DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATIONS IN THE JOURNALISTIC MEDIA OF THE DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL IN THE FEDERAL DISTRICT (DF)

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■ ABSTRACT: This work concerns the horizontal and vertical societal accountabilities, as well as representation and intertextuality, in order to analyze discursive representations of the democratic school, including quality of the democracy (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) and the violence (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) that reproduces relations of dominance and exploration (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). This study demonstrates how meaning-making potentials broadcasted by the journalistic media can legitimate social hegemonic relations. The linguistic analysis of verbal, non-verbal and multimodal texts found in an article from the portal "Metrópoles" on public schools of the Federal District focused on the lexical selection of verbal texts, multimodal approach and metaphors used based on the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) and on the Theory of Multimodal Social Semiotics (TMSS) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). This research evidenced that the journalist legitimated social hegemonic relations, despite showing a high level of commitment to the social identity created for the Government of the Federal District by means of metaphors and lexical selection used to depict such authorities.

■ KEY WORDS: Critical discourse analysis. Discursive representations. Social semiotics and multimodality theory. School violence.

Our motto...

The hegemonic discourse of the media is a relevant topic for the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) due to the manner on how media texts institutionalize a viewpoint and an assessment of social reality (ideology) and how they preserve the powers (hegemony) of individuals, groups and social sectors by subordinating their knowledge to them in the scope of communication and reproducing relations of dominance and exploration.

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This work intends to investigate how meaning-making potentials from verbal, non-verbal and multimodal texts found in news discursively represent the democratic school, the quality of the democracy (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) and the violence (MINAYO, 2006, 2009); and how they interact to reproduce relations of dominance and exploration (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) based on the following categories: horizontal accountability, vertical societal accountability, representation and intertextuality.

Such relations between meanings build ideological positions, experience patterns and social interactions by means of choices based on the reality that is being represented, on which elements from other texts are introduced, on how they are intertextuality incorporated, on which are the voices of the text, on how they are either articulated or silenced, on the approximation of distancing between such voices and of the journalists, on how the democratic school is built, on how participants of the image approach their readers, on which image colors and on how images are visually combined in the organization of the text.

This investigation is qualitative, requiring a broader vision of the social process, and for this very reason, it is most appropriate to analyze the descriptive-interpretative type adopted for the relational approach of the critical linguistic-discursive analysis, within the scope of the Social Theory of Discourse (STD) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) and to analyze images, within the scope of the Theory of Multimodal Social Semiotics (TMSS) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). It is supported by a bibliographic research that grounds the analysis of construction and discursive representation of the social reality, as well as relations of power, constitution of identities and analysis of images from the selected multimodal text. In the following topic, we present the language, journalistic media and quality of the democracy as themes of the production conjuncture for the selected journalistic text.

The journalistic discourse as social practice

CDA and TMSS are critical social sciences. The sociosemiotic approach of the Linguistics was created based on the work Hodge and Kress (1988), grounded by the conception of Halliday (1978) on language as social semiotics, whose scope was the social functions of the language. TMSS is a multimodal approach of the Social Semiotics, the main exponents of which, Kress and van Leeuwen (2001, 2006 [1996]) and Kress (2010), stated that the multimodal reading contributed to the understanding of the textual meanings as semiotic resources mobilize meanings and represent social relations and discursive events that permeate the society. Therefore, TMSS is based on meaning-making potentials produced in the communicative practices by an individual through those semiotic resources of communication and a unified technology.

STD is a critical linguistic-discursive approach of CDA, formalized and improved by Norman Fairclough (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006), based on the conception of

Halliday (1978, 1994) of language as social semiotics, centered on the social functions of the language. The scope of CDA is the relations of texts with the social practices, as it studies the social practice of the language historically materialized in the text relations such as control, discrimination, domination and power.

Analysis of texts as a discursive and social practice is called Textually Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA). In its tridimensional conception of the discourse, Fairclough (1991, 2001) contemplates three dimensions for the critical discursive analysis: text, discursive practice and social practice. The **textual analysis** is based on the articulation between the experiential, relational, expressive, metaphoric, connective and textual values (FAIRCLOUGH, 1991) and is organized into: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion and textual structure (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001).

Vocabulary analyzes alternative lexicalizations (signification processes of the world that occurs differently for groups of different individuals in different times and ages); re-lexicalizations (change of lexicalization of the experience domain); meaning (potential) of words (address the relation between meaning and use); and metaphors. **Grammar** analyzes the types of clause; modes how clause elements are positioned with informational value (known information); transitivity system (use of active or passive voice); erasure of the subject and modality. **Cohesion** addresses the value of connectives to check the link between clauses and sentences, its structure and (possible) interferences and presuppositions such uses determine. Finally, **textual structure** analyzes the global coherence of the text.

The **discursive practice** involves processes such **production, distribution and textual consumption** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001) based on the strength of the statements, on the coherence of texts, on the intertextuality and on the interdiscursivity (discourse orders).

Social practice involves the ideology and hegemony (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001) based on the effects from relations between political and ideological power over the discourse as described in the table below.

Table 1 – Analysis of the Social Practice

SOCIAL PRACTICE	
Categories	**Analysis Stage – Explanation of power relations**
SOCIAL MATRIX OF THE DISCOURSE (Ideology) **- Hegemony – guidelines of the social practice.**	Societal – existing social hegemonic relations and structures (cultural, economic, ideological, policies, etc.).
	Institutional – relations of power established with the discursive sample.
	Situational – effects from reproduction, restructuration and transformation of existing hegemonies.
DISCOURSE ORDERS (Social) **- Hegemonic struggles**	Relations of the discursive and social practices with the discourse orders.
	Effects from the reproduction, challenge and transformation of discourse orders.
IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE DISCOURSE (Effects)	Extension with which the proposed analysis explains the discursive sample.
	Knowledge and belief systems – extension with which the analysis enlightens other data for the analysis and provides a basis for other analyses.
	Social relations – if the analysis is based on what participants do in an interaction.
	Social identities – reactions of participations to the analysis.

Source: Fairclough (2001, p. 116-130).

Text analysis in a broad sense, by means of the dialectic relation between social structures and practice, is called Social Theory of Discourse (STD). In his relational approach of text analysis, Fairclough (2003, 2006) seeks to understand, in a dialectic manner, the **external relations** (intertextuality, social practice, social structure and the three elements of discourse orders – actions, representations and identifications) and **internal relations** (phonological, lexical, grammatical and semantic) of the texts. On the one hand, the three **discourse order elements** (semiotic moments of the social practices) – called genres, or ways of (inter)act, discourses, or ways to represent, and styles, or ways to identify – are **social practice elements** (discursive practices articulated inside a social field or discourse order) that interrelate to three **discourse meanings**: actional, representational and identificational, respectively, and that are interdependent from the social practices and themselves.

