013). Since then, people of different ages, social classes, and genders were/are called to rally for different causes in the streets.

Recently, the world has watched many public spaces occupied by large numbers of people protesting against their countries' governments. In the very beginning of 2011, demonstrations popped up in Arab countries, bringing dictatorial regimes down in Tunisia, Egypt and Lybia, for instance. Also, a wave of demonstrations was present in Europe, taking people to squares and streets of Spain (*Los Indignados* or *15-M*) and Greece (*Aganaktismenoi*). And they kept going further, reaching America where people occupied Wall Street to fight for their rights.

Brazil was also an example and part of this movement. At the end of 2012 a few demonstrations happened in the country and they had their outbreak in 2013 when people went to the streets to complain about public transportation in many state capitals and other cities. However, they were not only concerned about bus fare: a large number of protesters (and their own personal disappointments) revealed a great number of issues that needed to be taken into consideration by the government. People began to demonstrate in the streets their concern with public education, health and the economy. The year of 2014, for instance, was not marked by demonstrations against bus fare, but by demonstrations against FIFA Soccer World Cup (which took place in Brazil in that year), among others. In 2015, protests were also present in the country, but once again, their causes changed: there were protests for teachers' salaries adjustment (mainly in Paraná, south of Brazil), and

against the government, acts of corruption and the Workers' Party ("Partido dos Trabalhadores" - PT).

During the year of 2015, people from different cities in Brazil occupied public spaces many times in order to protest against the government. The largest and most important days of demonstrations were: March, 15th; April, 12th; and August, 16th. On the first day, for instance, around 2.4 million demonstrators were on the streets according to the police department¹. In contrast, pro-government citizens also demonstrated on the streets, against the anti-government protests. Both anti-government protests and pro-government demonstrations were marked by a range of texts circulating among demonstrators and also in digital spaces. The textual and discursive productions of these protests (specifically, the anti-government ones) are the focus of my investigation because of the presence of prejudice and hate discourses in these texts.

Demonstrators create texts, using verbal and non-verbal language in order to express their positions and beliefs. The production and circulation of these texts are very important components of the movements because they make the aims of the protest visible. Banners, placards and signs are very common texts found in the streets during the demonstrations². These texts constitute textual and discursive genres which I will call here 'protesting genres'.

The concept of protesting genres, to be explored in the next chapter, does not only embrace banners, placards and signs, but also digital texts. Technological progress and the emergence of the Internet have provided new tools for road protests. Current demonstrations are indeed connected to the digital world: virtual events are created in order to persuade people to protest, texts with different points of view are circulated, and images of demonstrations are quickly available. Although protesters continue to use signs, placards and banners in their demonstrations, digital technology creates possibilities for new texts and genres. And these are used in the demonstrations: memes, videos, photography, online news, and comments are a few examples of potential protesting genres.

According to Bakhtin (2000), discursive genres are not immutable. Contemporary society transforms textual productions and

¹ The organizers of the protests claim that the number was higher: 3 million people. Statistic numbers retrieved from: <http://especiais.g1.globo.com/politica/mapa-manifestacoes-no-brasil/15-03-2015/>

² Banners, placards and signs were also present in previous demonstrations as much as they are in the current ones.

creates new texts, not just because of its creativity, but also because of technological development (in the digital space). Many of these new texts contain a mixture of verbal and nonverbal modes (or semiotic resources – language, image, color, etc.), being therefore multimodal in nature. Digital spaces support the rapid spreading and the wide visualization of these texts. In this way, many new digital genres have emerged on the Internet.

Taking into account previous research carried out by IBGE (2011), it is possible to observe that access to the Internet in Brazil has increased, although the access rate remains low in the country as a whole (less than half of population³). The data collected by IBGE, however, shows that lower classes have been surfing the web more than ever. If these non-dominant groups are online, they have in their hands powerful tools to construct and to maintain their identities and ideology: creating their own texts can also be a means of resistance against the dominance of powerful groups. Moita Lopes (2008), for instance, shows that English, the very dominant language in the world, is decreasing in numbers of Internet users; according to his research, the web world has become more and more multilingual, which can also give space to different identities. In the context of a sociopolitical mass demonstration, the online world can be a potential place where dominated groups can also have their voices heard.

This research will, therefore, explore some of the protesting genres found in street demonstrations in order to interpret the protesters' messages critically. I will focus especially on what/who is represented in protesters' banners, and how demonstrators evaluate the representations produced in such texts, using different semiotic resources.

1.2 CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

Since this study analyzes specific genres, understanding and exploring the social context is very important. As I will explain in the next chapter, the relation of language to social context can be interpreted in three levels: 'text in context', 'context of situation', and 'context of culture' (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2014). According to Martin & Rose (2008), genres are situated in the cultural level and they are composed of a combination of the three elements of the context of situation – 'tenor' (or, relationships between participants), 'mode' (or, semiotic resources)

³ Information of Brazilian usage of Internet on <http://www.internetworldstats.com/sa/br.html>

and ‘field’ (or, social action). In the next subsection, I will discuss the ‘field’ of my data; ‘mode’ and ‘tenor’ will be explored in Chapter II.

1.2.1 Anti-government demonstrations

At the beginning of 2014, the Brazilian Federal Police initiated an investigation of corruption and money laundering called “Operação Lava-Jato” (Operation Car Wash)⁴. The center of the corruption scandal was the Petroleum Brazilian Corporation (known as ‘Petrobras’), a semi-public Brazilian company of the petroleum industry. Since then, many Brazilian politicians have been investigated and arrested because of their involvement with corruption in the company. Political parties such as the Progressive Party (PP), the Workers’ Party (PT), the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) and the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB) are some examples involved in the scandals.

In October of the same year, Brazilians voted for president and Dilma Rousseff (PT) was re-elected in one of the toughest disputes for presidency in Brazil: she was elected with 51, 65% of the valid votes (against the 48,35% of votes for her opponent, Aécio Neves – PSDB). Although the Brazilian political organization is not bipartisan (left wing parties – right wing parties), but multipartisan, the elections for the Presidency were in fact a dispute between the two major parties: PT and PSDB.

Fierce competition marked the division between conservative (right wing – PSDB) and non-conservative (left wing – PT) parties, and consequently supporters were organized in two main groups: supporters of the elite and neoliberal ideologies against supporters of minorities and developmental ideologies. This way, conservative protests (the case of the Brazilian 2015 demonstrations against the government) can be associated with elitist and right wing groups. Ab’Sáber (2015) describes the participants of this group as:

the average conservative man, anti-Workers’ Party because of tradition and anticommunist because of the most ancient Brazilian archaic nature – a man who embraces power by the

⁴ The Public Prosecutor’s Office have provided online information about “Operação Lava-Jato” in <http://lavajato.mpf.mp.br/lavajato/index.html>

fantasy of *patriarchal and aggregated* protection [...] (Ab'Sáber, 2015, p. 35)⁵.

After the 2014 elections, there were allegations of the involvement of the president of Brazil in the Petrobras scandal since she had been previously one of its directors; thus, the claim was that she had to have knowledge of the situation and of the acts of corruption in the company and had remained quiet about it. The president denied any connections to the scandal or knowledge about corruption in Petrobras and no evidence of Dilma Rousseff's involvement in the Petrobras' scandal of corruption was proved. However, Brazilian citizens' discontentment about her government was undeniable. For instance, Rousseff's approval percentage was around 9% in the time of the demonstrations⁶.

Many problems associated with the president such as corruption and bad governability were the reason why so many people went to the streets to complain about her government. Ab'Sáber (2015), discussing about the Brazilian political scenario and the demonstrations in the country, explains that:

In connection with the elections which were becoming again generically anti-Workers' Party and the lordly support that provides money, these people [the average conservative man] expressed themselves en masse. In connection with the atomic bomb of corruption in Petrobras that exploded in the President's hands right after her re-election – the true reason of the final political imbalance – this middle stratum, which had organized itself in favor of a presidential candidate and which had not been conformed with his defeat, obtained the definitive instrument, now in a *real* fact, that, besides its own new organization of media production of masses' spectacles and Internet strategy, originates the new post-modern Brazilian conservative political passion. [...]

⁵ My translation from the original: “*o homem conservador médio, antipetista por tradição e anticomunista por natureza arcaica brasileira mais antiga – um homem de adesão ao poder por fantasia de proteção patriarcal e agregada [...]*” (Ab'Sáber, 2015, p. 35).

⁶ <http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2015/07/governo-dilma-tem-aprovacao-de-9-aponta-pesquisa-ibope.html>

This way, outraged anti-Workers' Party civilians and anticommunists went to the streets in order to produce texts to be broadcasted in real time by the biggest national media companies. These actions *inherited the streets* from the 2013 protests, originally against the government, but by the left-wing side, and took over the political and symbolic legitimacy of this other movement (Ab'Sáber, 2015, p. 35-36)⁷.

It is clear that a combination of political scandals, previous demonstrations (ideologically different from the 2015 protests) and governability problems took millions of people to the streets in order to protest against the government.

We could assume that such huge events were organized by great leaders. It is possible to find some civil groups that indeed led the protests. However, demonstrators rejected formal organizations⁸. For instance, 91% of people in the March, 15th demonstration said they had no relation to these groups of leadership⁹. Some of these groups are 'Free Brazil Movement' ("Movimento Brasil Livre – MBL"), 'Outraged Online' ("Revoltados Online"), 'Come to the Streets' ("Vem pra Rua") and 'Make Brazil Right Movement' ("Movimento Endireita Brasil"). These groups are responsible for the organization of the protests against the government and the persuasion of possible demonstrators to participate especially through social media pages such as 'Facebook'.

During 2015, there were three relevant protests against the government: March, 15th; April, 12th; and August, 16th. Affected by scandals of corruption and low economic growth in Dilma's

⁷ My translation from the original: "Com as eleições e o apoio senhoril assegurador do grande dinheiro, que voltava a ser genericamente antipetista, este povo se manifestou em massa. Com a bomba atômica da corrupção na Petrobras revelada, explodindo no colo da Presidente logo após a reeleição – a verdadeira ficha do desequilíbrio político final – esta camada média, que havia se organizado ao redor de um candidato e que não se conformara com a sua derrota, ganhou o instrumento definitivo, agora de fato *real*, que, junto com a sua própria nova organização, de produção midiática de espetáculo de massas, e de muita estratégia na internet, gerou a nova paixão política conservadora pómoderna brasileira. [...] Assim, antipetistas indignados com a corrupção do outro, e anticomunistas do nada, tomaram as ruas para produzir o texto para os grandes conglomerados de mídias nacionais repercutirem, o que ocorreu, em tempo real. Estas forças *herdaram as ruas* a partir dos levantes, originalmente críticos ao governo, mas à esquerda; ocorridos em 2013, se apropriando da legitimidade política e simbólica do que era um outro movimento" (Ab'Sáber, 2015, p. 35-36).

⁸ The identification of participants will be discussed in the next chapter (2.4.2 Tenor: Protesting genres as persuasive discourses).

⁹ <http://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/manifestacoes-encolhem-e-governo-federal-e-pt-nao-se-manifestam-2961.html>

government, citizens went to the street to fight against corruption and ask for the president's impeachment and the detention of people involved in corruption (especially in the Petrobras scandal). The demonstrations were marked by the strong use of hate discourse against the president and people associated with her.

In all of the three demonstrations, wearing green and yellow (the national colors) was very common among protesters, symbolically representing their nationalistic fight¹⁰: many banners show that the idea of the protesters was to fight for the welfare of the nation. Some demonstrators have even asked for military intervention in order to get PT politicians out of power and then to end political corruption in the country. To show their support, for instance, it was also common to find people taking selfies with members of police during the demonstrations.

The first anti-government demonstration had the largest number of people engaged. The estimative number¹¹ goes from 1.400.000 to 3.000.000 civilians in the streets of at least 160 cities around the country. São Paulo was the most significant capital in numbers: according to the Military Police, there were around 1.000.000 people in the area of Paulista Avenue, one of the main avenues of the city. After this large demonstration, protesters reorganized another manifestation for the following month. However, the second demonstration was smaller: 700.000 protesters (according to the Military Police). On the third day of protests, there were more people in the streets than the second demonstration, but less than the first one: 879.000 protesters had demonstrated according to the Military Police. In this third demonstration, important politicians from opposing parties went to the streets; for instance, Aécio Neves and José Serra (both from PSDB).

1.2.2 Pro-government demonstrations

Although there were millions of Brazilians in the streets, not all civilians agreed with the ideas of the protests. Some groups such as CUT (“Central Única dos Trabalhadores”), “Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra” and UNE (“União Nacional dos Estudantes”) organized demonstrations supporting Dilma’s government. The most relevant pro-government demonstrations in 2015 happened in

¹⁰ This topic will be more explored in the following chapters.

¹¹ Statistic numbers retrieved from:
https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protestos_contra_o_governo_Dilma_Rousseff

August, 20th and December, 16th. They were smaller than the demonstrations against the government: according to the Military Police, there were 73.000 people in the streets in the first demonstration¹² and 98.000 in the second one¹³.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 Objectives

This study aims to analyze texts produced in three demonstrations occurred in Brazil in 2015: March, 15th; April, 12th; and August, 16th. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), proposed by Fairclough (1992) and Van Dijk (2008), Critical Genre Analysis (CGA) (Meurer, 2002; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2008), and theories of the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) as well as appraisal theory (Peter & White, 2005; White, 2011) as tools for analysis, I will attempt to describe the texts and their context, examining the chain of genres they established, the representations produced, and how they express protesters' beliefs, and evaluate the government.

I will investigate demonstrations as social practices which are composed and influenced by a constellation of genres such as banners, placards, signs, artistic performances, news, and memes. In these different texts, it is possible to observe processes of recontextualization and intertextuality which establish textual and discursive relations among them all; thus, I will also explore how these processes happen in the data selected. Besides the discursive implications, one more objective of this research is to observe the presence of hate and intolerance in these political movements. Demonstrations involve different social groups and they are spaces of struggle where dominant and dominated ideologies are present and circulated.

1.3.2 Research Questions

To guide this study, four research questions are proposed:

¹² <http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2015/08/manifestantes-protestam-favor-do-governo-dilma-em-cidades-do-brasil.html>

¹³ <http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2015/12/manifestacoes-contra-impeachment-de-dilma-sao-registradas-pelo-brasil.html>

- 1) What are the main ways of acting (or genres) in sociopolitical demonstrations?
- 2) In which ways are social actors represented and evaluated in protesting genres?
- 3) How are processes of recontextualization, intertextuality and humor present in these genres?
- 4) What do genres of protest suggest in terms of sociopolitical awareness/positioning in Brazil?

1.4 METHOD AND DATA COLLECTION

The study proposed here is a qualitative piece of research focused on the interpretation of semiotic texts based on the principles of CDA. The samples come from three 2015 Brazilian demonstrations, focusing on protesters' manifestation of their claims against the government. The texts will be examined in an interdisciplinary manner, considering technological, social, political and linguistic categories.

1.4.1 Analytical procedures

For Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse is an intermediate instance between text and society, and it is presented in social practices. Fairclough (1992), one of the founders of CDA, suggests a three-dimensional discursive analysis, involving linguistic and social issues in an interdisciplinary method of study. CDA is a very heterogeneous and malleable model of analysis, because of its potential combination of many fields of study.

Discourse goes beyond linguistic borders and it always takes place in social and political contexts. Thus, one of the most important goals of CDA is to focus on “the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of *power* and *dominance* in society” (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 353). Discourse is constituted of social practices and vice-versa, establishing dialectical relations. Revealing identities, attitudes, relation and circulation of ideas is promoted by discursive fields, and it aims to get society aware of discourse's role in social relations (Fairclough, 1992).

Our discursive practices can represent and construct our many possible identities; “since we act in many different sites, discursive practices represent our many identities” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993, p. 56).

Therefore, the register¹⁴ used by someone in his/her discursive practices relates to his/her identity, and it can express how this person identifies him/herself, and others. Matheson (2005, p. 58) and Hall (2005, p. 17), for instance, believe that identity is not innate, but socially constructed. Moreover, it is unstable and constituted of fragments originated from cultural and social phenomena.

However, “the discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people’s heads but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 93). It allows powerful groups to dominate the discursive practices, promoting the maintenance of their own ideologies. According to Fairclough (2014), ideologies are conceptualized as

representations of aspects of the real world that are open to normative critique yet also necessary to sustaining existing social relations and relations of power and the forms (economic systems, institutions, etc.) in which they are embedded. We can say that discourses are ideological in so far as they include such representations, and that activities and practices and genres are ideological in so far as they embody, enact and operationalize such discourses (Fairclough, 2014, p. 25).

Indeed, as Fairclough states, discourse and genres are ideological; thus, people who (re)produce them can maintain social and power relations. The critical analyst must call people’s attention to “the political and ideological investment of a discourse type” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 83).

According to Van Dijk (2008), a discursive study must describe and explain discursive structures, taking into consideration the social practices of interaction. Therefore, I will analyze the selected texts, trying to uncover ideologies and persuasive constructions of discourse. In order to achieve these goals, the texts will be examined using categories mentioned above: critical genre analysis (Meurer, 2002; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2008) the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008), the appraisal theory (Peter

¹⁴“A register is a functional variety of language” (Halliday, 2014, p. 29).

& White, 2005; White, 2011), visual analysis (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) and humor studies (Simpson, 2003).

1.4.2 Data collection

In order to achieve my goals proposed in the previous section, I searched the Internet (news websites, political blogs and image searchers) to find pictures of different semiotic productions in the three days of demonstrations against the government¹⁵. Since I want to claim the texts are part of a group of genres (the protesting genres), I selected three main sources of texts production based on the studies of Szaniecki (2007): graphic, digital and body sources.

The first group of texts will be composed of photographs of Brazilian mass demonstrations which depict protesters holding banners, posters and/or signs. For this group, 60 samples¹⁶ were collected in order to produce quantitative evidence regarding who the most represented in those texts was. Within this corpus, I selected 15 texts to be discursively analyzed according to the theories aforementioned. This group of text is the largest one since the study focusses on texts that were circulating in the streets, the protests *in loco*. The second group is composed of 7 digital texts such as Internet memes, infographics, photos and *Facebook* pages. The third one is composed by 4 texts that use human bodies as resource. It is important to observe that some of the samples use more than only one resource in the same text.

In regards of the content of the texts, I selected the ones that articulate similar processes of representation producing textual and discursive patterns. Thus, my collection criteria was texts that revealed (some of) the purposes of the demonstrations and produced representations of politicians and protesters. Since my thesis tries to expose prejudice and intolerance in the discourse of the 2015 demonstrations, I selected texts that could present hate discourse and negative representations.

¹⁵ Internet sources can be found in the Appendixes.

¹⁶ All the posters can be found in the Appendixes.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF RESEARCH

Halliday (1973, 2004) theorizes about the uses of language and their relations with social structures. He claims that “to understand language, we examine the way in which the social structure is realized through language: how values are transmitted, roles defined and behavior patterns made manifest. [...] Language is the principal means of cultural transmission [...]” (Halliday, 1973, p.69). Thus, observing and analyzing the ways society uses language to express and to produce its ideologies and identities become extremely important in our current times.

In connection with socio-communicative perspectives, discourse is materialized in textual forms. Texts perform discursive practices and they are considered communicative and interactive events executed by genres (Swales, 1993). Textual production has passed through modifications which have supported new meaning constructions, and new genres. These changes are possible because of digital media advent and their wide acceptance in netizens¹⁷ lives.

