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Luana Garbin

**Representations of Women in the Presidential Programs of the 2018
Brazilian Elections: An Analysis of Political Discourse**

Dissertação submetida ao Programa de Pós-graduação em Inglês da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina para a obtenção do Grau de Mestre em Inglês: Estudos Linguísticos e Literários.

Orientadora: Profa. Dra. Débora de Carvalho Figueiredo.

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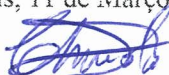
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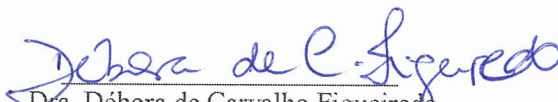
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Florianópolis, 11 de Março de 2019.



Dr. Celso Henrique Soufen Tumolo
Coordenador do Curso

Banca Examinadora:



Dra. Débora de Carvalho Figueiredo
Presidente e orientadora
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina



Dr. Pedro Gustavo Rieger
Universidade Federal de Alagoas



Dra. Viviane Maia Heberle
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (via videoconferência)

“Senti, então, em mim despertar o espírito da revolta, compreendi ser necessário uma campanha persistente e tenaz no sentido de destruir o terrível preconceito.”

(Leolinda Daltro - Mulher do Diabo)

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RESUMO

A presente pesquisa tem como objetivo investigar como a representação das mulheres é construída nos programas presidenciais nas eleições de 2018 no Brasil, bem como as políticas públicas voltadas a elas e por fim, como a relação entre mulheres e sociedade é representada. A pesquisa também procura perceber se os assuntos relacionados a gênero são apresentados nas propostas presidenciais com valores estereotipados. Por exemplo, se a imagem das mulheres é relacionada a tarefas domésticas ou ao papel de maternidade. Para tanto, foram selecionados quatro programas presidenciais para essa análise. Os programas são PSL, PT, PDT e PSDB, os quatro partidos com mais votos conquistados durante a eleição. Para conduzir a análise, serão aplicados os modelos de análise de Representação de Atores sociais e Representação de Ação Social (Van Leeuwen, 2008), Análise do Discurso Político (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012), e Linguística Sistêmico Funcional (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Os resultados mostraram propostas conservadoras e progressistas. O partido de direita, PSL, o qual teve apenas uma menção à mulheres em todo o programa, não atendeu às demandas das mulheres. Pelo contrário, apresentou valores conservadores em relação à discussão de gênero e outros públicos minorizados. PSDB, o partido de centro-direita também apresentou poucas propostas relacionadas às mulheres. Ambos os partidos de direita apresentaram generalizações que omitiram os objetivos das propostas, bem como as ações concretas das propostas. Os partidos de esquerda, PT e PDT, também apresentaram generalizações nas propostas. Entretanto, considerando que esses programas abordam mais conteúdos relacionados aos interesses das mulheres, foram encontrados mais propostas que reconhecem as necessidades das mulheres nos dias atuais. Por fim, as conclusões revelam que de fato houveram propostas que contém valores culturalmente atribuídos às mulheres, por exemplo, o assunto de paternidade e maternidade é majoritariamente relacionado ao papel da mulher, ao invés do homem. Além disso, as ações dos programas também revelam diversas deliberações, as quais diferem de ações concretas, o que demonstra incerteza dos partidos sobre algumas pautas políticas.

Palavras chave: análise do discurso político, representação das mulheres, gênero, direito das mulheres.

ABSTRACT

The focus of this research is to investigate how the representation of women is built in the presidential programs of Brazil's 2018 elections, as well as the public policies directed to them and women's relation with society. The objective is also to perceive whether gender issues are constructed within the program's proposals under stereotyped values. For instance, if the image of women is related to duties of household and motherhood. In order to do so, four presidential programs were selected to this analysis. The programs are PSL, PT, PDT and PSDB, which were the four parties with more votes in the election. In order to conduct the analysis, this study relies on frameworks of Representation of Social Actors and Representation of Social Action (Van Leeuwen, 2008), Political Discourse Analysis (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012), and Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The results demonstrated both conservative and progressive proposals. The right-wing party PSL, with a single mentioning to women in the program, did not approach women's agenda, and presented conservative values concerning gender discussion and other minoritized groups of society. PSDB, which is a centre to centre-right party also presented few proposals related to women. Both parties presented generalizations that omitted the goals and the concrete actions of the proposals. The left-wing parties, PT and PDT, also presented generalized proposals. However, since their programs addressed more content related to women's interests, there were also found more proposals which acknowledged women's current needs, that is, in the context of women who are no longer only mothers and wives, but also workers and agents capable of occupying spaces firstly predominantly dominated by men, such as the political sphere. Finally, the conclusions reveal that there were found in the proposals values that are culturally attributed to women, for instance, the subject of parenthood is mostly directed to women, instead of men. Furthermore, the claims for actions in the programs also reveal several deliberations, which are different from concrete actions, which demonstrates an uncertainty from the parties concerning certain subjects.

Keywords: political discourse analysis, women's representation, gender, women's agenda.

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CHAPTER I

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 CONTEXT OF INVESTIGATION

On August 31st, 2016, a parliamentary/judiciary *coup d'état*¹ against the Brazilian president Dilma Rousseff took place. The whole process of what the instances of power, such as the judiciary and the congress, called 'impeachment' started in December of 2015, which included several attacks to the political image of the then president in different media, as well as misogynous manifestations from parts of the population. One of the news outlets that participated in these attacks was the Brazilian magazine ISTOÉ, which published a piece putting in doubt Dilma's capacity of effectively ruling the country, questioning her mental sanity.² Other misogynous insults to the ex-president were propagated through fake news, which were used again in 2018 against one of the women candidates for vice-president, Manuela D'Ávila. Both Dilma and Manuela had their images manipulated and denigrated, with the purpose of putting into question their right to be in such high political positions. As Braden (1996) observed in the context of the press coverage of women politicians, texts such as the ones published in the media with harmful and fake information about Dilma and Manuela intend to "diminish a woman's stature as an effective legislator" (p. 2), and although they do not reflect the reality, they have negative effects in terms of the public images and the reputations of women politicians. Using Braden's words, "when the news media imply that women are anomalies in high public office, the public is likely to regard them as bench warmers rather than as an integral part of government" (1996, p. 2).

Furthermore, the unfair and unequal social organization frequently generates social demands and problematizations. One of them, explained by Cameron and Shaw (2016), is the conflict of gender ideologies in political speech, which basically relies on the position of women in relation to men, that is, the conflict is focused on how women in leadership positions behave in comparison to men in similar positions.

¹ For more information on the *coup d'état* see Holmes, 2017. <http://www.criticaconstitucional.com.br/por-que-foi-um-golpe/>

² REVISTA ISTOÉ. Capa: As explosões nervosas da Presidente. In: Revista ISTOÉ. São Paulo: Editora Três. Edição 2417, abril de 2016.

Women are judged either for being too distant from pre-establish male norms for political life (too ‘weak’ or ‘girly’), or too close to them (too ‘masculine’ and ‘bossy’).

Such attitudes towards the participation of women in politics were what initially motivated this research. By observing the struggles that Dilma Rousseff faced as a president, the discomfort for women in power positions became obvious. Moreover, this discouragement and constant pressure explain the low numbers of women in political positions in Brazil and worldwide. For instance, the research *Every Last Girl*³, published in 2016 as part of a campaign named *Save the Children*, conducted studies in many countries, and produced statistics concerning child marriage, adolescent fertility, women’s mortality, lack of voice and recognition. These studies show high rates of such problems around the globe, which illustrates the barriers that women still find when the matter is equality. Among those negative numbers, we find the low representation of women in political spaces. According to data provided by the research, in 2016 only 23% legislative seats around the world were occupied by women, and that number had increased just 6 points over a ten-year time span, which indicates the slow process of inserting women into leadership positions. According to the study, in South America, in 2016 with only 16% of seats held by women in parliaments, Brazil led the statistics as “the worst country to be a girl”⁴, also due to the lack of female participation in governmental spaces. In the elections of 2018, women occupied 15% of the spaces in the Lower House⁵ (77 out of 513 deputies).⁶

Considering this, I began to think of ways to deal with the problem of the low presence of women in political spaces, and as a result the system of political gender quotas became the focus of my interest, since its main purpose is to work as a compensatory measure for the low representation of women in politics. The Brazilian laws 9.504/1997⁷ and

³ Available in *Every last girl*. 2016. *Save the children*. Retrieved from savethechildren.org.uk

⁴ *Every last girl*. 2016. *Save the children*. Retrieved from savethechildren.org.uk

⁵ Link to the website of the Lower House <https://www.camara.leg.br/>

⁶ Available in <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2018-10/camara-dos-deputados-tera-15%25-de-mulheres>

⁷ Law that establishes norms to elections http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L9504.htm

12.034/2009⁸ state that 30% of the vacancies in each party should be reserved to women candidates. These laws also establish reservations of funds and of television time slots for female candidates, so as to motivate and encourage the participation of women in politics. However, these two laws did not provide enough textual material for analysis, or much information on the importance of women in the political sphere. The laws were created to address not only the issue of gender quotas, but also many themes related to the electoral process as a whole (such as duties that the parties have and the punishments in case they did not follow the legal requirements). Therefore, I abandoned the idea of using the above laws as objects of discursive analysis.

However, the issue of women's representation continued to motivate the research, but no longer as the primary focus. In the meantime, in 2018 Brazil had presidential elections and gender issues were discussed among the political parties, including gender quotas, both in positive and negative ways. Thinking of that, I became interested in the representation of women and gender issues in the presidential programs. By using Critical Discourse Analysis it is possible to investigate how these representations are constructed in political speech. In this sense, Fairclough (1992) argues that the political practice within discourse establishes, sustains and changes power relations among collective entities, such as different social groups divided by class, gender, race and so on. Similarly, Christofoletti (2000) points out how parliament debates, the convincing of the electors and the persuasion of allies are features of political discourse, all of which carry meaning and ideology.

1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

In order to understand the pragmatic changes involving women's political awareness, it is important to look at the studies on feminist political science, which started with the beginning of second wave feminism (Fraser, 2009). To better understand the theories which are going to be presented in this thesis, I am going to introduce the discussion using Fraser's (2009) economic perspective of the globalized world, in which interest and research on equal opportunities and political positions started to gain space among groups of women.

In the 1960's in the United States there were many protests against racial segregation and the Vietnam war. This was the beginning of a series

⁸ Law that establishes norms to elections
http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2009/Lei/L12034.htm

of social rights movements whose main objects of criticism were structural features of capitalist societies. The problems raised by the protests went from sexual repression and gender inequalities to other forms of social oppression, such as racism. The discussions that emerged from this social discontent have helped women to raise awareness about social discrimination and to start looking at the political scenario as well.

The notion of a biased culture that has always privileged men on decision-making territories became a challenge for second wave feminists, and pushed them to start questioning these exclusions of democracy. Despite the cultural barriers, Fraser explains that neoliberalism was also one of the heads of the problem, when the matter was redistribution. Then, with third wave feminism, the need for recognition started to be the focus, especially on spheres where male dominance prevailed. According to Fraser, in second wave feminism “the tendency was to subordinate social struggles to cultural struggles, the politics of redistribution to the politics of recognition” (2009 p. 106).

In Brazil, the call for democratization emerged in the late 1970's, together with the population's demands to have a more active participation in the creation of public policies for the groups in need of the State's attention, such as the working class and the poor. Feminists were active in this process, and the main aim was equity of rights. Social movements, educators and other professionals from the area of social assistance also participated in the process. By denouncing social inequalities, women helped achieve progress in areas like health and education, for instance. The demand was to be part of the State's proposals, because women and other minority groups were not priorities. In other words, women's movements started to demand equal payment, more vacancies in kindergartens and access to contraception, among other things. This represented the beginning of the gender policies pushed by the women's movements, usually excluded from government proposals (Farah, 1999). Later, in the beginning of the 1980's in Brazil marked the creation of the first policies for women victims of violence, such as special police stations, as well as policies for women who are mothers, such as maternity leave.

Those measures indeed helped women, and encouraged them to continue fighting for equal rights. However, women still face more difficulties in comparison to men. According to 2018 statistics from IBGE⁹ (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística), women are still in

⁹ Available in <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/index.php/biblioteca-catalogo?view=detalhes&id=2101551>

disadvantage in many areas. An example is the wage gap: the Brazilian average monthly wage, considering all types of work, is R\$1.764, 00 for women and R\$2.306,00 for men. The use of time is also significantly different for women and men. Women spend an average of 18,1 hours a week in domestic duties or taking care of children/the elderly/the sick, while for men that number falls to 10,5 hours. Due to the amount of time they spend on household chores and taking care of others, women also have to cut down on their job hours in relation to men. That is, since women have to balance outside work with domestic work, they are pushed to take part-time jobs, which make their income even lower than men's income. Women represent 28,2% of the population with part-time jobs, against 20,2% of men.

Considering all this, it is important to investigate how public policies are being formulated nowadays, whether they attend women's demands (or not), and how they do it. It is also important to remember that social management does not depend exclusively on individuals; rather, it is a responsibility of the State. However, as Sacchet (2009) points out, in some discourses public responsibilities are shifted to individuals. The author discusses the discourse of projects involving social development, which frequently 'advertise' the figure of women as an important part of such development. In these projects women are even called 'partners', and the claim is that investing in women is the same as investing in society. However, the problem behind this discourse, as the author argues, is that the image of women they project is someone devoted to the good of the family, with only collective concerns, such as the health, education and the general well-being of family members. The implications of government programs that portray women as 'allies' in social projects is that, although their investments seem to be directed mainly to women, in fact they are used to achieve other social groups such as children, projecting onto women responsibilities that are beyond their control. Improvements in the areas of health, education and the general well-being of the population are not the responsibility of women; they should come from the State instead, since social policies are, above all, the job of governments and public authorities (Molyneux, 1985).

Considering the aforementioned, I am interested in checking if and how the stereotyped elements mentioned above (women as the person responsible for household chores and child care; the exclusion of women from public spaces and positions of power) appear in the discourse of the presidential programs of 2018.

1.3 OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My general purpose in this thesis is to investigate, with the support of Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 2003, 2012), Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 2004) and the Representation of Social Actors and Social Action (Van Leeuwen, 2008), how four Brazilian political parties (PSL, PT, PDT, PSDB) represent women in their presidential campaign programs - if the provisions directed to women follow the culturally constructed image of women as family-oriented care givers, or if they consider other demands from women and encourage the presence of women in decision-making spaces. More specifically, this study investigates how the campaign programs represent women in their proposals; how particular ideologies are constructed in the programs; and how they represent/deal with gender problems. I am also interested in investigating how the political parties represent agency and action in the proposals (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

I rely on Van Leeuwen's (2008) framework for the analysis of representations of both social actors and social actions, and Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) model of Political Discourse Analysis to a more macro analysis of the programs.

To reach the objectives mentioned above, the following research questions have been proposed:

1. How is political life and political action represented in the proposals for women?
2. Which discourses are drawn upon to justify the implementation of policies regarding women?
3. How do the proposals portray the social actors (e.g. women, society and policies) and their social roles?

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter one presents an introduction to the research and a contextualization of the topic to be analyzed, as well as the objectives of the research and how the analysis will be conducted. Chapter two provides theoretical information on women's representativeness, affirmative actions and their relation with the current Brazilian political scenario, as well as the theoretical and analytical frameworks to be used for the analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Discourse Analysis, Systemic Functional Linguistics, and the Theory of Social Actors/Action. The third chapter presents the

methodological design of the research, explaining the data and the analytical categories selected. In chapter four I conduct data analysis of the four presidential programs, PSL, PT, PDT and PSDB. In chapter five I bring the political discourse analysis of the proposals. Chapter six is the last one, where I answer my research questions and discuss the general construction of the presidential programs and its connection with women's policies.

CHAPTER II

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this chapter I explain the theoretical foundations of this research, as well as the frameworks which are going to be used in the data analysis. I begin with some concepts from Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1989, 1992, 2003; Resende e Ramalho, 2006). Then I move on to a brief overview of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004), especially of the Transitivity System, which offers the descriptive tools for linguistic analysis in terms of context, such as participants, processes and circumstances. I also present Van Leeuwen's (2008) model of Representation of Social Actors and Representation of Social Action, which, together with the transitivity system, is used in the analysis of the representations of actors and actions in the proposals. After that, I present the framework for Political Discourse Analysis proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), which allows a macro analysis, or explication, of the discourses of the presidential campaign programs.

Finally, I discuss aspects of the Brazilian Political Scenario in order to illustrate the conjuncture of the 2018 elections. In this section I present numbers regarding the 2014 election, in comparison to the elections of 2018, and also other events that I considered important during the election year, such as the electorate's responses. In the last section, I present theory concerning women's social role in society in order to understand the cultural construction of women's representation as social agents, and whether the presidential programs maintain or subvert stereotypical and generalized representations of women and women's needs.

2.1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Discourse is constructed and realized through written or spoken language. Fairclough (2003) claims that written and oral speech represents action and interaction in social life. Discourse constitutes world views and ways of representing, and participates in the construction of social identities.

In sum, discourse impacts our identities, knowledge and social relations. In addition, it plays an important role in constituting social structures that consequently modulate norms, conventions, relations, identities and institutions (Fairclough, 1992). In this manner, critical discourse research, guided by the concepts of power and ideology, aims

at investigating power relations embedded in contemporary society, seeking possible means to achieve social change.

The critical discussions carried out by CDA are based on the functional view of language proposed by Halliday (1973), which considers the relationship between language and social structure. Halliday's claim is that the type of language people use reflects the positions they occupy in the social system and the context of text production. In this manner, the linguistic choices made by speakers/writers are seen as meaningful selections, since they are the result of the social circumstances which lead text producers to make some choices and not others.

Certain social conventions of everyday life reflect/construct power relations. Such conventions are shaped and presented in such a way that makes them seem normal, and thus, accepted and circulated as premises in the language people use. Since these premises are also ideologies, it is easy for them to carry power, considering that ideology is a mechanism to impose normality and differences of power in social relations. In other words, practices that harm specific groups can be treated as normal just because some practices are culturally treated as natural. This normality is consolidated by the daily occurrence of unequal and discriminatory social acts and practices (Fairclough, 1989). In that sense, power relations are connected with ideological processes, which depend on language use, and they work as tools that influence the permanence of power differentials (Figueiredo, 1998).

Discursive practices can shape ideologies and beliefs through texts, but individuals, as social agents who use language in social events, also have an important participation on this construction (Fairclough, 2003). Social agents, through discursive practices, have the potential to influence social practices, and therefore social structures, in the same way that specific social actions are impacted by social structures via social practices (Resende and Ramalho, 2006).

Critical Discourse Analysis, then, aims at raising awareness of the roles of discourse and language in social life. The objective of critical analysis is also to point out ways to achieve social change, which could counteract power relations anchored in discourse (Fairclough, 1989). That is, through critical discourse analysis it is possible to unveil discourses built upon ideologies whose main purpose is to sustain inequalities and forms of domination which impact society as a whole (Resende and Ramalho, 2006).

2.2 SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS

The study of Systemic Functional Linguistics, introduced by Halliday (1985), concerns the mechanisms of language, and what the grammar of a text reveals about the meanings and construction of experience. According to Halliday and Webster (2009), SFL is the “theory of choice”, where the meanings of language can be better understood through the description of its mechanisms.

In SFL, *systemic* refers to the view of a language as connected linguistic systems that allow its language users to build meaning, while *functional* is concerned with the grammatical structures of language, and their relation with the social functions the language user wants to fulfill when making linguistic selections, that is, how language functions in society (Fuzer and Cabral, 2014).