On the other hand, the relation between **social structure**, potential language meanings such as **semiosis** (linguistic system as an institution whose standards and codes guide social agents) and **social events**, which are materialized in texts (oral,

written, multimodal, sound-based etc.), is intermediated by **social practices** (rituals associated with certain institutions and organizations).

In order to carry out this research, relational approaches were adopted to analyze verbal texts, following the execution of textual analysis and of discursive practice of the selected news report articulated with the social practice analysis, as well as the multimodal approach to analyze the news, as the assumptions of the multimodal language contemplate the language as a semiotic system interacting with other systems in order to generate meanings.

TMSS establishes four social practice domains where meanings are perceived with no hierarchy between them (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001). The four domains are: a) **discourse** – socially built knowledge of reality (genre); b) **design** – the means to carry out discourses in the context determined by the communication situation (media); c) **production** – articulation in the material form of semiotic events and products (mode); and d) **distribution** – preservation and reproduction of semiotic events and products.

For the analysis to be undertaken in this research, we analyzed the journalistic discourse as a social practice under the prism of discourse and production according to STD and TMSS as the producer of the text creates new meanings by means of interdiscursivity and variation of the discursive genre, discourse and style with a purpose. Thus, our interest is focuses on social origins, in the production and reception of the semiotic modes.

Concerning the analyzed textual genre, according to Lage (2009, p. 112), news report "[...] is the exposure that combines interest of the subject with the highest possible number of data, forming a comprehensible and comprehensive".[1] It concerns an informative journalism genre, added by interpretation and opinion on a social or political event of general interest. News report is signed by a reporter who, by means of an expositive and informative text, reports such event in order to inform the reader and, by means of descriptive and narrative texts, describes actions and includes time, space and characters.

Journalistic media is an institution that has hegemonically exerted the role of enlightened public opinion maker without facing competition, mostly because, as we see it, scientific, educational, political, religious and social institutions have not effectively performed their role of social relevance at the public level. The unbalance between media and social interests, therefore, does not concern the information and formative natures of the journalistic discourse, but rather its dialogical nature, which is far more explored by the journalist. According to Fairclough (2006, p. 84),

> [...] All of these processes depend upon the social dissemination of discourses, narratives, ideas, practices, values and so forth, upon their legitimization, upon the positioning and mobilization of publics

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[1] Orginal: [...] é a exposição que combina interesse do assunto com o maior número possível de dados, formando um todo compreensível e abrangente. (LAGE, 2009, p. 112).

in relation to them, and upon the generation of consent to or at least acquiescence with change.

In the **production** processes, the dialogical nature of the journalistic discourse emphasizes the intersubjectivity of its democratic nature, of mutual opening, i.e., to the subject to whom the journalists address, which can be more than one in the case of competing newspapers, sources and readers. This polyphony is present in the **intertextuality** of his/her mental work as he/she resorts to the social tissue in search of other texts, from the selection of facts and happenings, passing through the organization of his/her tasks, until reaching the standardization of texts based on an evaluative grammar (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001). Therefore, the journalistic discourse becomes intertextual by means of comparison of an event with another, of reconstitution of past events and of new readings made on such events, therefore legitimating them, negating them, following them or watching them.

In the process of reception, or **distribution/consumption**, the credibility of the journalistic discourse depends on the journalist and on the reader. The representation of reality by means of individual stories in a systematized and formal manner is rationally planned by the journalist. Based on present events, memory and anticipation of an oral knowledge, his/her text is consumed as scientific knowledge by the reader because it follows the rules of scientific writing, more specifically, the thesis presented in the introduction, arguments and antithesis presented in the development and synthesis presented in the conclusion. The reader, in turn, silently expects to interpret facts and happening by him/herself by means of the report of the journalist, based on the reading and hearing the voices articulated in his/her text.

The asymmetry found in the production reception processes of the selected news report allowed us to describe how this "reading contract" is usually breached by the hegemonic media. The legitimacy of the journalistic discourse may be questioned by the reader whenever it is not possible to assign new meanings and symbolic investments to the knowledge of the news report's informative discourse based on his/her own experience as an individual capable of building meanings. In this sense, the neutralization of such knowledge in time and space by means of the oral discourse, making the journalistic discourse part of the common sense, or by means of the scientific discourse, turning it into a specialized knowledge, produced meaning-making potentials in the reader in different levels of interaction that involved him/her in such a manner that he/she is forced to respond according to implicit rules in the news report multimodal text.

According to Fairclough (2003), social structures and practices are mutually constituted. For him, social practices of the members from social structures and particular social institutions build historically situated discourses that are institutionally realized in the form of verbal and multimodal texts. When those discourses share cultural, social and symbolic values or when they seek understanding, the status of common sense of rational consensus is therefore granted upon them, respectively.

In this sense, the dissatisfaction of the civil society from Brasilia with the public services and with the performance of the public educational system caused it to demand accountability from the government by means of an article from the news portal "Metrópoles", which has the potential to compromise the assessment of its democratic legitimacy. This critical assessment by citizens concerns the non-transparent operation of the democracy with respect to "[...] the capacity of the political system to represent and include the vast diversity and plurality of interests that constitute complex societies such as the Brazilian one."[2] (MOISÉS, 2011, p. 27).

Both dimensions of the democracy quality assessment (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005) represented in the selected article are:

- **vertical societal accountability** – institutional (legal actions) and non-institutional (social mobilization and accusations) actions the civil society (associations, movements or media) uses to exert non-electoral control. Therefore, it blames the government for errors and failures committed in using public resources and struggles to include them in the public agenda or to influence political decision making that meets its needs (O'DONNEL, 2001), and

- **horizontal accountability** – monitoring (supervision exerted by the Federal Court of Accounts - TCU and Comptroller General of the Union - CGU), investigation (control exerted by the Parliamentary Commissions of Inquiry - CPI, Public Prosecutor's Office - MP and Federal Police - PF) and accountability (correction of illegal actions by the MP and PF) mechanism of the public administration representatives (public and governing agents) made available in an integrated manner to the three autonomous powers of the State and specific constitutional bodies in order to oblige them to answer before citizens for their political decisions. In practice, monitoring of the government is exerted by opposing political parties by means of the parliament, despite the fact there is the application of standards and issuance of assessment by the judicial system, constitutional courts and auditing bodies, such as the Central Bank, courts of accounts and comptrollers general (MOISÉS, 2011).