If there are connections among language, text, and society, studying these new productions is required in order to comprehend how contemporary society relates to its texts. Understanding the functioning and the circulation of textual productions evince the ways in which ideological positions and identities are constructed and circulated among people. Besides social reality, it is important to look at the digital universe since it has been very significant in contemporary social life.

That is why I propose to examine different semiotic resources for texts regarding 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. The digital space, for instance, has played a very important role in protests: it permits protesters to persuade and to call people for their fights; to create new texts, using new resources; to extend the life of banners and the protest itself; to discuss and to comment about demonstrators’ claims and political positioning; and also to offend and curse.

According to Van Dijk (2008), critical investigation of discourse must comprehend and reveal “the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Van Dijk, 2008, p.85). The use of texts in sociopolitical demonstrations and their recent usage in the digital world urge a critical approach of these productions in this kind of context. Much has been said about the discourse of hate related to these

¹⁷ Users of the Internet.

protests mainly in alternative media channels of communication. However, how can people claim and explain this positioning?

By observing and comprehending these textual productions, it is possible to discover ideological effects and power relations produced by them. Critical discourse analysis presents many fruitful theories that can guide our readings and interpretations in order to perceive meanings constructed in the texts. A critical reading of demonstrations can reveal potential discourses present in their texts; moreover, understanding citizens' ideas on the current political situation of the country is also possible.

Likewise, all these texts or genres (such as banners, posters, Internet memes, videos, comments, etc.) can be a form of resistance against ideological dominance. A simple reason for this belief is the increase of the use of Internet and the amount of these kinds of textual production. Therefore, by examining how these texts are produced we can understand how they are used as tools for discursive democratization.

The texts foment debates about politics and democracy which must be emphasized and explored by civilians in their political practices. Many politicians, however, have tried to prohibit political education in schools; teachers, for instance, must not talk about political issues to their students. This is the case of the bill "Escola sem Partido" proposed by the Deputies' Chamber in 2015. This legislative proposal is also supported by parents and students who created an NGO whose slogan is: "for a law against the abuse of free teaching"¹⁸.

In this scenario, a work which tries to interpret political texts and to make ideologies visible may contribute to people's awareness of the relations between discourse and social practices and its political repercussions. This work can shed some light on these complex issues, reaffirming the importance of political consciousness and actions.

¹⁸ My translation from the original: "por uma lei contra o abuso da liberdade de ensinar". Retrieved from: <http://www.escolasesempartido.org/>

1.6 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into four chapters that explore semiotic productions in the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. This current first chapter has introduced the study proposed, exploring the objectives, method and context of my investigation. The following two chapters are organized in two parts: first, the theoretical background that will be the base for the analysis proposed in each chapter; and then, the analysis itself.

In Chapter II, I discuss the concept of ‘genres’ and their characteristics. Using Critical Genre Analysis (Meurer, 2002; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002; Martin & Rose, 2008), I develop the idea of protesting genres which deals with multimodal and persuasive discourses placed in a specific social practice: to protest. Chapter III aims at firstly exploring discursive constructions within protesting genres, analyzing how social actors are represented and evaluated according to the categories of the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008), the grammar of visual design (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996) and the appraisal theory (Peter & White, 2005; White, 2011). Afterwards, I look at intertextual chains and humorous aspects of protesting genres.

The last chapter concludes the thesis, revisiting some important points presented in the previous chapters. This chapter discusses what protesting genres suggest in terms of sociopolitical awareness/positioning in Brazil, and it exposes some of important political events that happened during the thesis writing. I also present the limitations of my study which can be initial points for new studies about protesting genres and some pedagogical implications of my thesis that can show the importance of politics and political texts inside the classroom, raising critical readers of the world.

CHAPTER II PROTESTING GENRES

2.1 INITIAL REMARKS

In this chapter I will investigate characteristics of protesting genres based on samples selected from the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. First, I will introduce the theoretical background for the analysis of genres within critical discursive fields. Then I will move to a specific social practice – the practice of protesting – in order to explore networks of genres and their structures, topics and social agents.

2.2 (CRITICAL) GENRE ANALYSIS

Language has been seen by many authors as a set of possibilities that mediates discourse in our contemporary society where people are concerned about material and cultural exchanges, information access and meaning construction (Kress, 1989; Meurer & Motta-Roth, 2002). According to these views, language is not just a communicative device or a code system, but it is considered a social practice that deals with and constitutes many social aspects, including ideologies and relations of power.

The human world is revealed in social practices that “can be thought of as ways of controlling the selection of certain structural possibilities and the exclusion of others, and the retention of these selections over time, in particular areas of social life” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 23-24). Practices of buying and selling, practices of teaching, or practices of protesting are examples of what happens in social life. All social practices, in their linguistic aspects, are controlled and organized by orders of discourse which Fairclough (2003) defines as “the linguistic elements of networks of social practices” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). Thus, “orders of discourse can be seen as the social organization and control of linguistic variation” (Fairclough, 2003, p.24). The constitutive elements of orders of discourse are: discourses, styles and genres. According to Fairclough, the three elements are ways of realizing things in social practices. Discourses are ways of representing; styles are ways

of being; and genres are ways of acting discursively¹⁹. This last element (genres) is the scope of the work developed in this current chapter.

Brazilian researchers have been interested in genre analysis since the early 90's (Meurer, 2002; Motta-Roth & Heberle, 2015). Internationally, the concept of genre has been “extensively used in *Language Education* (Christie, 1989), *Language and Gender* (Poynton, 1989), and *Factual Writing* (Martin, 1989)” (Kress, 1989). According to Motta-Roth & Heberle (2015), Brazilian work on genres has been theoretically based on four main schools:

the so-called British tradition of ESP, heralded mostly by Swales (1981, 1990) and Bhatia (1993); the American New Rhetoric or Sociorhetoric, as proposed by Miller (1984) and Bazerman (1988), among others; the Sydney Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) school, predominantly developed by Hasan (1985/1989) and Martin (1992); and finally the Geneva school, which has drawn chiefly on research by Bronckart (1999) and Schneuwly and Dolz (1999) (Motta-Roth & Heberle, 2015, p. 22).

Many points of view and concepts of these schools can be articulated in analysis of genres which recognize the dialectal relations between language and society. This idea combined with Sociorhetoric, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) constitutes an interdisciplinary field of studies that we can call Critical Genre Analysis (CGA).

CGA is concerned with critical readings and analysis of genres. This approach does more than just describe and explain textual structures; it also explores genre as a space of (re)production of social reality, relations and identities. “CGA aims at explicating how social problems are discursively constructed, taking genre as its unit of reference in the analysis” (Motta-Roth & Heberle, 2015, p. 26).

¹⁹ See Fairclough (2003) for a detailed explanation of each element.

2.3 DEFINING GENRE

Research on genres²⁰ has produced many different approaches to and definitions. According to Marcuschi (2008) genres could be seen as cultural categories, cognitive schemes, ways of social action, textual structures, ways of social organization, and/or rhetorical action. The functional/critical perspective – which is the ground of this thesis – “is social rather than cognitive, its analysis of social contexts is social semiotic rather than ethnographic commentary, and it is designed along multiple dimensions as a stratified, metafunctional, multimodal theory of text in social context rather than eclectic” (Rose, 2012, p. 209). This way, definitions that deal with social and cultural aspects of language will be the basis for this study.

Many linguistic studies on genre rely on Bakhtin’s works (1986). According to the Russian philosopher, genres are composed by three elements: thematic content, style, and compositional structure. He states that “each separate utterance is individual, of course, but each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances. These we may call *speech genres*” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 60). Many other researchers have also tried to conceptualize genre and searched for elements of analysis. In the 60’s, for instance, the linguist Halliday introduce the concept of ‘register’ as one of the parameters of the context of situation; he is one of the first scholars that proposed this concept linking it to social aspects. Later on, researchers such as Gunther Kress (1989) and Carolyn Miller (1984) approached genres as discourse types and social actions. Miller, for instance, states that “genre refers to a conventional category of discourse based in large-scale typification of rhetorical action; as action, it acquires meaning from situation and from the social context in which that situation arose” (Miller, 1984, p. 163). Kress and Miller’s idea of genre as social action will be the bases for the connection between Genre studies and CDA as we find in Meurer (2002); Meurer & Motta-Roth (2002); Bhatia (2014) and Martin & Rose (2008).

Fairclough (2003) also gives relevance to the concept of genre. He claims that “we can distinguish different genres as different ways of (inter)acting discursively [...]” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26). Thus, genres can be understood as ways of acting. In his own words: “genres are the

²⁰ Genres have been studied since ancient times in the Greek and Roman worlds. The word was connected to the analysis of literary texts and it was first explored by Plato and established by Aristotle. Romans (such as Horace) and researchers from the Middle Age to Modernity and Contemporaneity have also worked on ideas and concepts of genres (Marcuschi, 2008, p. 147).

specifically discursive aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events [...] when we analyse a text or interaction in terms of genre, we are asking how it figures within and contributes to social action and interaction in social events [...]” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 65).

Different genres may relate to each other and create networks of genres, or genre chains, which support action at different times and spaces. Taking into account the data of this thesis, chains constitute a very important key for contemporary protests: texts from different places are connected in different times in order to (re)construct meanings. These textual resemblances are understood as ‘intertextuality’ which is a very important characteristic of different kinds of texts²¹.

In order to understand and to approach genres, two studies are relevant for my analysis: Meurer’s (2002) and Martin & Rose’s (2008). They both propose an intersection among genres, SFL models and CDA theories. These studies will guide my work in the analysis of protesting genres in this chapter.

Meurer (2002), based on the works of Halliday in Systemic Functional Linguistics and the whole school of CDA, argues that texts have three constructive effects; they can create representations, relations and identities. This way, a critical view of genres has to deal with the (re)construction of social and discursive practices and their social actors. This idea is grounded on principles of CDA according to what Fairclough (1992) has explored:

We can distinguish three aspects of the constructive effects of discourse. Discourse contributes first of all to the construction of what are variously referred to as ‘social identities’ and ‘subject positions’ for social ‘subjects’ and types of ‘self’ (see Henriques et al. 1984; Weedon 1987). [...] Secondly, discourse helps construct social relationships between people. And thirdly, discourse contributes to the construction of systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64).

For Halliday (1985), all communication fulfills three language functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. Based on Halliday, Fairclough connects the three constructive effects to three

²¹ Intertextuality will be explored in more detail in the next chapter.

functions of language: the identity function and the relational and ideational functions. Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) also claim that the identity and the relational functions are not two separated function but the basis of the interpersonal function. They guide the study of genre in Martin & Rose (2008).

According to the authors genres are defined as “staged, goal oriented social processes. Staged, because it usually takes us more than one step to reach our goals; goal oriented because we feel frustrated if we don’t accomplish the final steps; social because writers shape their texts for readers of particular kinds” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 6). Therefore, genre is a recurrent configuration of meanings which enact social practices of a given culture. Culture, in this way, is a key issue: variations in cultural practice produce different genres. The diagram below shows these relationships.

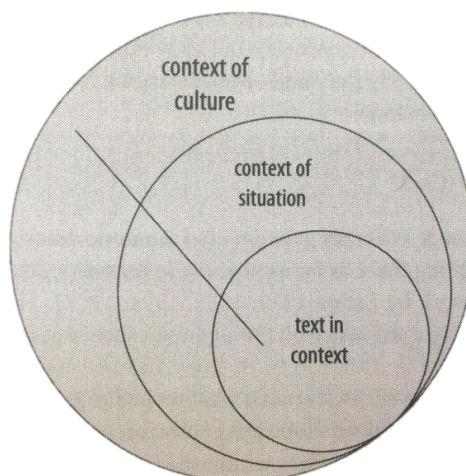


Figure 2.1 A stratal interpretation of the relation of language to social context
(Source: Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 10)

According to Martin & Rose, each strata of language is modelled as ‘realisation’ which involves meanings of ‘symbolising’, ‘encoding’, ‘expressing’, ‘manifesting’ and so on. Thus, “patterns of social organization in a culture are realised (‘manifested/ symbolised/ encoded/ expressed’) as patterns of social interaction in each context of situation, which in turn are realised as patterns of discourse in each text”

(Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 10). This model is very important since it shows that genre will be situated in the last strata: the context of culture.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) theorized that the context of situation deals with three dimensions: tenor – relationships between participants; field – social action; and mode – the different semiotic and textual expressions. These three dimensions characterize what they call register; that is, register refers to variations in the situation. Martin & Rose claim that some linguists have understood genre as an aspect of one of these dimensions: “Halliday (e.g. 1978) had treated genre as an aspect of mode; and Hasan (1977, 1985) derived her obligatory elements of text structure from field and so appeared to handle genre relations there” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 16).

However, as Martin & Rose suggest, genres are not only situated in one specific dimension, but they involve “a particular configuration of tenor, field and mode variables” (p. 16). This way, genres are located in the last strata (context of culture), representing arrangements of register’s elements at the cultural level. Figure 2.2 outlines this idea.

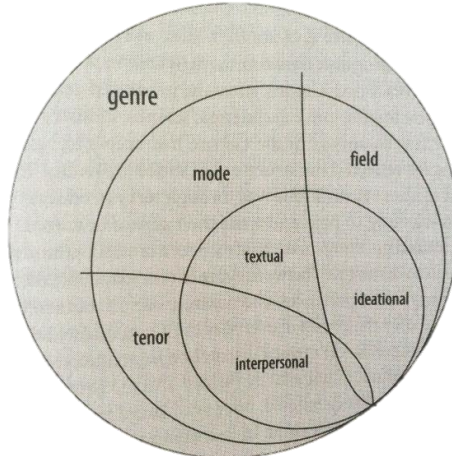


Figure 2.2 Genre as an additional stratum of analysis beyond tenor, field and mode (Source: Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 17)

According to Martin & Rose (2008), this approach permits researchers to observe the possible configurations of the aspects of the context of situation (tenor, mode, and field), including past

configurations (or genres that are no longer usable) and future ones. The authors claim that these combinations provide “a large but potentially definable set of genres that are recognisable to members of a culture” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 17). They also suggest that “members of cultural grouping gain control over a broad common set of genres as we mature – we learn to distinguish between types of everyday contexts, and to manage our interactions, apply our experiences, and organise our discourse effectively within each context” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 18).

2.4 PROTESTING GENRES AND 2015 BRAZILIAN DEMONSTRATIONS

In social demonstrations, people go to the streets holding signs of protest²². This is one way to make claims visible during their marches. Szaniecki (2007) states that: “demonstrations originate posters²³, posters originate demonstrations [...]” (Szaniecki, 2007, p. 83)²⁴. This sentence highlights how banners, placards, and signs are vital pieces in demonstrations. They are important linguistic and semiotic practices that can reveal the topics of the protest.

My interest in this research is to look at these textual and discursive productions as ways of acting in the social practice of protesting. I will, from now on, categorize these texts as protesting genres.

2015 Brazilian demonstrations – as they were contextualized in the previous chapter – constitute a very fruitful context of situation where we can observe mode, tenor and field providing a large set of genres designed and used to protest. Therefore, I will use examples from these protests to illustrate how a genre is part of the social practice of protesting. Banners, placards, and signs have been present in many previous demonstrations as much as they are in current ones. They are the classical genres of protests.

However, new movements have presented new ways of acting in protests and, consequently, new ways of doing politics. Besides the

²² Signs are hand-held posters such as banners and placards. In the following subsection, I will explore more mode possibilities for protesting genres.

²³ The term “posters” is a free translation for the Portuguese word “cartazes”. However, Szaniecki (2007) uses this term to refer to all genres she observed in political fields: not just the ones made of graphic resources, but also genres supported by digital and body resources. This way, protesting genres could be a better translation for the term.

²⁴ My translation from the original “movimentos geram cartazes, cartazes geram movimentos [...]” (Szaniecki, 2007, p. 83).

investigation of banners, placards and signs, I will also explore other texts such as memes, infographics, *Facebook* events and body-based texts that have appeared in current demonstrations, exposing not just their textual structures, but also identities and social relations represented in protesting genres.

These genres use many different modes of semiotization in order to convince people to participate in a protest (for instance, *Facebook* events use images and texts to invite more people to engage in the protests). They also try to establish a communication channel between protesters and more powerful institutions (in this case, mainly politicians) which are called to act according to demonstrators' wishes. Protesting genres are clearly multimodal and persuasive discourses which empower anonymous civilians. Therefore, this genre is related to the demonstrators' voices.

Protesting genres are spaces of complaining where people can express their feelings and anguishes. They reveal protesters' dissatisfaction with the *status quo* or the current situation, revealing desires for changing and promoting resistance as a consequence. This does not mean that all protests fight for a good or noble cause. What we can say is that protesters are positioning themselves against institutions they do not share common interests or against attitudes they do not agree with. Powerful institutions can, for instance, maliciously use the protests in order to take a government down and to establish a political coup. Protesting genres, in this sense, articulate different people's voices.

In Chapter I, I explained the social context that protesting genres belong to: a scenario of demonstrations – in this case, three days of the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. This social action of protesting is the field of these genres.

In the next subsection, I will explore in more detail the characteristics of these protesting genres taking into account the aspects of the context of situation. I will also discuss 'mode' – or semiotic resources – and 'tenor' – or the participants and their relationships.

2.4.1 Modes: Protesting genres as a multimodal discourse

Protesting genres have used many different modes. According to Halliday (1985), "mode refers to what part language is playing, what is that the participants are expecting language to do for them in the situation: the symbolic organisation of the text, the status it has, and its function in context" (Halliday, 1985, p. 12). Martin & Rose (2008)

adapt this definition, saying that “mode deals with the channeling of communication, and thus with the texture of information flow as we move from one modality of communication to another” (Martin & Rose, 2008, p. 14). The texts collected in this research show that protesting genres use different semiotic modes. Verbal language is mixed with images, colors, fonts, maps and so on in order to construct meaning.

In order to analyze this multimodal genre, Szaniecki (2007) claims that “cartazes” are divided into three main groups based on their resources of production. The first group are texts supported by graphic resources such as paper and ink. The second group are texts supported by digital resources such as the Internet and image/video editors. The third group are texts realized by the use of ‘body resources’ such as makeup and costumes. I will discuss each group in the next subsections.

2.4.1.1 Graphic resources: Signs, Banners and Placards

Signs are the classical kind of text in a street demonstration. They are usually hand-made by painting or writing on sheets of cardboards. This group is the most popular and it is predominant in the streets during the protesting moment. However, they have a short life: they will be probably thrown away at the end of the demonstration.



Figure 2.3 Protesting genres: paper based signs²⁵

²⁵ The source of all banners, placards and signs can be found in APPENDIX A.

Figure 2.3, for instance, is a good example of a multimodal sign of protest. It mixes verbal language (a direct order) and image which conveys negative meanings. Here, the current president and the ex-president of Brazil are leaving the country. Both are crying and have symbolic footprints on their backs connoting the idea of unemployment and expulsion. They are also represented as carrying a piece of luggage, including a bottle of an alcoholic Brazilian drink (“Pinga 51”) and a book by Marx. These are highly negative and ideological representations of the presidents, suggesting that they are ‘being expelled, being alcoholic and Marxists.’

Following graphical technological development, we can also find banners made of fabric or plastic material and the use of printed stuff such as letters, icons, or the whole banner itself. Protesters can also attach a plastic tube or a piece of wood to make the sign easier to hold; these are called placards. Figures 2.4 and 2.5 are examples of these two possibilities.