Fuzer and Cabral (2014) point out the difference between structure and system, as the first has to do with the syntagmatic order of segments in language use, while the second conceives language in terms of its paradigmatic order. The authors explain how language as system can be found in texts, which is defined by them as semantic spaces where meaning can be rearranged. The linguistic characteristics of a text respond the three basic functions of language, called *metafunctions*: ideational (related to representation), interpersonal (related to exchange); and textual (related to the message) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004)¹⁰.

In this thesis I am going to focus on the ideational metafunction, which refers to the use of language to construct experience, and is analyzed via the system of *transitivity*. In the next section I am going to provide a more detailed description of this system, based on Halliday (2004) and Eggins (2004).

2.1.1 The Transitivity System

The experiential metafunction refers to the clause as representation. Halliday (2004) explains the events through which experience is built. He says that participants of social events are involved in processes of “happening, doing, sensing, saying, being or having” (p. 170). Such processes are responsible for creating experience, and each one of them has its singular forms of meaning construction.

¹⁰ There is an updated version of this book from 2014, but in this research I consider the version of Halliday & Matthiessen from 2004.

The processes embodied in the grammar of experience are what Halliday calls “figure” (Halliday, 2004, p. 170). Figures can be constructed from the inside or the outside world. That is, experiences constructed from the inside are perceptions of what we experience from the outside. For example, we see (mental process) people laughing (behavioural process), or we talk (verbal processes) about doing (material process) something. Each figure has a different grammatical schema, where agency will be different in each process. The agency of a material process will be performed by an actor; in a mental process by a senser; in a verbal process by a sayer; in a behavioural process by a behaviorer; in an existential process by the existent; and in a relational process by either a carrier or a token. The different types of processes have their particular participants, and the actions will happen in specific circumstances associated to the process.

Different processes attribute different meanings to the construction of a text. The system of transitivity will be used in this study to look at the agency of the participants, which is part of the analysis of the representation of social actors and social action, as will be shown in the following sections.

2.3 REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

While analyzing agency in discourse, it is important to investigate the role of the participants in the text and the manner they are grammatically portrayed, as well as how they are represented in relation to cultural and sociological aspects which are depicted through language (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The Social Actors’ Theory, proposed by Van Leeuwen (2008), investigates if social actors are presented in texts as agents or patients, and how linguistic aspects of discourse are connected to sociological representation. To do that, the author proposes a framework with different categories through which social agents can be represented, such as: 1- Exclusion; 2- Role Allocation; 3- Genericization and Specification; 4- Assimilation; 5- Association and Dissociation; 6- Indetermination and Differentiation; 7- Nomination and Categorization; 8- Functionalization and Identification; 9- Personalization and Impersonalization; 10- Overdetermination.

Some of these categories were particularly productive to analyze the representation of women and women’s agenda in the 2018 presidential campaign programs: Role Allocation; Genericization and Specification; Assimilation; Association and Dissociation; Nomination and Categorization; and Functionalization and Identification.

Role Allocation looks at social actors in terms of agency. This category is interested in who is doing the action and who is the goal of the action. In role allocation, *active and passive* roles are attributed to social actors by giving the major agency to the active participant and portraying the passive agent as the receiver of the action. Halliday's (1985) Transitivity system can grammatically reveal such roles. Passivation includes *subjection*, where the actor is the goal in material processes, and *beneficialization*, where the actor benefits from the action, either by receiving goods or services (recipient) or by being the receiver of an action (client) (Eggs, 2004). From a socio-semantic perspective, Van Leeuwen (2008) claims that, in addition to being constructed by representing the participant as the agent of processes, activation can also happen by *circumstantialization*, with agents introduced by the preposition "by" and "from"; and by *premodification* or *postmodification*, where nominalizations or process nouns can come before or after the agent. For instance, "combating the school evasion of pregnant teenagers" teenagers are activated through postmodification due to the action of leaving the schools.

Genericization and specification refer to generic or specific representations of social actors. There are several categories in which social actors can fit. Van Leeuwen brings an example from the press, where in middle class newspapers authorities are treated in specific ways, while common people are treated in generic ways. On the other hand, on working class-oriented newspapers, the opposite happens. Therefore, he argues that such choices depend on the vehicle in which the information circulates, thus, on the interests of the text producer and of the media outlet.

Assimilation sees social actors as groups of people, instead of individuals. Van Leeuwen divides assimilation in two types: *aggregation* and *collectivization*. Aggregation sees the participants as numbers in terms of social representation, considering that social opinion is frequently measured through surveys, census and public enquiries. These types of data shape social practices, since they are the numbers responsible for providing general views of popular opinion. On the other hand, collectivization has more impact, based on the notion of stronger decisions taken as a group, not individually. For instance, "trabalhadoras informais/informal workers" does not specify exactly who they are, nor their jobs, it just represent women as a group, instead of individuals.

Concerning *Association*, the representation is attributed to different groups of social actors which are connected in certain situations due to a common feature or interest. For example, saying that quotas

benefit women, black and indigenous people associates these groups of social actors, since they are all beneficiaries of quotas.

Nomination refers to social actors by defining them, that is, by assigning them an identity, characterizing them with their last or first names, or even indicating titles, for instance “Dr”. Nominations can also represent social actors according to kinship, for instance, referring to women as mothers.

Functionalization, as the name suggests, attributes a social function to social actors, that is, what they do, what is their role in terms of practices. For example, the social actor can be represented by a profession. On the other hand, contrary to what social actors do, *identification* is concerned with what they are. There are three types of identification: *classification*, *relational identification*, and *physical identification*. The first one categorizes people into classes: “age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and so on” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 42). In this category, the author calls attention to the cultural and historical aspects that can shape such classes. *Relational identification* looks to the relation social actors have with others. Here the author gives the example of husband and wife: while the man is usually nominated, the woman is frequently portrayed as his wife, or as mothers and sisters, constantly pointing to the bond they have with men, and not as independent individuals. *Physical identification* takes into consideration the physical features of social actors, either by their appearance or adjectives used to define them. Although this category might seem simple, the author explains how physical appearance can connote different meanings, when a specific image or characterization matches or refers to a specific meaning, for instance. One example is referring to women as “pregnants”.

2.4 REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTION

The way action is built in texts plays an important role in critical discourse analysis. Agency can be divided into actions and reactions. For instance, verbs can be either mental or material, depending on how the action is described, with emotions, positive or negative ones, embedded in reactions (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

Texts can attribute different reactions to different participants, depending on their roles. The amount of emotion present in reactions is concomitantly connected with the levels of power attributed to the social actor. For instance, if the power of the social actor declines in a given situation, his or her reactions will gain more emotion.

Van Leeuwen (2008) uses the transitivity system to categorize processes into actions or reactions. Actions are realized by material, behavioural and verbal processes, as they are related to processes of doing, acting and saying, while reactions are realized by mental processes, since their grammar is related to cognitive processes. In general terms, reactions allocate social actors in less powerful roles, while actions attribute more power to social actors. However, there are other means to identify whether processes are actions or reactions, which includes categories such as nominal groups and grammatical metaphors. During the analysis I will illustrate how these processes are grammatically categorized into actions or reactions.

Halliday (2004), when referring to mental processes, proposed three types of reaction: cognitive, perceptive and affective. In this research, I am interested in affective reactions, considering that affective mental processes take proposals as their phenomenon, and the object of analysis in this research are political proposals. Hence, the focus is on how these affective constructions are built and how their relation with social actors is represented.

Van Leeuwen divides social action into material or semiotic. Material actions can be further divided into transactive or nontransactive. Transactive actions have two participants, the actor, who does the action, and the goal, which can be a person, an object, another action, and so on. Nontransactive actions have only one participant, who does not interact with anybody, nor does anything that interferes with the world. An example is the act of growing up, an independent action with only one person involved. Semiotic actions, on the other hand, represent the meaning of actions. They are not really actions of doing; rather, they have the "ability to represent the 'then' and the 'there', to remember the past and imagine the future" (Van Leeuwen, 2008 p. 61).

A material process can have two types of goal. An *interactive* transaction involves action towards people, while an *instrumental* transaction refers to things. However, instrumental transactions can have also human goals, in cases when people are represented as objects, for example with the process "to use". In semiotic actions, instrumentalization can happen through verbs like "exchange", "transport", "give" and "offer" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 61).

Material actions can be represented in different formats. In this analysis I look at:

- *Generalizations*, which are mechanisms capable of transforming social practices into small or big events, or even

of abstracting actions, according to the way the representations of practices are constructed. Generalizations have the power to legitimize or delegitimize an action, and that is why they are important from a critical perspective. Abstractions, a type of generalization, can minimize information from actions, and also qualities. One form of abstraction is *distillation*, where a word does not provide the full meaning of the action. For example, “to cooperate” can mean many things in different contexts, but if no further information is given, the central meaning is attributed to this single action.

- *Naturalization*, which is a form of *deagentilization*, where the agent is absent and thus processes occur apparently in a ‘natural’ manner, lacking human agency. Naturalization is, then, an abstraction of a material process, which might have to do with changes, development, evolution, as well as their opposites.
- *Objectivation*, which turns actions into nominalizations that can be either subjects or objects of clauses. The function of objectivation is to attribute importance to other actions embedded in the context. For example, in “wearing sunscreen is important”, the nominalized action is “wearing”, but the priority is to avoid the consequences and harms of not wearing sunscreen.

The representation of actions in political discourse can fall into more than one category present in van Leeuwen’s framework, and they are in constant dialogue with the way social actors are represented in the same discourse.

2.5 POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Osakabe (1979) claims that political discourse is mainly argumentative. He describes three main characteristics of this type of discourse: *promotion*, calling the interlocutor to the decision making spaces; *involvement*, a move to neutralize and interrupt critical thinking in the interlocutor; and *engagement*, which seeks to bring the interlocutor to the same political positioning of the speaker. The three steps are part of the process of achieving the speaker’s purpose, which is convincing their audience to believe in the arguments proposed.

To know the intention behind a political discourse is to understand the arguments it employs (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Understanding the structure of political arguments, who the actors involved are, what processes are built upon them, and which event(s) is(are) involved can reveal the political strategies represented through discourse and the objective of the political speech, to whom it is directed, and what its main goal is. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), practical argumentation, which is also a feature of political discourse, aims at action due to the presence of intrinsic judgment in the agent's speech, and it can contain either an explanation for each argument, or a counter-argument.

Activity is embedded in argumentation, and its purpose is to convince the interlocutor of something specific. As Osakabe (1979) and Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) claim, political argumentation has a persuasive characteristic, whose aim is to give the interlocutor reasons to agree or disagree with the speaker's statement. In other words, the processes involved in political argumentation include convincing people about what is or what is not good, hence leading to what is or what is not good to *do*.

Instead of seeing arguments as political strategy, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) see the arguments as pointing to actions whose interest is outside the domains of speech, to the 'real' changes proposed. In other words, the purpose (and promise) of the arguments in political discourse is to produce an impact in the real world, and the political speech becomes the first step to achieve this purpose. Fairclough (2003) categorizes political and governmental speech as a type of discourse capable of asserting certain truths about the future. Such capacity is only possible due to the strong power embedded in a politician's authority to make these predictions.

However, being aware and citing a particular problem is not necessarily dealing with the problem. Thus, the analysis of social actions presented in the presidential programs can also describe whether there is a practical and concrete solution to the problems proposed, or only the acknowledgment of the problem's existence. Problems, as well as the responses to them, originate from our particular views and values, which configure a situation as a problem. For example, people who eat meat and believe that this is natural will not try to find responses, while vegans and vegetarians see the consumption of meat as a problem for different reasons (ecological, humane, etc.), so one of their response is not to eat meat and/or animal products (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). In this context, political proposals will only offer solutions to what the

party/politician sees as a problem. In the same manner, the way the party/politician deals with the problem and to which extent their measures face the problem can also reveal the parties' beliefs and ideologies.

Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) proposals will be used in the analysis of the actions presented in the presidential programs in terms of investigating the speaker's objectives, concerns, values, ideologies and interests in general. The framework of political discourse analysis used in this research is composed by the questions:

1. What does the agent want to achieve?
2. What other goals does the agent have and how would these be affected by the action in question?
3. What are the agent's values, what are their concerns, what do they care about?
4. Which of these goals, values or concerns would the agent be willing to sacrifice by doing the action and which would they not?
5. What constraints on the agent's action are relevant to their decision?
6. What might be the positive and negative consequences of the various actions that are open the agent?
7. Are there better alternatives for fulfilling the agent's goals?

Concerning the political proposals, they are argumentative speech regarding what should be done about something. That is, given a certain circumstance, for example, a problem in the country which the political party intends to deal with, will contextualize the values of the political party and also the goals of the party's proposal. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) this can be noted in political discourse and it is important to understand the claim for action, which in this research is applied to the proposals of the presidential program.

In sum, arguments of political speech contain circumstances, values, goals and actions. During analysis of action I will return to these elements of arguments together with the questions also proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) in order to see how the proposals contextualize the needs of population, more specific women, and how (or if) concrete actions are proposed.

2.6 BRAZILIAN POLITICAL SCENARIO

This section contextualizes Brazil's current political conjuncture. It helps identify who are the people in charge of putting into practice the political measures presented on the presidential programs.

Many of the achievements in terms of women's rights, from the creation of laws protecting women's safety and health to changes in labor rights, reflect the importance of political measures that attend women's interests. Research studies point out that the presence of women in decision-making spaces can have a positive impact on the deliberation of measures that benefit women (Cameron and Shaw, 2016; Lovenduski, 2005, 2008; Sacchet, 2009). In Brazil, women are 52,1% of the electorate, but at the same time, women represent only 14,8% of senators, 13,4% of councilors and 11% of mayors (Avelar and Rangel, 2017). In 2018 the numbers in the Senate decreased, and now women represent 12,9% of the seats.¹¹

Within this context, Avelar and Rangel (2017) raise the question of who is going to present women's demands and push to achieve effective legislative measures and policies that cater to women's interests, considering the low representation of women in every political instance.

The presidential campaigns of 2018 brought about a series of debates around issues on women's agenda. The contents produced in social media, online newspapers and social networks discussed the importance of representativeness in decision making spaces, not only in terms of gender, but also in terms of race and class. Some parties included in their websites a specific space dedicated to women's interests, such as PSOL (Partido Socialismo e Liberdade)¹² and PSTU (Partido Socialista dos Trabalhadores Unificado)¹³. From the four selected parties to this analysis, only PT has a specific space to women's demands.

The debates of the 2018 elections centered on the areas of health and security, and also the lack of them. A group named "Mulheres unidas contra Bolsonaro" ("Women against Bolsonaro") was created on Facebook, gathering women who repudiated PSL's presidential candidate, Jair Bolsonaro, due to his profile as a politician, which

¹¹ Available in <http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/politica/noticia/2018-10/camarados-deputados-tera-15%25-de-mulheres>

¹² <http://psol50.org.br/>

¹³ <https://www.pstu.org.br/>

included several misogynist, racist, and homophobic statements¹⁴, both in congress and to the media. The group had more than 2 million members, and included women from different political positions. The initiative gave space for other groups, such as “LGBTs contra Bolsonaro” (“LGBTs against Bolsonaro”). The first group was hacked and suffered attacks from men who invaded the group and changed the name to “Mulheres com Bolsonaro” (“Women with Bolsonaro”). The online movement also created hashtags such as #elenão #elenunca, (#not him). The manifestations against a candidate whose discourse proposed harmful and violent measures against minority groups, and the backlash from his supporters, represent the conflict of interests between the Brazilian elites and minority groups, especially women, and also express the proportion the manifestations reached. On September 24th 2018, one of the organizers of the Facebook group “Mulheres unidas contra Bolsonaro” was beaten in front of her house. Several other threats were made to group members, either face to face in public spaces, or online.¹⁵

Finally, it is important to consider the numbers of the 2018 elections in terms of women participation. According to a survey from *Carta Capital*¹⁶, although in the 2018 elections women could count on the *Fundo Especial de Financiamento de Campanha* (FEFC)¹⁷, which requires that 30% of campaign funds must be given to women candidates, the number of women candidates decreased in relation to 2014, with 31,1% in 2014 and 30,7% in 2018.

Another problem is the decrease in the number of women running for the main political posts. There were five women running for Vice President, and only two for President, Marina Silva (REDE) and Vera Lucia (PSOL). The difference in relation to 2014 is that two women were favorites at the time, Dilma Rousseff (PT) and Mariana Silva (REDE). There was also Luciana Genro (PSOL), whose position was not among the favorites, although she was constantly present during debates. In 2018, the candidates for Vice President are Kátia Abreu with Ciro Gomes (PDT), Manuela d’Ávila with Fernando Haddad (PT), Sonia Guajajara

¹⁴ Some of the comments can be seen here https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/10/06/politica/1538859277_033603.html

¹⁵ Available in <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/organizadora-de-grupo-de-mulheres-contra-bolsonaro-e-agredida-no-rio/>

¹⁶ Retrieved from <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/diversidade/as-novas-caras-feministas-no-congresso-nacional>

¹⁷ English translation: “Special Funds for Political Campaign”.

with Guilherme Boulos (PSOL), Suelene Balduino with Cabo Daciolo (PATRIOTA), and Ana Amélia with Geraldo Alckmin (PSDB).

These low numbers are also present in other spheres of political life. Out of 160 candidates to the position of governor, only 29 were women. According to Carta Capital, the majority of women candidates did not reach 5% on voter preference polls. These numbers illustrate how the political gender quotas and the 30% of the funds to be used in women's campaigns have made no great impact in terms of number of candidates, comparing the last presidential election (2014) and the 2018 one, which makes clear how strong and prevalent is the view that the political sphere is not a place for women, but a male territory instead.

However, there were some improvements in terms of women representation in the 2018 elections. The general results showed an increase in relation to the 2014 elections, with 51 women elected, against 77 women in 2014. The number of white women elected increased from 41 to 63; the number of black women elected also increased from 10 to 13; and one indigenous candidate from Roraima, Joenia Wapichana (REDE), was also elected. One of the factors that helped boost these numbers is the 30% gender quotas and the strong feminist movements. The party which had more women elected for the Lower House was Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), with 10 women among the 56 elected deputies. However, in the Upper House women remain 13 out of the 81 senators, the same as 2014.

2.7 WOMEN'S SOCIAL ROLE IN SOCIETY

In this section I present literature which helps understand how women's social role is reflected in and built by current discourses, such as the discourse of presidential campaign programs.

Women's entry in the labor market was neither easy nor fast. Barbara Weinstein (1997), in an article about Brazilian vocational education during the first decades of the twentieth century, shows how women were not taught to work outside the home. Since an early age they were supposed to learn how to sew, cook and clean in order to become good housewives and good mothers. All those responsibilities and duties lead to a type of education whose focus was on taking care of husbands and children, so as to build a "modern society". Thus, courses geared to women never covered broader social issues, such as management or politics. Instead, courses for women were related to the field of domestic arts, embroidery, clothes making, etc. In fact, women were excluded by

the system when crafts programs of skill acquisition were offered to novice learners, and the students were in their majority men.

According to Weinstein (1997), by the early 1930's, groups of vocational educators realized the need to make women skilled also in the areas of hygiene, nutrition and infant care. And the media also played a part in teaching women about their social roles in society. An example was the magazine 'Dona de Casa', active in the 1950's, whose name naturalized the idea that being a housewife was the dream of every woman, and whose content reinforced women's duties as mothers and wives. The rewards for such hard work would be strong children raised by a good mother, according to the values of the time. On the other hand, men's accomplishments were seen as resulting from their jobs or careers. This magazine also explained how women should behave in order to find a husband, by describing what type of women were more likely to be chosen by men to be their wives, and those women were not the made-up ones, on the contrary, the chosen were the demure ones, whose primary concern was domestic tasks.