Thus, the production context of the news report is situated in the crisis of the Brazilian democratic school. As a part of the global social practice, emancipatory pedagogic practices result from struggles inside the democratic school to change unfair social structures, since in Brazil, the educational system reproduces unfair social relations of dominance and exploration. In this conjucture, the democratic school is contradictorily represented as a space of struggle and social exclusion by means of the potential meanings of democracy quality and school violence discourses highlighted by the article.

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[2] Original: "[...] à capacidade do sistema político de representar e incluir a enorme diversidade e pluralidade de interesses que constituem sociedades complexas como a brasileira." (MOISÉS, 2011, p. 27).

Below we present the production conjecture themes of the selected journalistic text, as well as the construction of the journalistic discourse in the news report genre and its articulation with some violence-related typologies in order to represent the democratic school.

Discourses of democratic school and violence in the news report

The Web portal "Metrópoles*"* was launched on August 8th, 2016. Based in Brasilia, it is owned by former senator and district parliamentarian, the businessman Luiz Estevão de Oliveira Neto, who funds the portal without editorial participation. Most journalists are from the defunct *Veja Brasília* and the newspaper entitled *Correio Braziliense*. It is a free access news portal, which represents right-wing hegemonic interests, focused on covering politics and society in the capital and administrative regions of the Federal District (DF), in several aspects and strong emphasis on the provision of services. The main themes addressed by the portal, updated on a daily basis are education, economics, entertainment, sports, gastronomy, science and technology, politics and certain international topics.

The documental news "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF", signed by journalist João Gabriel Amador for *Caderno Distrito Federal/Educação*, was published on March 24th, 2016. One of the representation modes mobilized in this article in a more prominent manner is the **intertextuality** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Polyphony of the journalistic discourse discursively represents the public education of DF in an ironic manner. In this research, we identified such voices with the purpose of analyzing their role in the construction of that representation.

Intertextuality in the article emphasized the explicit voice of the district parliamentarian, Reginaldo Veras, in articulation with other voices, namely, the portal journalist, João Gabriel Amador, the head of *Escola Classe 415 of Samambaia*, Vera Leude da Silva, and the head of *Escola Classe Vila Areal*, Jorge Luiz de Oliveira. The voice of DF's Government (GDF) was silenced throughout the article, which was mentioned only once in a note from the State Secretariat of Education of the DF (SEDF).

Digital technologies of portal "Metrópoles" produce new textual compositions, adding imagery, visual, oral and gesture elements to the new text format, turning it into a multimodal or multisemiotic text. Positioning of such elements in the text may chain the reflection process upon its irony by means of the **production conjecture**. Social and economic inequalities are emphasized by such elements, which are part of the narrative structure of the visual text, evidencing the fact that the parity democratic participation of the civil society in public spaces and its interlocution with the State does not happen in the DF. In this sense, the monitoring on the government is exerted by the parliament (**horizontal accountability**), even though the DF's Federal Court of Accounts - TCDF (**horizontal accountability**), the DF's Prosecution Service - MPDFT (**horizontal accountability**), the Fire Department (**horizontal accountability**) and the

school community (**vertical societal accountability**) had already manifested themselves according to other articles which are referred in the portal by means of links.

Crisis in the democratic school involves a dialectical process: the school sustains the discourse concerning equality but reproduces and naturalizes effects from social inequalities in the distribution of income and public services. Broader social processes articulate themselves to the educational inequalities, such as labor market, social structure, real estate market dynamics, production of habitations and state-related policies (TORRES, 2003), turning the school into a space that produces and reproduces exclusion relations. This is the case, for instance, of the poor infrastructure of public schools at elementary level (water, energy, sewer, restroom and kitchen), which, more often than not, interrupts its own operation.

The two types of manifestation that trigger serious consequences to personal and social lives (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) represented in the selected news are:

- **structural violence** – different forms of maintaining social, cultural, gender, age and ethnic inequalities by means of submissions and exploration of some individuals against others. In the case of education, there is the social and spatial segregation, and
- **institutional violence** – rules, standards of operation and bureaucratic relations and policies of institutions that reproduce unfair social structures. In the case of education, an example is the poor teaching quality.

Actually, this concerns a partially discursive issue, which dissimulates serious social issues, such as structural and institutional violence, when naturalizing discourses on the social and spatial segregation in DF and Brazil, the IDH-D (coefficient of human inequality) of which is of 25.6%, below the average of Latin America, 23.2% (PNUD, [2015]). In this sense, the critical assessment of the citizens concerning the non-transparent operation of democracy, evidenced by means of such manifestations in the school environment, compromises the consistence, efficacy and quality of the democracy and of the Brazilian civil society.

The following presents the discursive practice articulated with the design of the documental news genre based on semiotic resources more prominent of the means used to carry out discourses in the context determined by the chosen communication situation.

Linguistic-discursive analysis of the journalistic text

Sodré and Ferrari (1986) define the documental news genre as an expositive narrative on a polemic or current theme, presented in an objective manner and followed up by mentions in order to complement and clarify the subject. According to the sequential structure (SODRÉ; FERRARI, 1986; FAIRCLOUGH, 2001), climax occurs in the **opening**, which informs the main idea of the report by means of the **title** and

subtitle; followed by the **lead** elements (answers to questions such as: Who? What? How? When? Where? Why?), whose summary can take more than just one paragraph, the **sublead**; by the **preparation**, in two paragraphs, by the **development** of the story through depositions, interviews and complementary information, as well as by the **conclusion, closure** or **result,** which indicates, in the last paragraphs, the action to be followed.

For a reading of the documental news "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF" in the multimodal sociosemiotic perspective, it was adopted the Grammar of Visual Design (GVD) of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]). The table below describes GVD categories as per the meaning to which they are related.

Table 2 – Basic structure of the GVD

Representational meaning	- Narrative structure - Conceptual structure
Interactive meaning	- Contact - Social distance - Attitude - Modality
Compositional meaning	- Information value - Salience - Framing

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p. 59, 74, 149, 210).

In the selected article, we have identified such categories in order to analyze **representational** components when dealing with the content and discourse and we also have identified the **intertextuality** (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) in order to analyze **compositional** components when dealing with its production, which relates the content to the textual composition. Representational and compositional meanings are detailed in the tables below.