Once again, the multimodal aspect is present: words, images, and colors mixed in order to construct meanings. In both figures, another very common semiotic resource in protesting genres is possible to observe: more than verbal language, the texts use typography to reinforce meaning.



Figures 2.4 and 2.5 Protesting genres: banners and placards

Typefaces or typographic styles are semiotic features related to the form of letters. Machin (2007) says that typefaces have meaning potential specially based on metaphorical relations. The author proposes that typography can work together with Halliday’s metafunctions of language, constituting a semiotic system: interpersonal, ideational and textual typographies. Therefore, typefaces convey and reproduce discourses as much as verbal language does.

Signs, banners and placard use to be written in large and capital letters (sometimes occupying the whole poster), because of a very pragmatic goal: since they are texts which are supposed to be read by

many people in considerable distances, the size of the letters is an important aspect to make the message visible. However, these texts have done more than present big letters to facilitate reading; they have also used different colors, sizes and types to signify. Figures 2.4 and 2.5, for instance, use typography to construct and reinforce negative representations of some identities.

In both figures, there are words which have a different typeface from others. Figure 2.4 presents the neologism “DESPTIZAR”. The term resembles the word “dedetizar” in the Portuguese language, connoting that something must be fumigated. Although the word is written mainly in black letters, two letters (“PT”) are represented in white and in front of a red star. This last typeface is known as the logotype of a Brazilian political party: the Workers’ Party, or “PT”. In this case, typography is used to specify and reinforce the addressee of that message; the party addressed needs to be fumigated, or eliminated from social life. In the bottle of the banner, we can also find the word “CORRUPTOS”. Once again, the letters “PT” are written in white and inside of a red star, reinforcing who the addressees are and their social judgment: a corrupted party. This evaluation works very well as a justification for the fumigation of the party.

Figure 2.5 works in similar ways. This time, there is the implicit imperative sentence, “Fora Dilma”, using different typestyles. The verb is written in black indicating a more neutral connotation compared to the name of the president. “Dilma” is not just written in red – the color of her party – but it also resembles her logotype for the president election campaign (her handwritten signature).

In both signs, typography is part of the ideational metafunction, operating on the construction of identities. The three examples (Figures 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5) negatively represent the current president, or the ex-president, or their party (the Workers’ Party). The use of their images, their names, and the typography help to construct negative stereotypes. All multimodal resources were used to convey discourses, and evaluations about these politicians. These semiotic resources are very important characteristics of protesting genres.

2.4.1.2 Digital resources: Internet memes

Protesting genres can also be created in digital spaces and they can circulate on the Internet. Sometimes, these online versions are printed and transformed into paper-based banners to be held during the

protests. The opposite is also possible: many signs have been photographed (or recorded) and stored on the web. This process allows the inclusion of banners in news reports about demonstrations and also the creation of new genres such as memes, audiovisual parodies, and comments.

Technological progress and the emergence of the Internet have provided new tools for road protests. Current demonstrations are indeed connected to the digital world: virtual events are created in order to call people to protest, texts with different points of view are circulated, and images of demonstrations are quickly available. Although protesters use signs and banners in their demonstrations, digital technology has created new possibilities for new texts and genres which have been used in these demonstrations. Internet memes, videos, photographs, online news, and comments are few examples of potential protesting genres.

Within this broader set of genres, Internet memes have been extensively used as one of the most significant protesting texts. This new genre is supported by new ‘technical stuff’ – binary programming, applications (such as texts, sounds, images, animations, etc.), digital devices, Internet connection and new techniques (keying, clicking, cropping, and dragging) – and by new ‘ethos stuff’ (Lankshear & Knobel, 2007). Lankshear & Knobel claim that a new *ethos* is needed, because new textual productions (multimodal texts) are more “participatory”, “collaborative”, and “distributed” whereas they are less “individuated” and “author-centric”²⁶. This way, there is a new culture in which information can be (re)combined in different ways and can circulate freely; this is the *culture of remix*. According to the authors:

[...] cultural creation requires the freedom and capacity of ordinary people to draw on elements of prior cultural production to use as raw materials for further creative work. This does not mean pirating, and it does not mean copying without citation. What it does mean, however, is that people should be free to take (with appropriate recognition) “bits” of cultural production that are in circulation and use them to create new ideas, concepts, artifacts and statements, without having to seek permission to re-use, or to be hit with a writ for using particular animation or music sequences as components in “remixes” (Lankshear

²⁶ This is one explanation for a lack of authorship that will be explored in the subsection about the context of situation regarding the ‘tenor’ aspect.

and Knobel 2006, Ch. 4) that make something significantly new out of the remixed components (Lankshear & Knobel, 2007, p. 12).

The process of a new textual creation (as much as the process of reading them) passes through recontextualization and intertextuality²⁷ which permit the creative use of other works according to this culture of remix. Internet memes are based in these processes in which different texts are connected to each other and new meanings are constructed. Memes recontextualize texts, creating spaces for discursive voices of different actors in different space and time.

The idea of ‘meme’ comes originally from biological studies, and it was coined by Richard Dawkins (1976) in his work “The Selfish Gene”. The biologist conceptualizes meme as a unit of cultural transmission, comparing it with the gene. Many pieces of research have been based on this idea, forming a new area of study called ‘memetic studies’. Although Dawkins is considered the father of memes, his works are not related to the digital world and the Internet; “[...] the term ‘meme’ was coined long before the digital era” (Shifman, 2014, p. 17), thus, Internet memes are not the same as biological memes.

The word “meme” was borrowed from Dawkins, but it has become a new concept as we can see in Milner’s and Shifman’s definitions below. This phenomenon is very recent and there are few studies about this new meaning of the word “meme”. Milner (2012) and Shifman (2013), (2014) are, to the best of my knowledge, the first studies (from Communication Departments) on Internet memes.

Limor Shifman (2014) states that the Internet meme is “a group of digital content units sharing common characteristics of content, form, and/or stance” (Shifman, 2014, p. 177). Although this definition is one of the most satisfactory, it is also somehow general. Milner (2012) presents a more specific definition which is fruitful for the discussion presented in this thesis. The researcher says that memes “are multimodal artifacts, where image and text are integrated to tell a joke, make an observation, or advance an argument [...]” (Milner, 2012, p. 16). Even though there are differences between the two definitions, both authors believe that memes have high speed of sharing; they can reach many people very quickly. This is in consonance with the original idea of Dawkins and it is an important factor for street protests.

²⁷ Both processes will be explored in Chapter III.

To understand an Internet meme as a genre is to define it as a way of action according to the concepts of genre explored in this thesis. This way, memes can be used in protests as a form of semiotic action and participation, constructing and maintaining ideologies and power relations related to political topics. Shifman (2014) explores memes as ways of political participation, nominating them as “political memes”. The researcher says that:

while some political memes are framed in a humorous manner, others are deadly serious. But regardless of their emotional keying, political memes are about making a point – participating in a normative debate about how the world should look and the best way to get there (Shifman, 2014, p. 120).

Shifman also claims that what contemporary society understands as political participation has changed, and now it is possible to include simpler actions such as “commenting on political blogs and posting jokes about politicians”. Thus far, Internet and new Medias are more convincing and stimulating spaces of participation. In consonance, Rojo (2014) claims that these new forms of communication “could be transforming not just public space, but also social movements themselves, and the ways of doing politics” (Rojo, 2014, p. 640)

Shifman (2014) also proposes three interconnected functions that are possible to encounter in political memes: (1) Memes as forms of persuasion or political advocacy; (2) Memes as grassroots action; (3) Memes as modes of expression and public discussion. The first relates to the possibilities that memes have to convince people; the second relates to roles of these texts in order to connect the personal and the political in the empowerment of citizens and actions; and the third deals with memes as reactions to past events, promoting polyvocal spaces (Shifman, 2014, 122-123).

2015 Brazilian demonstrations have inspired the composition of many Internet memes that can be considered political and protesting memes. The readings of these texts rely on readers’ previous knowledge because of their intertextual structure. The comparison between Dilma Rousseff’s government and Fernando Collor’s in figure 2.6, for instance, is represented by their approval percentage and their pictures without any reference to their names. The text calls the reader to participate in

protests, persuading them through the link between the 2015 political situation and a previous happening (Collor's impeachment).



Figure 2.6 Collor vs Dilma²⁸

This meme can represent the functions of political memes proposed by Shifman. The text reacts to past and present events, trying to convince the reader to engage in the political movement; besides, it evokes, for instance, statistic discourses through the use of percentage numbers and people's voice (as the text say "quando o povo não quer, corrupto não vinga"), constituting a polyvocal discourse. However, the voices are not joined in order to promote a debate, but to reinforce the main claim of these demonstrations: the president's impeachment.

One important fact, however, is that it was possible to observe that Brazilian citizens were divided during the protests: not all citizens were in consonance with these demonstrations. This way, Internet memes were also used to express opposite perspectives about the claims. Figure 2.7, for instance, produces irony and relates corruption – the fighting cause of the protests according to the majority of demonstrators – to corrupted acts of "Confederação Brasileira de Futebol" (CBF) where soccer uniforms were used as protesters uniform. Irony is a strategy found in these texts since they also mobilize humor²⁹.

²⁸ Retrieved from: <http://portaldomagrao.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/FORA-02.jpg>

²⁹ The topic "humor" will be explored in the next chapter.



Figure 2.7 Corruption and CBF³⁰

2.4.1.3 Body resources: makeup, t-shirts and costumes

The human body can also constitute a resource that produces semiotic effects. Protesters may have their bodies painted in demonstrations for instance and it is quite common to see the national colors in people's face. The body allows other semiotic constructions such as the use of costumes and accessories as well as the absence of clothes. Protesters also wear messages painted in their t-shirts or they perform dances and choreographies in the streets (flash mob).

Rojo (2014) nominates the use of bodies as a political process of "corporealisation". She claims that "the human body is configured as part of the protest and as a space of representation that bears the given demand or criticism as it moves through the city" (Rojo, 2014, p. 633). In Figure 2.8, it is possible to observe two women wearing political t-shirts which say: "Presidente queremos nossa bolsa". They criticize the government system of financial assistance, using the word "bolsa" which has more than one meaning in Brazilian Portuguese: at the same time it could mean financial assistance, it also means a purse. Thus, the text uses a picture of a Chanel's purse under the sentence, evoking this double meaning. It can also mean that protesters are part of the (white) elite since they are displaying an expensive product.

³⁰ Retrieved from: <http://www.blogdafal.com/2015/03/minha-manifestacao-de-sofa.html>



Figure 2.8 Protesting genres: T-shirts³¹

The following figure (figure 2.9) represents the use of a costume as a political participation. This time we see a protester who wears similar hair, makeup, and accessories to the Brazilian president, Dilma Rousseff, but she is dressed with a cassava costume and the presidential sash saying: “Miss mandioca sapiens”. This semiotic construction refers to two of Dilma’s speeches which were mocked by many citizens: the cassava points to an announcement where the president saluted the plant, and the word sapiens refers to a speech where she used the phrase “woman sapiens”. In a very intertextual and sarcastic way, the text criticizes and makes fun of the president image, making visible the political positioning of this protester.



Figure 2.9 Protesting genres: costumes³²

³¹ Retrieved from: <http://www.criatives.com.br/2015/03/os-22-cartazes-mais-engracados-e-criativos-dos-protestos-do-dia-1503/>

All these texts are examples of different semiotic constructions that could be found in 2015 Brazilian demonstrations against the government. The data presented is evidence for the forms of communication changes that (re)shape the ways of doing politics, and vice-versa. As it was aforementioned, the new possibilities of meaning construction could be transforming political movements themselves and, in extension, the ways of doing politics. Rojo (2014) claims that “in the face of the frequent criticism levelled at these movements, that they lack any real political agenda, what we find is a different logic whose main objectives is to regenerate politics” (Rojo, 2014, p. 649). In other words, society has been exploring new possibilities of civil participation in politics; and digital media, a very fruitful space for multimodal discourses, has contributed with these changes extensively. As Shifman (2014) states “new media offer appealing and convenient ways to stimulate participatory activity, especially among younger citizens who have been the least likely to participate in formal politics” (Shifman, 2014, p. 120).

2.4.2 Tenor: Protesting genres as persuasive discourses

I have so far explored the field and mode of protesting genres and conceptualized them as a multimodal discourse which works with graphic, digital and body resources (Chapter I and Chapter II – Section 2.4.1). In this section, I will discuss some tenor aspects of these genres. I will first look at the participants, and then the interactions/relations they establish between them.

According to Halliday (1985), ‘tenor’ refers to who is taking part in the semiotic event, and the kind of relationship constructed. Protesting genres clearly deal with social and power relations. These genres are created by skillful people, proposing political interventions. Thus, unequal and distant social relations are established and expected in protesting genres. These relations are grounded in persuasive discourses that try:

- (1) to convince more people to join the cause and to protest in the streets, and/or
- (2) to call the attention of politicians in powerful positions, and to establish with them some sort of communication.

³² Retrieved from: <https://homemculto.com/2015/08/18/fatos-e-fotos-do-dia-seguinte/>

Taking into account these two main goals, we can categorize three groups of participants in protesting genres: the authors – the ones who are responsible for the texts; the represented people – mainly politicians; and the readers – civilians who are called to join the authors’ cause. Consequently, these three kinds of participants configure two paths of interaction: the first is a real interaction among authors and readers; the second, a pseudo-interaction among authors and people addressed in their texts. Figure 2.10 illustrates the interactions among participants.

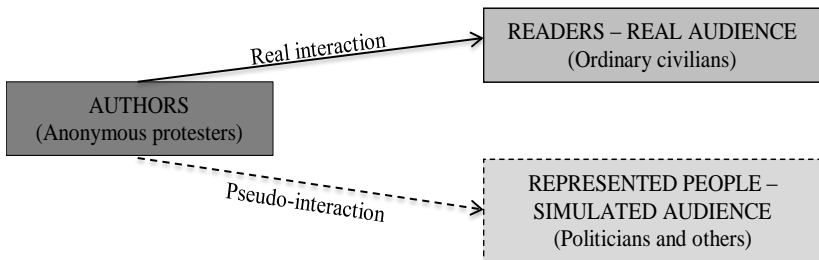


Figure 2.10 Framework of interaction among participants in protesting genres based on Caldas-Coulthard’s (1984; 1997) concept of pseudo-interaction.

These pseudo interactions have interesting characteristics. According to Caldas-Coulthard (1984; 1997), pseudo-interaction “is not interactive in the real sense but imagined by an author, and it only happens intra-textually (the conversation only exists on a page of a book.)” (Caldas-Coulthard, 1984, p. 83). In protesting genres, this interaction happens between the authors and the represented people. Protesters represent politicians and interact with them only in their texts: it is a written simulated interaction.

By contrast, demonstrators in the real world (or authors) have to address a massive number of real people in order to make their claims visible. This is where real interactions between protesters and other civilians happen.

In all these interactions (real or pseudo), it is also possible to detect unequal relations of power because we are dealing with different types of actors: the represented people, for instance, politicians who are authorities in the country; and anonymous writers who produce the texts. Protesting genres therefore have to simulate a kind of informal conversation, placing authorities at the same level of the authors who are empowered to negatively evaluate the politicians in these texts.

In the next subsections, I will explore the aspects of the real and pseudo interactions. I will first look at the authors, and then the relationships established among the participants.

2.4.2.1 Authors and authorship

In order to investigate the participants in a genre, Meurer (2002) states that we must explore the “participants’ identity characteristics and their social positioning” (Meurer, 2002, p. 26)³³. The authors of protesting genres can be generally characterized as anonymous authors. They are not named, but since they are physically present in the demonstrations, there is no need to sign their names in their texts.

As a consequence, authorship seems not to be important in these genres: people do not reveal their names in banners; there is no signature, revealing the author of the text, and protesters do not use their names in order to represent themselves in the sentences; they are present in the texts through the use of pronouns and/or terms that configure them as groups such as their country and/or nationality³⁴. Sometimes, the authors are also institutionalized appearing as civil organizations such as in figure 2.11.

Although no author is clearly identified, a proliferation of personal messages and signs are common in the protests. Rojo (2014) says that “some signs are created in series, but others display custom messages in all kinds of media, and, rather than always reproducing slogans of organizations, give voice to the views and creativity of those who display them” (Rojo, 2014, p. 633). According to her, therefore, these demonstrations have passed through more individualized and customized linguistic practices. Figure 2.8, for instance, represents a very personal message. The t-shirts work with the creativity of their authors and bring a message that does not ask intervention at a social level; it is just an individual wish of having an expensive purse.

It is hard to differentiate protesters/authors in a demonstration: this social practice requires large numbers of people in the streets to support the causes. But indeed we can observe there are unique signs circulating in the protests; demonstrators find very creative manners to make their voices heard by the readers/viewers.

³³ My translation from the original: “características identitárias dos participantes e seu posicionamento social” (Meurer, 2002, p. 26).

³⁴ Subsection 2.4.2.3 presents a frequency graphic on the presence of authors and represented actors in signs, banners and placards.

2.4.2.2 Interaction between authors and readers/viewers – anonymity as a rule

Readers or viewers, like authors, tend not to be named. This characteristic can be explained by the generalization of audience: authors probably want to reach as many people as possible. This is a real interaction where any person can be the addressee of the message, as a strategy of communication.

Nevertheless, both unnamed participants are equal if we take into account their social positions: they are both civilians. The difference between them is that readers/viewers are not considered protesters: authors (real protesters) invite the readers (ordinary civilians) to engage in the demonstration. Even though we can predict that protests will be addressed to powerful political figures, and not ordinary civilians, this cannot be considered as a rule; sometimes, protesters' texts are addressed to other protesters as we can observe in figure 2.6 – an Internet meme that tries to persuade the readers to join the author in his/her fight – and in figure 2.11 – an infographic with very similar goal to figure 2.6.



Figure 2.11 Infographic: alguma dúvida que vai ser maior?³⁵

This text is an invitation from protesters to other (potential) protesters. “VemPraRua” is a civil organization that tries to unite people

³⁵ Retrieved from: <http://vempraruia.net>

to demonstrate³⁶. The group uses data from previous protests to persuade. The invitation is based on the growing number of cities participating in demonstrations; the numbers (from 241 to 450 cities) and the maps are evidence for this increase. The colors (green, yellow, blue and white) are similar to the colors of the Brazilian flag which evoke a nationalistic/patriotic discourse³⁷. Protesters use these sources to persuade more people to come to the street, increasing the number of participants and making the demonstration more relevant.

Similar interactions can also be observed in *Facebook events* – another protesting genre that invite people to occupy the streets. In these texts, protesters present precise details about the protests such as place and hour of the event. Again there are protesters communicating to other (potential) protesters, but this is an exceptional case of interaction because it is possible to name who is/are the author/s of the text and, consequently, the organizer/s of the event. The next figure represents this genre.

16 | AGO MEGA MANIFESTAÇÃO
NÃO VAMOS PAGAR A CONTA DO PT

CURITIBA
PÇA SANTOS ANDRADE
14:00hs

Curitiba
CONTRA A CORRUPÇÃO
CENTRAL DAS MANIFESTAÇÕES

FORA Dilma
CURITIBA

NAO

AGO 16
IMPEACHMENT JÁ! FORA DILMA! CURITIBA

Público · Organizado por Cristiano Roger e outras 3 pessoas

Compartilhar

16 de agosto - 16 de dezembro
16 de agosto às 14:00 a 16 de dezembro às 14:00

Praça Santos Andrade
Praça Santos Andrade, s/nº - Centro, 80020-300 Curitiba

Exibir mapa

CONVIDADOS

18 mil	1,6 mil	140 mil
comparecerá talvez		convidados
0		

Figure 2.12 Facebook event: IMPEACHMENT JÁ!³⁸

³⁶ In contemporary demonstrations it is hard to find a person (or a group of people) who claims to be a leader. Thus, when you access the “VemPraRua” website, you do not find names of people responsible for the movement.