In this manner, Weinstein (1997) argues that being a woman that a man would choose to be his wife meant not being a worker, since working women would be exposing themselves unnecessarily, in exchange for low wages and the risk of sexual abuse. According to Weinstein (1997), women were induced or "brainwashed" to not occupy certain spaces in society, pressed both by the husband who did not allow his wife to work, and the system which systematically organized courses focused on domestic tasks, which reinforced the gender division of labor and the segregation of women to the home.

Smith (1996) explains this process as a separation between two worlds: the world of men, where the male figure is an authority over women; and the world where women are inserted, which is the domestic world. According to the author, the second world is subordinated to the first world, since the first world determines the way the second world must be, thus alienating women. An example of this alienation is the meanings of the term *motherhood*, always positive, represented as an objective that every woman should aim at. "Motherhood" has no negative features, on the contrary, it is projected as a virtue and any connotation denying it is seen as unnatural, especially if it comes from a woman (Spender, 1985).

Sacchet (2009) argues that inequality derives from unequal support and unequal access to the means necessary to achieve social and political development. Furthermore, the author correlates political representation with the social roles played by women as citizens. If we apply that to

political discourse, we can expect to find in presidential campaigns proposals addressed to women, according to hegemonic views on what women need (in unison with the dominant views of what a woman is).

Thus, women's actual needs might not be fully represented in presidential proposals, or might even be backgrounded by the idea of the collective being the priority. Cameron and Shaw (2016) argue that women tend to be excluded from or misrepresented in discourses of authority and influence. The authors claim that:

Men speak more frequently and for longer than women; they more often take leadership roles in formal settings, and are more likely to be the speakers whose contributions are most influential, in the sense that others take them up and refer to them in subsequent discussion. (Cameron and Shaw, 2016, p. 8)

Another struggle while representing women in political speech is the generalization that erases women's identities as individuals and impairs the effectiveness of the policies directed to them. Avelar et al (2017) discuss representation when it comes to the plurality of groups to be represented. As they explain, it is not possible to elect a woman candidate and expect that this by itself will solve the problem of women representativeness. For example, the interests of middle class, working class, heterosexual, lesbian, transsexual and black women, to name a few groups, are different as they live different experiences, so to achieve real change it is important that this plurality of women should be represented in power structures.

In the same manner, Young (2006) affirms that social inequalities are connected to political inequalities, due to the exclusion of certain groups from political spheres and political agendas. She points out one of the problems concerning a possible unification of distinct underrepresented groups, which is several underrepresented groups being represented by a single representative. Young (2006) reinforces that gender, race and class interests are not equal for every group, which makes a single representation for all groups not a solution, but a gap that leads to other types of exclusion.

Finally, after presenting the theoretical foundations that will guide this study, in the next section I present the methodological procedures chosen in order to conduct data analysis.

CHAPTER III

3. METHOD

In this section I present the methodological framework used for data analysis. I begin with the description of data and the criteria for data collection, where I contextualize the four parties selected for analysis and the moment of the elections. In the second part I define the methodological procedures and the main authors who performed the basis for this research.

3.1 CRITERIA FOR DATA COLLECTION

The data consist of the campaign programs of four political parties that ran for presidency in 2018. The criterion for the selection of the political parties was the percentage of votes they got on the first round of the presidential elections, which occurred on October 7th 2018. The selected parties are: 1- PSL (Partido Social Liberal), with 46,03% of the votes; 2- PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores), with 29,28%; PDT (Partido Democrático Trabalhista), with 12,47%; and PSDB (Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira), with 4,76% of the votes.¹⁸ As I said, the selection of these four parties considered their performance in the election. Coincidentally, the political spectrum in which the parties are located is equally divided into left and right. PSL is considered far-right; PT is considered centre-left; PDT is considered centre to centre-left, and PSDB is considered centre to centre-right. Another component of data is excerpts taken from PSL's website that discuss the party's beliefs. The reason for PSL to be the only party which I had to look for outside material is the lack of content on women's proposals in the program.

All of the programs were collected online and can be found in the website of Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) (Supreme Electoral Court).¹⁹

¹⁸

Retrieved

from

<https://especiais.gazetadopovo.com.br/eleicoes/2018/resultados/votacao-candidatos-presidente-brasil/>

¹⁹ Available in <http://www.tse.jus.br/eleicoes/eleicoes-2018/propostas-de-candidatos>

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

By applying the questions proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) to the analysis of political discourse, I aim at unveiling the strategies used in the presidential programs to represent three groups of social actors: 1- women; 2- public policies directed to women (here I treat 'public policies' as actors capable of agency, that is, I allocate public policies to the socio-semantic role of agents, since they are mainly measures that can promote change, either by becoming government policies or proposals for the creation of laws); and 3- society and other social agents. The choice for these three groups was based on my interest on how the presidential programs understand women's demands and gender issues, which then can be perceived by the representation of women and public policies towards women. The third group, society and other social agents, was chosen based on my interest in connecting gender proposals to social organization. Despite of the fact that the category of society also aggregates and represents women in some occurrences of the programs (through generalization, for instance), I intend to see how the groups 'women' and 'policies' are related to the group 'society'. The representations of these groups will be investigated only in the parts of the political programs that mention women, society, or policies directed to women.

For the micro-linguistic analysis, I apply Van Leeuwen's (2008) proposal for the analysis of representation of social social actors in text, where actors can be categorized into activated or passivated (Role Allocation), be specified or treated in a generic manner (Genericization and Specification), they can also be treated as groups instead of individuals (Assimilation). Similarly, different groups of social actors can be put together in a representation based on a similarity (Association). Social actors can be nominalized or categorized in a manner that it defines their identities (Nomination and Categorization), and finally, social actors can be represented according to their functions (Functionalization and Identification). To analyse the participants and their agency, I also use the system of transitivity developed by Halliday & Matthiessen (2004), which looks at the processes, participants and circumstances in representations of reality.

As for the analysis of Social Action, I also use Van Leeuwen's (2008) model. Actions can be represented by generalizations. That is, an action when generalized omits important answers to questions. For instance, "to combat" was found in the analysis and in many occurrences the answer to "how to combat" was not answered. Another representation

of actions is through naturalization, which gives the idea that an action will be done without human interference. Objectivation, another type of representation, can divert the focus of the action (who will do the action and how) to the objective of the action by nominalizing the actions.

The macro-linguistic analysis will be guided by the following questions proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p. 35) to the analysis of political discourse:

- 1- What does the agent want to achieve?
- 2- What other goals does the agent have and how would these be affected by the action in question?
- 3- What are the agent's values, what are their concerns, what do they care about?
- 4- Which of these goals, values or concerns would the agent be willing to sacrifice by doing the action and which would they not?
- 5- What constraints on the agent's action are relevant to their decision?
- 6- What might be the positive and negative consequences of the various actions that are open the agent?
- 7- Are there better alternatives for fulfilling the agent's goals?

These questions will point at and elucidate important aspects of the discourse of the presidential programs, such as the party's ideologies, expressed through the resolutions proposed. Not every political program investigated offers answers to all of the questions. In the individual analysis of each program I explore specific questions that were more visible in the actions presented. For example, questions 1 and 3 are better answered in PT's program, while answers to questions number 2 and 4 are more visible in PSL's program.

During an election campaign, the electorate selects some candidates (and their proposals) over others, thus showing the population's views on what proposals and values best represent the community's interests. In that sense, by applying the questions proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) to the presidential campaign programs of the 2018 election, the results can reveal not only the beliefs and values of particular political parties, but also what values and beliefs are backed up by the majority of the Brazilian electors.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) point to the relation between action and practical reasoning, and the latter to beliefs, ideologies and values. In political discourse, the focus of the speaker is to convince the voters to agree with their arguments, thus, by explaining their arguments

they can count on the voters' practical reasoning to result in a concrete action (in this case, a vote).

In view of that, I also explore elements in the programs that indicate practical arguments. To do so, I use some of the proposals presented by the political parties and analyze them in terms of *circumstantial premises*, *goal premises*, *value premises* and *claim for action*. This will help to establish whether the arguments are concrete or not, as well as how the problems related to gender issues or women's demands are contextualized in political discourse.

During the analyses, I have kept the format of the original presidential programs in the excerpts used as examples. Thus, all the formatting and typological configurations of the programs are as in the originals, including capital letters. In the presentation of the examples, I underline, add bold and italic to actors and actions which are central to my discussions.

CHAPTER IV

4. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section I present elements of the presidential programs of four parties that ran for presidency in 2018. In the analysis I follow the placing of the parties in the first round of the elections, in terms of the percentage of votes each party received: PSL, PT, PDT and PSDB. For each party I analyze the representation of three social actors: women, public policies and society. On a second moment I analyze the representation of social actions, which looks at the processes in the proposals.

During the analyses, I have kept the format of the original presidential programs in the excerpts used as examples. Thus, all the formatting and typological configurations of the programs are as in the originals, including capital letters. In the presentation of the examples, I underline, add bold and italics to actors and actions which are central to my discussions.

1.0 PSL - PARTIDO SOCIAL LIBERAL

The political program of PSL did not include any particular policy whose focus is women, or other groups marginalized because of gender, class or race. The public policies proposed refer to the population and society as a whole, and the participants are referred to as Brazilians, in general terms. There is only one mention to women in the whole text, in the context of combating the rape of women and children:

1.1 OUTRO EXEMPLO DE MUDANÇA IDEOLÓGICA Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS!

This particular representation of women and children is an example of *indetermination and association*, due to the general and non-specific characteristics of these agents and their association as the common victims of rape (Van Leeuwen, 2008). There are no mentions to specificities such as race or class. According to data produced by IPEA's 'Atlas da Violência' 2018²⁰, approximately 1 million women are victims of rape a year in Brazil. Among this number, 50,9% of the cases reported

²⁰

Retrieved from
http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/relatorio_institucional/180604_atlas_da_violencia_2018.pdf

are from children up to 13 years old; 32,1% are adults; and 17% are adolescents between 14 and 17 years old. Considering race/color, 45,3% of the women victims are ‘pardas’ (non-white); 34,3% white; 8,7% black and 1,2% are indigenous. Finally, considering the relationship with the abuser, in the case of children, 30,13% of the rapes are perpetrated by close friends and 30% by male relatives, such as brothers, fathers and stepfathers. In short, most victims of sexual violence in Brazil are mostly children and women of color. In PSL’s presidential program, the omission of the variables of race or relationship with the abuser when talking about rape represents the neglect of a very serious situation in Brazil, expressing lack of awareness about the relations between gender, race and sexual violence. The single mention to women (in a generalized manner) and to the issue of sexual violence in the entire program diminishes the gravity of the problem and the attention it requires.

Due to the fact that PSL’s campaign program contains only one measure directed to women, I looked at other proposals in the program whose topics take into consideration violence in general, including rape. Consider the following excerpt taken from the chapter dedicated to security and fight to corruption, on page 32 of PSL’s program:

1.2 “Os números comprovam que o extermínio de brasileiros é realizado pelos criminosos! Para reduzir os homicídios, roubos, estupros e outros crimes: 1º Investir fortemente em equipamentos, tecnologia, inteligência e capacidade investigativa das forças policiais, 2º Prender e deixar preso! Acabar com a progressão de penas e as saídas temporárias! 3º Reduzir a maioridade penal para 16 anos! 4º Reformular o Estatuto do Desarmamento para garantir o direito do cidadão à LEGÍTIMA DEFESA sua, de seus familiares, de sua propriedade e a de terceiros! 5º Policiais precisam ter certeza que, no exercício de sua atividade profissional, serão protegidos por uma retaguarda jurídica. Garantida pelo Estado, através do excludente de ilicitude.”

As I said above, the category ‘women’ had a single mention in the program, illustrated in example 1.1, where ‘mulheres’ were passivated through beneficialization, that is, women are beneficialized by the process proposed. Tables 2 and 3 illustrate the representation of two groups of social actors in PSL’s program, society and public policies, according to their activation or passivation:

1.1 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Representation of Women

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Mulheres (women) | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 1 | - | 1 | - |

Table 1 - Activation and passivation of social actor – Women.

Representation of Society/ Other social actors

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Brasileiros (Brazilians) | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Cidadão (citizen) | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Familiares (relatives) | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Terceiros (third parties) | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Criminosos (criminals) | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Policiais/forças policiais (police officers) | 2 | 1 | - | 1 |
| Crianças | 2 | - | 2 | - |
| Pessoas | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Povo | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Total | 11 | 3 | 4 | 4 |

Table 2 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Society and Other Social Agents.

The table representing activation and passivation of the social actor society contains 11 mentions, considering all information provided by data, both included in the presidential program and the party's website.

The activations amount to three occurrences, and refer to *criminals*, *police officers/force*, and *people*. Criminals are responsabilized for the extermination of Brazilians (*i.e 1.2 o extermínio de brasileiros é realizado pelos criminosos!*) and are activated through circumstantialization due to the use of preposition “by” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 33); the police is activated in the context of protective measures directed to police officers (*i.e 1.2 Policiais precisam ter certeza que, no exercício de sua atividade profissional, serão protegidos por uma retaguarda jurídica*); and people are activated through post-modification

since nominalizations of processes, in this case “divisão” (division), configures the action performed by people (*i.e* 1.7 *combate aos privilégios decorrentes de “quotas” que resultem na divisão do povo, seja em função de gênero, opção sexual, cor, raça, credo.*).

Passivation through beneficialization represents *citizens, relatives, third parties and police officers*. Citizens, relatives and third parties are beneficialized to justify the use of firearms (*i.e* 1.2 *Reformular o Estatuto do Desarmamento para garantir o direito do cidadão à LEGÍTIMA DEFESA sua, de seus familiares, de sua propriedade e a de terceiros*). Police officers are beneficialized by having better structure to perform their jobs (*i.e* 1.2 *Investir fortemente em equipamentos, tecnologia, inteligência e capacidade investigativa das forças policiais*).

Passivation through subjection represents *Brazilians, children and people*. Brazilians are the affected participants of the action in 1.2 (*Os números comprovam que o extermínio de brasileiros é realizado pelos criminosos*), where the active actors are the criminals. Children are the goals of the action in 1.1 (*OUTRO EXEMPLO DE MUDANÇA IDEOLÓGICA Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS*), as well as in 1.5 (*combate à sexualização precoce de crianças*). And finally, people are the generalized goal in 1.3 (*SAÚDE E EDUCAÇÃO: eficiência, gestão e respeito com a vida das pessoas*). The generalization of people regarding issues of health and education demonstrates a lack of sensibility of PSL while approaching the subjects.

Representation of Public Policies

| Linguistic choice | Occurrence | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Maioridade penal (legal age) | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Retaguarda jurídica (Legal Back-up) | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Excludente de ilicitude (Otherwise Illegal Activity) | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Total | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |

Table 3 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Public Policies

In Table 3, the public policies refer to legal measures that the party intends to put in practice and have direct impact on the Penal Code. The first one, ‘maioridade penal’ (legal age), is passivated through subjection since it is the goal of the process (*i.e* 1.2 *Reduzir a maioridade penal para 16 anos*). It seeks to modify Law n° 8.069/90, known as The Child and Adolescent Statute, which sets the legal age as 18. I categorize the second

one, ‘retaguarda jurídica’ (legal back-up), as public policy considering that the judiciary has great impact in decision making and legislation processes; also, ‘retaguarda jurídica’ is activated through circumstantialization (i.e [policiais/ police officers] serão protegidos por uma retaguarda jurídica.) The last policy/proposal, ‘excludente de ilicitude’ (‘otherwise illegal activity’) also seeks to change the Penal Code to guarantee protection to citizens, police officers in special, in case of certain activities that would normally be considered illegal²¹, such as crimes of violence involving the use of firearms. Thus, this measure can be seen as a complement of the proposed change in the Disarmament Statute. Furthermore, it is also activated through circumstantialization (*i.e* 1.2 [Retaguarda jurídica/ Legal back-up] Garantida pelo Estado, através do excludente de ilicitude).

Almost all of the social actors mentioned in example 1.2 are generalized, except for ‘police officers’, who are represented through functionalization, that is, they are represented by their occupation (Van Leeuwen, 2008). The group ‘society’ is represented through the terms “Brasileiros” (Brazilians), “criminosos” (criminals), “cidadão” (citizen), “familiares” (relatives), and “terceiros” (third parties). It is interesting to note that in “o extermínio de Brasileiros é realizado pelos criminosos” (‘the execution of Brazilians is done by criminals’), the supposed criminals are not specified, and the action of killing is not elaborated. ‘Extermínio’, the nominalization of the verb “to execute” (‘exterminar’), homogenizes the different groups of Brazilians who are executed, as well as how they are executed. On the other hand, criminals are represented as the sole culprits of the deaths of Brazilians, thus excluding from discourse the State’s responsibility for violence deaths through the action of repressive forces, such as the police and the armed forces, considering that the Brazilian police have a considerable participation in the numbers of deaths. According to data from IPEA²², in 2016 police registers estimated at least 4.222 deaths caused by police interference (published in Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2016). Furthermore, by separating Brazilians from criminals, the speaker creates a situation of “us x them”, where criminals are not treated as citizens. While Brazilians are

²¹ More information concerning otherwise illegal activity in the program of Jair Bolsonaro available in <https://www.nexojournal.com.br/expresso/2018/10/01/O-plano-de-Bolsonaro-sobre-%E2%80%98excludentes-de-ilicitude%E2%80%99>

²² Available in: http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/relatorio_institucional/180604_atlas_da_violencia_2018.pdf

differentiated by the attribution of nationality, ‘criminals’ are indeterminate, and the use of a generalized exophoric reference “endows social actors with a kind of impersonal authority” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 40). Van Leeuwen (2008) produces a similar argument about the representation of immigrants in Australia, and the impact is the same: “(the immigrants) [as the criminals] are treated as distant ‘others’ rather than as people with whom ‘we’ have to deal in our everyday lives” (p. 36).

In PSL’s program, agendas about education and health care appear in the same topic and are generalized as directed to “*peessoas*” (people):

1.3 SAÚDE E EDUCAÇÃO: eficiência, gestão e respeito com a vida das pessoas. Melhorar a saúde e dar um salto de qualidade na educação com ênfase na infantil, básica e técnica, sem doutrinar.

Even though the expression “sem doutrinar” (avoiding indoctrination) does not make explicit which type of indoctrination the party is referring to, it is possible to infer that the program is referring to “ideologia de gênero” (gender ideology), which conservative parties view as the imposition of ideologies concerning sexuality.

As there was only one mention to the word ‘women’ in PSL’s program, in order to have more data to investigate the party’s views on women demands and needs, I collected content from PSL’s website that further develops their ideals concerning the subject. The topics presented below are located in the section “Em que Acreditamos” (‘what we believe in’), which is introduced by the statement “Nosso compromisso é o de priorizar as seguintes questões abaixo relacionadas, além de outras também abraçadas pelo partido” (‘Our commitment is to give priority to the following themes, in addition to other topics also embraced by the party’). Firstly, it is important to look at the processes *acreditar* (believe) and *priorizar* (give priority to), considering that the mental (believe) and material (give priority to) processes are explicitly related to the party’s ideologies and main interests.