Table 3 – Representational Meaning

REPRESENTATIONAL MEANING	
Representational meaning presents the development of actions and events, change processes and transitory spatial arrangements. It is made of:	
NARRATIVE STRUCTURE	Represented by **vectors** (direction indicator trace) indicating the execution of an action or event during the interaction process between two participants.
In the narrative process, the vector allows us to identify:	
Action process	The **actor** is a participant of the action from which the vector emanates (vector comes from the actor).
Reactional process	The **participant** drives the gaze from which the vector emanates (the gaze of a participant reflects in another).
Reaction can be:	
Speech process	Participant is connected to the statement by means of the vector (the **speech** of the participant, or speaker, is represented by means of a speech balloon).
Mental process	The experiencer is connected to the phenomenon, that is, to the thought, by means of the vector (the **thought** of the experiencer, or participant, is represented by means of a thought balloon).
CONCEPTUAL STRUCTURE	Sorts the involved **participants,** representing them according to their particularities.
The **conceptual structure** represents the timeless and stable essence of the participants by means of the class, structure or meaning. It comprises the following **processes**:	
Classificatory	**Taxonomies** relate participants among themselves. Thus, the role of a group of participants will be subordinated to another participant, the superordinate.
Analytical	Two types of participants in terms of the "part-whole" conceptual structure exist: the ones related to the "**whole**" are the **carrier** and the concerning the "**parts**" of the carrier, i.e., his/her **possessive attributes**.
Analytical processes are subdivided into:	
Structured	Presents the carrier (the whole).
Unstructured	Presents one or more possessive attributes to the carrier (the parts).
Symbolic	The "meaning" of participant of the image or what he/she "is".
Symbolic processes are subdivided into:	
The Carrier	The meaning or identity that he/she establishes in relation to another participant.
Symbolic attribute	The meaning or identity is represented by another participant.

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p. 45-113).

Concerning the compositional meaning, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]) highlight:

Table 4 – Compositional Meaning

COMPOSITIONAL MEANING	
In the **compositional meaning of the text**, visual elements of the image are organized and/or combined in order to give meaning to it, integrating representational and interactive elements in a textual composition. It is formed by the following elements:	
INFORMATION VALUE	The information is considered an ideological structure based on the particular point of view of the represented participant and of the image reader according to the manner they are positioned in the image: "left and right", "top and bottom" or "center and margin".
SALIENCE	More or less emphasis that certain elements receive concerning others in the image attracts or fails to attract the attention of the reader at different levels: background or foreground, size, shades or color contrasts, image quality differences etc.
FRAMING	Text elements strongly positioned within the visual framing reveal a **connection** between composition elements if they are visually united by means of vectors, continuities or similarities of color and visual format, as well as the lack of image framing. Text elements poorly positioned within the visual framing reveal **disconnection** between composition elements if they are visually separated from each other by means of lines, image framing aspects, empty spaces between elements and discontinuities of color and visual format.
Thus, discourse comprises the representational content of a text under analysis.	

Source: Kress and van Leeuwwen (2006 [1996], p.175-214).

GVD guides the multimodal analysis of the meanings identified in the *corpus* by means of the following categories: **informational value** (top and bottom, center and margin, known and new), **salience** and **framing** (connection), in dialogue with the worldview, with social relations, with internal and external coherence (context) of the text, i.e., the analyzed article.

Visual space of the news article can be sized as shown below.

Figure 1 – The dimensions of visual space
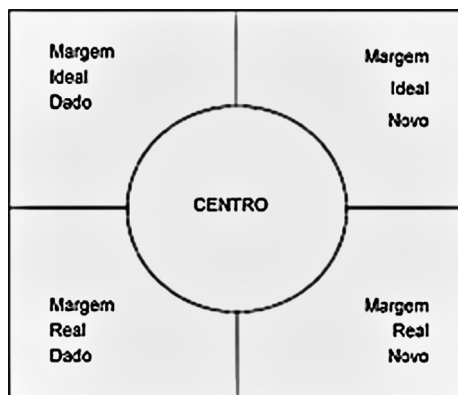
The known is the element located to the left and the new, to the right. They do not mix and are differentiated by the polarized composition of the visual space. The ideal is the element located at the top, and the real, at the bottom. They do not mix as well and are differentiated by the centralized composition of the visual space. In the next topic, we present some of the results from the analysis of the selected article.

Analysis of the news report

Before the analysis, we present the verbal part of the text:

> **Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF**
> *Rooms without ventilation, lack of multi-sports courts, defective electric system and water shortage are some of the identified issues. The President of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture says that, in some cases, the best thing to do would be to demolish teaching units*
>
> GDF has not been doing their homework, even though there is plenty to do. Successive reports on the press concerning the poor conditions of the local public schools, complaints from parents and students, warnings from teachers and even surveys from official agencies – such as a report issued by the Federal Courts of Account of the DF (TCDF) – apparently are not enough to improve the overall conditions of the institutions. Now, a new document strengthens the serious issues that are part of the daily routine of those spending their day among blackboards, books, notebooks and desks. According the president of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture of the Legislative Chamber, the congressman Reginaldo Veras (PDT), in some cases the situation is so unbearable that the buildings should rather be demolished.

The parliamentarian visited more than 50 schools in the 14 teaching regions and prepared a report with observations made in such locations. During the session held on Tuesday (March, 22nd), Veras went so far as to state that some of the units should be imploded before they can cause more serious damage to the students. Among the mentioned units are *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia* (**main photo**) and *Escola Classe Vila Areal*. The news team of "**Metrópoles**" visited both locations and managed to get a closer look on the disregard of the State with the infrastructure of such institutions.

At Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia, around 580 elementary students have to overcome daily challenges in order to learn. Beginning with the heat inside classrooms. "The school was built 24 years ago under a provisional regime. Buildings were made with low ceilings and concrete plates, which raises the temperatures of the environment", explains the director of the unit, Vera Leude da Silva. She also tells that due to an old electric system, there is no way to install air conditioners, and even installed fans are defective.

During rainy seasons, the situation is even worse. Cracks in the ceiling turn rooms into waterfalls and teachers are forced to take students to another place. "The water pours down the wall and into power sockets, causing short-circuit risks", says Vera.

Fire hoses

More obstacles are found outside. Fire hoses are useless, and the school was notified by the fire department. In the presumed leisure area, vegetation and termite mounds seized the space. Even glass shards are found hidden amidst the vegetation. There is no covered court, and the playground needs maintenance.