³⁷ Nationalistic discourses play an important role to convince people to take the streets. In Chapter III, I will discuss how protesters claim that they are fighting for the welfare of their country/nation and not just against a political party (as the majority of signs suggests).

³⁸ Retrieved from: <https://www.facebook.com/events/1601981953365953/>

A *Facebook* event must have at least one *Facebook* profile responsible for its creation. In the example above, there is the name of the person who organized the event: Cristiano Roger³⁹. It is important to say once again that these movements have no clear leadership; Castells (2015) says that current demonstrations “did not recognize any leadership and reject all formal organization, relying on the Internet and local assemblies for collective debate and decision-making” (Castells, 2015, p. 4). Although no leader is named or elected, there are some well-known people who take the lead of some protesting groups; Cristiano Roger is an example. He is a member of the movement “Curitiba contra a corrupção” which is a civil organization similar to the movement “Vem PraRua”.

There are also some slogans in the text that reveal some institutionalized identities such as “Curitiba contra a corrupção” and “Central das Manifestações”. We can observe that contemporary demonstrations are organized by many different groups united in the streets for a common cause. Just as we could observe in the *Facebook* event (figure 2.12), these organizations and movements are formed and headed by the protesters themselves, especially the most engaged and participative ones.

This *Facebook* genre is indeed interactive: people can comment about the event and confirm their presence for instance. The interaction is real, connecting the authors to the readers. In summary, this is possible mainly because of the resources the digital genres offer and their similar social positions which produce an informal and close interaction.

The online genres are exceptions in regards of authorship. Although names of protesters and ordinary people are not represented in the texts (Figures 2.6 and 2.11 are examples of this interaction where neither authors nor readers are specified), *Facebook* events have personal profiles. Thus, this real interaction is not anonymous⁴⁰. In this case cited above, Cristiano Roger is ‘supposedly’ the author/protester interacting with readers/civilians who can be identified through the *Facebook* profile they used to interact. But we can never be sure.

³⁹ There is a hyperlink in the *Facebook* event which drives you to the organizer’s *Facebook* profile. Thus, it is possible to visit Cristiano’s profile (<https://www.facebook.com/cristiano.roger.75>) and to check that he is a person engaged in this organization against corruption.

⁴⁰ Profiles are essential in *Facebook* environments. Authors, however, can create fake profiles, disguising therefore their real identity – this is a major problem in the modern world, especially when crime is involved.

The examples I explored here present a discussion of how real interaction between author (protesters) and reader (ordinary civilians) happens. The next subsection discusses how pseudo-interaction between authors and represented people is realized.

2.4.2.3 Interaction between authors and represented people

In the previous subsections, I showed the difficulties of detecting who the ordinary participants in protesting genres are: on the one hand there is a high number of people displaying messages without telling us who they really are; on the other hand, there are the addressees of these messages who are also not explicit. However, it is possible to find some exceptions as discussed above⁴¹.

My data shows that “Dilma” is the most referred name in protesting genres from the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. In a corpus of 60 signs, banners, and placards, Dilma was nominated 17 times followed by her party (PT) – 8 times. Other names appeared in lower case such as Lula (2 times), Sergio Moro (2 times), Paulo Freire, Reginaldo Rossi and Jesus (all of them were represented just once). By contrast, the protesters were never named; most of time (12 times) they just appear in the form of pronouns (I or We) and verb inflections (1st person of singular and plural). Also, protesters have identified themselves as a generalized group or a nation by the words “povo” (3 times) and “Brasil” (8 times). All these numbers can be observed in the following graphic.

⁴¹ Sometimes, people are visually represented instead of named for instance.

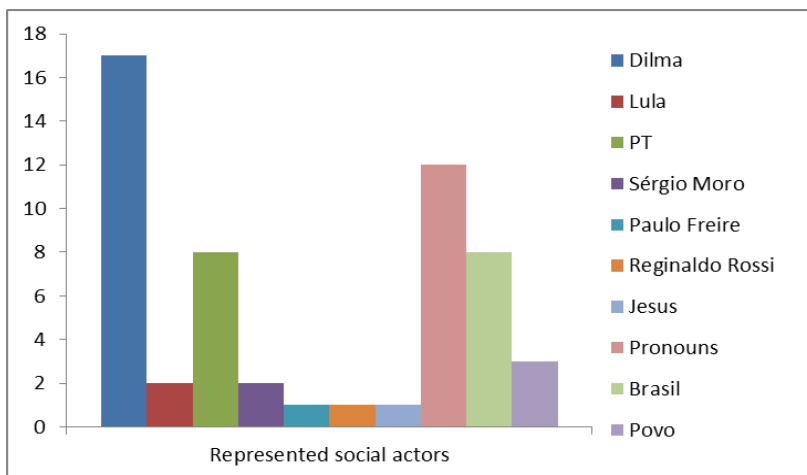


Figure 2.13 Frequency graphic of represented people in signs, banners and placards⁴².

Apart from nomination, many representations are visually constructed (mainly Dilma and Lula such as in figures 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, and 2.9). These constructions refer to the addressees of protesters' messages, especially because of the use of vocatives and imperative verbs – for instance, “Fora Dilma” (figure 2.5). Although there are representations of these well-known people, they are not physically present in the protest; this configures a pseudo-interaction among the authors and the represented people – the author is addressing a person who is not present in the interaction. Signs, banners and placards, in this case, are simulations of interaction which connect protesters to more powerful groups such as politicians and judges.

In ‘real’ interactions between participants from such different social positions, a certain level of formality and distance are expected. However, protesting genres have no clear borders between participants. The texts show that protesting genres usually follow an informal pattern of language, characterizing them as casual messages: an important example is the use of just the first name or a nickname to refer to social actors in higher positions. The relations established are characterized therefore by a low degree of formality simulating a casual and personal interaction among protesters and represented politicians.

However, this interaction will not happen in the real world, it only happens in the texts. Protesters refer to politicians as a third part

⁴² The table which was basis for this graphic can be found in the Appendixes.

simulating a dialogue between the authors and the represented people who are not able to engage in the conversation. Figures 2.3 and 2.5 are examples of this simulation where protesters give direct orders to the represented politicians – as if they had more power than the represented party. This discursive strategy simulates communication for a persuasive purpose.

2.5 FINAL REMARKS

In this chapter, I explored characteristics of genres within SFL, CDA and CGA theoretical framework, and conceptualized protesting genres taking into account the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. Protesting genres were investigated according to their particular configurations of field, mode and tenor (context of situation and context of culture). In summary, according to my analysis, protesting genres are:

- (1) Genres placed in a specific social practice: to protest or to demonstrate.
- (2) They are multimodal discourses. Protesting genres can combine different semiotic modes in order to produce different effects of meanings: words, images, colors and typography are examples of this diversity. Protesters, therefore, make use of different resources to create their texts such as graphic, digital and body resources.
- (3) Protesting genres are persuasive discourses which establish two kinds of interaction: a real interaction among authors and readers; and a pseudo-interaction among authors and represented people.
- (4) In a sociopolitical demonstration, protesting genres configure spaces of dissatisfaction where ordinary people can complain and expose their feelings and anguishes.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the representative construction of protesting genres and on the evaluation of social actors. The analysis will discuss further the categories of multimodality, intertextuality and humor in order to expose the strategies used by authors to persuade readers.

CHAPTER III

SEMIOTIC REPRESENTATIONS OF 2015 BRAZILIAN DEMONSTRATIONS

3.1 INITIAL REMARKS

In the previous chapter, I explored the concept of protesting genres by examining samples collected in the 2015 Brazilian demonstrations. I observed the three aspects of the context of situation in order to develop the idea of protesting genres: they are multimodal and persuasive discourses placed in the field of protests. Besides their genre characteristics, the images analyzed depict many social actors, producing evaluations of them.

In this third chapter, I will investigate representations, their evaluations and discourses enacted in some of the protesting genres from the three anti-government demonstrations presented in Chapter I. For this analysis, I will use the theoretical insights from Critical Discourse Analyses focusing first on the question of the representation of social actors (Van Leeuwen, 1996; 2008) and the appraisal system (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2011). Afterwards, I will explore intertextual chains and humorous aspects of the texts analyzed.

3.2 REPRESENTATION AND EVALUATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

3.2.1 Representation of social actors and visual analysis

Representation is an important issue in linguistic and discursive studies. Texts are rich sources that use different semiotic systems in order to represent people and social events. Critical studies are interested in investigating how and why these representations are done, moving from the ways semiotic choices are made in texts to the ideological implications they convey.

Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006) propose a specific grammar for the analysis of visual signs: the Grammar of Visual Design (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). According to the authors, this grammar considers three dimensions: “the social distance between depicted people and the viewer, the social relation between depicted people and the viewer, and the social interaction between depicted people and the viewer” (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 138).

Social distance is created in pictures through long shots and close-ups. The closer viewers are to the participants represented, the more intimate they can be; the opposite connotes more distant relationships. Social relations are also established according to horizontal angles, or high/ low vertical angles, which express involvement (horizontal) and power (vertical). Finally, social interaction is constructed by the way participants look at each other or by the category of ‘gaze’: they can address, or demand the viewer by looking at them, or they can just offer themselves as a spectacle by looking elsewhere, but not at the viewer.

Looking at verbal language, Van Leeuwen (1996; 2008) proposes a methodological framework in order to analyze the representation of participants, or social actors. According to him, social actors may or may not appear in texts; these are the first classifications proposed by the author: Exclusion and Inclusion. The former is about agent deletion – the social actor is suppressed or backgrounded; the latter deals with role allocation, including the participant in the text. There are many ways participants can be presented in discourse and, for the cases proposed in this thesis, the most significant one is Determination. This process occurs “when their [social actors’] identity is, one way or another, specified” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 39). Thus, I investigated the participants who are explicitly present in the texts of my data.

In order to present participants, a text can represent them by association/ dissociation, differentiation /indifferentiation, single determination/ overdetermination, and categorization/nomination. The first pair characterizes social actors as groups or individuals; the second differentiates, or not the individual from her/his group; the third relates to the number of social practices the actors are participating; and the last represents social actors “either in terms of their unique identity, by being nominated, or in terms of identities and functions they share with others (categorization)” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40).

Regarding the study of the representation of social actors, the author suggests that “it is, again, always of interest to investigate which social actors are, in a given discourse, categorized and which nominated” (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 52-53). Categorization and nomination are significant lexical choices to label social actors, representing them through their names, titulation, functions, relation and physical identifications, classifications, and evaluations.

The representation of social actors concentrated firstly on verbal language. However, Van Leeuwen says that this semiotic theory is in

fact “pan-semiotic”, in other words, the categories can be applied to other semiotic systems such as music or images. The author claims that:

The point is important for critical discourse analysis for, with the increasing use of visual representation in a wide range of contexts, it becomes more and more pressing to be able to ask the same critical questions with regard to both verbal and visual representations, indeed, with regard to representations in all of the ‘media’ that form parts of contemporary ‘multimedia’ texts” (Van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 34).

Multimodality is a characteristic of protesting genres as it was exposed in the previous chapter. Exploring not just the verbal parts, but all the other semiotic resources is vital for any analytical account of protesting genres. Images, colors, typography, pictures, gestures are just some examples of the variety of resources and modes that work in the construction of meanings in the genres of protests.

In section 3.2.3, I will apply the theory of the representation of social actors to my data in order to describe how politicians and protesters were represented in protesting genres. Since representations are also forms of evaluation, I want to claim that these texts can reveal evaluative comments of the government by the protesters, composing a possible scenario for the current political situation of Brazil. Before I move to the analysis, thus, I will present the appraisal system proposed by Martin & White (2005).

3.2.2 The Appraisal System

As discussed above, representation of social actors convey positive and/or negative evaluations of people represented. In order to analyze these meanings, Martin & White (2005) proposed an analytical system of the language of evaluation: the appraisal system. This system

provides techniques for the systematic analysis of evaluation and stance as they operate in whole texts and in groupings of texts. It is concerned with the social function of these resources, not simply as the means by which individual speakers/writers express their feelings and take

stands, but as the means by which they engage with socially-determined value positions and thereby align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions (White, 2011, p. 14).

Appraisal deals with three interactional systems which are “attitude”, “engagement” and “graduation”. The first system relates to “feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behavior and evaluation of things” (Martin & White, 2005, p. 35). The second system is concerned with the play of voices, or the ways authorial voices engage to other voices, producing polyvocal texts; this is based on the Bakhtin’s (1986) idea of dialogism. The last system, as the name suggests, deals with gradability, or the degrees of evaluation, working with the force and the focus of appraisal.

Each of these systems has subdivisions which map how evaluation works within interactions. Due to the limitation of length in this thesis, I will only work with attitudinal meanings combined with the representation of social actors. The following figure (Figure 3.1) illustrates the “attitude” in the appraisal framework:

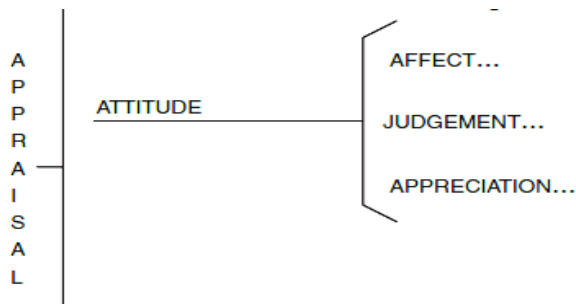


Figure 3.1 “Attitude” in the Appraisal System (Source: Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)

According to Martin & White (2005), attitudinal meanings have to do with feelings; framing our emotional reactions; ethical and aesthetical judgments polarized as positive and negative positioning. Each attitude is analyzed under a specific label. Emotions are categorized as “Affect” which organizes them in three groups of feelings: un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. “Judgment” is the category that analyzes ethics, evaluating attitudes according to the behavior of people. This category is divided into two groups which are

“social esteem” and “social sanction”. The first deals with normality, capacity and tenacity, in other words, how normal, capable and dependable somebody is. The other way of judgment relates to veracity and propriety, revealing how truthful and ethical someone is. The very last category of attitudinal meanings is “Appreciation” which deals with aesthetical evaluations. There are three types of appreciation: reaction – concerned with impact and quality, composition – concerned with balance and complexity, and valuation – concerned with how worthwhile somebody/something is.

As I will show in the next subsection, determination and attitudinal meanings were massively used in the representation and evaluation of social actors in the samples of protesting genres analyzed in this thesis.

3.2.3 The representation and evaluation of politicians

3.2.3.1 Naming the president

Protesting genres are very special spaces that give clues about the protesters’ messages. In these texts, many actors are represented and, consequently, evaluated. Politicians – such as Dilma, Lula, Cunha, and Sarney – appear frequently in political signs of protest. They are named, associated with their parties, and visually represented. Judges (such as Sérgio Moro), thinkers (Paulo Freire, and Marx for instance), and the protesters themselves are also represented in some of these texts. Although many people are represented, Dilma Rouseff was in the spotlight: many posters specified, referred to, and are addressed to her.

In the previous chapter⁴³, I presented a table showing the frequency of appearance of each social actor represented in signs, banners and placards. Dilma was named 18 times in a collection of 60 samples. Lula (the former president and also a member of the Workers’ Party) appeared 2 times while their party (PT) was named 8 times. Politicians from other parties were not found in these samples. These numbers show that Dilma and Lula were the most represented social actors and they were specified (determination) mainly through nomination or their visual representation.

Nomination is an interesting category to start the analysis. It establishes that the social actors are included in discourse, and it is

⁴³ See Chapter II (2.4.2.3 Interaction between authors and represented people).

possible to know who they are, because the author of the texts specifies their identities, using their names. Figure 3.2 is an example of nomination: the president is represented informally by only her first name as it is usual to occur in the posters analyzed.



Figure 3.2 Dilma terrorista

In the same picture, there is a sign in the right corner that says: “Chega de Mentiras! Fora Dilma!”. Once again, the social actor is informally named: the first name of the president is included in the discourse. The banner of Figure 3.2 goes further and not just presents an old picture of the president, but also a fingerprint that is supposedly hers. She is named, visually and biologically represented: there are no doubts that the author is talking about the president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff. The picture, the fingerprint and the word “captured” resemble supposed criminal records when Dilma was captured by enforcement agencies during the military dictatorship in Brazil (the Military Coup in 1964). The criminal records were the topic of the Brazilian newspaper “Folha de São Paulo” in 2009, suggesting that Dilma (Brazilian Presidential Chief of Staff in that time) was a dangerous terrorist.

3.2.3.2 Categorizing the president

Besides naming the president, protesting genres also classify and evaluate her using derogatory qualifiers related to her name. Figure 3.2 brings two examples such as “captured” and “terrorist”. Other

banners also classify her as “whore”, and “thug”⁴⁴. These words categorize the president as a criminal, or an abusive person – who is also capable of killing people – and a woman who has a socially disrespectful sexual behavior or “a person who sacrifices personal principles or uses someone or something in a base or unworthy manner, usually for money”⁴⁵. Social esteem and sanction are both realized, evaluating her as someone who does not fit society and does not comply with the social code: she may need therapists and lawyers to deal with all her deviations. The president is massively opposed, raising a feeling of anger and hate against her image: she is represented as someone who has no ethics, nor values; a person who does not deserve to participate freely in society. Each classification (re)affirms negative ideas about the president and makes people (the ones who believe in such a character) to at least reject or to repudiate her.

The use of classifiers is also present when Dilma is visually represented instead of named. Her picture is vastly associated with words such as “mentirosa” (Figure 3.3) and “charlatan” (Figure 3.12).



Figure 3.3 Mentirosa

The president is once again classified as an untruthful person. Her visual representation, through a distorted face, also contributes to the construction of ‘a liar’. Again she is appraised by social sanction, thus her veracity is attacked.

⁴⁴ Free translation for the words: “quenga”, and “bandida”.

⁴⁵ Retrieved from: <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/whore?s=t>

3.2.3.3 Dilma: the liar, the criminal, the guilty

The two previous subsections showed that the president has been equated to liars and criminals, people who do not deserve any respect and should be punished. Since she has been included in this group of people, her destiny is not different: Dilma faced possible punishments in 2015 Brazilian protesting genres. Figure 3.4 is another banner that suggests penalties; this time, addressed exclusively to the president Dilma Rousseff.



Figure 3.4 Renúncia, suicídio ou impeachment

The banner proposes three possible endings for Dilma: abdication, suicide or impeachment. All the options take her away from her political position, and one of them even suggests her death. At this point, the text achieves high levels of rejection and repudiation against the president, enacting and confirming discourses of extreme hate. Besides aggressive language being used to represent and evaluate the president, an extreme act of violence is proposed: death.