1.4 combate à censura, ao constrangimento e aos desequilíbrios morais e sociais decorrentes do discurso “politicamente correto”;

1.5 combate à sexualização precoce de crianças;

1.6 combate à apologia da ideologia de gênero;

1.7 combate aos privilégios decorrentes de “quotas” que resultem na divisão do povo, seja em função de gênero, opção sexual, cor, raça, credo;

Censurar (to censor), *constranger* (to embarrass), *desequilibrar* (to unbalance), (1.4), *sexualizar*, (to sexualize) (1.5), and *privilegiar* (to privilege) (1.7) are material processes. However, in the excerpts above they are nominalized. *Fazer apologia* (make an apology for) (1.6) is a verbal process, also nominalized. Furthermore, these nominalizations are given a negative value, considering that the expression ‘combate à’ (‘fight against’), which precedes them and is itself a nominalization, refers to things which are understood as harmful to society. The excerpts make clear that PSL is against the discussion of gender, race and sexuality. It also gives the idea that previous governments and other parties, by either promoting or accepting political correctness, did not do their jobs properly. By stating that the party intends to fight against these ‘negative’ themes, PSL indirectly reinforces the values its aims to protect. The party’s position on the quota issue in the context of gender reflects the scenario where PSL sees the combat to inequalities as privilege.

The distaste of discussions about racism, sexism, homophobia and other types of discrimination, seen by PSL as ‘political correctness’, implies that the position of the party concerning those issues is that they are not important enough to demand public attention and debates, for example in the classroom. It also implies that such discussions constrain PSL and their voters, casting them in the position of the oppressed, while people who debate and denounce cases of discrimination are cast as the oppressors, the ones who censor, embarrass and create social unbalances by practicing political correctness.

1.2 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

In this section, I only stick to the processes present in PSL’s proposals concerning women and gender. Here I intend to observe whether the verbs represent actions or reactions, and who are the social actors involved.

The processes that involved actual governmental proposals from PSL include no reactions. Two out of the eight transactive actions observed, that is, actions that involve an actor and a goal, are semiotic actions, as they attribute meaning for the actions but do not point to specific material purposes (1.3 *melhorar*; *dar um salto de qualidade/ to improve*), while the other six are material actions (1.0 - *combater o*

estupro/ to combat rape; 1.2 investir em equipamentos/ to invest on equipments; prender e deixar preso/ to arrest and keep arrested; acabar com a progressão de penas/Cease penalty progression; reduzir a maioria penal/ to reduce the legal age, reformular o estatuto do desarmamento/ To reformulate the Statute of Disarmament), that is, they represent actions of doing, as they have a material purpose in the world. According to van Leeuwen (2008), semiotic actions represent the meaning of an action, not a material action itself. The examples of semiotic actions in 1.3 refer to the areas of health and education: *melhorar a saúde e educação; dar um salto de qualidade na educação*. As semiotic actions provide the meanings of actions, they can be seen as behavioralized (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Both the semiotic actions in 1.3 (*melhorar; dar um salto de qualidade*) are interactive transactions, which means that the actions have an actor and a goal, and the goals affect people. In the same manner, the example of semiotic action mentioned in 1.1 (‘*combater o estupro*’/‘fight rape’) is generalized due to its level of abstraction, as there are no concrete or specific actions described. Similarly, the action *melhorar* can also be seen as an example of naturalization, considering its level of abstraction and similarity with material processes related to development and change (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Finally, ‘*combater o estupro*’ does not present a material action; it just refers to the need of actually doing something about this problem. Furthermore, the action of raping is objectified through nominalization (‘*o estupro*’), turning the noun *rape* into the object of the verb ‘*combater*’.

Going back to excerpt 1.1 (*Outro exemplo de mudança ideológica - combater estupro de mulheres e crianças*), ‘*mudança*’ (‘change’) represents a deagentialization through nominalization, considering that ‘change’ is an abstract nominalized material process with no agent (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This excerpt is located in the part of PSL’s program on public security and fight against corruption. Although the sentence starts with “another”, there is not a previous example of change mentioned in the program, only a possible reading when the party claims to “demystify” the “lies from the left” in the context of deaths caused by the police. The party’s argument is that the left is unfairly blaming the police for the security problem.²³

On the other hand, in example 1.2 processes related to changes in the current legislation and investments in specific areas of public power, such as policing programs, are represented through material actions:

²³ The part where PSL blames the left mentioned here is: MAIS MENTIRAS DA ESQUERDA “a polícia é a que mais mata”

investir fortemente em equipamentos [destined to the police force]; prender e deixar preso; acabar com a progressão de penas; reduzir a maioria penal; reformular o estatuto do desarmamento. Among the examples aforementioned, the only instrumental transaction, which represents the goal as non-human, is “*investir fortemente em equipamentos*”. The other four actions are interactive transactions, that is, the goal of the action is human. If implemented, this group of actions would have a great impact for the worse on the Brazilian prison system. Reducing the legal age to 16 years old conflicts with the ideal of improving education, and contributes to the overcrowding of prisons, since the proposal suggests taking adolescents with legal problems from school and society, and incarcerating them. Changes in the Statute of Disarmament, in the same manner, are a threat to Brazilian society, taking into account that firearms are responsible for 71,1% of the death in Brazil²⁴. Furthermore, data from IPEA (footnote 12) bring simulations that calculate an increasing of 12% if the laws of disarmament did not exist.

In examples 1.4 to 1.7, the nominalizations *sexualização* (sexualization), *apologia* (apology), *divisão* (division), *censura* (censorship), *constrangimento* (constraint) e *desequilíbrios* (imbalance) are strategies to impersonalize the actions proposed. The agents of the processes are absent; thus, it is not possible to know who is sexualizing, censoring or dividing. In the same manner, it is not possible to know who is being censored or divided. Nominalization is a characteristic of *suppression*, which happens when social actors are hidden or omitted from the representation (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

The excerpts collected from PSL’s website, which are introduced by the mental process “acreditar” (believe) and the material process “priorizar” (‘give priority to’), express the party’s main objectives for government. However, the statements start with the expression ‘combate à’, which does not clarify the means through which the party believes these goals will be achieved. Nonetheless, PSL’s proposals for government include measures such as reducing legal age to 16 and changing the firearms legislation to allow people to own and carry guns which, according to them, will improve public security. ‘Combate à’ is also a nominalization that excludes the social actor who is going to do the action. Considering that social security is one of PSL’s tenets, it is

²⁴ In 2016, there were 44.475 deaths caused by firearms. Retrieved from http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/relatorio_institucional/1806_04_atlas_da_violencia_2018.pdf

possible to read the action primarily as a task to be developed by the party itself.

In the case of what PSL calls ‘gender ideology’, it is possible to argue that the agents hidden by the nominalized verb ‘*combate a*’ are schools, teachers and the educational system as a whole. The so called ‘gender ideology’ has become a frequent topic in Brazil since 2014, when the Ministry of Education (Ministério da Educação, MEC) proposed to include discussions on gender identity and sexuality in the national education program (Plano Nacional de Educação, PNE). Those who campaign against turning gender into an educational issue, mainly right wing conservative groups, claim that such discussions work as a type of indoctrination and are a threat to the traditional Brazilian family, based on a religious/heteronormative perspective.²⁵

In 1.7 “*combate aos privilégios decorrentes de “quotas” que resultem na divisão do povo, seja em função de gênero, opção sexual, cor, raça, credo*” (‘fight against the privileges of quotas (gender, sex, racial, religious) that might result on the division of the population’), the nominalization of the material process ‘privilegiar’ (to privilege) excludes both the actor and the beneficiary of the action. The allegation attributes a negative outcome to the quota policies. However, by naming the different types of quotas, such as gender, racial and religious ones, the discourse already exposes who are the beneficiaries, for example, the quotas for black people to enter public institutions, and the electoral gender quotas, which aim at increasing the number of women in the political sphere. The quotas are much criticized by white middle class men, who have never experienced the need for affirmative action, and thus see the quotas as policies that ‘divide’ the population.

In Osakabe’s (1979) understanding, the focus on a so-called division of people is a linguistic configuration used to stress that the political power is not meeting the requirements of the collective. The author points out that placing the reader (in the case of an election campaign, the voter) in a position where they believe they are being treated unjustly or are less privileged, is a political strategy used to engage the reader to the party’s own interests. It is important to remember that the excerpts above are not part of PSL’s presidential program itself, but were found in PSL’s website, in the section about the party’s beliefs and ideologies. As such, we can see the discourse from the website as part of a macro structure.

²⁵ <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/ideias/o-que-e-ideologia-de-genero-0zo80gzpwbxg0qrmwp03wpp11/>

The criticism of the quotas system is based on the idea that quotas provide privileges for ‘minority’ groups, as the program refers to, and so goes against the ideal of equality. However, Cesar (2004) claims that the support provided to minority groups by quotas could not possibly hurt the principles of equality due to their compensatory nature, which aims at fostering more egalitarian conditions within society for those who, on account of their identities, historically have had their lives impaired by prejudice and discrimination. For that reason, these groups are more likely to face and deal with social inequalities deeply rooted on centuries of unfairness and intolerance, and thus cannot reach equality by themselves, considering that equality depends upon the binary pair inclusion/exclusion, where exclusion tends to harm whoever gets out of the ‘regular’, and inclusion seeks the opposite (Santos, 2007).

2.0 PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES

Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) presents in its program policies oriented to women in different areas, such as the economy, health and safety. There are also proposals committed to equality in terms of job opportunities, and measures that intend to reduce the wage gap between women and men. The agenda for women is allocated the same space as for indigenous, black and LGBT people.

The proposals are located on chapter 2 of the program, named “INAUGURAR UM NOVO PERÍODO HISTÓRICO DE AFIRMAÇÃO DE DIREITOS”²⁶, where a series of rights directed to women, LGBT people, racial equality, youth rights, childhood, the elderly, people with disabilities, country people and consumer’s rights are addressed.

The topics below were introduced by the following excerpt: “PROMOVER POLÍTICAS PARA AS MULHERES VISANDO A IGUALDADE DE GÊNERO”²⁷. The introduction of the proposals begins with the material process ‘promover’ (*promote*), while the beneficiary of the action is women and the goal is equality. These are the means that PT’s campaign proposed to reach their objectives:

²⁶ English translation: “Inaugurate a new historical moment of affirmative action.”

²⁷ English translation: “Promote policies directed to women seeking gender equality.”

2.0 Recriar as secretarias com status de ministério, de Direitos Humanos, Políticas para as Mulheres e Promoção da Igualdade Racial.

2.1 O governo Haddad retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres, afirmando o protagonismo das mulheres no novo ciclo de desenvolvimento brasileiro, por meio de políticas que promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres, a igualdade de oportunidades e isonomia salarial no mundo do trabalho, bem como o incentivo à produção de ciência e tecnologia pelas mulheres.

2.2 É preciso avançar na expansão dos direitos das mulheres e dos bebês, visando ampliar o valor e o tempo do seguro-desemprego para as gestantes e lactantes.

2.3 Serão retomadas e consolidadas as políticas implementadas pelos governos Lula e Dilma para o enfrentamento a todas as formas de violência contra a mulher, por meio da integração e ampliação dos serviços e medidas preventivas de proteção e de atenção, como a Casa da Mulher Brasileira, e as promovidas pelo enfrentamento ao feminicídio, e com a Lei Maria da Penha.

2.4 [O governo] Implantará também programas de valorização do parto normal, humanizado e seguro, de superação da violência obstétrica e da discriminação racial no SUS.

2.5 O governo Haddad retomará as políticas de saúde para as gestantes e de combate à mortalidade infantil, bem como apoiará fortemente os municípios para a ampliação das vagas em creche, que, além de representar um direito dos bebês e crianças, contribui para a autonomia das mulheres.

2.6 [O governo] Assegurará a titularidade prioritária às mulheres nos lotes dos assentamentos nos programas de reforma agrária.

2.7 Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras.

2.1 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Representation of Women

| Linguistic Choice | Occurrence | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|-------------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Mulheres/Mulher (women/woman) | 9 | - | 3 | 6 |
| Gestantes (pregnant women) | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Lactantes (nursing mothers) | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Negras (black women) | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 13 | 0 | 4 | 8 |

Table 4 - Activation and Passivation of social actor - Women.

Following van Leeuwen's social semantic framework, we can say that all references to the category 'women' are passivated. 'Women' (including 'pregnant women') are also beneficialized in 8 of the processes involved. There are two representations of passivation through subjection, that is, when the participant is treated as the goal of the process. The words *Gestantes* and *Lactantes* classify women in general terms, but can also be understood as physical identification, which means representations through body characteristics that help to distinguish the social actor in a given context (Van Leeuwen, 2008).

It is interesting to notice how the maternal role is emphasized in PT's program, which reinforces the stereotyped image of women as mothers. Furthermore, other topics of importance are put in the same category as the proposals directed to women, such as racial equality and children's protection, even though there are separated topics in the program for the discussion of these issues.

The lack of active voice in the representation of women seems at odds with the proposals raised by PT, which involve women's economic status and female political representation. Women appear as one of the goals of processes concerning quotas for political parties and elections (2.7 *Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras*). In this proposal, women, indigenous and black people are represented by association in a sequence of nouns referring to diverse social groups, forming a single group that requires the same service (quotas) and represents the beneficiaries of the actions proposed, culturally and economically considered minority groups.

The Representation of Public Policies

| Linguistic Choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Lei Maria da Penha | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Políticas/ policies | 4 | 1 | 3 | - |
| Seguro desemprego/ financial security | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Cotas de representatividade/ representativeness quotas | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Serviços e medidas preventivas de proteção e atenção/ preventive measures of protection | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Casa da Mulher Brasileira | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Programas de valorização do parto normal/ programs of valorization of natural delivery | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Ampliação das vagas em creche/ expansion of vacancies in daycares | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Titularidade prioritária às mulheres nos lotes dos assentamentos/ priority ownership of women in agrarian settlements | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Paridade de gênero/ gender parity | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 13 | 1 | 9 | 3 |

Table 5 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Public Policies.

In 2.0 (*Recriar as secretarias com status de ministério, de Direitos Humanos, Políticas para as Mulheres*), the reference is to general policies towards women's rights, while in 2.1 ([...] *políticas que promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres*), the policies were activated and directed to women's economic autonomy. Similarly, excerpt 2.2 (*Ampliar o valor e o tempo do seguro-desemprego para as gestantes e lactantes*) approaches the financial security of women as mothers. In 2.3 (*Serão retomadas e consolidadas as políticas implementadas pelos governos Lula e Dilma para o enfrentamento a todas as formas de violência contra as mulheres por meio da integração e ampliação dos serviços e medidas preventivas de proteção e de atenção, como a Casa da Mulher Brasileira, e as promovidas pelo enfrentamento ao feminicídio, e com a Lei Maria da Penha*), the representations deal with gender violence, seeking improvement in the area of security. In the example aforementioned, the only beneficialized policy is “ampliação dos serviços e medidas”, since the services and the measures are beneficiaries of the nominalized process “ampliação/expansion”, while “Casa da Mulher Brasileira” and “Lei Maria da Penha” are passivated through subjection.

In 2.7 (*Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras*), both “paridade de gênero” (gender parity) and “cotas de representatividade” (representation quotas) are passivated through subjection, since they are the goals of the nominalized process “adoção/adoption”.

It is interesting to point out that PT is the only party that includes itself as an agent in the programs. It is represented as active in 2.1 (*O governo Haddad retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres*), 2.4 (*Ø Implantará também programas de valorização do parto normal*), 2.5 (*Ø Apoiará fortemente os municípios para a ampliação das vagas em creche*), and 2.6 (*Ø Assegurará a titularidade prioritária às mulheres nos lotes de assentamento*); and as passive in 2.3 (*Serão retomadas e consolidadas as políticas implementadas pelos governos Lula e Dilma*). The construction of PT's presidential campaign also emphasizes the value of governmental measures taken in previous PT governments, and mentions the name of the party's candidate in the 2018 election, Fernando Haddad.

Representation of Society/ Other social agents

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| indígenas/ indigenous people | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| negros e negras/ black men and women | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| bebês/ babies | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| crianças/ children | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Total | 5 | 0 | 2 | 3 |

Table 6 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Society/ Other Social Agents.

Indigenous people and black women and men are passivated through subjection when they are the goals of the action to overcome the under representation of their groups (2.7 *Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras.*). On the other hand, babies and children are also passivated, but through beneficialization (e.g 2.5 *O governo Haddad retomará as políticas de saúde para as gestantes e de combate à mortalidade infantil, bem como apoiará fortemente os municípios para a ampliação das vagas em creche, que, além de representar um direito dos bebês e crianças, contribui para a autonomia das mulheres;* e.g 2.2 *avançar na expansão dos direitos das mulheres e dos bebês*). Their representation is made through relational identification, since their roles are connected to their relationship with their mothers.

2.2 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

The material process that introduces the measures towards women in PT's presidential program, "to promote" ('promover políticas para as mulheres'), fits the category of transactive material action, since it has an actor, the party, and a goal, policies directed to women (women are the beneficiaries). In the excerpts below, the processes directed to women are underlined.

'Recriar as secretarias para mulheres' (to recreate secretaries of state for women) is also a transactive material action, representing an instrumental transaction, since the goal of the action is a non-human thing (secretaries), and again women are the beneficiaries of the action.

In 2.1 (*O governo Haddad 2.1.1 retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres, 2.1.2 afirmando o protagonismo das mulheres no novo ciclo de desenvolvimento brasileiro, por meio de políticas que*

2.1.3 promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres, a igualdade de oportunidades e isonomia salarial no mundo do trabalho, bem como o 2.1.4 incentivo à produção de ciência e tecnologia pelas mulheres), the actions directed at women are introduced by the material process ‘retomar’ (to retake), working as a prediction for the verbal actions of ‘afirmar’ (to affirm) and the material action of ‘promover’ (to promote), another instrumental transaction whose goals are women’s economic autonomy, equal opportunities and wages in the workplace, and encouragement for scientific/technological production.

In 2.2 (2.2.1 É preciso avançar na 2.2.2 expansão dos direitos das mulheres e bebês, visando 2.2.3 ampliar o valor e o tempo do seguro-desemprego), the action in 2.2.1 is a modalized material process that indicates the need for further action, but it also omits the agent and give emphasis to the goal. The word ‘expansão’ (expansion) in 2.2.2 is an interpretation of a material process (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 68) that establishes the action as deagentialization through naturalization, which makes it abstract and omits the agent.

In 2.3 (2.3.1 Serão retomadas e 2.3.2 consolidadas as políticas 2.3.3 implementadas pelos governos Lula e Dilma para o 2.3.4. enfrentamento a todas as formas de violência contra a mulheres, por meio da 2.3.5 integração e ampliação dos serviços e medidas preventivas de proteção e de atenção, como a Casa da Mulher Brasileira, e as promovidas pelo enfrentamento ao feminicídio, e com a Lei Maria da Penha), the process ‘retomar’ (retake) is a material action, as well as processes in 2.3.2 (*consolidadas/consolidated*) and 2.3.3 (*implementadas/implemented*). However, the first two processes (retomadas and consolidadas) are projected to the future, while the latter (implementadas) has to do with previous measures developed by the same party on the governments of the ex-presidents Dilma Rousseff and Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The use of the nominalizations ‘enfrentamento’ (confrontation), ‘integração’ (integration) and ‘ampliação’ (amplification) omits the agents. These nominalizations can be seen as representing instrumental actions, since even though the actions of confronting and integrating could refer to interactive transactions among human agents, the semantic construction adopts non-human goals for the actions (services and measures created to combat violence against women).