Critical conditions caused the director to seek help from the Public Ministry. "We are waiting for a warrant to force the Secretariat of Education to do something", she says.

Broken water tank

In Areal, there are similar difficulties. The building was also built to serve a temporary role, in 1971, with zinc roof tiles and low walls, which also increases inside temperatures. The hot environment is even more aggravated due to the constant water shortage. "Our water tank is broken since 2012. Only this year, I have sent three requests to the secretariat to send someone to solve this situation", says the director Jorge Luiz de Oliveira. Without the equipment, the school is highly vulnerable to the common water shortages in the region. "There are times in which we have to send students back home", finishes Oliveira.

Rains are also a problem. Without a proper draining system, the mud infiltrates the covered court, taking away from the students one of the few improvements achieved.

In a note, the Secretariat of Education informed that both mentioned schools are in the Works Plan for 2015-2018. "It must be highlighted the need to arrange for the management of resources. Once the budget is secured, then it will be possible to talk about terms".

Beyond schools

For the congressman Reginaldo Veras, structural difficulties are the result of administrative issues in the education. The report points out the need to build new schools to meet demands for more enrollments. "One such example is the region of Paranoá, where the shortage is of approximately 7,500 enrollments", he said.

Another issue is the transfer of funds to schools. According to Veras, the educational system suffers with the lack of investments. "It is imperative that the government sets out priorities. And education must be one of them". For him, even when there is money, there is no personnel. "I have already tried to submit part of the parliamentary amendment to the sector, but the secretariat faces a shortage of professionals, such as engineers and architects, which impairs the process of renovating schools", he states.

Lastly, the congressman suggested the expansion of the Program of Administrative and Financial Decentralization (PDAF), which forecasts the direct transfer of funds to school directors, thus giving autonomy to handle minor repairs and renovations. (AMADOR, J. G., 24 mar. 2016).

The article, by means of an ambiguous **conceptual structure**, was built based on a personal angle, in which the journalist manifests his own opinion (see 1) at the very beginning of the text.

(1) [...] The news team of "**Metrópoles**" [...] managed to get a closer look on the <u>disregard of the State</u> with the infrastructure of such institutions.

The lexical selection of "disregard of the State" (see 1) reveals the commitment of the journalist with the social identity created for the GDF based on the mentioned reports. On the one hand, the journalist reported the disregard of the State with the infrastructure of *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia* and *Escola Classe Vila Areal* by means of different representation modes mobilized in the text. On the other hand, he naturalized discourses on the social and spatial segregation of the poor population (**institutional violence**) and the effects from social inequalities in the distribution of income and public services (**structural violence**).

Due to a well-marked **narrative structure,** direct and indirect discourses are merged to build meanings and to present other voices in the text, usually from experts, thus exempting the journalist from the trouble of analyzing facts and giving credibility to what is said. In order to obtain the attention from the audience, facts and information were summarized in the first (**lead**) and second (**sublead**) paragraphs and reported in a descending order of importance throughout the article. The opening structure of the article from "*Metrópoles"* is provided in the figure below.

Figure 2 – Excerpt from the opening of section "Federal District/ Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24, 2016

In the **opening,** the photo of a classroom from *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, referred in the **sublead as** "(**main photo**)", with no students or teachers, served as the climax. The **title**, "Report of the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF", called the attention to a polemic subject that is about to be addressed, the report on public schools, located in the space, which is the Federal District (DF). By placing the photo before the title and selecting the verb "disapproves", the journalist produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader of the image to assume that the school depicted in the photo is no longer operational because it failed to pass the assessment of the Legislative Chamber and such disapproval was recorded in a report.

(2) [...] Rooms without ventilation, lack of multi-sports courts, defective electric system and water shortage are some of the identified issues.

(3) The President of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture says that, in some cases, the best thing to do would be to demolish teaching units.

The **subtitle** informed the reason behind the disapproval (as seen in excerpt 2) and provided examples (excerpt 3) before closing with the quotation from a political authority and informing his opinion on the matter. By quoting the President of the CESC (see 3) the journalist introduces an authority of the Legislative Branch, and thus, seeks to grant credibility for his own statement.

The structure of the first part for the article's body text is shown below.

Figure 3 – Excerpt from the body text of the section "Federal District/ Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24, 2016
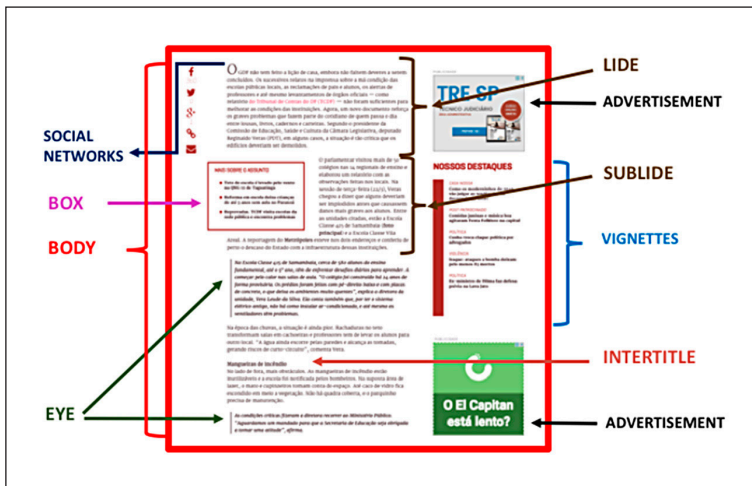
Source: Amador (24 mar. 2016).

In the first paragraph of the article's body, the journalist introduced the **lead** by using a metaphor (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 2002, p.45) (see 4) which is explained right after (see 5).

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(4) GDF <u>seems to be not fond of homework</u>, even though there is plenty of stuff to do.

(5) <u>Successive reports on the press</u> concerning the poor conditions of the local public schools, <u>complaints from parents and students</u>, <u>warnings from teachers</u> and even surveys from official bodies – such as <u>a report of the Federal Courts of Account of the DF</u> (TCDF) […].

This metaphor (see 4) reveals, ironically, the commitment of the journalist with the social identity created fort the GDF. The juxtaposition of such metaphor with the sentence (see 5) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to compare the behavior of the GDF with the behavior of students from the public teaching system concerning the fulfillment of school tasks and the fact that GDF must be held accountable before the civil society (**vertical societal accountability**) in relation to the neglected public services (**institutional violence**).

The journalist also explained how the action by the Legislative was carried out (see 6).