Punishment by death is not legal in the Brazilian territory, thus the authors of this banner could face legal consequences. Kopytowska (2015) states that: “faced with legal consequences and social disapproval, the authors of hateful messages opt for more implicit forms of expression in order to be able to refute allegations of committing a criminal offence” (Kopytowska, 2015, p. 04). The authors found a way out of this situation: they are not giving a sentence to the president; they are just suggesting actions that she could take. Although the banner suggests that one of the possibilities for Dilma is death, the use of the noun “suicide” specifies the kind of the death, attributing the responsibility not to the ones who are suggesting such violence, but to the one addressed in the text: the president is responsible for her own

death in this case. Simply, this is an effective way to take no responsibility for an illegal desire. Moreover, authorship, as suggested earlier, is not clear in protesting genres which makes hard to find the author of these hateful messages.

To make people believe in and desire such a violent action, distorting the figure of the president and creating a sort of common enemy are crucial. Hence, there is the possibility of eliminating the adversary character. Kopytowska (2015) states that “demonizing and dehumanizing others creates the possibility, or even probability, of perpetrating atrocities against them, as many cases of genocide and ethnic violence have demonstrated” (Kopytowska, 2015, p. 04). This way, the banner that depicts Dilma and Lula as rats to be fumigated⁴⁶ is persuasive for possible protesters. Dehumanizing these politicians and turning them into dirty animals are needed in order to make people feel uncomfortable with them and to desire their elimination. This is a very aggressive representation of their images, which can inspire violence against them.

Here, again, distorted figures appear playing a pejorative role in protesting genres. Figure 3.3 is not the only example of a caricaturist representation of Dilma; she has been massively represented in distorted figures. While one text deforms her face and body, others transform her body into a rat (Figure 2.4), or depict the president using the bathroom for example. Figure 3.5 illustrates this case. In a very aggressive way, Dilma Rousseff is portrayed in an embarrassing position and has an awkward face, making her a laughable and ridiculous figure.



Figure 3.5 Chega de cagar no Brasil

⁴⁶ Figure 2.4 in Chapter II (2.4.1.1 Graphic resources: Signs, Banners and Placards)

The lexical choices indicate rudeness. The placard uses the verb “cagar” (or, to shit), asking the president to leave the country and to stop shitting in Brazil. This is clearly a vulgar representation of her that demonizes her figure although using the bathroom is a very common human practice. This banner indeed works in the creation of a grotesque and disrespectful figure, creating a social actor who is not capable of ruling the country.

Concluding, Dilma Rousseff was clearly specified in protesting genres of 2015 anti-government demonstrations and was negatively categorized. An image of an evil enemy was created in order to persuade people to repudiate and to hate her. More analysis of the representation of Dilma Rousseff will be presented in further sections, concerning other ways that protesters used in their posters. In the next section, I will move to the representation of protesters, showing how they were represented by themselves and by opposing people.

3.2.4 The representation and evaluation of protesters

Although it is not possible to assert that only one social class attended the protests⁴⁷, it is commonly accepted that the 2015 demonstrations were mainly protests of the (white) elite. In a *Datafolha* survey⁴⁸ (Figure 3.06), at least 50% of protesters were part of the (high) middle class and other 16% from the high class. All these people are not even 50% of the population of Sao Paulo and, also according to the survey, the most part of the population does not make part of the elite stratus. It suggests that economic minorities are not a significant and participative group of the anti-government demonstrations in terms of numbers.

⁴⁷ There will be an example of the presence of minority groups in the demonstrations.

⁴⁸ Survey carried out on August 16th in São Paulo.

Perfil dos participantes da manifestação de 16 de agosto na Avenida Paulista		
Faixa de renda familiar	Percentual dos manifestantes	População de SP (Datafolha, março de 2015)
1. Até R\$ 1.576	6,20%	27%
2. De R\$ 1.576 até R\$ 2.364	8,19%	21%
3. De R\$ 2.364 até R\$ 3.940	13,28%	21%
4. De R\$ 3.940 até R\$ 7.880	25,09%	18%
5. De R\$ 7.881 até R\$ 15.760	25,17%	7%
6. De R\$ 15.760 até R\$ 39.400	14,39%	2%
7. R\$ 39.400 ou mais	2,88%	0%
8. Não sabe/não fala	4,80%	

Fonte: Datafolha (margem de erro: 3% para cima ou para baixo)

Figure 3.6 *Datafolha* survey

(Source: <http://cartamaior.com.br/?Editoria/Politica/Datafolha-elite-branca-eramaioria-esmagadora-na-Paulista-/4/34267>)

The *Datafolha* survey shows evidence therefore, that the 2015 demonstrations were a protest of the (white) elite⁴⁹. Looking at how protesters represented themselves is also important in order to contrast their representations to Dilma's and to observe if anti-government protesting genres indeed enact elitist discourses. In the next subsections, I will show that protesters participated in a controversial fight which also confers to them controversial representations: sometimes as good and nationalistic civilians, sometimes as the white elite.

3.2.4.1 Pro-government reactions: the white elite

During the demonstrations, protesting genres were not produced only by anti-government protesters, but also pro-government people. This last group usually read the demonstrations as an elite protest and used the digital domain to produce and to circulate some texts that have humorously categorized demonstrators as part of the conservative, fascist and white elite. Figure 3.7 illustrates some protesters under the lens of satire and irony; the text produces many representations and labels of the participants.

⁴⁹ According to BBC (http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/03/150316_pressreview_protestos_lab), the international press, such as *The Guardian* and *El País*, has also reported the 2015 demonstrations as a protest of the white elite.



Figure 3.7 Internet meme: Qual o seu manifestante de estimação?⁵⁰

Figure 3.7 is a political meme constructed as a protesting genre. The text is composed of nine pictures of the demonstrations that depict some protesters in the time they were in the streets: there are civilians, politicians, famous and popular people. However, the text does more than portray protesters; it also categorizes the participants, attempting to criticize and delegitimize their fight: the text contests what people are claiming in the streets, revealing opposite reactions to the anti-government demonstrations. Each photo is followed by a verbal sentence that conveys new meanings to the people portrayed, producing categorizations of them.

The first picture deals with what I have been exploring and claiming in this subsection: the demonstration of the white elite. The photo portrays a group of white and blonde people that do not interact with/ look at the viewers: they are given as information only. The photographer's lens captured white and blonde smiling people representing beauty standards, expressing and affirming who they are while the viewers can just watch them. According to Kress and Van

⁵⁰ Retrieved from: <http://extra.globo.com/famosos/em-dia-de-manifestacao-nas-ruas-famosos-se-mobilizam-nas-redes-sociais-18864363.html>

Leeuwen (2006), when represented people do not look directly to the viewer's eyes, "[...] a real or imaginary barrier is erected between the represented participants and the viewers, a sense of disengagement [...]" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 120). The Brazilian elite is certainly a powerful group, criticized in figure 3.7 for its connotations of white supremacy that excludes minority groups and do not allow others to engage or to participate.

The last picture in figure 3.7 also confirms the presence of the conservative white elite: "o coxinha assumido". The photo presents a protester wearing a costume of a Brazilian food called "coxinha"⁵¹. The Brazilian Portuguese word "coxinha" has been used as a nickname for people who share ideas with the so-called right wing parties: the conservative and neoliberal parties. The ideological framework of Brazilian parties is not much clear: "[...] the majority of parties, as distinct organizations, do not have clear and defined borders" (Kinzo, 2004, p. 32)⁵². Even so, it is common sense to place the Workers' Party (PT) on the left side of the ideological spectrum of politics and the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) in the right wing. This way, "coxinhas" are known as PSDB supporters and, by extension, as civilians who have conservative positioning such as Regina Duarte, a Brazilian actress who is portrayed in figure 3.7.

In order to strengthen the anti-government protests, some public personalities took part in some demonstrations and they have been criticized in pro-government texts such as in figure 3.7. One example is Regina Duarte, a TV personality that engaged in the protests. In the image, she was categorized as "Regina Duarte #tenhomedo". The Brazilian actress (and also her husband) is a public supporter of Brazilian Social Democracy Party (or "Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira" – PSDB); the hashtag recontextualizes an old speech by the actress: in 2002, she appeared in a PSDB video campaign for presidency⁵³ saying that she was afraid of a PT government (Lula was the PT candidate in that year). Apart from the video campaign, the

⁵¹ "Coxinha" is a type of Brazilian finger food made of dough and chicken. The term has been derogatorily used to refer to conservative people. There are no specific origin to this use of the word, but some people believe that the reason relies on policemen who use to go to bakeries in their breaks and ask for "coxinhas" to eat; another explanation relies on rich men who used to wear shorts to sunbath their thighs ("coxinha" is the diminutive of thigh in Portuguese; literally it will be "little thigh").

⁵² My translation from the original "a maioria dos partidos, como organizações distintas, não possui contornos claramente definidos" (Kinzo, 2004, p. 32).

⁵³ Although the video is not available in official PSDB sites it is possible to find it online on Youtube.

hashtag can also be read as an author's warning, revealing that the producer of the text is afraid of the actress and her ideas

Similarly to Regina Duarte, Kim Katagui is another personality who participated in the demonstrations. He is the head of the "Movimento Brasil Livre"⁵⁴, categorized as "O analfabeto político" in figure 3.7. Many bloggers, pro-government protesters and also the Brazilian deputy Jean Wyllys have used the classification "analfabeto político" to refer to Kim Katagui who is a very young student of Economics elected as the face of young protesters that fight for the well-known neoliberal ideas such as the free market, privatizations, the minimal State and the end of social programs (Amaral, 2016, p. 50). The categorization tries to delegitimize Katagui, claiming that he has no knowledge about politics to be a political leader.

Katagui's and Duarte's categorizations (produced by pro-government reactions), right below their pictures, attempt to delegitimize the political positioning taken by these personalities, representing them not just as part of a conservative and right wing elite, but also as people to be feared and who have dubious political ideas.

Fear and conservative/elitist ideas are also present in the second picture in figure 3.7., suggesting a fascist discourse⁵⁵ around the white elite group. The gesture they made in the picture is the same gesture fascists make to greet themselves; and it can also work as a gesture to swear an oath or as a military symbol. Moreover, these protesters are classified as the fans of "Bolsomito". The neologism "Bolsomito" is a combination of a surname (Bolsonaro) and the Portuguese word for myth (mito). This new word has been used by supporters of Jair Bolsonaro, a Brazilian federal deputy, praising him and his ideas: the politician is known for his conservative, nationalistic and military approach to politics. In the 2015 Brazilian anti-government demonstrations, praising conservative ideas and asking for military intervention was very commonly found in protesting genres.

⁵⁴ "Movimento Brasil Livre" (MBL) is an important civil organization that led the protests against the government. Many people have claimed the organization is supported by some Brazilian right wing parties and also international organizations such as Atlas Network (Amaral, p.50 in Jinkings et al., 2016).

⁵⁵ Throughout the thesis, "Fascist discourse" relates to the idea of the British fascism and far-right discourses explored by Richardson & Wodak (2009): "The only British people are white, and so when the nominals 'British' or 'Briton' are used, this should axiomatically be taken to exclude these variously defined 'racial foreigners', 'religious foreigners', 'persons of foreign religion' or 'ethnic foreigners'" (Richardson & Wodak, 2009, p. 262).



Figure 3.8 Je suis interditiin militaire

Figure 3.8 is an example of the wish for military intervention. The protesters are represented in text through the use of pronouns as “Je” (or “I”) in “Je suis interditiin militaire”; Portuguese elliptical pronoun “nós” (or “we”) for the sentence “queremos os militares novamente no poder”; and also collective categorization as “povo brasileiro” (or “Brazilian people”) in “o povo brasileiro está do lado das forças armadas e auxiliares”. In all cases, protesters are determined/specific social agents, making clear their political positioning as military interventionist supporters. Military regimes are known as authoritative and oppressive governments, where there is no space for diversity and minority groups; in other words, a fascist regime is nominated by the white elite, who perhaps is not satisfied with many of the social programs adopted by Lula’s and Dilma’s government.

Once people are in the streets affirming their identities as “coxinhas” and fighting against PT, conservative, elitist and fascist ideas are indeed associated with protests, conferring them the notion of (white) elite demonstrations. Although the existence of right wing discourses, many protesters tried to distance themselves from such ideologies, claiming their nationalistic intentions as I will demonstrate in the next subsection.

3.2.4.2 Nationalistic protesters

The confusing political spectrum of Brazilian parties and the lack of knowledge about them can be an explanation for the confusing political positioning in demonstrations. While some texts represent protesters as supporters of the Brazilian right wing, others claim to be not in favor of any particular party, but only pro the welfare of the country and against political corruption (Figure 3.9). However, the majority of signs, banners and placards take position against only one party: the Workers' Party, or the party of the president. Taking into account the examples of protesting genres presented in this thesis, it is possible to affirm that the Workers' Party has been the only one confronted in protesting genres of 2015 anti-government demonstrations while other parties do not appear in the texts.



Figure 3.9 Não é por um partido

Figure 3.9 depicts a protester holding a sign that says she is not fighting for a party, but for a country. The Brazilian flag is placed at the top and bottom of the sign connoting that the word “país” (country) relates to Brazil. Thus, the text claims that the fight is for Brazil, and not for any specific political party (neither right nor left). This is another characteristic of the 2015 demonstrations: the nationalistic discourse.

The discursive construction of national identities in protesting genres can be understood by the idea of *banal nationalism* proposed by Billig (1995). The author says that “banal nationalism” refers to everyday representations of the nation establishing an imaginary

situation of national belonging and solidarity. The representations include for instance the use of flags, national anthems, and patriotic symbols. Exploring Billig's ideas, Wodak (2017) says that:

Many of these symbols are most effective because of their constant repetition and indirect, vague nature and references. They are perceived as harmless and naturalized. Billig claims that, in the established nation-states, nationhood operates as an implicit background for a variety of social practices, political discourses and cultural products, which only needs to be hinted at – that is, “flagged” – in order to be effectively activated. Pronouns such as “we” and “our”, rather than grand memorable narratives, that “offer constant, but barely conscious, reminders of the homeland, making ‘our’ national identity unforgettable” (ibid.: 93) become relevant (Wodak, 2017, p. 8).

Some protesting genres attempt not to deal with explicit political positioning (left – right wings), but just the welfare of the country: an effective tool not to express political preferences. Demonstrators are, in this sense, good civilians who are not fighting for their party or their particular interests, but for each Brazilian; they are fighting for the nation. The table presented in Chapter II regarding the represented people, shows that protesters recognize themselves as collective groups indeed, using words as “people”, plural pronouns or the name of the country.

In connection with their representation as a country, the use of national symbols helps to create this nationalistic ambience that works to legitimize the fight. During the demonstrations, protesters wore national colors (yellow, green and blue) in their faces and clothes, displayed the national flag, and sang the national anthem. For instance, authors used parts of the national anthem⁵⁶ in their posters and protesters wore the Brazilian soccer jersey which became the protesters' dress code, both examples to connote the fight for the country. Figure 2.7⁵⁷ is an interesting protesting genre regarding the widely use of CBF jerseys.

⁵⁶ “Verás que um filho teu não foge a luta”, for instance, is a verse from the national anthem generally used in protesting genres. It represents the sons and daughters of the country who does not give up from the fight.

⁵⁷ First presented in Chapter II (2.4.1.2 Digital resources: Internet memes).



Figure 2.7 Corruption and CBF

The figure is an Internet meme that works similarly to figure 3.7: sort of satirical and ironic reaction to ideas proposed by the anti-government demonstrations. The meme is composed by two blocks of verbal text and an image in the background. The first sentence is placed on the top of the text and introduces the central idea of the demonstrations, inviting people to engage and participate: “Let’s fight against corruption”. In the bottom of the meme, the second sentence brings an opposite idea, reevaluating the fight: “wearing the symbol of one of the most corrupted institution”. This last phrase generates a paradox, suggesting that the protests are fighting corruption with corruption. The meme delegitimizes the demonstrations, in order to reveal that they are inconsistent and contradictory: a controversial fight of the elite group against corruption supposedly.

Although the institution is not named in the verbal parts, it is visually determined in the image that depicts its symbol embroidered on the t-shirt: “CBF”. The multimodal text ironically criticizes the use of the Brazilian soccer team jersey as the uniform of the protests and a symbol for their nationalism, suggesting that protesters use discourses of corruption (in sports) to confront corruption (in politics). This creates an idea that anything is acceptable when animated by the welfare of the country.

Figures 2.7 and 3.7 are digital texts that work as ways of resistance, attempting to reveal different perspectives about the anti-government demonstrations and protesters’ identities. While the anti-government signs try to distance the protesters from the white elite discourses and to represent themselves as a collective group wearing the colors of the nation and fighting for their country, pro-government signs attempt to demystify the nationalistic ideas revealing conservative, fascist and hate discourses related to the protesters. Both sides make use

of determination and attitude to represent, to evaluate and to create meanings.

In summary, protesting genres have identified anti-government protesters in two main groups: (1) nationalist protesters who fight for the collective welfare in the name of their country; and (2) a conservative and fascist elite which is engaged in a controversial fight for their own purposes. The first group produces (nationalistic) discourses that neutralize and naturalize discourses of hate of the second group, or the elite, which has not been satisfied with the government. Discourses of hate, however, will not resolve a badly governed country.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will look at processes of intertextuality, recontextualization and humor in protesting genres, taking into account the analysis carried up to this point.

3.3 INTERTEXTUALITY AND HUMOR IN PROTESTING GENRES

Demonstrations' texts are produced by a variety of people⁵⁸; many voices are present in these productions and they can resemble each other, connecting different texts and discourses. At the same time, the texts produce humor which is, many times, aggressive instead of funny. This negativity is an important characteristic of satirical discourse which aims to attack its target. In order to observe these processes in the texts, concepts of intertextuality, recontextualization and satire need to be deeply explored.

3.3.1 Intertextuality and Recontextualization

Intertextuality is a concept originally from literary studies. Kristeva (1980) coined the term, arguing that literary texts are intertextual texts since they work with previous texts. However, Bakhtin (1986) had already proposed an intertextual analysis before the concept was named. The author states that:

Utterances are not indifferent to one another, and are not self-sufficient; they are aware of and mutually reflect one another. [...] Each utterance is filled with echoes and

⁵⁸ The topic of authors was discussed in Chapter II (2.4.2 Tenor: Protesting genres as persuasive discourses).

reverberations of other utterances [...]. Every utterance must be regarded primarily as a response to preceding utterances of the given sphere (we understand the word "response" here in the broadest sense). Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 91).

Since a text is formed by utterances, it can also echo and relate to other texts, producing intertextuality. Fairclough (1992) proposes that there are three dimensions of intertextuality which are important to discourse analysis: (1) manifest intertextuality, (2) interdiscursivity, (3) textual 'transformations', and how texts constitute social identities.

The first dimension – “manifest intertextuality” – is particularly important for my analysis. This dimension “is the case where specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text [...]” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 117). The author says that manifest intertextuality is related to “discourse representation”, “presupposition”, “negation”, “metadiscourse”, and “irony”.

‘Discourse representation’ deals with the voices evoked in a text. In verbal language, direct or indirect speeches are possible forms of this representation: the former intends to reproduce exact words from other texts, whereas the latter does not make clear whether the text uses or not the exact words from an original. This idea can be transferred to images, especially the remixed ones (Internet memes, for instance), because these new samples of images are composed by parts of others or, sometimes, the whole image.

‘Irony’ is another interesting aspect of manifest intertextuality. An ironic text is essentially made of intertextual relations: one text reflects the other(s). The idea of irony is to convey negative readings of other texts, creating a dependent relation between them. Fairclough (1992) says that “irony depends upon interpreters being able to recognize that the meaning of an echoed text is not the original text producer’s meaning” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 123). Irony is also an important discursive device for the creation of humor. I will discuss this aspect in more detail in the section about humor.