In excerpt 2.4 ([O governo] Implantar também programas de valorização do parto normal, humanizado e seguro, de superação da violência obstétrica e da discriminação racial no SUS), the implementation of the programs is represented by a material action

projected to the future, and is also an instrumental transaction considering that the focus of the action is directed to the measures PT intends to adopt. The nominalization ‘*superação*’ is a semiotic action representing an interactive transaction, meaning to put an end to something, which in this case is the material actions involved in obstetric violence. Furthermore, as women are the persons who suffer this type of violence, I categorized the action as an interactive transaction, that is, a material action where both the actor and the goal are human agents.

In 2.5 (*O governo Haddad retomará as políticas de saúde para as gestantes e de combate à mortalidade infantil, bem como apoiará fortemente os municípios para a ampliação das vagas em creche, que, além de representar um direito dos bebês e crianças, contribui para a autonomia das mulheres*), ‘*retomar*’ is a material action represented by an instrumental transaction, since the goal are health policies to pregnant women, while ‘*apoiar*’ (to support) is a reaction characterized by an affective mental process. In this case, the representation of the reaction is given by interactive transaction, in which we see the “projection of human social practices onto the behavior of inanimate matter” (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 60), in this case the non-human ‘*municípios*’ (counties).

In 2.6 (*[O governo] Assegurará a titularidade prioritária às mulheres nos lotes dos assentamentos nos programas de reforma agrária*), ‘*assegurar*’ (will guarantee), a mental process in the future tense, is an action represented by instrumental transaction, since the goal of the process is the priority entitlement to women, who are the beneficiaries of the action. It is important to stress that although the beneficiaries of the proposals are women, the goal of the actions are the institutions or the policies, which will provide the required demands.

In 2.7 (*Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras*), the nominalized material process “*adoção*” (adoption) of gender and ethnic-racial quotas in the constitution of lists (it is not specified which type of lists, but from the context it is possible to infer that proposal refers to political lists), the political parties who would have to adopt this measure are backgrounded.

3.0 PDT - PARTIDO DEMOCRÁTICO TRABALHISTA

PDT’s program was the longest out of the four analysed in this research. Their text is located on section 10 of the program on the page 45. The section is named RESPEITAR A TODOS OS BRASILEIROS

(Respect all the Brazilians). The introduction to the actual proposals begins with a contextualization of the importance of creating policies directed to women:

RESPEITO ÀS MULHERES: Em um contexto de desvantagem social em diversas das dimensões de poder e direitos, entende-se que é necessária uma atenção especial às mulheres no que diz respeito ao seu papel como foco de políticas públicas. Com uma população em torno de 203 milhões de habitantes, o Brasil registra 6 milhões a mais de mulheres (51,6% do total da população, de acordo com os dados do IBGE). A presença de mulheres aumenta proporcionalmente, sobretudo nas idades mais avançadas: enquanto a esperança de vida das brasileiras é de 79,4, a dos homens é de 72,9 anos. Mais da metade (55,6%) das pessoas abaixo da linha de pobreza são mulheres sem cônjuge com filhos até 14 anos. De acordo com o IBGE, 28,2% das mulheres têm ocupações em tempo parcial (30 horas semanais), enquanto o percentual entre os homens é de 14,1%. Ao mesmo tempo, as mulheres gastam com afazeres domésticos – trabalho não remunerado – 73% de tempo a mais que os homens. Isso, mesmo em um contexto de mais anos de estudo. O rendimento médio delas equivale a $\frac{3}{4}$ do observado para os homens e somente 39% dos cargos gerenciais são ocupados por mulheres. Um programa com foco de gênero sinaliza uma mudança de atitude frente aos processos sociais, reconhecendo que a mulheres e homens são atribuídos papéis diferentes na vida cotidiana o que, portanto, geram diferentes necessidades de ação estatal. Políticas para mulheres precisam ser pensadas tanto em um contexto de urgência por exemplo, como o aumento de acesso a creches públicas, assim como tendo em vistas efeitos de mais longo prazo como o fortalecimento de leis e programas que facilitem a inserção das mulheres nos meios produtivos. A autonomia das mulheres, e a melhoria de sua situação no que concerne ao seu status político, social, econômico e de Saúde é uma preocupação fundamental para uma sociedade com vistas ao desenvolvimento pleno. Portanto, propomos uma série de medidas orientadas às políticas de Gênero.

Em relação à institucionalização das políticas: Recriação da Secretaria das Mulheres; Restauração e incentivo da realização

de conferências de mulheres a nível subnacional e nacional para facilitar o mapeamento dos problemas enfrentados, assim como o desenvolvimento colaborativo de novas políticas públicas; Garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas para mulheres, estipulada pela lei de cotas; Defesa da paridade de mulheres na política; Promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas.

Em relação ao mercado de trabalho: Adoção de medidas apropriadas para melhorar a capacidade das mulheres para obter renda para além das ocupações tradicionais, com vistas à autonomia econômica; Garantia de acesso igual das mulheres ao mercado de trabalho e aos sistemas de seguridade social; Aumento do número de vagas disponíveis em creches, possibilitando que as mães tenham mais tempo para se inserirem no mercado produtivo de forma plena; Fortalecimento de programas de qualificação profissional; Implementação de programas de microcrédito e treinamento de microempreendimentos com atenção às mulheres; Criação de leis e programas que ajudem a proteger as trabalhadoras informais; Garantia do cumprimento da lei no caso das trabalhadoras domésticas; Garantia do cumprimento da regra que determina a igualdade de salários de homens e mulheres quando na mesma função e mesma carga horária; Garantia do cumprimento da proibição de práticas discriminatórias por empregadores contra as mulheres, tais como as baseadas em provas de uso de contraceptivos ou gravidez; Garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem às mulheres combinar os papéis de gravidez, amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho.

Em relação à formação: Eliminação do uso de material de ensino e educação estereotipados, que reforçam o papel da mulher como menos apta ao mundo da produção ou mais aptas à esfera doméstica; Promoção de programas de liderança entre meninas; Ampliação de programas de incentivo para mulheres nas ciências exatas. Combate à evasão escolar de adolescentes grávidas, com focos nos estados do Norte e Nordeste, onde esses dados permanecem altos; Garantia de alfabetização para

mulheres que já passaram da idade escolar tradicional; Fortalecimento de programas que combatam as desigualdades de raça/etnia, principalmente no acesso às universidades.

Em relação à saúde: Oferta de educação informativa para atenção à prevenção da gravidez com foco em jovens de ambos os sexos, direcionada ao fortalecimento dos direitos reprodutivos e informações sobre métodos contraceptivos; Garantia de condições legais e de recursos para a interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal, combatendo a criminalização das mulheres atendidas nos pontos de atendimento na saúde; Combate à violência obstétrica, com o fortalecimento de programas que incentivem o parto natural e a humanização do SUS.

Em relação à violência: Garantia da aplicação e meios para a efetividade da Lei Maria da Penha; Incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher; Implementação de políticas públicas de proteção, apoio e atenção às mulheres com a melhoria no atendimento às mulheres em situação de violência; Fortalecimento dos programas de treinamento dos profissionais de saúde e da polícia voltados para atender mulheres vítimas de violência; Identificação e enfrentamento das violências cometidas contra as mulheres encarceradas, especialmente as grávidas.

3.1 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Representation of Women

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| mulheres/women | 27 | 5 | 11 | 11 |
| [mulheres] vítimas/[women] victims | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| grávidas/ pregnant women | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| [mulheres] encarceradas/incarcerated women | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| [mulheres] candidatas/ women candidates | 2 | - | 1 | 1 |
| eleitas/ elected women | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| mães/mothers | 1 | 1 | - | - |

| | | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| trabalhadoras/working women | 2 | - | 1 | 1 |
| meninas/girls | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| adolescentes grávidas / pregnant adolescents | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Total | 38 | 8 | 17 | 14 |

Table 7 - Activation and Passivation of Social Actor - Women.

The category “women” is represented as active in five examples (i.e 3.1; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4 and 3.6). The other activated representations are “mães” (3.5), “meninas” (3.7) and “adolescentes grávidas” (3.8). The underlined words are the ones analyzed in terms of activation:

3.1 De acordo com o IBGE, 28,2% das mulheres têm ocupações em tempo parcial (30 horas semanais), enquanto o percentual entre os homens é de 14,1%.

3.2 [...] As mulheres gastam com afazeres domésticos – trabalho não remunerado – 73% de tempo a mais que os homens.

3.3 O rendimento médio delas equivale a $\frac{3}{4}$ do observado para os homens e somente 39% dos cargos gerenciais são ocupados por mulheres.

3.4 Políticas para mulheres precisam ser pensadas tanto em um contexto de urgência por exemplo, como o aumento de acesso a creches públicas, assim como tendo em vistas efeitos de mais longo prazo como o fortalecimento de leis e programas que facilitem a inserção das mulheres nos meios produtivos.

3.5 Aumento do número de vagas disponíveis em creches, possibilitando que as mães tenham mais tempo para se inserirem no mercado produtivo de forma plena.

3.6 Garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem às mulheres combinar os papéis de gravidez, amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho.

3.7 Promoção de programas de liderança entre meninas.

3.8 Combate à evasão escolar de adolescentes grávidas.

These representations of the social agent ‘women’ can be categorized as functionalization and identification (Van Leeuwen, 2008). Within identification, relational identification explains the representation of women in actions related to motherhood (3.5) and pregnancy (3.6). In 3.3 (‘39% dos cargos gerenciais são ocupados por mulheres/ 39% of the

management positions are held by women’) women are activated through circumstantialization, as the preposition ‘by’ indicates action.

In the case of excerpt 3.8, activation of pregnant teenagers is made through postmodification, since they are doing the action of “school evasion”.

In PDT’s program, activation is also constructed with the help of statistics about working hours in terms of gender, where women’s situation is depicted as disadvantageous, as can be seen in examples 3.1 and 3.2.

3.1 De acordo com o IBGE, 28,2% das mulheres têm ocupações em tempo parcial (30 horas semanais), enquanto o percentual entre os homens é de 14,1%.

3.2 [...] As mulheres gastam com afazeres domésticos – trabalho não remunerado – 73% de tempo a mais que os homens.

In 3.5, women are represented by nomination on the basis of kinship relation as *‘mães’/mothers*. The actor *‘meninas’* (girls) emerges in assimilation, due to the high level of generalization and plurality of the word *‘meninas’*. The distinction between ages also influences PDT’s proposals. The lexical choice shows that only girls have policies directed to leadership. Even though the type of leadership is not specified, it is not attributed to teenagers. On the other hand, teenage girls only appear in the situation of school evasion, in the case of pregnancy.

The mother figure is frequently mentioned, together with the professional duties women occupy in society. There is a concern about the permanence of mothers in the labor market. However, there is no mention to the paternal figure or attempts to raise awareness about the need to share housework, or any support for solo-mothers.

The passivated representations were mostly through beneficialization (10 occurrences), that is, women benefit from the processes in question. Some of these processes involved measures directed to the political engagement of women:

3.9 Garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas para mulheres estipulada pela lei de cotas.

3.10 Incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas, com vistas ao alcance da paridade.

3.11 Atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas.

PDT's program gives a certain emphasis to women's political activity. However, 'women' are collectivized and treated as a group in all references to this topic: *mulheres*; *candidatas*; *candidatas e eleitas*. It seems that the occupation of political spaces is being implemented in a gradual manner. As PDT takes a progressive perspective, we could expect to find in their discourse references to the difficulties faced by specific groups of women to participate in politics, but the examples do not mention race, sexuality or class differences within the hyperordinate 'women'.²⁸

Other examples of beneficialization include the fight against gender violence:

3.12 Implementação de políticas públicas de proteção, apoio e atenção às mulheres com a melhoria no atendimento às mulheres em situação de violência.

3.13 Incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher.

The references to women and politics followed the same model of collectivization and passivation through beneficialization:

3.14 Defesa da paridade de mulheres na política.

3.15 Promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político, com vistas ao alcance da paridade.

In 3.13, although women are mentioned in general terms, the context refers to them as employees and to their relationship with their employers, so we can interpret that as a representation by relational identification. In 3.14 and 3.15, the actors "trabalhadoras domésticas" (domestic workers) e "trabalhadoras informais" (informal workers) are represented by functionalization, that is, these women are represented according to type of work they do:

3.16 Garantia do cumprimento da proibição de práticas discriminatórias por empregadores contra as mulheres.

3.17 Garantia do cumprimento da lei no caso das trabalhadoras domésticas.

²⁸ For information on the number of women candidates from different social groups elected in 2018, see: <http://www.generonumero.media/camara-dos-deputados-tera-mais-mulheres-brancas-negras-e-indigena-e-menos-homens-brancos-em-2019/>

3.18 Criação de leis e programas que ajudem a proteger as trabalhadoras informais.

Representation of Public Policies

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Políticas de gênero/Gender Policies | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Políticas públicas/Public Policies | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Lei de cotas/Quotas Act | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Leis/Laws/ | 2 | 1 | 1 | - |
| Regra/Rules | 2 | 2 | - | - |
| Condições legais/Legal Conditions | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Lei Maria da Penha | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Secretaria das Mulheres /Secretary of State for Women | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Conferências de mulheres a nível subnacional e nacional/ Conferences of women at subnational and national level | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Paridade de mulheres na política/ Women's parity within politics | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Vagas disponíveis em creches/ Available vacancies in daycares | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Programas de qualificação profissional/ Programs of professional qualification | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Programas de liderança entre meninas/ Programs of | 1 | - | 1 | - |

| | | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| leadership among girls | | | | |
| Alfabetização para mulheres que já passaram da idade escolar/ Alphabetization of adult women | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Programas que combatam as desigualdades de raça/etnia/ Programs that combat inequalities of race | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| Educação informativa/ Informative education | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 19 | 8 | 10 | 1 |

Table 8 - Activation and Passivation of social actor - Public Policies.

There were nineteen representations of policies or proposals that benefit women. Ten were subjected, eight were activated, and only one was beneficialized. The latter refers to gender policies and is part of the proposal's introduction to the intentions of the party (if elected). Thus, initially the representation is generalized, and further on it is specific to different groups of women, such as adolescents, working class women and solo-mothers.

The active representations involve protective measures to female workers who, according to the party, work in the informal labor market (3.15 and 3.16), even though there is no specification of what kind of work is considered informal and who those women are. Therefore, they are assimilated through collectivization, that is, instead of individuals they are treated as a group. Precautions on women's safety were also represented by active actors, as well as the fight against the wage gap between women and men in the same position (3.17):

3.16 Criação de leis e programas que ajudem a proteger as trabalhadoras informais.

3.17 Garantia do cumprimento da regra que determina a igualdade de salários de homens e mulheres quando na mesma função e mesma carga horária

Another activated representation occurs in the context of the

creation of rules that will benefit workers who are also mothers (3.18). This part of the program makes implicit mention to the double shift women with children face in their daily routines.

3.18 Garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem às mulheres combinar os papéis de gravidez, amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho.

Some proposals were also activated by post-modification, a strategy that puts the actor in the background of the action (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In 3.19, Lei Maria da Penha is the backgrounded agent of the nominalization ‘efetividade’ (effectiveness). In the same manner, in 3.20 public policies are the agents of the nominalized actions ‘proteção’, ‘apoio’ e ‘atenção’ (protection, support and attention).

3.19 Garantia da aplicação e meios para a efetividade da Lei Maria da Penha.

3.20 Implementação de políticas públicas de proteção, apoio e atenção às mulheres com a melhoria no atendimento às mulheres em situação de violência.

Regarding passivated representations through subjection, an important one is related to abortion and might be interpreted as a critique to the legal treatment of the theme in Brazil:

3.21 Garantia de condições legais e de recursos para a interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal, combatendo a criminalização das mulheres atendidas nos pontos de atendimento na saúde.

In relation to guaranteeing legal conditions and resources for abortion, which would help decrease the criminalization of women who seek medical care after the procedure, the agent(s) of the material process ‘to guarantee’ is grammatically eliminated through nominalization (‘garantia’), which makes it unclear who should offer this guarantee (the judiciary? The government?).

The only passivation through beneficialization is in “propomos uma série de medidas orientadas às políticas de Gênero”, which is the line that introduces the proposals, and where gender policies in general are the beneficiaries of other specific measures proposed by the agent ‘nós’, representing PDT’s government.

Representation of Society/ Other Social Agents

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| profissionais da saúde e da polícia / health and police professionals | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| jovens de ambos os sexos / young women and men | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| filhos/ offspring | 2 | - | 2 | - |
| empregadores/employers | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| homens e mulheres/ men and women | 2 | - | 2 | - |
| sociedade/ society | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| homens/ men | 3 | - | 3 | - |
| cônjuge/ partner | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| peçoas/ people | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| população/ population | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 14 | 1 | 11 | 2 |

Table 9 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Society/ Other Social Agents.

The only activated social actor in this group is ‘employers’ (3.13 *Garantia do cumprimento da proibição de práticas discriminatórias por empregadores contra as mulheres*) in the context of discrimination in the work environment.

Passivation through beneficializations appear in 3.22 (*jovens de ambos os sexos/ young women and men*) and 3.23 (*profissionais de saúde e da polícia/ health and police professionals*), and are connected to themes of pregnancy prevention and care to women who are victims of violence.

3.22 Oferta de educação informativa para atenção à prevenção da gravidez com foco em jovens de ambos os sexos.

3.23 Fortalecimento dos programas de treinamento dos profissionais de saúde e da polícia voltados para atender mulheres vítimas de violência.

Passivation through subjection appears in eleven representations. Children, when mentioned in relation to their mothers, are the goal of the processes (3.6 *Garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem às mulheres combinar os papéis de gravidez, amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho*).

Men's representations are used to compare statistics, which usually show that men are in advantage when compared to women:

3.24 De acordo com o IBGE, 28,2% das mulheres têm ocupações em tempo parcial (30 horas semanais), enquanto o percentual entre os homens é de 14,1%. Ao mesmo tempo, as mulheres gastam com afazeres domésticos – trabalho não remunerado – 73% de tempo a mais que os homens.

Subjections representing population, people and society, as well as men, were located in the introduction of proposals also indicating statistics.

3.25 [...] o Brasil registra 6 milhões a mais de mulheres (51,6% do total da população, de acordo com os dados do IBGE). A presença de mulheres aumenta proporcionalmente, sobretudo nas idades mais avançadas: enquanto a esperança de vida das brasileiras é de 79,4, a dos homens é de 72,9 anos. Mais da metade (55,6%) das pessoas abaixo da linha de pobreza são mulheres sem cônjuge com filhos até 14 anos.

3.26 A autonomia das mulheres, e a melhoria de sua situação no que concerne ao seu status político, social, econômico e de Saúde é uma preocupação fundamental para uma sociedade com vistas ao desenvolvimento pleno.

3.2 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTION

Considering that PDT's program is the longest one analyzed in this research, in this section I first provide the processes that introduce the party's proposals, and then I separate the nominalized actions and reactions from the original text, in order to have a visualization of the proposals at a micro level.

3.28 Em um contexto de desvantagem social em diversas das dimensões de poder e direitos, entende-se que é necessária uma atenção especial às mulheres no que diz respeito ao seu papel como foco de políticas públicas.

3.29 Um programa com foco de gênero sinaliza uma mudança de atitude frente aos processos sociais, reconhecendo que a mulheres e homens são atribuídos papéis diferentes na vida cotidiana o que, portanto, geram diferentes necessidades de ação estatal.