> (6) [...] Now, a new document strengthens the serious issues that are part of the daily routine of those spending their day among blackboards, books, notebooks and desks
>
> (7) According to the present of the Commission for Education, Health and Culture of the Legislative Chamber, the congressman Reginaldo Veras (PDT), [...], the situation is so unbearable that building should be rather demolished [...].

The lexical selection of the adverb "now" (see 6) emphasizes the continuous occurrence of the GDF in failing to meet the interests of the population and produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the operation of the democracy in the DF is not transparent and that the Legislative Chamber can solve this issue.

To conclude (see 7), the journalist informed the name and political party of the political authority previously mentioned in the subtitle by mentioning him again. By mentioning the name and party of the President of CESC, the journalist once again represents an authority of the Legislative Branch, thus emphasizing his affiliation to a political party that opposes the GDF, which produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the opposition is also monitoring the GDF (**horizontal accountability**) concerning the situation in question.

In the second paragraph (see 8), the **sublead**, the journalist provided further details on the report of the Legislative Chamber. The journalist also located the fact in time, March 22nd, 2016, and explained the reason behind the motivations stated by the parliamentarian (see 9), also informing that *Metrópoles*' news team visited both schools to investigate the fact (see 1).

> (8) [...] The parliamentarian visited more than 50 schools in the 14 teaching regions and prepared a report with observations made in such locations.
>
> (9) During the session held on Tuesday (March 22nd), Veras went so far as to state that some of the units should be imploded before they can cause more serious damage to the students.

After the **lead**, there are two **subheads²** , in the third and sixth paragraphs, with quotations from the director of the *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, Vera Leude da Silva (see 10-12), about the situation of classrooms and the warrant of the MPDFT. Lexical selection of the adverbial adjuncts "under a provisional regime" and "24 years ago" (see 10), produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume a situation of abandonment of this public school by the government that is lasting for quite some time.

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³ The "subhead" of a news report is a relevant and interesting phrase of the article presented in bold. The font in size larger than the report itself allows the reader of the eye to have an overall idea of the subject before even finishing the reading.

(10) [...] "The school was built <u>24 years ago</u> under <u>a provisional regime</u>" [...],explains <u>the director of the unit, Vera Leude da Silva</u>.

(11) [...] <u>During rainy seasons</u> [...]. Cracks in the ceiling turn <u>rooms into waterfalls</u> and teachers are forced to take students to another place.

(12) "The water pours down the wall and into power sockets, <u>causing short-circuit risks</u>", says Vera.

In the fourth paragraph, the metaphor "rooms into waterfalls" (see 11) is emphasized by the journalist who dedicates the whole paragraph to describe the precarity of classrooms during rainy seasons and to inform the risk of short-circuit (see 12).

The arrangement of semiotic resources of page at the left and right represents previous (**known**) and new (**new**) information, respectively. At the left of the page (known), we have identified buttons to navigate through **social networks** in which the portal "*Metrópoles*" was registered and a box with three links to other articles concerning the precarity of the physical installations of public schools in the DF and the report of the TCDF. At the right of the page (new), there is information on **vignettes** of new articles, as well as two **advertisements**.
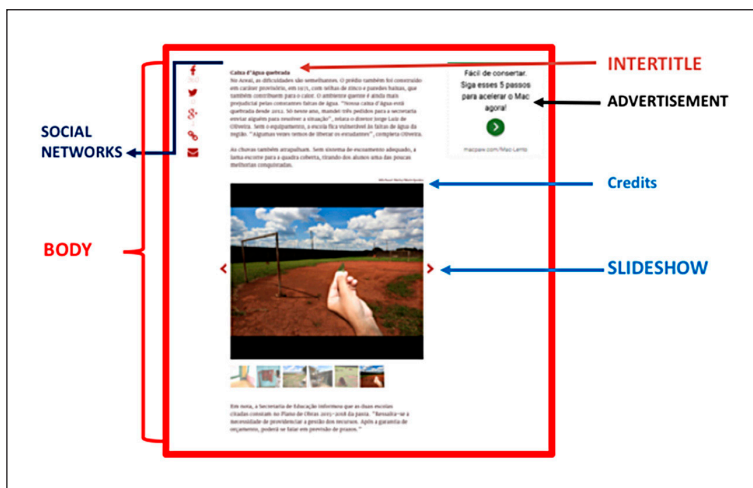
In the fifth paragraph, the **intertitle** "fire hose" represents a breach of continuity of what was previously said in order to facilitate reading. In this paragraph, voices of the director Vera and of the journalist are intertwined, as if they were a single voice, as he referred to her only in the second eye. In this stretch of the article, the director reported the situation of the external part of the school (see 13-16).

(13) [...] <u>Fire hoses</u> are useless and the school was notified by the <u>fire department</u>.

(14) In the <u>presumed</u> leisure area, vegetation and termite mounds seized the space.

(15) <u>Even</u> glass shards are found hidden amidst the vegetation.

(16) [...] <u>Critical conditions</u> caused the director to seek help from the <u>Public Prosecution Service</u>. "We are waiting on a warrant to <u>force the Secretariat of Education to do something</u>", she says.

The lexical selection of the adjective "alleged" (see 14) and the preposition "even" (see 15) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that this situation of abandonment is lasting for quite a whole in a space intended to serve as a leisure area. Next, the director reported that she contacted the MPDFT (see 16). The lexical selection of "critical conditions", "Public Prosecution Service", "warrant", "Secretariat of Education" and "forced to do something" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that there is long-lived tension between the school community and the government and because of that, the MPDFT monitors the GDF (**horizontal accountability**) on this situation.

The distance of the journalist in relation to the director, at this moment, can be observed in the **photos** of the news **opening** and of the **slideshow** that follows the intertitle. Photos were ordered according to the narrative of the director Vera, serving as a visual testimony of what she narrates, thus giving a documental character to the article. The structure of the second part of the news body is shown below.

Figure 4 – Excerpt from the body text of the section "Federal District/ Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24, 2016

Source: Amador (24 mar. 2016).

In the seventh paragraph, the **intertitle** "Broken water tank" represents a change of subject in order to inform the situation of another school, *Escola Classe Vila Areal* (see 17-21), according to the accounts of the director. The journalist once more makes use of a quotation from an individual connected to the context to represent an authority of the Executive Branch (see 20) with the purpose of obtaining credibility to his statement.

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(17) In Areal, <u>similar difficulties are shared</u> [...].