The second dimension – “interdiscursivity” – is also very important for this analysis. Interdiscursivity, or “constitutive intertextuality”, extends intertextuality to the field of orders of discourse. Here, there are not only textual relations, but also discursive

ones. “On the one hand, we have the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of specific other texts (manifest intertextuality); on the other hand, the heterogeneous constitution of texts out of elements (types of convention) of orders of discourse (interdiscursivity)” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 85).

Therefore, the dimensions of intertextuality (especially the ones aforementioned) can be considered very significant for the meaning construction of texts, because they trigger readers’ previous knowledge. If they are not aware of the voices, texts and discourses evoked in the text they are reading, they can miss possible interpretations such as evaluative, ironic and satirical approaches.

Texts or discourses evoked in other texts or discourses are recontextualizations. In other words, a text is taken out of its original context (decontextualization) and it is brought to a new one (recontextualization), producing a new text. Bernstein (2003), an important theorist who has worked with recontextualizing fields in educational discourses, proposes three types of contexts concerned with recontextualization: the “primary context”, or the production of discourse; the “secondary context”, or the reproduction of discourse; and the “recontextualizing context”, or the relocation of discourse.

Fairclough (2014) claims that the process of recontextualization is “intertextuality and interdiscursivity in progress, so to speak; we are not just looking at how elements ‘from elsewhere’ are combined or articulated in texts, we are looking at where they come from, where they go to, and how they get there” (Fairclough, 2014, p. 30). Once again, the consciousness of other texts’ use is very important in meaning construction.

Although these theories were originally thought for the discursive analysis of written texts, applying them to visual language (or multimodal texts) is possible and fruitful in a world where images have been exceedingly used to construct meaning: multimodal texts can establish intertextual chains and be recontextualized in very similar ways to verbal language. Werner (2004) talks about the importance of these processes and says that:

whenever a pictorial image is read in terms of—or through, against, alongside—another image or a surrounding set of images and words, intertextuality is at work; meanings assigned to the image differ from those that would be drawn if

it were interpreted in isolation (Werner, 2004, p. 64).

The processes of intertextuality and recontextualization are important and present in demonstrations analyzed here. Protesters have been using many different resources in order to create their texts and relate them to each other. It is quite common to find signs, banners and placards based on previous posters, or other kinds of text. Some posters also bring historical discourses, for instance, evoking past demonstrations such as the ones which supported the impeachment of Fernando Collor (Brazilian president in 1990-1992). This example (and others) will be analyzed in the next subsection, where I discuss how texts from 2015 Brazilian demonstrations relate to each other and to previous ones.

3.3.1.1 Constructing meanings and identities: the importance of intertextuality

In section 3.2.3, I showed that president Dilma was named in the majority of protesting genres. Figure 3.10 is an online poster that also circulated in the streets in its printed version. The sentence is short and the name of the president Dilma is written in the middle of the poster. Interestingly, her name is misspelled, but probably on purpose: instead of “Dilma”, the banner presents the letter “l” doubled. Moreover, these two “l” are colored, one in green and other in yellow.



Figure 3.10 Fora Dilma

More than just the national colors of Brazil⁵⁹, these colored two “l” have an old story to tell. During the government of Fernando Collor (from 1990 to 1992), Brazilians went to the streets asking for his

⁵⁹ Green and yellow are some of Brazilian flag’s colors.

impeachment because of his involvement in political corruption. Some banners of that time (Figure 3.11) named the president through his surname, coloring its double “l”.



Figure 3.11 Fora Collor⁶⁰

The 2015 sign (“Fora Dilma”) is a good example of intertextuality; it borrowed the same semiotic resource used many years ago. This resemblance establishes an intertextual chain evoking past voices. The double “l” in national colors were massively used by “Caras-Pintadas” which was an important group of students and scholars who fought for Collor’s impeachment, because of the corruption in his government. The recontextualization of a similar symbol conveys new meanings relating them to new people and institutions.

Intertextuality moves to interdiscursivity and, more than a textual resemblance, past discourses are also involved in the construction of meaning: the symbol associates Dilma to Collor and it classifies her as a corrupt politician such as the past president. The idea is also transferred to her party (named in red letters – the representative color of Workers’ Party⁶¹) and it characterizes all the PT politicians as corrupt. Here, Dilma and her party were appraised according to judgments of sanction: their ethics were attacked, connoting that their civil duty is not acceptable. This process conveys negative meanings, symbolizing unreliable politicians who are not truthful.

In connection with the poster from figure 3.10, the protester who holds it is using his body as a semiotic resource: he wears a red nose. Therefore, his face is also a protesting genre and it embodies discourses and conveys (negative) meanings. The red nose classifies him as a clown and, in a broader sense, as a fool or stupid person. The

⁶⁰ Retrieved from: <http://www.infoescola.com/historia-do-brasil/fora-collor/>

⁶¹ The red color can be also associated to socialism and communism. Although the country lives in a capitalist system, the Workers Party has been massively approached to these government systems.

protester as a clown can be read as a metaphor for the citizens who are deceived: the government (corrupted politicians) is disrespecting them and making fun of them all. The protester is not judged by sanction such as the president, but by esteem: the sign compromises his capacity, but not his civil duty; he is read as foolish or stupid person, but not as a criminal, or guilty. This is an important distinction because social esteem does not involve, for instance, legal penalties or punishments, actions that have been most related to the president as I showed in section 3.2.3 and will be more explored in subsection 3.3.2.1.

Intertextuality also plays an important role in the categorizations of the president. As it was already said, Dilma has been related to the group of liars and, once again, she is categorized as a liar through the use of the word “charlatan” in Figure 3.12. But this time, more than “charlatan”, the placard brings the idea of terrorism associated to the president’s image. Here, intertextuality works, recontextualizing previous French words. The sentence “*Je suis charlatan*” evokes an earlier terrorist event in France, which has originated the slogan: “*Je suis Charlie*”.



Figure 3.12 Je suis charlatan

“Charlie Hebdo”, the name of the newspaper, is famous because of its satirical account of politics, economics and society. In January 2015, Charlie Hebdo’s office in Paris was attacked by terrorists, because of the publication of the Prophet Mohammed’s caricature⁶². According to French police, 12 people were killed in this terrorist attack⁶³. After

⁶² In the majority of Islamic cultures, visual representation of the Prophet Mohammed is prohibited.

(http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/01/150115_retrato_maome_historia_pai)

⁶³ <http://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2015/01/tiroteio-deixa-vitimas-em-paris.html>

this tragedy, Joachim Roncin, a French art director, created the slogan “Je suis Charlie” which was adopted by people who are supporters of the newspaper and it also became a flag of freedom of speech and freedom of press. Dilma, the president is thus represented by the lens of violence and terrorism and interdiscursivity and intertextuality in this case are important processes of meaning construction in protesting genres.

More than a match of syntactical structures (“je suis...”) ⁶⁴ – which already is a case of intertextuality that classifies the represented social actor – violent and terrorist scenarios are suggested and arise in the placard, associating discourses of extreme violence and death to the president’s figure. Negativity surrounds Dilma Rousseff, reinforcing the idea that she is not a valuable or truthful person and politician; in the same way that part of Frenchmen repudiated terrorism, some Brazilians rejected the president.

Interestingly, there are some important dislocations in the blending level. In the sentence “Je suis Charlie”, people supported the newspaper and its staff members. In the sentence “Je suis charlatan”, protesters condemn the president, positioning themselves against her. This dislocation is also present in the perspective of the discursive persona: “Je suis Charlie” represents an outside viewer, people who are not truly part of Charlie’s members, but are in favor of them. In the case of “Je suis charlatan”, the sentence is indeed representing the first person (“je” or “I”), associating the pronoun to the visual representation of Dilma Rousseff: “Je suis...” is not a sentence that outside people are using to support someone; this time, it affirms a personal characteristic of the (condemned) social actor.

“Je suis...” were not the only French words used by Brazilian protesters, another famous sentence was recycled in 2015 Brazilian signs of protest; this time, the very past of France was evoked to recreate its meanings: the French Revolution. Figure 3.13, for instance, recontextualizes the famous revolutionary sentence “*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*”. This reallocation of information across time and space, bringing segments of discourse from the past to new contexts in the present, is known as ‘entextualisation’. Rojo (2014) claims that ‘entextualisation’ has been explored in new demonstrations creating a domain of experience to be understood by otherness. She adds that “contemporary social movements are reframed in the context of

⁶⁴ Another sign that makes use of this same structure was presented in subsection 3.2.4.1 (Figure 3.8).

previous struggles, such as the defence of the Spanish Second Republic and against Franco regime, French revolution or the siege of Sparta” (Rojo, 2014, p. 638).



Figure 3.13 Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité e fora PT

Both placards in figure 3.13 bring back the French revolution motto to the present situation. This slogan is cited in 1946 and 1958 French Constitution and it has been used as a catchphrase for freedom fighting. Interestingly, the phrase has the French flag as its background which works on the realization and recontextualization of past discourses. However, in protests that claim to be nationalistic⁶⁵, the placards miss their Brazilian symbols, adopting foreign ones except for the adding and closing phrase: “*Fora PT*”.

The case of “*Fora PT*” as a closing for the French motto has a particular characteristic: the Workers’ Party abbreviation ends in a very similar sound as the other three French words, producing rhymes with the syllable “te”. The first placard, in figure 3.13, also tries to simulate the French written system changing the abbreviation “PT” to “PETÉ”. However, a conflict of language sounds is created. Since the abbreviation belongs to Brazilian Portuguese, the word “PETÉ” misspelled the stress mark, changing the sound from /e/ to /ɛ/. Although there is apparent sound confusion, the new abbreviation may not interfere with the comprehension of the word by Brazilians, or with the construction of meaning: the reading flow induces the readers to read the whole sentence in French accent, preserving the rhyme of the words.

⁶⁵ See subsection 3.2.4.2 Nationalistic protesters

The syntactical structure “Fora PT” is very simple in grammatical terms, but very interesting in ideological ones. It has also been extensively and repeatedly used in Brazilian protests. The construction hides the verb and its preposition (“Vá para”), showing just the adjunct and the vocative (such as in “Fora Collor”, “Fora Dilma”, “Fora Lula”, “Fora PT”, and others). Although there is an omission of the action, the phrase is imperative, performing an order. The demand is explicit by the adjunct which normally relates to geographical spaces in Brazilian Portuguese, but here it connotes ideological meanings: the physical space turns into an ideological and social position of power and politics. This imperative phrase demands social actors to abandon their important and powerful political positions⁶⁶.

Combining the sentence “Fora PT” associated with the French revolution motto, these two banners suggest the removal of a specific party in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity: the placards reinforce that the Workers’ Party must be eliminated from places of political power, because it does not comply with the French duties and rights. This way, they must be penalized, because of their deviation from ethical conduct.

This idea of bad politicians also appears in their visual representation, through intertextuality. The manipulation of images was broadly used and it produced a diversity of (debauched) representations of the president and her party. In figure 3.14, there is another example of a banner that changes Dilma’s image, this time, into a queen.

Although no crown is visible, she is wearing a very iconic look in the banner: the hair, earrings and clothes of the Red Queen from Lewis Carroll’s novel *Through the Looking-Glass, and What Alice Found There* (1871). The banner mixes Dilma’s face and the image of the Red Queen created by Tim Burton in his movie *Alice in Wonderland* (2010). In the movie, the character is very obsessive and mad, asking many times for the heads of people who do not do what she wants. Again, the president is surrounded by violent acts and madness. The character’s name is also very suggestive: Dilma is the head of the state (president/queen) and the color of her party is red⁶⁷ (the Red Queen is actually a chess piece from the red team).

In Lewis Carroll’s story, the Red Queen plays the role of the antagonist who Alice has to defeat. In the chess game, the girl fights

⁶⁶ Some banners tried to translate this sentence into English, but not successfully. It is possible to find for instance “Under communism” and “Off communism” which are not functional phrases in English.

⁶⁷ The president is also known by her red suits.

with the white pieces against the red ones; she is supposed to kill the queen in order to capture the king; thus, she will achieve the checkmate. In an intertextual allusion, Dilma, the red president, is characterized as obsessive, mad and violent, and as an enemy who is condemned to death. The discourse of hate therefore transfers very negative meanings from the literary story to the banner narrative.



Figure 3.14 Rainha do Petrolão

In the banner, Dilma gains the title of queen. More than being titled, she is functionalized as queen and specified as the queen of “Petrolão”, the given name in Brazil to acts of corruption against the Brazilian Petrol–Chemical Company – Petrobras. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity lead to the conclusion that her function is not to rule her kingdom, but to be in charge of the misappropriation of Petrobras’ funds. In another similar banner, instead of queen she is functionalized, in a patronizing way, as the mother of “Petrolão”. According to Van Leeuwen (2008) “[...] ‘mothering’ is not the act of bringing a child into the world, but the act of giving care to a child [...]” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 44). Thus, Dilma is evaluated as the person responsible for this scheme of corruption and found guilty.

The banner of the Queen also associates her to Lula (the former president), creating a royal couple: queen and king of corrupted acts (both “petrolão” and “mensalão”). In the bottom of the poster, the classification “corruPTos”⁶⁸ finally appears written in red. In the middle of the word, two letters are graphed in capitals: PT – these two letters are the abbreviation for “Partido dos Trabalhadores”, Dilma’s and Lula’s party. This use of typography suggests that both presidents and all the politicians of the Workers’ Party are categorized and appraised as

⁶⁸ The classification “corruPTos” has already appeared in figure 2.4 from Chapter II.

dishonest people or criminals as I have claimed in the study of their representations.

In the next subsection, I will explore the last theoretical concept needed for the analysis proposed in this chapter. Before I move to the analytical account, I want to theoretically present a topic that is related to intertextuality and protesting genres: humor. Intertextuality, recontextualization and humor also work on the representation and evaluation of social actors and on the construction of meanings in protesting genres.

3.3.2 Humor: the Discourse of Satire

Humor is a very difficult topic to be approached and the concept has been analyzed in many areas of study. In general words, the term “humor” encompasses perceptions of being funny, amusing, or laughable (Attardo, 2011, p. 137). Simpson (2003) extends the concept and the idea of funny, approaching humor from a discursive perspective:

Humour accomplishes *many things*: it relieves embarrassment; *it signals aggression*; it displays courage in adversity; it serves as a coping mechanism; it functions as an *instrument of social influence*; it rehearses and redesigns the categories and concepts of serious discourse (Simpson, 2003, p. 2, my emphasis).

In his study of humor, Simpson (2003) looks at humor, exploring satirical discourse. The author concentrates on “satire” as a discursive practice, but not as a genre in literary studies. In his words, “satire is *not* a genre of discourse but a discursive practice that does things *to* and *with* genres of discourse” (Simpson 2003, p. 76).

Simpson suggests that satire has an ‘aggressive function’ which aims to attack someone or something; this function “always ridicules or makes fun of a victim, allowing the non-victim a feeling of superiority” (Simpson, 2003, p. 3). In other words, satirical discourse chooses someone out of a group in order to attack him/her, mocking the target and highlighting the fact that this person does not belong to a specific social practice. For my analysis, satire is very important since it conveys negative meanings.

Satire, according to Simpson (2003), deals with three subjects: the “satirist”, or the author of the text; the “satiree”, or the addressee of the text; and the “satirized”, or the target critiqued in the text. The following figure (Figure 3.15) shows this satirical relation:

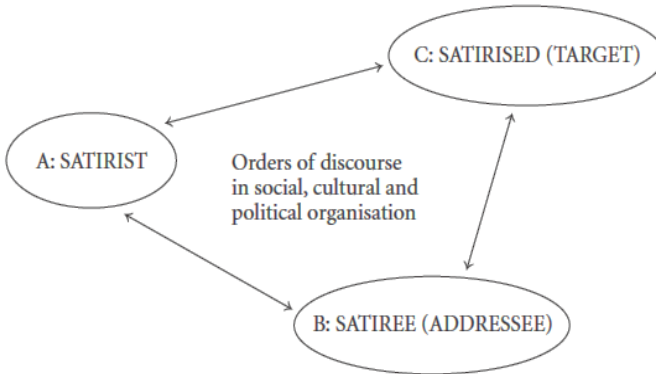


Figure 3.15 Triadic structure of satire as a discursive practice
(Source: Simpson, 2003, p. 86)

This configuration is very interesting in interactional terms since satire works in similar ways in protesting genres. Remembering the types of interaction in protesting genres discussed in Chapter II, it is possible to observe that participants can play the roles of the satire’s subjects. At first, the triadic structure of satire could be an example of a real interaction between author and readers/viewers where the protesters are the authors of the text, or satirist (A); the ordinary civilians, the satirees (B); and the politicians the satirized targets (C). Figure 3.16 illustrates satire in the real interaction of protesting genres.

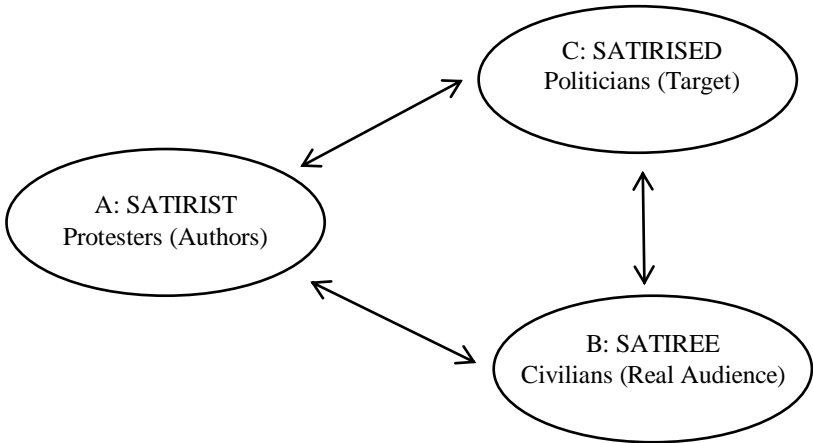


Figure 3.16 Satire and real interaction in protesting genres

In addition, satirical discourse also allows the satiree (B) to be the satirized (C) at the same time. Protesting genres can assume the represented people (the target group in the satirical interaction) as a simulated audience (the satiree). Therefore, satire can also occur in the pseudo-interaction in protesting genres: protesters remain as authors (A), but politicians are not only the satirized targets (C) anymore, they are also the satirees (B). Figure 3.17 represents satire in a pseudo interaction of protesting genres.

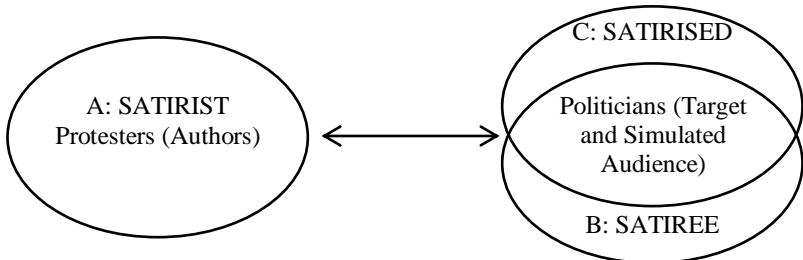


Figure 3.17 Satire and pseudo interaction in protesting genres

Observing both schemes of satire and interactions (Figures 3.16 and 3.17), they reveal that politicians play the satirized role both in real and pseudo interactions. They show that the main goal of these protests is to attack politicians, producing satirical evaluations in order to destroy their credibility. As it is possible to observe throughout this thesis,

politicians are the central point of criticism compared to the protesters who are less represented in numbers⁶⁹. In 2015 anti-government demonstrations, politicians were the main (satirical) target of protesters.