3.30 Políticas para mulheres precisam ser pensadas tanto em um contexto de urgência.

The underlined stretch in excerpt 3.28 indicates a cognitive mental process (“entende”-se/ it is understood) thus representing a reaction. At the same time, the reaction omits the actor (party) who understands the need for special attention to women. A similar example can be found in 3.30, where the reaction is also represented by a modalized cognitive mental process - “*políticas para mulheres precisam ser pensadas/ policies for women must be taken into consideration*”. Again, the party is omitted from the reaction that indicates the need for women’s policies.

Excerpt 3.29 stresses that the party is aware of the social scenario of inequalities and disadvantages for women, and measures to change this scenario are included in PDT’s program. The reaction in “reconhecendo que a mulheres e homens são atribuídos papéis diferentes na vida cotidiana / acknowledging that different social roles are attributed to women and men” is represented by a perceptive mental process.

For the analysis of the nominalized actions and reactions I use a different numeration from the analysis of social actors considering that PDT’s program is the longest out of the four analyzed and this manner helps visualizing the actions/reactions separately. The actions are excerpts from 2.0 to 2.18, and the reactions are examples from 3.0 to 3.11.

[Nominalized] Actions

- 2.0 recriação da Secretaria das Mulheres.
- 2.1 restauração da realização de conferências de mulheres.
- 2.2 defesa da paridade de mulheres na política.
- 2.3 promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político.
- 2.4 atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas.
- 2.5 adoção de medidas apropriadas para melhorar a capacidade das mulheres para obter renda para além das ocupações tradicionais, com vistas à autonomia econômica.
- 2.6 aumento do número de vagas disponíveis em creches, possibilitando que as mães tenham mais tempo para se inserirem no mercado produtivo de forma plena
- 2.7 fortalecimento de programas de qualificação profissional
- 2.8 implementação de programas de microcrédito e treinamento de microempreendimentos com atenção às mulheres
- 2.9 criação de leis e programas que ajudem a proteger as trabalhadoras

informais

- 2.10 eliminação do uso de material de ensino e educação estereotipados
- 2.11 promoção de programas de liderança entre meninas
- 2.12 ampliação de programas de incentivo para mulheres nas ciências exatas
- 2.13 combate à evasão escolar de adolescentes grávidas
- 2.14 fortalecimento de programas que combatam as desigualdades de raça/etnia, principalmente no acesso às universidades.
- 2.15 oferta de educação informativa para atenção à prevenção da gravidez.
- 2.16 combate à violência obstétrica.
- 2.17 implementação de políticas públicas de proteção às mulheres em situação de violência.
- 2.18 fortalecimento dos programas de treinamento dos profissionais da saúde e da polícia voltados para atender mulheres vítimas de violência.

[Nominalized] Reactions

- 3.0 garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas.
- 3.1 incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas com vistas ao alcance da paridade.
- 3.2 garantia de acesso igual das mulheres ao mercado de trabalho e aos sistemas de seguridade social.
- 3.3 garantia do cumprimento da lei no caso das trabalhadoras domésticas.
- 3.4 garantia do cumprimento da proibição de práticas discriminatórias por empregadores contra as mulheres, tais como as baseadas em provas de uso de contraceptivos ou gravidez.
- 3.5 garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem as mulheres combinar os papéis de gravidez amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho.
- 3.6 garantia de alfabetização para mulheres que já passaram da idade escolar tradicional.
- 3.7 garantia de condições legais e de recursos para interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal combatendo a criminalização das mulheres atendidas nos pontos de atendimento na saúde.
- 3.8 garantia de aplicação da lei Maria da penha.
- 3.9 incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher.
- 3.10 identificação das violências cometidas contra as mulheres encarceradas.
- 3.11 enfrentamento das violências cometidas contra as mulheres encarceradas.

The actions are mostly nominalized material processes, 18 out of 19 processes (recriação/recreation, restauração/restoration, promoção/promotion, atuação/action, adoção/adoption, aumento/increase, fortalecimento/strengthening, implementação/implementation, criação/creation, eliminação/elimination, promoção/promotion, ampliação/expansion, combate/combat, oferta/offer). There are no nominalized verbal processes, and only three behavioural processes. In example 2.2, the nominalization ‘defesa’ can be seen as similar to a verbal process, due to the semiotic characteristic of convincing (‘defesa de algo’), but it can also be categorized as behavioural for the characteristic of argumentation, or “the acting out of processes of consciousness” (Halliday, 2004, p. 171). The situations where the actions of fighting are placed (‘evasão escolar de adolescentes grávidas’ and ‘violência obstétrica’) refer to women in the context of motherhood and pregnancy.

The other actions that imply development, growth or expansion are examples of *naturalization*, which is the case of most of the actions in the proposal. Naturalization, as a form of deagentialization, treats the proposals as something natural. For example, in 2.6; 2.12 and 2.18, with “aumento (growth)”, “ampliação (extension)” and “fortalecimento (strengthening)”, the representations are material abstractions, but human agency is omitted as if the processes could be executed naturally, by themselves. The processes aforementioned are presented by nominalizations that indicate the action, instead of verbs.

In 2.5 the program’s proposals seeks economic autonomy for women (“*adoção de medidas apropriadas para melhorar a capacidade das mulheres para obter renda para além das ocupações tradicionais, com vistas à autonomia econômica*”), where the nominalized material process “adoção (adoption)” is an interactive transaction, since the nominalized action has more than one participant: the actor, in this case omitted through nominalization, and the goal, women. It mentions the adoption of measures that would improve women’s capacity to be economically independent, but these measures are abstract, as are the mechanisms to accomplish them.

In 2.14 (“*fortalecimento de programas que combatam as desigualdades de raça/etnia, principalmente no acesso às universidades*”), it is interesting to note that in this topic, the content of the proposal adds to women’s agenda the topic of race and ethnic discrimination. Furthermore, in 2.14 it is possible to infer that PDT is favorable to affirmative action policies, which in this case refer specifically to quotas for university entrance.

PDT's program mentions several times the adoption of measures to reduce violence and discrimination against women. The reactions found, characterized by mental processes, were predominantly nominalized desiderative mental processes, which indicate a desire to change, not necessarily a commitment that indicates change. Out of the twelve nominalized mental processes identified, eight are desiderative (3.0 ; 3.2; 3.3; 3.4; 3.5; 3.6; 3.7; 3.8) and all of them are presented by the same nominalization - "garantia/guarantee". In 3.10 (*identificação das violências cometidas contra as mulheres encarceradas*), the nominalized perceptive mental process 'identificação'(identification) addresses violence inside the prison system, more specifically, the identification of the types of violence female prison inmates suffer. Further, it leads to the proposal of confrontation of such problems in 3.11. It is possible to understand the use of reactions instead of actions in this context due to the complexity of the subject of violence against incarcerated women (for more information on the context of imprisoned women, see Scherer and Scherer, 2009).

The affective mental processes in 3.1 (*incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas com vistas ao alcance da paridade*) and 3.9 (*incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher*) are both presented by the nominalized verb "incentivo/incentive". The nominalization excludes who is encouraging the nominalized actions of training in 3.1 and creating in 3.9, as well as who are the actors in charge of putting these actions into practice. Excerpt 3.1 illustrates the problem of inequality between women and men in the political sphere. The nominalization 'treinamento' (training) is vague and presents no information on the method or the tools to be used as assistance in the process of seeking equality.

In excerpt 3.9 there is an encouragement to the creation of more police departments specialized in violence against women. The benefits of women's special police stations are many, such as the protection of victim's privacy and psychological support. Even with improvements in this area, according to the Anuário de Segurança Pública²⁹ de 2018³⁰, in 2017 there were 60.018 reported rapes, 1.133 feminicides, 221.238 cases of domestic violence and 4.539 homicides.

²⁹ Anuário de Segurança Pública is a resource that contains information concerning the public security of Brazil.

³⁰ Available in http://www.forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/FBSP_Anuario_Brasileiro_Seguranca_Publica_Infogr%C3%A1fico_2018.pdf

All the nominalized reactions are attributed to an omitted senser, which is the government, towards the phenomena, which are either women or laws/policies/measures regarding women's rights.

“Garantia” (“guarantee”), a frequently used word, can be seen as a nominalized desiderative mental processes. The fact that certain measures are not represented through action indicates the complexity of the issues involved. This can be seen in example 3.0 (“*garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas*”), where PDT acknowledges the current struggle and difficulties to increase women's representation in legislative houses. A material action towards this issue can be found in 2.4 (“*atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas*”), which points to the security of women who go into politics, both the candidates and the elected ones. Even though there are no mentions to specific cases of violence towards women candidates, this proposal acknowledges the serious risks that women politicians have been facing in Brazil. The murder cases of two women candidates in Mexico in June of 2018³¹, Juany Maldonado and Pamela Terán, indicates that the public and private lives of women involved in politics are constantly under threat. Other example from Brazil is the case of Marielle Franco, a city councilor from Rio de Janeiro who was murdered in March 2018. She was also part of the 32 black women elected among 811 councilors in Brazilian capital cities in 2016, which amounts to less than 4% of black women politicians in Brazil. The case is still under investigation, but it is important to state that Marielle made several accusations about the violent behavior of the police. She was also the person in charge of inspecting the military intervention in Rio de Janeiro's slums.

In 3.2 another concern is reported, considering women's participation in the labor market. As mentioned in chapter 2, the active participation and insertion of women in this field presents more complicating factors than for men. Statistics show that the presence of women in the labor market is lower than that of men. According to IBGE³², in 2015 women represented 25,95% of the economically active population, while men represented 33,44%. In 3.5 (“*garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem as mulheres combinar os papéis*”

³¹

Available

in

https://elpais.com/internacional/2018/06/02/mexico/1527962598_145968.html

³²

Available

in:

<https://seriesestatisticas.ibge.gov.br/series.aspx?no=7&op=0&vcodigo=PD295&t=sexo>

de gravidez amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho”), one of the struggles that are part of women’s lives are acknowledged in the program, which is balancing pregnancy and motherhood and keeping their jobs. One material action that works as solution to this reaction (i.e 3.5 *garantia*) can be found in 2.6 (“*Aumento do número de vagas disponíveis em creches, possibilitando que tenham mais tempo para se inserirem no mercado produtivo de forma plena*”), as access to kindergartens are essential support for working mothers.

Although in 3.7 the program mentions a topic of great concern for women, i.e. access to abortion (“*garantia de condições legais e de recursos para interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal combatendo a criminalização das mulheres atendidas nos pontos de atendimento na saúde*”), the statement does not propose changes in the existing legislation, only the implementation of the right to abort in the cases allowed by law.

Some reactions also combine two nominalizations in each proposal, which is the case of 3.0 (*garantia da aplicação*); 3.1 (*incentivo ao treinamento*); 3.2 (*garantia de acesso*); 3.3 (*garantia do cumprimento*); 3.4 (*garantia do cumprimento*); 3.5 (*garantia do cumprimento*); 3.6 (*garantia de alfabetização*); 3.8 (*garantia de aplicação*) and 3.9 (*incentivo à criação*). This long list of nominalizations omits the agents responsible for putting into practice the nominalized material actions that follow the mental processes.

4.0 PSDB - PARTIDO DA SOCIAL DEMOCRACIA BRASILEIRA

There are not many mentions to women in PSDB’s presidential program. In the introduction to the program, there is a general statement directed to women, elderly people and minority groups, about fighting violence against these groups. The proposals are located in a section of the program named “O BRASIL DA SOLIDARIEDADE/ Brazil of solidarity”:

A redução das desigualdades sociais exigirá um sério comprometimento do governo, para melhorar a qualidade da educação, ampliar o acesso à saúde, combater a violência e promover o respeito às mulheres, idosos e minorias.

4.0 Vamos estabelecer um pacto nacional para a redução de violência contra idosos, mulheres e LGBTI e incentivar a criação de redes não-governamentais de apoio ao atendimento

de vítimas de violência racial e contra tráfico sexual e de crianças.

4.1 Vamos fomentar ações voltadas à prevenção da gravidez precoce, adotando estratégias educativas de sensibilização de adolescentes e apoio integral no caso de gestação.

4.2 Atuaremos na prevenção primária e secundária ao crime nas áreas mais violentas do país, com atenção especial aos jovens, que são sua maior vítima.

4.3 Adotaremos políticas afirmativas para as populações negra e indígena, garantindo a igualdade de oportunidades.

4.1 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATION OF SOCIAL ACTORS

Representation of Women

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| mulheres/ women | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| Total | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 |

Table 10 - Activation and Passivation of Social Actor - Women.

The proposal itself mentions the social actor ‘women’ in only two situations. The first mention is in “mulheres, idosos e minorias” (women, the elderly and minority groups). The second occurrence is in 4.0 (idosos, mulheres e LGBTI/ the elderly, women and LGBTI), where there is a repetition of some of the objectives mentioned in the introduction concerning the reduction of violence against women and the LGBTI population. The party does not offer further information on the type of violence it intends to act against, and women as social actors are associated by similarity with other minority groups (the elderly and the LGBTI population), which can be interpreted as ignorance, or disregard, of the specific demands of these different social groups. Women were passivated through beneficialization in example 4.0, since they are the beneficiaries of the nominalized material process “redução”.

Representation of Society/Other Social Agents

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|---|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| idosos/ elderly people | 2 | - | - | 2 |
| minorias/ minorities | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| vítimas de violência racial/ victims of racial violence | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| crianças/ children | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| adolescentes/ adolescents | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| jovens/ young people | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| populações negra e indígena/ black and indigenous population | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| Total | 8 | 0 | 0 | 8 |

Table 11 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Society/ Other Social Agents.

All these social actors are beneficiaries of the actions proposed by PSDB. In this representation, different groups are associated (*mulheres, idosos e minorias; idosos, mulheres e LGBTI; populações negra e indígena*) to represent single categories that will be attended by the government. Although each of these groups has distinct demands and requires different policies and services, their cultural/ethnic traits are not singled out in the program.

PSDB's program is the second with the lowest number of mentions to women, losing only to PSL's program. Both texts present a high number of generalizations. In the case of PSDB, the generalizations occurred within the representations of society/other social actors, where women are also present in each category, but are backgrounded.

Representation of Public Policies

| Linguistic choice | Occurrences | Activated | Subjected | Beneficialized |
|--|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| pacto nacional/ national pact | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| redes não- governamentais/non- governmental networks | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| ações voltadas à prevenção da gravidez precoce/ actions directed to the prevention of teenage pregnancy | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| prevenção primária e secundária ao crime/ primary and secondary crime prevention | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| políticas afirmativas/ affirmative actions | 1 | - | 1 | - |
| Total | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 |

Table 12 - Activation and passivation of social actor - Public Policies.

In all the mentions, ‘public policies’ are represented as the goal of the processes; thus, they are passivated through subjection. ‘Pacto nacional’ is an abstract subjection, as there is no explanation of what the “national pact” consists of.

4.2 MAPPING THE REPRESENTATIONS OF SOCIAL ACTION

As mentioned above, PSDB’s and PT’ programs include the party grammatically in their actions. In PSDB’s program, the verbal choices “vamos” “atuaremos” and “adotaremos” represent the party through the use of exclusive “we”. The party’s voice as a whole is represented, that is, the “we” found in the actions does not represent the voters, nor specific individuals, but PSDB itself.

There were six actions represented by material processes and three reactions represented by desiderative mental processes. PSDB is the party that most uses processes instead of nominalizations in order to state their proposals, while PT uses some processes and PSL and PDT use mostly nominalizations. In 4.0 (“*vamos estabelecer um pacto nacional para redução de violência*”), the introduction of the proposal is a material

process. However, the second process is represented by ‘*redução*’, a nominalization of the verb ‘*reduzir*’ (*reduce*). This can be seen as naturalization, the representation that excludes the agents of the action as if it could happen naturally, without human interference. Withal, the mental process “incentivar a criação de redes não governamentais” (encourage the creation of non-governmental networks) frees the party from an important responsibility brought up in the proposal, which is attending victims of racism and human trafficking. In other words, the proposal is to encourage other institutions, separate from the government, to deal with such problems. In this manner, the state’s responsibility towards these social matters is diminished, or at least shared.

In 4.1 (4.1.1 Vamos fomentar ações voltadas à prevenção da gravidez precoce, 4.1.2 adotando estratégias educativas de sensibilização de adolescentes e 4.1.3 apoio integral no caso de gestação), the material processes in 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 aim at preventing pregnancy in adolescents, so the actions depart from strategies directed to education, while in 4.1.3 the reaction is represented by a nominalized affective mental process (apoio/support). The party does not develop how this support will work, but as the text does not mention the legal possibilities of abortion, we can interpret that the support is towards the maintenance of the pregnancy.

In 4.2 the party mentions technical concepts from the area of public security (*prevenção primária e secundária ao crime/ primary and secondary crime prevention*), which involves the specialized activity of police forces and the judiciary. The discourse of law and order can project its meanings in a manner that does not provide the full understanding of the context (Goodrich, 1987). In other words, the use of technical terms from this area distances the reader from their actual meanings in concrete social practices. For example, in Rio de Janeiro, a Brazilian state with one of the highest rates of violence, programs for ‘crime prevention’ have already been implemented in the slums, through the creation of UPPs (Unidades de Polícia Pacificadoras) in 2008. According to a survey carried out by GI, between 2008 and 2017 1.627 homicides were registered in UPP areas, with 687 deaths by police intervention, and 387 police officers were hurt while working³³. Another public security measure approved in February of 2018 was the military intervention in

³³ Available in <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/noticia/2018/12/11/upp-completa-10-anos-com-60-policiais-militares-mortos-em-comunidades-pacificadas.ghtml>

Rio de Janeiro³⁴, active until December of the same year, which resulted in 895 deaths. Leite (2012) discusses the mechanisms of this confrontation between the police and criminals who live in Rio de Janeiro's slums. According to the author, in the slums the State does not differentiate criminals from working class citizens. On the contrary, they are all treated in the same manner due to the similarities they share - the context they live in and their phenotype, which is why in many police raids in these areas people who are not involved with crime are murdered, either by the police or by the criminals. In 4.2 (*Atuaremos na prevenção primária e secundária ao crime nas áreas mais violentas do país, com atenção especial aos jovens, que são sua maior vítima.*), PSDB promises special attention to young people, with the justification that they are the main victims of violence. This is an illustration of what Leite mentioned in her study. The generalization of people who live in violent areas represents all citizens as a singular group. By selecting the noun “jovens” (young people), the party excludes many other categories, since women and children also suffer particular impacts in areas of violence. In fact, everyone who lives in areas where drug trafficking is recurrent will be automatically involved and will be targets of whatever forms of “prevention” the State intends to put into practice.

In 4.3 (*Adotaremos políticas afirmativas para as populações negra e indígena, garantindo a igualdade de oportunidades*), the party mentions the adoption of affirmative actions for black and indigenous populations, and states that this will guarantee equal opportunities. At first sight, the material process (adotaremos/we will adopt) indicates a move towards inclusive policies. However, the proposed racial/ethnic policies do not mention gender, which seems to indicate that PSDB does not consider gender affirmative actions necessary. Furthermore, the woman who ran for vice-presidency in PSDB was Ana Amélia, a senator from Partido Progressista (PP), a right-wing party. In interviews to the media, Alckmin underlined the fact that his vice was a woman and the importance of women in politics.³⁵ However, Ana Amelia is against political gender quotas. According to the candidate and to information on her website, the presence of women in politics depends on their ‘willingness’ to

³⁴ Available in <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2018/08/intervencao-federal-no-rj-faz-6-meses-entenda-o-que-aconteceu-ate-agora.shtml>

³⁵ Retrieved from <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2018/08/ao-confirmar-ana-amelia-como-vice-alckmin-ressalta-presenca-da-mulher.shtml>

participate, not on the creation of quotas.³⁶ Nonetheless, PSDB did use the 30% quota from the special fund reserved for women candidates.³⁷ In this sense, despite the linguistic aspects of the analysis, the controversies during the campaign and the post-election scenario demonstrate a lack of understanding of the laws establishing political gender quotas.