(18) The building was also built <u>to serve a temporary role, in 1971</u>, with zinc roof tiles and low walls, which also increases inside <u>temperatures</u>.

(19) [...] Our water tank is broken <u>since 2012</u>.

(20) Only this year, I have sent <u>three requests</u> to the secretariat to send someone to solve this situation", says the <u>director</u> Jorge Luiz de Oliveira [...].

(21) Without the equipment, the school is highly vulnerable <u>to the common water shortages in the region</u>.

On the one hand, the lexical selection of "similar difficulties are shared" (see 17), "to serve a temporary role", "in 1971" (see 18), "since 2012" (see 19) and "three requests"

(see 20) produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to compare the situation of the school with the one of *Escola Classe 415 de Samambaia*, as both work in temporary buildings, and to assume that the situation of abandonment of both public schools by the governments lasts for quite a while. On the other hand, the posterior lexical selection of "water shortages in the region" (see 21) and "temperatures" (see 18) produces a meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the water supply system of Areal is not efficient.

In the eighth paragraph, the voices of the director and of the journalist are intertwined (see 22) as if they were a single voice, as there is no more mention to the director. The lexical selection of "without a proper draining system", "the mud", "covered court" and "one of the few improvements achieved" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the struggle of the school community is required to improve facilities and the lives of the community in which the school is inserted (**vertical societal accountability**).
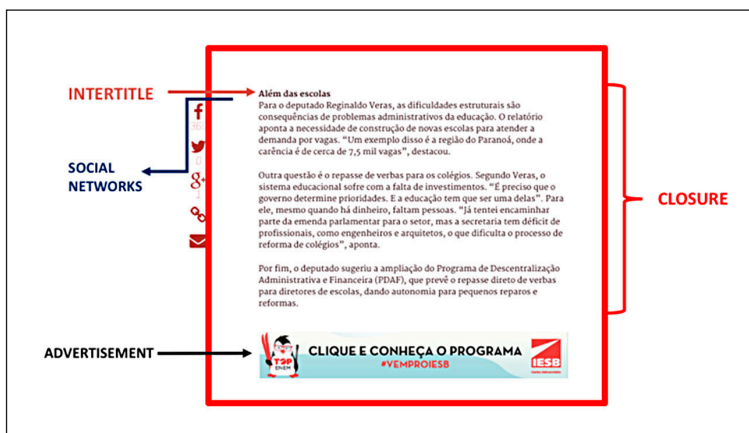
> (22) [...] Without a proper draining system, the mud infiltrates the covered court, taking away from the students one of the few improvements achieved.

In the ninth paragraph, the journalist quoted a note from SEDF (see 23). The lexical selection of "Works Plan for 2015-2018", "need to arrange", "budget is secured", "will be possible" and "about terms" produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the government does not have the required resources to solve the issues faced by both schools and that there was no transfer of public funds.

> (23) [...] both mentioned schools are in the Works Plan for 2015-2018. "It must be highlighted the need to arrange for the management of resources. Once the budget is secured, then it will be possible to talk about terms".

The closing structure of the article is shown in the figure below.

Figure 5 – Excerpt from the closure of the section "Federal District/ Education" of the *Metrópoles* portal, March 24th, 2016

In the tenth paragraph, the **intertitle** "Beyond schools" represents a change of subject in order to address the conclusion of the report from the Legislative Chamber. After quoting the conclusion of the congressman Reginaldo Veras (see 24), the journalist informed another conclusion of the CESC report from the Legislative Chamber (see 25).

(24) [...] For the congressman Reginaldo Veras, <u>structural difficulties</u> are the result of <u>administrative issues</u> in the education.

(25) [...] The report points out the <u>need</u> to build new schools to meet <u>demands</u> for more enrollments.

The lexical selection of "beyond schools" in the intertitle, "structural difficulties", "administrative problems" (see 24), "need" and "demand" (see 25) produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the government is not liable for the precarity of the infrastructure found in public schools – water, power, sewer, sanitation – which often interrupts their operations, or that there are other more urgent social needs for the government to tackle.

The silence of the GDF, who was never contacted by the team of the portal "Metrópoles", produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that the portal does not want to held it accountable for the infrastructure issues described by the direction of both schools and by the district parliamentarian or to go deeper on the subject of social and spatial segregation of the *Areal* and *Samambaia* communities. For this reason, the journalist changed the subject to discuss the demand for enrollments in the public teaching system of the DF and the transfer of funds to schools (see 26-29).

> (26) […] <u>Another issue</u> is the transfer of funds to schools.
> (27) According to Veras, the educational system suffers with the <u>lack of investments</u>.
> (28) "It is imperative that the government sets out <u>priorities</u> […]".
> (29) […] "For him, even when there is money, there are no personnel. [...] but the secretariat faces a <u>shortage of professionals</u>, such as engineers and architects, which impairs the process of renovating schools", he states.

The lexical selection of "another issue" (see 26), "lack of investments" (see 27), "priorities" (see 28) and "shortage of professionals" (see 29), produces the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to assume that there are no professionals in the engineering and architecture segments working for the GDF (see 29). However, "*Metrópoles*" failed to further analyze the topic in order to discuss the inequality in the distribution of income in Brazil, which can be seen in the low wages of GDF's public servants, highlighting only the issue of transfer of public funds to public schools (in 26 and 27) without investigating why schools do not receive them.

At the **closure**, the journalist mentioned the suggestion of the congressman Reginaldo Veras (see 30) in order to satisfy the needs for more urgent repairs and renovations of the schools.

> (30) [...] the congressman suggested the expansion of the Program of Administrative and Financial Decentralization (PDAF) [...].

However, such resources are destined neither to the construction of new schools (see 26 and 29) nor the demolition of existing ones that were disapproved by the CESC report of the Legislative Chamber (see 3, 7 and 9).

On the one hand, use conditions of the argumentative operators lead the reader to a specific conclusion by means of the meaning provided by them. For example, the **lexical selection** of "critical conditions" (see 16), "similar difficulties are shared" (see 17), "common water shortages in the region" (see 21), "without a proper draining system" (see 22) and "even when there is money, there are no personnel" (see 29) and **metaphors** "GDF seems to be not fond of homework" (see 4) and "rooms into waterfalls" (see 11) indicate the purpose of the speakers in the preparation of their speech, producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the poor preservation of public schools in the DF results from the omission of the GDF and of the social vulnerability of the territory where schools are based.