Besides interactional relations, the content of satire need be explored. In satirical texts, two elements must be combined and opposed: the “prime” and the “dialectic”. According to Simpson (2003),

a prime activates a putative or real anterior discourse event, mediated intersemiotically, which may be, but is not restricted to, another specific text, or another genre or register of discourse (Simpson, 2003, p. 8).

He continues,

the dialectic is so-named because it functions as an antithesis which, in the Popperian sense, induces a collision of ideas or appeals to a line of reasoning that falls outside the straightforward (Simpson, 2003, p. 9).

For the author, it is important to assimilate a pragmatic device into the concepts of prime and dialect: “That device is irony, an essential ingredient of satirical discourse” (Simpson, 2003, p. 90). Simpson claims that irony is “the space between what is meant and what is asserted” (Simpson, 2003, p. 90). Satire, for Simpson then, has first two ironic stages settled in each element of satirical discourse. The prime brings an echoic irony, constructing a discourse domain established by a mediated intertext; while the dialectic works with irony in an oppositional form, manipulating the text, and creating contra-expectation in discourse.

In the following subsections, I will look at politicians and protesters through the lens of satirical discourse. Authors used this type of discourse to represent their target groups, helping to create particular identities: in my data, the president is construed as a criminal and the controversial identity of protesters as the white elite.

⁶⁹ Statistical data was presented in the frequency graphic of represented people – Figure 2.13.

3.3.2.1 Satirizing the president: fun or insult?

Satirical representations of the president and her party are quite common in the posters of 2015 Brazilian demonstrations, conveying very negative meanings and creating a shameful persona. Aggressiveness is one of the characteristics of the discourse of satire explored by protesters. As Simpson (2003) suggests, humor can work “as a mode of resistance or at least as a ‘coping mechanism’ in difficult social circumstances” (Simpson, 2003, p. 85). Similarly, the protesting genres analyzed in this thesis indicate a complicated political situation of corruption in the country which Brazilian citizens faced. In order to deal with this situation, the texts attack and demean people who are supposedly involved in corruption cases, establishing the protesters themselves away from these ideological places of corruption: the joke may attack someone from the other group (corrupted people), not theirs (honest people). Therefore, satire helps to make the discourse of hate natural and normal.

It is interesting to note that the successful satire distances the satirist (or the author) and his/her satirized (or the addressee) from the satirized; in other words, satire distances protesters and ordinary civilians from corrupted politicians in the data analyzed here. The creation of distance through discursive representations can result in more people participating in the demonstrations: satire represents a very persuasive way of inviting more people to engage in the protests, thus being new potential satirists/protesters.

The satirical account of the social actors’ representation must be very convincing; otherwise people will not join the cause. In unsuccessful cases, the satirized comes closer to the satirized instead of standing apart from and laughing at him/her. Demonstrations pro government, for instance, used to oppose satire with serious discourse such as the slogan “Dilma, coração valente⁷⁰” in order to support the president and to reject the antagonist figure created in the satirical texts against her government. This is a counter discourse that does not intend to be funny as the satire and, by contrast, uses valuable metaphors which can give credibility and veracity to the represented social actor.

Satire also plays an important role in the visual representation of social actors. The distorted shapes of the president depicted in some previous images (Figures 3.3 and 3.14 for instance) present her in caricatured terms: the very common satirical technique of making

⁷⁰ Free translation into English: “Dilma, brave heart”.

caricature uses exaggeration and distortion of the human appearance, conveying symbolic meanings to the distorted figures. Simpson points out that:

What was once exaggeration tends to become neutralised over time so that subsequent cartoons need to refresh or reinvigorate the metonymy by taking the distortion a little further in each subsequent instalment. [...] This gradually shaded into ever more grotesque representations until the nose and hair themselves became the visual embodiment of the politician (Simpson, 2003, p. 129).

The satirical representation of politicians, as it was explored in the previous examples, creates personalities that have no dignity or capacity to be in such powerful positions. The grotesque representation is crucial to create a common enemy who must be eliminated⁷¹. Protesting genres enact discourses of hate materialized by verbal and visual signs, persuading people to take position against those politicians and not to trust them.

2015 Brazilian demonstrations intensely explored the modes of protesting genres and they take the caricature out of the paper: besides signs, banners and placards, inflatable dummies were also present in the streets as protesting genres making use of caricatures. The first famous one was Lula's which was named as "Pixuleco"⁷² and represented the former president as a prisoner wearing uniform. After him, Dilma's caricature was also produced in dummies. The three examples below (Figure 3.18) are very significant in terms of the discursive representations discussed in this chapter.

⁷¹ The banner that transforms Dilma into a rat (Figure 2.4) is again a fruitful example here.

⁷² The word is a slang in the Portuguese language, meaning bribe, or stolen money.



Figure 3.18 Dilma's dummies⁷³

All of the dummies in figure 3.18 are caricatures of the president that somehow deform parts of her body and, consequently, her image. Here, the aggressive function of satire dominates, and reveals a darker side of humor. In the first dummy, Dilma Rousseff has an exaggerated nose, evoking Pinocchio's nose. The physical representation works as a metaphor for 'liar': the more you lie, the bigger your nose gets. And that is what happened to her: a big nose for a supposedly dishonest politician. In the second, the president is covering her face with a black mask, classifying her as a criminal who has to hide her distorted facial appearance. Other two elements in the dummies suggest that she should also leave the presidency. In the first, she is taking the presidential sash off; and in the second, she is carrying her luggage and going away to Cuba⁷⁴.

⁷³ First picture retrieved from: <http://exame.abril.com.br/brasil/noticias/manifestantes-criam-versao-de-boneco-inflavel-de-dilma>

Second picture retrieved from: <http://veja.abril.com.br/blog/reinaldo/geral/dilma-a-mae-do-petrolao-na-paulista/>

Third picture retrieved from: <http://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/bonecos-enforcados-de-dilma-lula-aparecem-em-peca-teatral-durante-congresso-da-cut-15876966>

⁷⁴ Cuba is a very popular destination in these anti-government texts. The Workers' Party is considered by many Brazilians as a far-left party that desires to establish socialism and communism in the country. Since Cuba has been internationally known as a communist state, protesters have suggested this country as a better place for Dilma, Lula and the Workers' Party. Figure 2.3 (in Chapter II) for instance asks the politicians to go to Cuba, and the sign categorizes them as Marxists. The idea of socialism, communism and Marxism explains the wide use of the red color associated with Dilma Rousseff and her party. More than the representative color of the Workers' Party, it also connects the communist ideology to the party; a kind of philosophy that have been condemned by the anti- government protesters.

Both representations of the president Dilma reveal satirical discourse making use of caricature to produce humor; they exaggerate some parts of her body such as nose and teeth creating deformed and supposedly laughable figures. However, Dilma's caricatures, in these examples, are so aggressive that distances comic effects from them. These texts are placed in a scenario where "you mean to be funny, but you are not funny" (Simpson, 2003, p. 17). Although the texts are caricatures, they are indeed offensive, and do not sound funny. As it was emphasized in the previous subsection, Simpson claims that humor "signals aggression" and it is "an instrument of social influence".

These offensive representations end in the third dummy in which the death penalty is associated once again with the president. The dummy represents Dilma Rousseff as a hanged woman; she is found guilty and her punishment is death. What were supposed to be laughable (Dilma playing Pinocchio or a masked thug with big teeth) are now reasons for fatal aggressiveness (hanged woman).

Remembering attitudinal meanings, the three dummies present the common judgments addressed to the president: by social esteem and by social sanction, representing her as a liar, a criminal and guilty. Similar to figure 3.4, the dummies reinforce the suggestion of three options for the president: abdication (when she is taking her sash off and carrying her luggage to Cuba), impeachment (because of her criminal acts), and/or suicide (the president represented as a hanged woman); in summary, she is a liar, a criminal, and guilty. Dilma (extending to Lula and the Workers' Party) was vastly dehumanized and placed as an enemy supported by feelings of disapproval, anger and hate created in the caricatures.

Satire, through the distortion of the bodies and caricaturation of faces, works here to produce a derogatory representation of the president who is judged by social sanction and esteem, attacking mainly her capacity, veracity and propriety. Observing the representations of president Dilma in my data, it is clear that texts use humor more offensively, than funnily promoting the aggressiveness of satire: she is represented as a rat, a cassava, an evil queen, a cartoon and also using the bathroom or being a criminal.

The next subsection ends the analysis of this chapter, exploring how satire was used by the protesters in order to represent themselves. Satirical discourse, this time, explores elitism in demonstrations producing funnier utterances.

3.3.2.2 Satire and the white elite protests

During the 2015 demonstrations, it was common to hear that some of the demonstrations were the protests of the white elite as I claimed in section 3.2.4. As the *Datafolha*'s survey showed, there are other minority groups participating in the streets; however, the elite group predominates.

Figure 3.19, for instance, is a photo taken by Marcelo de Franceschi that shows the contrast between demonstrators and watchers of the protest. Clearly, we see that the demonstration is composed of white people and other ethnicities are not present.



Figure 3.19 Contrasting demonstrators⁷⁵

Observing the people represented in this photo, we can say that black people are outnumbered and this is an interesting fact to be investigated. The protesters themselves were aware of such division and also produced texts in attempt to deconstruct the idea that protests were produced by elitist groups. Figure 3.20, for instance, is an interesting case of protesters ironically representing themselves as “Elite Branca”.

⁷⁵ Photo by Marcelo de Franceschi. Retrieved from: <http://www.cartacapital.com.br/revista/842/o-brasil-explica-a-si-mesmo-8290.html>



Figure 3.20 Elite branca

The sign in figure 3.20 makes use of satire through ironic processes that refer to the protesters' identity. In this case, the sign extends to the bodies of the protesters, connecting the two resources as one multimodal text: this protesting genre is composed not only of paper and ink, but also of the human body. The extension of the verbal text is revealed by extratextual elements⁷⁶, i. e. components that point to and indicate an object of discourse out of the verbal text; in this case, the arrows and the bodies.

The arrows point to the protesters, who are part of the protesting genre, creating the structure of irony in satire: the prime and the dialectic. First, there is a text that evokes a common sense or knowledge about the demonstrations: the idea of a white elite manifestation. Simpson says that:

The prime instantiated in a specifically satirical text functions by echoing some sort of “other” discourse event, whether that be another text, genre, dialect or register, or even another discursive practice.

By contrast, the dialectic is a text-internal (as opposed to intertextual) element which is normally positioned after the prime, although its appearance may sometimes be isochronous (Simpson, 2003, p. 89).

⁷⁶ “Extratextual element is a concept borrowed from Textual Linguistics.

Applying Simpson's ideas, the prime is understood by an intertextual relation, evoking a past discourse (the white elite demonstration) whereas the dialectic represents the destabilization of the text, internalizing an extra referential after the prime: the protesters themselves. More than adding new information in the construction of meaning, the dialectic must be a contrastive idea, establishing the ironic movement. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the extension of the text, or the protesters, does not belong to the group that the prime claims to belong to. Figure 3.20 reveals and proves that bodies are vital to and part of protesting genres: that sign could not be held by other protests, except the ones who truly not belong to the white elite. If the sign were transferred to the hands of the protesters of figure 3.19 (white demonstrators), for instance, the irony would not work, but legitimate the protest as a white elite demonstration; an idea that was not interesting to the protests, since they will be affirming that other ethnicities are outnumbered and not welcome in the demonstrations.

Understanding the prime (evoked voice) and the dialectic (contrasting idea) makes possible to comprehend the irony in the sign from figure 3.20. The protesters who hold the banner are not white and we can infer that they are not part of the white elite against the government although they are also a (minor) part of the demonstration. The sign suggests that not only the white elite had engaged in the protest. However, the majority of cases point to the massive presence of the elite in the 2015 protests.

Another case of satire in protesting genres, for instance, indicates and evinces the presence of the elite in the protests. Figure 2.8⁷⁷ portrays two white woman wearing t-shirts with an ironical message: "Presidente, queremos nossa bolsa". The prime evokes past discourses related to Dilma's government which had invested in social programs such as "Brasil sem Miséria", "Bolsa Família", "ProUni", "Pronatec" and others. These programs help some citizens through financial assistance ("bolsas"), trying to give them better life and opportunities.

⁷⁷ In Chapter II (2.4.1.3 Body resources: makeup, t-shirts and costumes).



Figure 2.8 Protesting genres: T-shirts

Right after the prime, there is the dialectic element: a picture of a Chanel's bag. The multimodal resource recontextualizes the last word "bolsa" which is a homonym in Brazilian Portuguese as it was aforementioned in Chapter II (Purse or financial assistance). The ambiguity destabilizes the prime, originating a contrastive idea: instead of the financial help supporting basic rights (such as Education, Habitation and Nutrition), the protesters ask for an expensive and posh bag. The bag as a dialectic component can serve as an interdiscursive element that enacts discourses from an elite group, since it deals with an imported product that cannot be afforded by the majority of Brazilians⁷⁸.

In this case, interdiscursivity works as a vehicle that mediates two domains: the financial help from government is metaphorically transmuted into an object of desire. The metaphoric formula is: a political and social intervention (the word "bolsa" as the financial assistance) is a consumer product (the picture of a Chanel's bag). In extension, the dialectic works against the prime which reveals an anti-positioning in regards of social programs that help citizens financially. There is a reduction of the State (dealing with social problems) that praises capitalism, consumerism and neoliberalism; ideological places related to the conservative elite where government assistance is not welcoming. This is an interesting example of the elite discourse in the 2015 anti-government demonstrations to end this chapter with.

⁷⁸ A Chanel's bag can cost more than R\$ 20.000,00 in Brazilian stores. The bag costs at least 25 times more than Brazilian minimum wage in 2015 (R\$ 788,00).

3.4 FINAL REMARKS

Chapter III introduced and applied the elements of analysis in protesting genres: determination, attitudinal meanings, intertextuality (and interdiscursivity), recontextualization and humor were explored in order to critically read the texts. Protesting genres make very clear that protesters were unhappy with the government performance and they were fighting against it. Once the demonstrations carried the anti-government flag, their texts were composed by many semiotic resources used to delegitimize some of the actors represented, mainly politicians who were considered corrupted. The president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff, was one of the most represented and negatively evaluated actors in those texts. The majority of her representations suggest damaging and pejorative meanings about her image, constructing her as a liar, a criminal, and finally guilty.

My analysis intended to show that the president has been misrepresented, disrespected and equated with criminals. Although no official judgment has found criminal responsibility related to Dilma Rousseff in the time of the demonstrations analyzed (which is the legal way to proceed with impeachment according to Brazilian constitution)⁷⁹, many of the protesting genres found the president guilty and her image was massively related to pejorative figures. Derogatory representations helped to create a person who has no values and does not follow the ethical and moral rules. Therefore, she is not worthy to hold her political position as the head of the State.

Her representations originate depreciatory feelings about Dilma Rousseff, contributing to create an evil character or an enemy who must be eliminated. Disapproving evaluations and images present a violent construction of the president and they help to disseminate hate and anger among citizens. Although some of the protesting genres are not explicitly persuasive, they can create and support aggressive conceptions of the president's image in the popular imagination that can indicate and maintain her bad popularity.

For instance, few days before the third demonstration (08/16/2015), around 71% of Brazilian citizens had disapproved her

⁷⁹ During the writing of this thesis, many political events occurred, ending in the president's impeachment (August 31st, 2016). The chamber of deputies voted in the opening of the impeachment process and, even without any concrete evidence, the Senate decided to remove Dilma Rousseff from the Presidency of the country. This subject will be briefly commented in the next and last chapter.

government according to a survey by *Datafolha*⁸⁰. The percentage represents the largest failure rate that a president has already had in Brazil (Collor's, for instance, was 68%). The representations constructed in the signs, banners and placards are very unkind and they help to maintain this very low rate and, consequently, bad governability. Prospectively, it can affect future election results for the Workers Party⁸¹.

On the other hand, differently from the representations of Dilma Rousseff and her party, protesting genres represented the protesters themselves as collective groups that fight for the welfare of the country; heroes who are trying to help everyone, and to eliminate enemies: the president and the corrupted government of PT. However, a critical reading and some other examples of pro-government protesting genres (figures 2.7 and 3.15 for instance) show that the collective and nationalistic representations are just hiding conservatives, fascists, and members of the (white) elite who spread out discourses of violence and hate.

⁸⁰ Data retrieved from: <http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2015/08/71-reprovam-governo-dilma-diz-datafolha.html>

⁸¹ After Dilma's impeachment, for instance, many candidates from Workers' Party changed the colors of their font types for slogans and signatures (from red to national colors) and removed or reduced the symbol of the party (the red star) from their political campaigns. I will also approach this topic in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV CONCLUSION

4.1 INITIAL REMARKS

In this final chapter, I will conclude the thesis highlighting and connecting important points mainly discussed in the analytical chapters (Chapters II and III). My research questions will be revisited in order to make clear what was found throughout the study. I will then present pedagogical implications about protesting genres, the limitations of the study and also some suggestions for further research.

4.2 PROTESTING GENRES: PERSUASIVE AND MULTIMODAL DISCOURSES IN 2015 BRAZILIAN DEMONSTRATIONS

This study was carried in order to understand textual and discursive productions in protesting fields. The world has lived and watched many political demonstrations where protesters have created many different texts, exposing their ideas and trying to persuade more people to join their causes. To understand their productions, I explored different semiotic resources in the selected data.

Before critically reading the produced messages, I attempted to identify the genre I was working with. Theories on genres helped to construct the concept of ‘protesting genres’, or the ways people use semiotic resources in order to produce their messages in the protests. For me, protesting genres are (a) situated in a specific social practice: to protest against a political situation; (b) they are multimodal discourses that combine different modes of language and (graphic, digital and body) resources in order to produce effects of meanings; (c) they are persuasive discourses which establish real interactions (authors-readers) and pseudo-interactions (author-represented people); finally, (d) in a sociopolitical demonstration, protesting genres provide spaces of resistance and empowerment.

In order to arrive at these definitions and to understand the main characteristics of this kind of genre, I explored three Hallidean categories: *field*, *mode* and *tenor*. The first element in my study of protesting genres was the *field*. The social action explored was ‘protesting’, specifically the 2015 Brazilian anti-government demonstrations. Since the end of 2012 Brazil has watched civilians

protesting and fighting for their basic rights and change in politics. The following years were also times of protests, and different problems were raised in each of the demonstrations such as public transportation, education and health.

From these many years, I decided to choose the 2015 Brazilian anti-government demonstrations, because they were the beginning of conservative and anti-government protests. These demonstrations divided the country in two symbolical sides based on the simple political division of left and right. Each side was associated with a party (left – PT; right – PSDB) and a long fight started among the supporters of these parties. It is important to reinforce once again that Brazilian parties have no clear ideological positions. Exploring the 2014 elections (the ones which initiated the second term of Dilma’s government) for instance, Melo (2015) claimed that Brazil is:

a country with little political party tradition, where parties are relatively recent and organizationally fragile; where the majority of the electorate is more accustomed to valuing individual candidates than the available party labels and do not identify with any of them (Melo, 2015, p. 1).