³⁶ Retrieved from http://www.anaamelialemos.com.br/noticias/participacao_feminina_na_politica_depende_da_vontade_das

³⁷ Retrieved from <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/so-15-de-35-partidos-cumpriram-cota-de-verba-para-candidaturas-femininas-na-eleicao-23243747>

CHAPTER V

5. THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL ACTION FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

In this chapter I present a discussion based on the model of Political Discourse Analysis proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), which consists of questions regarding the actions presented/proposed in political speech, and whether these actions are reasonable and feasible, or if they just present problems with vague solutions.

In this chapter I answer some of the questions proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) to analyze how actions are constructed in political speech. In order to understand how the parties express their values and their views on what is urgent and requires public action, I also apply the model for the structure of political arguments proposed by the authors, which consists of the following elements: *circumstantial premises, goal premises, value premises and claim for action* (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012, p. 88). I apply this model to the parties' proposals to reveal their values and beliefs, as well as their views on what constitutes an ideal society and ideal citizens.

The chapter will follow the same structure of the previous one, starting with PSL, then moving to PT, PDT and PSDB.

5.1 PARTIDO SOCIAL LIBERAL

The recurrent mentions to 'indoctrinations' in the context of education, involving gender and alleged privileges derived from quotas, represent what PSL believes to be the country's 'deficiencies'. Thus, concerning the first question (*What does the agent want to achieve?*), the party's program pursues change, but holding on to moral conservative view of society. In this sense, the party's discourse sides with the meritocracy ideology³⁸, which aims at silencing the demands of oppressed and marginalized groups such as women, black, transgender, and indigenous people, excluding them from active participation in political life.

³⁸ Meritocracy is a model of society that judges individuals according to their merits, "hard work", disregarded other factors such as social class, and individual specificities.

In relation to question 2 (*What other goals does he have and how would these be affected by the action in question?*), PSL's program poses a contradiction. The only proposal which mentions women points to an "ideological change" in relation to the rapes of women and children: 1.1 "*OUTRO EXEMPLO DE MUDANÇA IDEOLÓGICA Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS!*" However, in the proposals concerning education, the party claims that both the methods and the contents of teaching should be changed. PSL's program puts emphasis on disciplines such as mathematics, sciences, and Portuguese, which would help to curb what they see as children's 'indoctrination' and early sexualization: "*Conteúdo e método de ensino precisam ser mudados. Mais matemática, ciências e português, SEM DOCTRINAÇÃO E SEXUALIZAÇÃO PRECOCE. Além disso, a prioridade inicial precisa ser a educação básica e o ensino médio / técnico.*"

The contradiction present in the above proposals is that without gender and sexual education, women are more vulnerable in cases of sexual harassment and violence, and the rape culture remains active and strong in society. Proposals such as these express a lack of understanding of complex social problems, such as the violence women face daily in their lives. In addition, the proposal to fight sexual violence presents no real measures or actions to do so; on the contrary, they have the potential to aggravate gender violence by prohibiting any discussion of gender and sexuality at school.

In answer to question number 3 (*what are the agent's values, what are his concerns, what does he care about?*), PSL's presidential program demonstrates throughout its texts conservative values, promising measures that represent a backlash that puts at risk the working class and less privileged people. One example is the party's criticism of the system of quotas. This position expresses a model of society that PSL seeks, that is, a society that does not have space for racial and class diversity, which would be fostered by affirmative actions such as the system of quotas.

The lack of policies directed to women is also a reflex of the current problems women face as social agents. Gender policies are not a real concern for PSL, as the data demonstrates. In fact, the party is against quotas, which represents a kickback also to the fight for political gender quotas, a compensatory measure to women's representation.

The proposals indicate that the party's identity is built upon moral aspects of society, revealing the party's view of public power and how it should be conducted. By making explicit what is right and wrong, e.g. by criticizing the quota systems and what they call 'indoctrination', PSL presents to its voter the model of an ideal society, and what one should or

should not do in such society. This is a feature of PSL's program: some positions are rejected as 'morally wrong' (such as the so called 'gender ideology'), while others are reinforced as 'morally right' (such as the reduction of legal age).

Concerning question 5 (*What constraints on their action are relevant to their decision?*), PSL's program presents a generalized view of society. The program hardly ever refers to the electorate in a specified manner; on the contrary, it refers to the public as "povo" (people) and "sociedade" (society), linguistic choices which express a homogenized understanding of society and eliminates diversity from view. On the other hand, by rejecting the system of quotas, the party presents values that represent diversity as something negative, when it claims that quotas (the system that compensates social inequalities) is a measure that divides people (i.e 1.7 combate aos privilégios decorrentes de "quotas" que resultem na divisão do povo, seja em função de gênero, opção sexual, cor, raça, credo).

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), arguments present a deliberative feature, and the deliberation is built discursively with the help of four elements: *circumstantial premises*, the context provided by the political speech, which in this case is the problems in society that the party sees as something that needs change. *Goal premises*, which is what the party wants to achieve. *Value premises*, the level of importance attributed to the measures proposed based on ideological values attributed to a problem (presented on the circumstances). Finally, *claims for action*, which is what the party actually proposes as solution, that is, what should be done about something. Since PSL's program does not propose specific policies for women or minority groups, women are only mentioned in contexts of violence, such as rape ("*Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS!*"). Contexts of violence are then the **circumstantial premises**. Except for the proposal to fight against the rape of women and children, in PSL's program other policies concerning violence are generalized to the population as a whole. The **goal premises** include a fight against 'indoctrination' in education, as well as the combat of crime and changes in the Statute of Disarmament. The **value premises** attribute great importance to policing ("*Policiais precisam ter certeza que, no exercício de sua atividade profissional, serão protegidos por uma retaguarda jurídica. Garantida pelo Estado, através do excluyente de ilicitude*"), and a strong concern about how the current educational system works ("*Um dos maiores males atuais é a forte doutrinação*"). In addition, values were also depicted in a manner that divides the population, as the linguistic analysis demonstrates, with the discourse of

“us x them” as part of the party’s beliefs. **Claims for action** were vague and, as described in chapter IV, did not provide much information on the ways to put the proposals into practice, for instance in “Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS”.

5.2 PARTIDO DOS TRABALHADORES

In relation to the first question (*What does the agent want to achieve?*), PT’s program states that the creation and improvement of policies that work in women’s interest is one of the party’s concerns. There are mentions to achieving gender equality in some of the proposals, for instance in example 2.1, where the autonomy of women is encouraged (*i.e O governo Haddad retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres, afirmando o protagonismo das mulheres no novo ciclo de desenvolvimento brasileiro, por meio de políticas que promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres, a igualdade de oportunidades e isonomia salarial no mundo do trabalho, bem como o incentivo à produção de ciência e tecnologia pelas mulheres*). However, the program does not provide much information on gender inequalities, such as the low representation of women in politics and the wage gap. The party’s mentions to the different types of violence against women are also important, even though they are not specified, except for obstetric violence (*i.e 2.4 [O governo] Implantará também programas de valorização do parto normal, humanizado e seguro, de superação da violência obstétrica e da discriminação racial no SUS*). The defense of gender and racial quotas is also brought up in the program, which illustrates the party’s interest in the subject, as well as their awareness of the need to have people from distinct social groups in every sphere of society (*2.7 Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras.*).

Concomitantly, it is possible to answer question 2 (*what are the agent’s values, what are his concerns, what does he care about?*). Although PT’s program places things (programs (*i.e 2.4 [O governo] Implantará também programas de valorização do parto normal*), and departments (*i.e 2.0 Recriar as secretarias com status de ministério, de Direitos Humanos, Políticas para as Mulheres e Promoção da Igualdade Racial*), instead of people, as the goal of the actions in almost all of the proposals, important aspects of women’s lives are addressed. The problem of violence, for example, is a concern for the party. PT is also

concerned with women's financial autonomy, considering that policies oriented to workers who are mothers are part of the agenda.

Finally, concerning question 3 (*what might be the positive and negative consequences of the various actions that are open to him?*), the proposals as a whole would benefit working class women, if the measures were effectively put into practice (e.g. 2.1 *O governo Haddad retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres, afirmando o protagonismo das mulheres no novo ciclo de desenvolvimento brasileiro, por meio de políticas que promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres, a igualdade de oportunidades e isonomia salarial no mundo do trabalho, bem como o incentivo à produção de ciência e tecnologia pelas mulheres*) and (e.g. 2.2 *É preciso avançar na expansão dos direitos das mulheres e dos bebês, visando ampliar o valor e o tempo do seguro-desemprego para as gestantes e lactantes*).

Childcare and vacancies in kindergartens could also optimize the time of working class women, which is one of the reasons why women do not frequent spaces of political discussion. By adjusting these aspects, actual change for the better could happen.

5.3 PARTIDO DEMOCRÁTICO TRABALHISTA

In relation to the first question (*What are the agent's values, what are his concerns, what does he care about?*), some of PDT'S proposals indicate the intention to change certain social stereotypes. Examples are: the incentive to women's engagement in the fields of maths and sciences; the frequent mentions to the presence of women in politics; the concerns with women's safety and welfare, as well as their right to remain in the labor market during and after pregnancy. It is important to stress that all of the actions and reactions in the proposal are presented through nominalizations. Nominalizations omit the agents of the processes, and can function as a way to deliberate the action, instead of actually doing it. According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), deliberation is an argumentative genre which proposes several actions, built on the basis of circumstances and goals. "Deliberation is typically about means, with goals and other premises taken for granted, but if discussion reveals disagreement about goals, agents can decide to deliberate on the goals of action before deliberating about means." (p. 90). Due to this argumentative flexibility, deliberation is not actually the action itself, but a discussion on how to put the proposed actions into practice.

In terms of question 4 (*which of these goals, values or concerns would he be willing to sacrifice by doing the action and which would he*

not?), in its proposals, PDT seems willing to confront some deeply rooted aspects of our culture, for instance, by supporting women in the political scenario (“*Garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas para mulheres, estipulada pela lei de cotas; Defesa da paridade de mulheres na política; Promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas*”). This demonstrates PDT’s acknowledgment of the struggle women face in this context.

On the other hand, while PDT demonstrates a progressive view on the issue of women’s representativeness, question number 4 also has to do with what the party would not be willing to sacrifice while defending women’s rights. The party takes a reluctant position in the way they deal with abortion in Brazil (“*Garantia de condições legais e de recursos para a interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal, combatendo a criminalização*”). Even though at first sight the proposal seems to defend women’s reproductive rights, the party carefully approaches the matter in a manner that does not go against the legal position on the subject (abortion is typified as a crime in the Brazilian penal code, and it is allowed only in three cases: risk to the mother’s life; pregnancy resulting from rape; and anencephalic fetus). In other words, the *goal premise* is to fight the criminalization of abortion, but there are *constraints* to the action, expressed in the condition “*quando ocorrer de forma legal*” (‘when it happens according to the law’).

The elements of a political argument proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) can also be found in PDT’s program towards women. For instance, the **circumstantial premises** appear in the introduction of the proposals: “*Em um contexto de desvantagem social em diversas das dimensões de poder e direitos, entende-se que é necessária uma atenção especial às mulheres no que diz respeito ao seu papel como foco de políticas públicas*”, while **goal premises** are represented by putting women as the focus of public policies. **Value premises** are present in the defense of women’s rights, which is portrayed in several of the party’s proposals, for instance, in the importance given to women in political positions: “*Garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas para mulheres, estipulada pela lei de cotas*”. A **claim for action** can also be found in the example of women in politics, which is represented by a material process that indicates action: “*Atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas.*”

5.4 PARTIDO DA SOCIAL DEMOCRACIA BRASILEIRA

PSDB's program, as well as PSL's, does not provide much information on gender issues for data analysis. However, some elements of textual analysis, combined with information on the party, allowed me to answer some of the questions selected for this research.

Concerning question 1 (*what are the agent's values, what are his concerns, what does he care about?*), one example of PSDB's values in relation to women is the absence of any mention to gender quotas in their program, even though other types of affirmative actions were mentioned. The program shows interest in health care in cases of teenage pregnancy, as well as respect for the LGBTI community and for racial matters, but these topics were not further developed.

Concerning question 6 (*what might be the positive and negative consequences of the various actions that are open to him?*), PSDB's proposals can lead to different outcomes, depending on how they are put into practice. For instance, combating crime in violent areas of the country is not a simple task to propose by using short arguments in a presidential program. As mentioned in the analysis of social action, there are variables in this context that should be taken into consideration while planning public security measures.

In terms of practical reasoning, the level of concern that the agent attributes to the goal of an action can demonstrate its value. The analysis of the arguments does not reveal much of the circumstances in which the proposals are found, unless it is related to the goals. In other words, the **circumstantial premises** have to be inferred from the goals, as well as the **values**.

For example, the responsibility of reducing social inequalities is attributed to the government: "*A redução das desigualdades sociais exigirá um sério comprometimento do governo, para melhorar a qualidade da educação, ampliar o acesso à saúde, combater a violência e promover o respeito às mulheres, idosos e minorias*". It is possible to assume, due to the responsibilities attributed to the government that such elements represent the **value premises** of the reduction of social inequalities. **Circumstantial premises** are deficiencies in education, lack of access to health care and the violence faced by women, elderly people and 'minorities'. The **Goal premises** are, therefore, improvements on education, health care and security. **Claim for action** can be seen in 4.3 (*i.e. Adotaremos políticas afirmativas para as populações negra e indígena*), and 4.1 (*Vamos fomentar ações voltadas à prevenção da gravidez precoce, adotando estratégias educativas de sensibilização de*

adolescentes e apoio integral no caso de gestação), where PSDB directs the action of the proposals to indigenous and black people, as well as actions towards the prevention of early pregnancy.

CHAPTER VI

6. FINAL REMARKS

Considering that this research accompanied the 2018 elections from the very beginning of the electoral process, including the previous conjuncture that goes from the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff to the election of Jair Bolsonaro, I organized this final chapter with the results of the 2018 elections as its closure. In order to do so, firstly I revisit the research questions and answer them according to the results provided by the data analysis. In the second part, I present the results of the election and discuss their connections to the findings of this research. Finally, I describe the limitations of the study and present suggestions for further research.

6.1 REVISITING THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. How is political life and political action represented in the proposals for women?

Women are excluded from political life in the programs of PSL and PSDB. In fact, PSL's program, which had to be complemented with data from the party's website due to the lack of content on gender issues in the program itself, criticizes the systems of quotas, which includes political gender quotas. On the other hand, PDT dedicates space in their program to actions whose aim is to promote or to protect the presence of women in the political sphere (*"Promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político, com vistas ao alcance da paridade"*). The same to PT (*"Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras"*).

Political actions addressed the problem of violence against women in all the programs analyzed. The issue of rape was brought up by PSL in the only mention to women in its program, while PT addressed the theme in a generalized way, as in *"enfrentamento a todas as formas de violência contra a mulher"*. The same happens with PDT's proposals, where there is no specific mention to rape, only to measures to give support to women who are *"vítimas de violência"*. PSDB also addresses violence in a general manner. The party's proposal is to *"estabelecer um pacto nacional para a redução de violência contra idosos, mulheres e LGBTQ"*.

PT and PDT, when referring to violence against women, mention Lei Maria da Penha”. In their discourse, both parties aim at improving the services that give support to the law, such as women’s special police stations.

2. Which discourses are drawn upon to justify the implementation of policies regarding women’s welfare?

There is a similarity among all the parties analyzed, which all portray as victims of violence. Some parties generalize this discourse by blending women within major categories, such as ‘young people’, as in PSDB’s program, or as ‘people’, as in PSL’s program.

PT and PDT addressed the importance of supporting women who are also mothers in order to encourage these women’s economic autonomy. Women’s double shift was also addressed in their programs, in order to justify the proposal of alternatives to women who do both productive and reproductive work, that is, female workers who are mothers.

PT and PDT mentioned the lack of women in decision-making spaces as justification to propose compensatory measures, such as closed lists and affirmative actions. The issue of women’s representation was not part he PSL’s and PSDB’s programs. In fact, as data demonstrated, PSL does not understand compensatory measures as necessary or fair, instead, they are seen by the party as a strategy to divide people. PSDB is also silent on the subject. A possible interpretation is that the party does not see compensatory measures as important enough to be included among policies directed to women in a presidential program.

The rates of pregnancy during adolescence were also brought up in the programs of PSDB and PDT as a cause of school evasion. In order to solve the problem, the parties proposed educational measures to raise awareness on the subject, as well as measures to prevent it.

3. How do the proposals portray the social actors investigated (women, society/other social agents and policies) and their social roles?

Women are associated with other categories (minority groups, black and indigenous people, elderly people, children) in all the programs analyzed, which then portray the categories ‘women’ and ‘society/other social agents’ in different situations of discrimination or danger. For instance, problems involving gender include women, LGBT people and children, since they are represented as the main victims of different types

of violence, such as rape in PSL's program, domestic violence and gender violence in general in PT's and PDT's programs, and racial violence, which refers to both to women and men in PSDB's program.

Furthermore, women are associated with motherhood in PT's, PDT's and PSDB's programs by representing them through physical identification, through mentions to pregnancy and nursing mothers. Men, on the other hand, are not represented in connection to fatherhood or to children. Women and men are mentioned through generalization in measures involving information and prevention of early pregnancy, directed to "jovens de ambos os sexos" (PDT) and "adolescentes" (PSDB), while PSL's and PT's programs do not mention the males in this context. Cameron and Shaw (2016) point out that ideologies across linguistic practices are manifested more clearly through generalization and stereotyping, which is the case of the presidential programs, whose representations both generalize and naturalize women as mothers.

As expected, 'Public Policies', as social actors, were represented as the solutions to the problems discussed in the programs. However, they were "left alone" in some of the proposals. That is, the government and its officials were backgrounded, and the responsibility for putting measures proposed into practice the attributed entirely to the policies. One example is PDT's proposal "incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher", where the party is not present in the nominalized action of creating these special police stations; rather, PDT is present in the nominalized reaction of 'encouraging'.

6.2 THE RESULTS OF THE 2018 ELECTION

The second round of the 2018 elections took place on October 28th, and PSL's candidate, Jair Messias Bolsonaro was elected president with 55,13% of the votes, (57.797.847 valid votes). On second place, PT's candidate Fernando Haddad achieved 44,87% of the votes (47.040.906 the valid votes). Jair Messias Bolsonaro got more votes in the South, Central and Southeast states, while PT's candidate won in the Northeast and some of the North states.³⁹

Considering that the electors voted for the candidate that most represent them, the majority of the electorate showed that they share values with a far-right conservative party. However, PSL's voters are not only from the privileged classes, that is, middle-class and rich white

³⁹ Available in <https://noticias.r7.com/eleicoes-2018/bolsonaro-venceu-em-todos-estados-do-sul-sudeste-e-centro-oeste-29102018>

people (particularly men) who benefit from PSL's program. On the contrary, many of PSL's voters were women, black and working class people, exactly the ones that stand to lose rights in Bolsonaro's administration. The linguistic strategies described during data analysis have a strong influence on the population's ideologies, such as the attacks on the left, gender studies/debates and affirmative actions. According to Bourdieu (1991), ideology represents particular interests as universal interests. The dominant culture originated from these supposedly universal interests serves the dominant classes. PSL's discursive strategies strengthened the electorate's beliefs that social policies and affirmative action were benefitting certain minorities at the expense of the 'majority'. According to Fairclough (1989, p.85):

Ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to be common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities.