On the other hand, even though the **multimodal aspects** of the article emphasize the severity of the episodes verbally described by the interviewees of both public schools, the journalist, upon closing the article, suggests no solution to what he called "disregard of the State with the infrastructure of such institutions" (see excerpt 1). For

example, the size of the title font "Report from the Legislative Chamber disapproves public schools of the DF" (Figure 2), opening photos of the article (Figure 2) and the slideshow in the body of the article (Figure 4), links from other similar articles in the box and both eyes in the article body (Figure 3) contrast with the lexical selection of the intertitle "beyond schools" when closing the article (Figure 5), producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the journalist, upon changing the subject when closing the article, compromised the social identity created against the Federal District Government without demanding a solution from it concerning the precarious infrastructure of the schools the portal investigated.

In light of the foregoing, the journalist ends the article without further investigating other causes, rather than the economic ones, of the social inequalities materialized in the precarity of the physical installations of the public schools and of the urban structure in the DF, which the interviewed authorities promptly denounced.

Final considerations

The lack of transparence by the democratic system of the DF prevents the democratic equal participation of the civil society in public spaces and its interlocution with the State, as emphasized by the article. In this sense, in the assessment made by the school community, the Brazilian democracy grant them freedom to exert social control and to denounce its social reality to public bodies (**horizontal accountability**), but fails to grant them the necessary resources to promote social equality.

However, the journalistic media is a privileged channel of manifestation not only for political fights but also for power. Due to it engagement in the formation of consensus, civil society sees media as a powerful tool of accusation of the poor utilization of public recourses (**vertical societal accountability**) capable of causing social changes. For this reason, the situation currently experienced by the public schools of the DF was also accused by the journalistic media.

We could see that by means of the **conceptual and narrative structures** of the news article, the information of the journalist recreated facts and happenings narrated by means of his own discursive choices and his own particular style, illustrated with photos and referenced by the links of previous articles in the news portal "Metrópoles". Thus, the text released in the electronic media is opinionated, descriptive and analytical, intended to the public in general. Such choices produced meaning-making potentials, which may cause the reader to make assumptions related to social practice networks, as those we described in this analysis.

Strategies concerning the choices made, such as **lexical choices** of dysphoric character (negative), use of **metaphors** and the focus on **multimodality aspects**, compete, as argumentative operators, to create and/or suggest certain meaning-making potentials that unveil the interference of subjectiveness to permeate the alleged objectiveness of the article. Thus, rather than resuming facts investigated in both schools

in the opening and the body of the article and to position himself in relation to them in the closure of the article, the journalists decides to discuss the demand for school enrollments in Paranoá (see excerpt 25) and the destination of public budget directly to public schools (see excerpt 30) at the closing of the text and fails to contradict the note from SEDF (see excerpt 23) that there is no fund to renovate them based on the statement of the congressman Veras (see excerpt 29), producing the meaning-making potential that may lead the reader to understand that the precarity of infrastructure found in public schools is a structural problem caused by administrative school issues as stated by the Congressman Veras (see excerpt 24), and not by the disregard of the State, as stated by the director of both schools (see excerpts 16 and 20).

By means of the **intertextuality**, educational, political and journalistic discourses of the article are mixed in such a manner that their discourses are naturalized. The voice of the journalist was present by means of the indirect discourse, when he makes an expositive report on the precarity of the infrastructure of both schools of the DF, presented in an objective manner and added by photos. However, he privileged the voice of the authority by means of the direct discourse, when directly quoted three authorities of two different branches, the Legislative and the Executive, giving them voice by means of functionalization (VAN LEEUWEN, 2008). The journalist also introduced other voices – in an implicit manner, such as the TDCF, MPDFT and the Fire Department, as well as the silence of some voices, such as the GDF – that were indirectly mentioned by the authorities and the journalist.

On the one hand, the struggle to make school a space free of social exclusion and capable of operating in temporary buildings was emphasized by the intertextuality of the journalistic voice added by the voices of the directors of both schools. With the aid of such voices, he built a social identify for himself and for the portal "Metrópoles" pursuant to the discourse of an education favoring inclusion and support to the fight in defense of the public school, as the article of the portal visited both schools to investigate the facts, as well as indignation with the disregard demonstrated by the GDF, thus revealing a high commitment to the social identity create for the local government. However, the journalist did not investigate the interests involved in the dispute between school and the GDF. On the other hand, the journalist adheres to the right-winged hegemonic journalistic discourse. His choice for not delving into state policies, labor market, real estate market dynamics and housing legitimated hegemonic social relations.

Because of this silence, he naturalized discourses on the social and spatial segregation of the poorer classes (**institutional violence**) and on the effects of the social inequalities in the distribution of income and services (**structural violence**), representing the public school of the DF only as a social exclusion space, whose social fights are expected to continue to be ignored by the government.

To sum up, **intertextuality**, combined with linguistic marks and immediate context, also build patterns such as experience, social interaction and social identities, that is, ideological positions. The journalist distanced himself from the voices of the

aforementioned authorities to create an ambiguous social identity for him and for the portal "Metrópoles". Despite showing a high level of commitment to the social identity created for the GDF by means of metaphors used and lexical selections adopted for the reports of such authorities, he also legitimated hegemonic social relations.

- *RESUMO: Neste artigo, tratamos da accountability horizontal, da accountability societal vertical, da representação e da intertextualidade a fim de analisar as representações discursivas da escola democrática, da qualidade da democracia (DIAMOND; MORLINO, 2005; O'DONNEL, 1998) e da violência (MINAYO, 2006, 2009) que reproduzem relações de dominação e de exploração (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Esse estudo demonstra como os efeitos potenciais de sentido que a mídia jornalística transmite, no gênero reportagem, legitimam relações sociais hegemônicas. A análise linguística dos textos verbais, não verbais e multimodais da reportagem do portal de notícias Metrópoles sobre escolas públicas do Distrito Federal focou a seleção lexical de textos verbais, o enfoque multimodal e as metáforas utilizadas com base na Análise de Discurso Crítica (ADC) (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001, 2003, 2006) e na Teoria da Semiótica Social da Multimodalidade (TSSM) (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, 2001, 2006 [1996]; KRESS, 2010). Nesta pesquisa, evidenciou-se que o jornalista legitimou relações sociais hegemônicas, apesar de demonstrar alto comprometimento com a identidade social criada para o Governo do Distrito Federal por meio das metáforas que utilizou e da seleção lexical que fez dos relatos dessas autoridades.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise de discurso crítica. Representações discursivas. Teoria da semiótica social da multimodalidade. Violência escolar.*

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