Observing Melo’s stance, it is not clear how Brazilians take political positioning in regards of political parties since civilians usually vote for individual politicians not ideologically relating them to their parties. But demonstrations, a relatively new phenomenon and uniting people from different persuasions, claim against a common issue in Brazilian political history: corruption. Martins (2008) suggests that “[...] many people believe that all Brazilian politicians are corrupt and, as a consequence, politics is a place for corruption [...]” (Martins, 2008, p. 105)⁸². Brazilian political corruption is part of the collective imagination of civilians since news and reports about political corruption in the country is indeed part of media discourses. The conceptualization of political corruption in Brazil is a serious problem and “it disturbs the pursuit of a fairer, corruptionless society” (Martins, 2008, p.106)⁸³.

⁸² My translation from the original: “[...] muitos acreditam que todos os políticos brasileiros são corruptos, e, por consequência, que a política é o lugar da corrupção [...]” (Martins, 2008, p. 105).

⁸³ My translation from the original: “[...] é o que mais atrapalha na busca de uma sociedade mais justa e sem corrupção” (Martins, 2008, p. 106).

In 2015 Brazilian anti-government demonstrations, corruption was the protagonist in the messages created by protesters and, as it was expected, it was associated with politicians and their party. Brazilians decided to express their issues and anguishes in the most classical way: street demonstrations. Carrying signs, banners and placards, people went to the streets to make themselves visible and heard, and their plea was for the end of political corruption.

Other Hallidean categories – *mode* and *tenor* – were explored to investigate the semiotic modes used in protests in order to observe how interaction worked in the protesting genres. As it was aforementioned, signs, banners and placards were the classical texts that protesters used, but they were not the only ones. Based on Szaniecki's (2007) works, I organized the protesting genres into three groups according to the resource used in their production: graphic, digital and body resources. Internet memes, infographics, makeup, costumes are just some examples used to protest that goes beyond the classical protesting genres. The samples analyzed in the thesis showed that protesting genres are multimodal discourse, i.e., they use many different modes of language in order to produce their messages. Additionally, the study of *tenor* revealed that protesting genres also work with persuasive discourses trying both to invite more people to the streets and to attack supposedly corrupted politicians.

The content of protesting genres showed that they are texts which include social actors, specifying them. Determination (van Leuween, 1996; 2008) was a fruitful category to analyze represented people revealing that social actors were named, classified and, thus, evaluated. In the case of 2015 Brazilian anti-government demonstrations, two groups of social actors were important for my thesis: politicians and protesters. Dilma Rousseff was the most nominated politician in the collected samples, showing that those protesters were very dissatisfied with her government policies. Corruption was vastly connected to her image and her party, producing negative evaluations. The president of Brazil was judged as a criminal, guilty liar, being sentenced to death. Very aggressive representations of Dilma created a common enemy who had to be destroyed for corruption to be ended.

Negativity surrounds the representation of politicians, especially in the images created to represent Dilma Rousseff. Satirical constructions were vastly used in order to attack the president and to produce violent and negative evaluations about her. She was condemned

by social esteem and sanction, revealing a character that has no values and no capacity of ruling a country.

Humor appears to naturalize these aggressive and powerful discourses; many caricatures (distorted figures and manipulated images) were used to maximize destructive ideas about politicians in general. The main purpose of these satirical discourses was to produce laughter, but at the same time, at deconstructing the represented social actors as untrustworthy. President Dilma's representations were more offensive and abusive than funny or laughable.

The president's evil figure was confronted by the protesters themselves. Demonstrators were presented as the ones who were concerned about the country's situation and were fighting not for a specific political wing, but just for the welfare of the country: a nationalistic fight in which protesters were the ones who love the nation and carry its flag. And their main aim was to try to bring down a supposedly corrupt government represented in the image of the president.

In opposition, pro-government civilians tried to delegitimize the anti-government demonstrations: using mainly the Internet, these demonstrators produced texts (Figure 3.7 is an important example) revealing elitism and hate which were used to attack government policies. Therefore, a new white elite identity started to emerge, revealing discourses of fascism and hate to challenge a supposedly situation of generalized corruption in the country. Using discourses of corruption, the white elite fought against Brazilian political corruption characterizing this combat as a controversial fight.

Throughout the thesis, I attempted to show that elitist discourses are indeed present in the protesting genres analyzed. In addition, it is also possible to observe that discourses of hate were the basis for the political attack proposed in these elitist texts. Many of these discourses were naturalized and neutralized through the use of humor, combining irony and satire. In order to legitimate the fight, protesters also recontextualized old discourses that could confer seriousness to their fight, producing intertextual chains: French words and ideas, military governments and past Brazilian demonstrations are examples in these processes.

Politically speaking, the study points to a binarization of the idea of politics by masses in Brazil. Although it is clear that the country has a multipartisan scenario and little political party tradition, civilians have been divided, as it was aforementioned, between the ones who were in favor of the government (communist and left wing supporters –

PT) and the ones who were against the government (conservative and right wing supporters – PSDB). This division has not been extinguished after the demonstrations so far. The following years showed that this political fight remains present in the country.

PT has been one of the most damaged parties in this combat. In 2016 Brazilian elections, the party lost 60% of the city halls, coming from 630 to 256 cities governed by a PT politician⁸⁴. During the elections, some PT candidates changed their representative color (red) and reduced the party logo, trying to distance themselves from negative ideas associated with the party. PSDB, on the other hand, emerged as an important political force and elected, for instance, João Dória as the mayor of São Paulo, one of the most significant cities in the country which was being governed before by a PT politician, Fernando Haddad.

According to Ab’Sáber (2015) this battle reduces politics to Manichaeism revealing that “the democratic and vivid dynamics between social classes and the government is transformed into a gesture of instant desire in an imaginary fight against the nonexistent communists” (Ab’Sáber, 2015, p. 37)⁸⁵. The Brazilian political situation basically has become a fight between good and evil where the antagonist is PT government which must be completely destroyed and eliminated no matter the costs.

This scenario reflects an important issue in the level of education of Brazilian civilians: the lack of political education. Most Brazilians are not prepared to participate and act politically basing themselves only in the common sense of generalized corruption in politics, believing that there is no way out of this situation. As I explain in the next subsection, schools should concentrate on the teaching of more critical studies in order to help students to be real critical civilians in the future; civilians that do not generalize things, but problematize them and seek real solutions for national problems.

In conclusion, in this thesis, I attempted to show the importance and complexity of protesting genres that use many different semiotic resources and processes to create, to recontextualize and to circulate discourses in terms of political issues. They have high impact upon the masses, constituting themselves as very persuasive and dangerous texts,

⁸⁴ Data retrieved from: <http://istoe.com.br/pt-apodrece-na-corrupcao-e-e-varrido-do-mapa-politico/>

⁸⁵ My translation from the original: “A dinâmica democrática e viva entre as classes e o governo é transformada deste modo em um gesto de desejo imediato, em uma luta imaginária limite, contra os comunistas inexistentes” Ab’Sáber, 2015, p. 37).

because they convince people of particular ideological positioning, and for these, there is no counter argumentation.

4.3 PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Although my study has no pedagogical intentions, education surrounds this thesis, suggesting possibilities for teachers who work with languages and discourses in schools. My research was based on the concept of genres which has been an important topic in discussions about teaching in Brazil.

Bakhtin's notion of *speech genres* – presented in Chapter II – has been very popular among linguistic researchers since the 90's in Brazil, especially because of the implementation of “Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais para o Ensino Fundamental e Médio”, which propose an education system based on genres (Faria e Silva, 2013, p. 57). In order to teach languages, the teacher should use genres in his/her classes, exploring structures and uses of language in each group of text.

Since my work examines semiotic structures and the use of language in determined contexts, it is possible to bring protesting genres into language classes. The teacher can explore the ways to produce meaning, and he/she can also look at multimodality and colloquial language in the construction of persuasion in texts. The intense flow of images and information settled in the culture of *remix* asks for more proficient readers. Reading and producing multimodal meanings through different resources such as graphic and digital are highly required in contemporary society.

Protesting genres also work in interdisciplinary fields where teachers can explore national history and, what I believe to be the most relevant point, politics in civil life which has been a polemic topic in education. As I discussed in Chapter I, many politicians have tried to prohibit teachers to approach this theme inside the schools: the bill “Escola sem Partido” is the main example. The project aims to criminalize ideological practices in the classroom because of a supposedly idea that teachers have been indoctrinating students into Marxist and communist ideologies. In other words, “Escola sem Partido” silences teachers, and produces non-critical students, denying them one of the most significant characteristics of schools: the plurality of discourses (and ideologies). Protesting genres can be interesting texts to challenge this situation: they can promote debates about politics and

civilians' roles and encourage the use of new technologies and media in the schools.

4.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER WORKS

As with all research projects, this study has limitations which can lead to new pieces of research. One of the main limitations involves the size of the selected *corpus*. Demonstrations are huge events in which a large number of people engages and produces texts. The wide production and circulation of texts create an impossibility to observe each single text; thus, many interesting samples were not analyzed here. New research in the area could expand the *corpus* in different ways.

Artistic uses of languages, for instance, were not explored in this thesis either. Some protesting genres in fact could belong to the universe of Arts and they are very important for the political fights. It is possible to find poems, choreographies, visual arts and others in demonstrations. Works of art are an interesting way to expose and to reflect about the claiming of protesters and they could be very fruitful for research.

Another limitation is the historical account of protesting genres. My work is a synchronic study that focuses on 2015 Brazilian anti-government protests. It will be interesting if other researchers could look at other times and countries to approach protesting genres diachronically, exploring discourses and semiotic characteristics and making comparisons.

4.5 FINAL WORDS

During the writing of this thesis (2015-2017), many political events took place in Brazil and they are still going on. The Federal Senate approved the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff on August 31st, 2016 and, since then, Michel Temer (vice-president of Dilma and member of the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party - PMDB) has been the president of Brazil. His government is in the spotlight because of the implementation of neoliberal projects that concern privatization of many segments. The government's illegitimacy has also been a polemic topic among Brazilians since there was no election to make Michel Temer the new head of state. This new government has seen new

manifestations in the country: civilians have been in the streets fighting for their ideologies; this time, substituting “Fora Dilma” with “Fora Temer”.

Many people, and I include myself here, have understood all the processes of the impeachment as a *coup d'état* which has unfairly misjudged the former president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff. According to Jinkings (2016),

the legitimately elected president was brought down by a political process based on imprecise readings of the Constitution and different legal tricks, which attempts to show as licit the judiciary colluding with parliamentarians who are, in most parts, corrupt and with the corporative media which supports the financial elite” (Jinkings, 2016, p. 12)⁸⁶.

As many of the analyzed texts showed, the president was judged as guilty based on questionable assertions that were not enough evidence to culminate in impeachment.

Financial distress was the real starting point of this process. On December 2nd, 2015, Eduardo Cunha, the former president of the Deputies’ Chamber, started the impeachment process, indicting Dilma Rousseff for crime of responsibility concerning the budgetary and administrative improbity laws; in other words, the “pedaladas fiscais”, or the transference of money from the National Treasure to banks which support government’s expenses. On April 17th, 2016, Brazilians watched a spectacularization of politics in which politicians, many involved in corruption, voted against the president dedicating their votes to God and/or to family. Afterwards, on May 12th, 2016, the Senate approved the process that finally ended in the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff.

This brief summary of the coup shows that Brazilians have faced many political issues in the past few years and revealed that politics and democracy need to be seriously discussed in the country. My work in Critical Discourse Analysis has showed me that society and discourse dialectally relate to each other, producing and circulating ideologies that can persuade people to act in the world. People must be

⁸⁶ My translation from the original: “A presidente legitimamente eleita foi derrubada por um processo político baseado em leituras elásticas da Constituição e artimanhas jurídicas de diversos matizes, que tentam mostrar como lícito o conluio do judiciário com um Parlamento em sua maior parte corrupto e uma mídia corporativa a serviço das elites financeiras” (Jinkings, 2016, p. 12).

critical when they are producing or being exposed to discourses in order to seek for a better society. This way, I do believe that analytical and critical studies are needed to reveal naturalized discourses which can be harmful to civil rights.

I hope this work can shed some light not only on discourse studies, but also on daily life. Being aware of produced and circulated discourses is essential in the construction of respectful and critical civilians. Social changes come from social awareness, and discourse has a significant role to make these changes to happen. As Fairclough (1992) claims, “discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or ‘constitute’ them; [...] and position people in different ways as social subjects” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3-4).

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A – Banners, placards and signs



	DAY	POSTER	SOURCE	NOMINATION	PROTESTERS
1	Mar 15		http://m.noticias.bol.uol.com.br/fotos/imagens-dodia/2015/03/15/veja-imagens-de-cartazes-carregados-pelos-manifestantes-pelo-pais.htm	Dilma Lula	Nossa (Nós)
2			http://www.band.uol.com.br/m/contendo.asp?id=/10000741353/&programa=/Cidades/&editoria=/Noticias/		



<p>3 4</p>			<p>https://noticias.bol.uol.com.br/fotos/imagens-do-dia/2015/03/15/veja-imagens-de-cartazes-carregados-pelos-manifestantes-pelo-pais.htm</p>		
<p>5</p>			<p>http://cadaumnasuala.blogspot.com.br/2015_05_01_archive.html</p>	<p>Brasil Cuba</p>	
<p>6</p>			<p>http://ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/politica/2015-03-15/nas-ruas-manifestantes-repudiam-a-corrupcao-e-pedem-a-saida-de-dilma.html</p>	<p>Dilma Brasil</p>	

7 8 9			https://www.quora.com/The-UN-Women-in-Brazil-released-a-public-note-repudiating-the-sexist-attacks-against-President-Dilma-What-are-some-real-examples-of-these-attacks	Dilma	
10			http://www.agrobrasil.com.br/2015/03/humberto-de-luna-freire-filho-o-day.html	Dilma Brasil	





11			http://veja.abril.com.br/blog/felipe-moura-brasil/15-de-marco-advinhe-quem-e-a-verdadeira-elite-branca/	Dilma	Elite branca
12			https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/protestos-anti-dilma-reunem-manifestantes-pelo-pais-15601342	Dilma PT	
13 14			http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/11/1542525-alckmin-defende-democracia-e-diz-que-intervencao-militar-nao-e-aceitavel.shtml	Brasil Dilma	

19			http://www.informe.me/politica/tag/maconesia/		Maçonaria Maçons
20			http://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2015/03/manifestantes-antes-protestam-contradilma-em-estados-no-df-e-no-exterior.html		
21			https://noticias.uol.com.br/album/2015/03/15/veja-imagens-de-cartazes-carregados-pelos-manifestantes-pelo-pais.htm		




22			http://www.douranews.com.br/		
23			http://www.sociedade demilitar.com.br/wp/2014/06/crescem-os-movimentos-contrao-governopetista-protestona-avenidapaulistapede-intervencao-militare-investigacao-contralula.html		(Nós)





24			<p>http://www.conexaojornalismo.com.br/colunas/politica/geral/veja-aqui-os-piores-momentos-das-manifestacoes-de-domingo-74-37997</p>	Dilma	(Nós)
25			<p>http://www.geledes.org.br/apos-faixa-pedir-um-basta-de-paulo-freire-onu-divulgamensagem-aos-que-dispensam-ensinamentos-de-paulo-freire/#gs.SZOA3w8</p>	Paulo Freire	




26			http://ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/politica/2015-03-15/marcio-garcia-regina-duarte-e-mais-famosos-que-foram-para-as-ruas-em-protesto.html		
27			http://www.direitalivre.com/pr-opaganda/cartazes-visual/		Eu
28 29			http://g1.globo.com/distrito-federal/fotos/2015/03/veja-imagens-da-manifestacao-em-brasilia.html	PT	

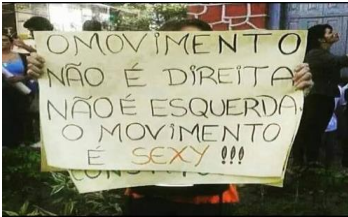


30			http://www.criatives.com.br/2015/03/os-22-cartazes-mais-engracados-e-criativos-dos-protestos-do-dia-1503/	Dilma ; Reginaldo Rossi	
31	Dez 4		https://noticias.uol.com.br/albun/2015/04/12/protestos-de-12-de-abril.htm	Jesus	
32			http://brasil.elepais.com/brasil/2015/04/14/politica/1429036333_476876.html		
33			http://epoca.globo.com/tempo/noticia/2015/04/12-de-abril-os-protestos-pelo-brasil.html	Cuba	



34			http://g1.globo.com/politica/fotos/2015/04/fotos-manifestacoes-destedomingo-12.html#F1597927	Dilma PT	
35			http://www.patosemdestaque.com.br/noticias/?n=ovGpAhIiVS	PT Dilma	
36				PT	
37			https://noticias.uol.com.br/album/2015/04/12/protestos-de-12-de-abril.htm	Dilma	
38			http://veja.abril.com.br/politica/12-de-abril-indignacao-contra-dilma-e-opt-continua-em-alta/	PT Brasil	




39	Ago 16		http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html	Dilma	
40			http://www.imgrum.org/media/1137279512908187935_203523633	Dilma Lula PT	Nós
41			http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html		

42			http://g1.globo.com/politica/fotos/2015/08/fotos-manifestacoes-destedomingo-16.html	PT	
43			http://www.revistaforum.com.br/2015/08/16/os-dez-cartazes-mais-inacreditaveis-do-1608/		Je
44 45 46			https://hmemculto.com/2015/08/18/fatos-e-fotos-do-dia-seguinte/	Brasil Brasil Cuba	(Nós)
47			http://www.revistaforum.com.br/2015/08/16/os-dez-cartazes-mais-inacreditaveis-do-1608/	PETÉ (PT)	

48 49			https://www.sensacionalista.com.br/2015/08/16/dezcartazes-manifestacoes-anti-governo-em-que-voce-nao-vai-acreditar/		
50			http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html		
51			http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html	Dilma	

52			http://www.conexaojornalismo.com.br/colunas/politica/geral/vaja-aqui-os-piores-momentos-das-manifestacoes-de-domingo-74-37997		
53			http://ercioafonso.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/apoio-sergio-moro-chama-atencao-em.html	Moro	(Nós)
54			http://ercioafonso.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/apoio-sergio-moro-chama-atencao-em.html	Moro	Todos (Nós)

55			http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/brazil-lawmakers-expected-to-vote-on-presidents-impeachment-a6988766.html	Dilma	
56			http://www.diariodocentrodomundo.com.br/nosso-colunista-foi-cobrir-o-protesto-no-rio-e-ouviu-vai-para-cuba/		(Eu)
57			http://www.revistaforum.com.br/2015/08/16/os-dez-cartazes-mais-inacreditaveis-do-1608/		Povo

58			https://www.sensacionalista.com.br/2015/08/16/dez-cartazes-das-manifestacoes-anti-governo-em-que-voce-nao-vai-acreditar/	Dilma	(Nós)
59			http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html		
60			http://resistenciacontemporanea.blogspot.com.br/2015/08/fotografias-que-mostram-o-fascismo-o.html		

APPENDIX B – Table of represented social actors

REPRESENTED SOCIAL ACTORS	
Dilma	17
Lula	2
PT	9
Sérgio Moro	2
Paulo Freire	1
Reginaldo Rossi	1
Jesus	1
Pronouns (eu, je, nós, we)	$(2+1+8+1) = 12$
Brasil	8
Povo	3