In this sense, Brazil is now under an administration that threatens the interests of everyone who is not part of the dominant class, that is, the middle class, the working class, the poor, in particular women, LGBT, black and indigenous people, as well as teachers, who are represented by PSL as having the power to "control" and to "indoctrinate" students. People from the left in general are also represented negatively and are persecuted by the party.

6.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study analyzed four political programs with four main frameworks, that is, the representation of social actors, the representation of social action, the systemic functional linguistic analysis and political discourse analysis. Perhaps a shorter framework for analysis could deepen some aspects of the analysis as a whole. For instance, the analysis of social action combined with political discourse analysis is a rich framework that can unveil political features in discourse. Thus, for further researches the context of Brazilian political scenario could still be analyzed, but with different frameworks, such as the one suggested above.

Since the results of analysis demonstrated a strong relation with educational system in Brazil, further researches could also think of ways

to include political discussion in the educational agendas, which is a delicate issue, considering the Brazilian background on policies and large discussions about how political discussion should not be brought up to classrooms.

6.4 FINAL REMARKS

Several proposals found in the programs involved measures related to stereotypes that surround women's lives, based on the culturally constructed image of women as responsible for housekeeping and childcare.

Except for PSL, whose single proposal directed to women was about rape, the other three parties presented proposals directed to pregnancy and infant care. Although PDT's and PT's proposals seek to help women to balance motherhood and outside jobs/careers, men are never mentioned in relation to children or family issues.

Thus, considering that political proposals are created based on what each party understands as 'social needs' (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012), it is possible to say that women are still bound to patriarchal views of private and public life. Even the fact that now women are not only mothers and wives, but also workers, is used as naturalization of their double duties, which are acknowledged only by PT and PDT in their programs.

Concerning women's representation in spaces of power, the presence of women in the political sphere is mentioned by PT and PDT, and the actions proposed to deal with this problem indicates that these two parties at least acknowledge the difficulties in changing the patriarchal conception that politics is no place for women. Their proposals indicate the need for change, but also the support needed to accomplish such change. PSDB mentions affirmative actions to black and indigenous people, but does not mention women, nor the types of affirmative actions. As for PSL, their program does not mention any measure that would help women in this sense. Quite the opposite, the data collected from their website demonstrates that the party is against any type of quotas, which includes political gender quotas.

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ANEXO

PSL's proposals

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Excerpt 1.1: OUTRO EXEMPLO DE MUDANÇA IDEOLÓGICA
Combater o ESTUPRO de mulheres e CRIANÇAS!

English translation:

Another example of ideological change: to combat the rape of women and children!

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Excerpt 1.2: Os números comprovam que o extermínio de brasileiros é realizado pelos criminosos! Para reduzir os homicídios, roubos, estupros e outros crimes: 1º Investir fortemente em equipamentos, tecnologia, inteligência e capacidade investigativa das forças policiais, 2º Prender e deixar preso! Acabar com a progressão de penas e as saídas temporárias! 3º Reduzir a maioria penal para 16 anos! 4º Reformular o Estatuto do Desarmamento para garantir o direito do cidadão à LEGÍTIMA DEFESA sua, de seus familiares, de sua propriedade e a de terceiros! 5º Policiais precisam ter certeza que, no exercício de sua atividade profissional, serão protegidos por uma retaguarda jurídica. Garantida pelo Estado, através do excludente de ilicitude.

English translation:

The numbers prove that the extermination of Brazilians is performed by criminals! In order to reduce homicides, robberies, rapes and other crimes: 1º Strongly invest on equipment, technology, intelligence and investigative capacity of the police force. 2º Arrest and keep arrested! Cease penalty progression and furloughs! 3º Reduce the legal age to 16 years old! 4º Reformulate the Statute of Disarmament in order to guarantee the citizen's right to their own self-defense, the defense of their relatives, their properties and third parties! 5º Police officers must be sure that while doing their jobs, they will be protected by legal backup. The legal backup will be guaranteed by the State, through otherwise illegal activity.

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Excerpt 1.3: SAÚDE E EDUCAÇÃO: eficiência, gestão e respeito com a vida das pessoas. Melhorar a saúde e dar um salto de qualidade na educação com ênfase na infantil, básica e técnica, sem doutrinar.

English translation: Health care and Education: efficiency, management and respect to people's lives. Improve the areas of health care and education, focusing on children's education, as well as basic and technical education, avoiding indoctrination.

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Excerpts: 1.4 combate à censura, ao constrangimento e aos desequilíbrios morais e sociais decorrentes do discurso “politicamente correto”;

1.5 combate à sexualização precoce de crianças;

1.6 combate à apologia da ideologia de gênero;

1.7 combate aos privilégios decorrentes de “quotas” que resultem na divisão do povo, seja em função de gênero, opção sexual, cor, raça, credo.

English translation:

1.4 fight against censorship, embarrassment and social and moral imbalances caused by the discourse of “political correctness”;

1.5 fight against the precocious sexualization of children;

1.6 fight against the apology of gender ideology;

1.7 fight against the privileges of quotas (gender, sex, race, religion) that might result in the division of the population.

PT's proposals

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2.0 Recriar as secretarias com status de ministério, de Direitos Humanos, Políticas para as Mulheres e Promoção da Igualdade Racial.

2.1 O governo Haddad retomará a centralidade das políticas para as mulheres, afirmando o protagonismo das mulheres no novo ciclo de desenvolvimento brasileiro, por meio de políticas que promovam a autonomia econômica das mulheres, a igualdade de oportunidades e isonomia salarial no mundo do trabalho, bem como o incentivo à produção de ciência e tecnologia pelas mulheres.

2.2 É preciso avançar na expansão dos direitos das mulheres e dos bebês, visando ampliar o valor e o tempo do seguro-desemprego para as gestantes e lactantes.

2.3 Serão retomadas e consolidadas as políticas implementadas pelos governos Lula e Dilma para o enfrentamento a todas as formas de violência contra a mulher, por meio da integração e ampliação dos serviços e medidas preventivas de proteção e de atenção, como a Casa da Mulher Brasileira, e as promovidas pelo enfrentamento ao feminicídio, e com a Lei Maria da Penha.

2.4 [O governo] Implantará também programas de valorização do parto normal, humanizado e seguro, de superação da violência obstétrica e da discriminação racial no SUS.

2.5 O governo Haddad retomará as políticas de saúde para as gestantes e de combate à mortalidade infantil, bem como apoiará fortemente os municípios para a ampliação das vagas em creche, que, além de representar um direito dos bebês e crianças, contribui para a autonomia das mulheres.

2.6 [O governo] Assegurará a titularidade prioritária às mulheres nos lotes dos assentamentos nos programas de reforma agrária.

2.7 Defenderemos também a adoção da paridade de gênero e de cotas de representatividade étnico-racial na composição das listas, para enfrentar sub-representação de mulheres, indígenas, negros e negras.

English translation:

2.0 To recreate the departments of Human Rights, Women Policies and Promotion of Racial Equality, this time as ministries.

2.1 Haddad's government will retake the centrality of women's policies, asserting women's prominence in the new cycle of the Brazilian development, through policies that promote the economic autonomy of women, the equality of opportunities and equal salaries in the labor market, as well as the incentive to the production of science and technology developed by women.

2.2 It is necessary to move forward on the expansion of women's and babies' rights, aiming to expand pregnancy and nursing leave.

2.3 the policies which were implemented during Lula and Dilma's government in order to confront all types of violence against women will be retaken and consolidated, through the integration and expansion of services and preventive measures of protection and attention, such as Casa da Mulher Brasileira, and measures produced through the fight against femicide, such as Lei Maria da Penha.

2.4 [The government] will also implement programs to encourage natural, humane and safe birth, overcoming obstetric violence and racial discrimination in the SUS.

2.5 Haddad's government will retake health policies directed to pregnant women and policies that aim at combating infant mortality. The government will also strongly support cities to expand vacancies in daycare centres, which does not only represent a right of children and babies, but is also a support to women's autonomy.

2.6 [The government] will assure priority ownership to women in land reform settlements.

2.7 We will also defend the adoption of gender parity and racial quotas of representativeness in the composition of lists, in order to combat the under representation of women, indigenous people, black men and black women.

PDT's proposals

RESPEITO ÀS MULHERES: Em um contexto de desvantagem social em diversas das dimensões de poder e direitos, entende-se que é necessária uma atenção especial às mulheres no que diz respeito ao seu papel como foco de políticas públicas. Com uma população em torno de 203 milhões de habitantes, o Brasil registra 6 milhões a mais de mulheres (51,6% do total da população, de acordo com os dados do IBGE). A presença de mulheres aumenta proporcionalmente, sobretudo nas idades mais avançadas: enquanto a esperança de vida das brasileiras é de 79,4, a dos homens é de 72,9 anos. Mais da metade (55,6%) das pessoas abaixo da linha de pobreza são mulheres sem cônjuge com filhos até 14 anos. De acordo com o IBGE, 28,2% das mulheres têm ocupações em tempo parcial (30 horas semanais), enquanto o percentual entre os homens é de 14,1%. Ao mesmo tempo, as mulheres gastam com afazeres domésticos – trabalho não remunerado – 73% de tempo a mais que os homens. Isso, mesmo em um contexto de mais anos de estudo. O rendimento médio delas equivale a $\frac{3}{4}$ do observado para os homens e somente 39% dos cargos gerenciais são ocupados por mulheres.

Um programa com foco de gênero sinaliza uma mudança de atitude frente aos processos sociais, reconhecendo que a mulheres e homens são atribuídos papéis diferentes na vida cotidiana o que, portanto, geram diferentes necessidades de ação estatal. Políticas para mulheres precisam ser pensadas tanto em um contexto de urgência por exemplo, como o aumento de acesso a creches públicas, assim como tendo em vistas efeitos de mais longo prazo como o fortalecimento de leis e programas que facilitem a inserção das mulheres nos meios produtivos. A autonomia das mulheres, e a melhoria de sua situação no que concerne ao seu status político, social, econômico e de Saúde é uma preocupação fundamental para uma sociedade com vistas ao desenvolvimento pleno. Portanto, propomos uma série de medidas orientadas às políticas de Gênero.

Em relação à institucionalização das políticas: Recriação da Secretaria das Mulheres; Restauração e incentivo da realização de conferências de mulheres a nível subnacional e nacional para facilitar o mapeamento dos problemas enfrentados, assim como o desenvolvimento colaborativo de novas políticas públicas; Garantia da aplicação efetiva da reserva de 30% das candidaturas para mulheres, estipulada pela lei de cotas; Defesa da paridade de mulheres na política; Promoção de campanhas com foco no aumento das mulheres no poder político, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Incentivo ao treinamento de mulheres candidatas, com vistas ao alcance da paridade; Atuação junto aos órgãos competentes para garantir a segurança das candidatas e eleitas.

Em relação ao mercado de trabalho: Adoção de medidas apropriadas para melhorar a capacidade das mulheres para obter renda para além das ocupações tradicionais, com vistas à autonomia econômica; Garantia de acesso igual das mulheres ao mercado de trabalho e aos sistemas de seguridade social; Aumento do número de vagas disponíveis em creches, possibilitando que as mães tenham mais tempo para se inserirem no mercado produtivo de forma plena; Fortalecimento de programas de qualificação profissional; Implementação de programas de microcrédito e treinamento de microempreendimentos com atenção às mulheres; Criação de leis e programas que ajudem a proteger as trabalhadoras informais; Garantia do cumprimento da lei no caso das trabalhadoras domésticas; Garantia do cumprimento da regra que determina a igualdade de salários de homens e mulheres quando na mesma função e mesma carga horária; Garantia do cumprimento da proibição de práticas discriminatórias por empregadores contra as mulheres, tais como as baseadas em provas de uso de contraceptivos ou gravidez; Garantia do cumprimento das regras que permitem às mulheres combinar os papéis de

gravidez, amamentação e criação dos filhos com a participação na força de trabalho.

Em relação à formação: Eliminação do uso de material de ensino e educação estereotipados, que reforçam o papel da mulher como menos apta ao mundo da produção ou mais aptas à esfera doméstica; Promoção de programas de liderança entre meninas; Ampliação de programas de incentivo para mulheres nas ciências exatas. Combate à evasão escolar de adolescentes grávidas, com focos nos estados do Norte e Nordeste, onde esses dados permanecem altos; Garantia de alfabetização para mulheres que já passaram da idade escolar tradicional; Fortalecimento de programas que combatam as desigualdades de raça/etnia, principalmente no acesso às universidades.

Em relação à saúde: Oferta de educação informativa para atenção à prevenção da gravidez com foco em jovens de ambos os sexos, direcionada ao fortalecimento dos direitos reprodutivos e informações sobre métodos contraceptivos; Garantia de condições legais e de recursos para a interrupção da gravidez quando ocorrer de forma legal, combatendo a criminalização das mulheres atendidas nos pontos de atendimento na saúde; Combate à violência obstétrica, com o fortalecimento de programas que incentivem o parto natural e a humanização do SUS.

Em relação à violência: Garantia da aplicação e meios para a efetividade da Lei Maria da Penha; Incentivo à criação de novas delegacias de atenção à mulher; Implementação de políticas públicas de proteção, apoio e atenção às mulheres com a melhoria no atendimento às mulheres em situação de violência; Fortalecimento dos programas de treinamento dos profissionais de saúde e da polícia voltados para atender mulheres vítimas de violência; Identificação e enfrentamento das violências cometidas contra as mulheres encarceradas, especialmente as grávidas.

English translation:

Respect to women: Within a context of social disadvantage in several dimensions of policies and rights, a special attention toward women is necessary, regarding their role as the main focus of public policies. With a population of around 203 million people, 51,6% of Brazilians are women, according to data from IBGE. The presence of women increases proportionally, mostly in more advanced ages: while the life expectancy of Brazilian women is 79,4 years old, men's is 72,9 years old. More than half (55,6%) of the population under the poverty line are single women with children up to 14 years old. According to IBGE, 28,2% of women

have part time occupations (30 hours a week), while that percentage among men is 14,1%. At the same time, women spend 73% more of their time than men with household tasks, which is unpaid work, even in contexts of more years of study. Women's average income amounts to three quarters of men's income, and only 39% of management positions are held by women.

A program with focus on gender represents a change of attitude towards social processes, acknowledging that women and men have different roles in daily life, which demands different forms of state action. Women's policies need to be devised in a context of urgency, such as the increase of places in public daycare centres, as well as in long term contexts, such as the strengthening of laws and programs that facilitate the insertion of women in productive areas. Women's autonomy, and the improvement of their situation regarding their political, social and economical status, as well as matters related to health care, are fundamental concerns to a society that aims at full development. Thus, we propose a series of measures directed to gender policies.

In relation to the institutionalization of policies: Recreation of the Secretary of State for Women; Restoration and incentive to the realization of women's conferences at subnational and national levels, in order to facilitate the mapping of problems, as well as the collaborative development of new public policies; Guarantee of the effective application of the 30% reservation of political candidacies for women, stipulated by the gender quotas law; Defense of women's parity in politics; Promotion of campaigns with focus on increasing the number of women in political power, aiming at parity; Incentive to the training of women candidates, aiming at parity; Acting together with the proper agencies to guarantee the safety of women candidates and female politicians.

In relation to labor market: Adoption of appropriate measures to improve women's capacity to obtain income beyond the traditional occupations, aiming at their economic autonomy; Guarantee of equal access of women to the labor market and the systems of social security; Increase in the numbers of vacancies available in daycare centres, enabling mothers to have more time to participate in the productive market; Strengthening of professional qualification programs; Implementation of microcredit programs and training of microenterprises, with attention to women; Creation of laws and programs that help protect female informal workers; Guarantee of the effectiveness of the female domestic workers law; Guarantee of equal payment for women and men with the same occupation and same working hours; Guarantee of the prohibition of

discriminatory practices by employers against women, such as the demand of proof of use of contraceptives or pregnancy test; Guarantee of the effectiveness of the rules that allow women to combine the roles of pregnancy, nursing and raising children with the participation in the workforce.

In relation to educational background: Elimination of stereotyped teaching materials that reinforce the role of women as not competent enough to the world of production or more competent to the domestic sphere; Promotion of programs of leadership among girls; Expansion of programs of incentive for women in the hard sciences. Fight against the school evasion of pregnant adolescents, with a focus on the states of the North and Northeast regions, where these numbers are higher; Guarantee of literacy to women above the traditional school age; Strengthening of programs that fight racial/ethnic inequalities, mainly in terms of access to university.

In relation to health care: Offer of informative education on pregnancy prevention, with a focus on young people of both sexes, directed at strengthening reproductive rights and information on contraceptive methods; Guarantee of legal conditions and resources for the interruption of pregnancy when legally possible, fighting the criminalization of women in health centers; Combat of obstetric violence, strengthening programs that encourage natural birth and the humanization of SUS⁴⁰.

In relation to violence: Guarantee of the application and measures to the effectiveness of Lei Maria da Penha; Incentive to the creation of new police departments to attend women; Implementation of public policies of protection, support and attention to women, improving the support offered to women exposed to violence; Strengthening of training programs directed to health and police professionals that attend women victims of violence; Identification and confronting of violences committed against incarcerated women, especially pregnant women.

PSDB's proposals

A redução das desigualdades sociais exigirá um sério comprometimento do governo, para melhorar a qualidade da educação, ampliar o acesso à saúde, combater a violência e promover o respeito às mulheres, idosos e minorias.

⁴⁰ Sistema Único de Saúde, is the system of public health care in Brazil, regulated by the law http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L8080.htm

4.0 Vamos estabelecer um pacto nacional para a redução de violência contra idosos, mulheres e LGBTI e incentivar a criação de redes não-governamentais de apoio ao atendimento de vítimas de violência racial e contra tráfico sexual e de crianças.

4.1 Vamos fomentar ações voltadas à prevenção da gravidez precoce, adotando estratégias educativas de sensibilização de adolescentes e apoio integral no caso de gestação.

4.2 Atuaremos na prevenção primária e secundária ao crime nas áreas mais violentas do país, com atenção especial aos jovens, que são sua maior vítima.

4.3 Adotaremos políticas afirmativas para as populações negra e indígena, garantindo a igualdade de oportunidades.

English translation:

The reduction of social inequalities will demand a serious commitment from the government, with the objective of improving education, expanding health services, fighting violence and promoting the respect of women, elderly people and minorities.

4.0 We will establish a national pact to reduce violence against elderly people, women and LGBTI people, and encourage the creation of non-governmental networks of support to the services directed to victims of racial violence and against sex trafficking and trafficking of children.

4.1 We will foster actions directed to the prevention of early pregnancy, adopting educative strategies of raising awareness among adolescents, and full support in case of pregnancy.

4.2 We will work on primary and secondary crime prevention in the most violent areas in the country, with special attention to young people, who are the main victims of crime.

4.3 We will adopt affirmative actions directed at the black and indigenous population, assuring the equality of opportunities.

APÊNDICE

PSL's program

https://flaviobolsonaro.com/PLANO_DE_GOVERNO_JAIR_BOLSONARO_2018.pdf

PT's program

https://pt.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/plano-de-governo_haddad-13_capas.pdf

PDT's program

https://static.poder360.com.br/2018/08/1533945439_ciro-gomes-proposta-governo.pdf

PSDB's program

<https://static.poder360.com.br/2018/08/programa-de-governo-geraldo-alckmin-2018.pdf>

*The online version of this thesis contains the full programs available in the appendix.