

## Chapter 2

### Methodological Procedures

In this chapter I introduce two distinct methodologies to analyse electoral competitions in Brazil presenting evidence of convergence between its political ideologies. The first methodology concentrates on what I have called *mimetic convergence* between political parties. It helps describing the construction of party ideologies during long-term party competitions on television, from a dynamic perspective, showing the contingent logic observed in electoral campaigns by focusing on repetition and innovation of themes sustained throughout. This method tests the hypothesis that convergence between party rhetoric strategies blur ideological distinctions.

The second methodology aims to highlight the presence of different discursive forms systematising a comparative analysis between and analysing rhetoric strategies in party electoral broadcasts and manifestos. To develop this analysis I created a dictionary with categories designating these three discursive forms as: *institutionalising primary* discourse, composed by the denotative articulations; *mobilising secondary* discourse, constituted by connotative articulations; and finally *antagonistic*, or *tertiary* discourse, taken as a subversive rhetoric. Through the use of this dictionary I present evidence that the electronic media intensifies aspects of social differences hindering the emergence and expansion of new antagonisms.

#### Section 1

##### **The First Methodology:**

##### **Content Analysis and Mimetic Convergence applied to the 1989 Presidential Elections**

The group of documents submitted to the analytic process of *mimetic convergence* corresponds to a total of 25 days of party electoral broadcasts aired by national television during the start of the 1989 Brazilian presidential elections. Party broadcasts were selected according to criteria of proximity to the publication of public opinion polls on vote intention realised by the research institutes IBOPE, DATAFOLHA and GALLUP. This means that from the 59 days of HGPE, I have analysed seven sequences of three to four days of political propaganda aired after the

publication of the polls. Consonant with reducing the universe of analysis from 59 to 25 days of party broadcasts, I have also selected only the most competitive or significant political parties at the time. These parties were PT, PCB, PDT, PSDB, PMDB, PFL, PL, PDS and PSD.

### **Method of thematic analysis**

#### **Codification**

Before proceeding with the analysis of *mimetic convergence* of political parties around specific themes, I had to perform a content analysis of party broadcasts in order to list the themes each party had stressed throughout the television electoral campaign. Firstly, all of the 25 days of party electoral broadcasts were recorded on video-tape and transcribed to Database that categorised the content into ten general domains with 66 thematic variables. The codification of party broadcasts consisted of three main observations: choice of units of signification, choice of quantifying rules and classification followed by aggregation of categories.

#### **The Theme as Unit of Context**

The unit of signification codified in my data bank is the *theme*, which consists of any utterance on a particular subject in a phrase, paragraph or period. It is therefore a unit of complex signification and variable extension, the validity of which is not from a linguistic order but from a discursive or politico-analytic order. As selective units, *themes* correspond to rules according to which I have framed meaning and not form. They are an intersection of units such as words, images, sound, scenarios and personages involved.

#### **The Paragraph as Unit of Registration**

The *paragraph* is the segment of electoral propaganda that works as unit of cognition, and it is to this that I have attributed thematic codes to the identification and comparison between party broadcasts. A *paragraph* corresponds here to a scene or segment of a televised message, whose dimensions are adequate for the exact understanding of themes. Paragraphs recorded as units, are operational, since, because of their limited extension, they can be transcribed to index-cards in a

database to be summed up or compared with other paragraphs. The same theme can appear in a sequence of paragraphs, depending on the time each candidate used to address a specific question

Time to communicate an idea is not the only indicator of the importance attributed to a certain theme. Facial expression, gesticulation and tone of voice are considered to be powerful weapons and maybe the only ones that instil emotion in the viewer. For this reason, when analysing paragraphs as utterances, I have observed their relevance not only in terms of extension but also in terms of intensity. This relevance varies from 001 (strong thematic emphasis) to 003 (weak thematic emphasis) the relevance of issues being registered through intuitive perception of communicative emphasis and the time spent on a theme, providing the extension of utterances.

In my analysis of thematic convergence, time dimension is not relevant. What matters is the consecutive *presence* of a given issue that is strongly emphasised in electoral broadcasts by two candidates. In this specific case, thematic relevance is derived through the intuition of the communicative emphasis of candidates speaking about a specific matter.

### **The Database**

I have transcribed the content of 25 days of HGPE to a Database, DBASE III PLUS, composed of 4,239 index-cards in which were registered the text and other features of party broadcasts. Descriptions included what candidates said, texts in off, external reports, interviews, *jingles*, vignettes and also the description of images. The data bank was organised to enable:

- 1) The equalising of time allowed to each party on TV;
- 2) A comparison between percentage of time used by candidates to address each theme;
- 3) The acknowledgement that the emphasis given to each theme can be independent from time
- 4) The observation of convergence between issues mentioned by candidates.

According to these observations, each paragraph was transcribed to an index-card, with the following items:

**Candidate:**

Day of the electoral propaganda: (1 to 59)

TPROSEG: time allowed to the present party broadcast in seconds.

TPERCENT: percentage of time of the present paragraph.

ORDEMPARAG: order of the paragraph in the party broadcast.

RELEVPARAG: relevance of the paragraph varying from 001) high emphasis to 003) low emphasis.

TIPOSEGM: type of segment used to transmit the message, varying from: discourse of the candidate in the studio, rally, street report, interviews with the people, vignette, musical *clip*, interview with authorities supporting the candidacy, narration in off covered edition of images, and so on.

VARIABLE: code corresponding to the thematic variable being addressed in the paragraph.

TEXT: transcription of the discourse, narration, lyric or interview in the present paragraph.

OBJECTIVE: message's target, which can vary into: AP (self-promotion), T (thematic discourse, opinion), P (government programme or platform), and B (*slogan* or catch-phrase which is repeated throughout the programme).

IMAGE: description of images on the screen during the correspondent paragraph being described.

DOMAIN: number of the thematic dimension in which the variable is inserted, varying into: 1- Government: attack; 2- Nature of the Political Regime; 4- Economy ; 5- Welfare and Quality of Life; 6- Social Order; 7- Social Groups; 8- Model of Development; 10- Self-Promotion; 30- Relational; 50- Polls.

PHASE: number of the phase, in which the party broadcast is inserted, varying from 1<sup>st</sup> phase to 7<sup>th</sup> phase.

For example:

**CANDIDATE: Maluf (PDS)**

DAY: 53.

TPROGSEG:300.

TPERCENT: 6.7%.

ORDEMPROG: 1.

TPARAGSEG: 20.

ORDEMPARAG: 2.

RELEVPARAG: 002.

TIPOSEGM: Edition of Images / Narration *off*.

VARIABLE: 0401 (Economy: Articulation with Politics- Attack against Communism).

TEXT: (National Flag Hymn) (Narrator / *Off*): "Some people are willing to exterminate the green of our flag. Yes, exterminate the green and also the blue and the yellow. They want to destroy our country, our values, our free and pacific society."

OBJECTIVE: Thematic.

IMAGE: Brazilian flag is transformed into a Communist flag.

DOMAIN: 04.

PHASE: 6.

### **Categorisation**

The original version of the coding frame I have used was first developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75). This coding was created for a comparison of modes of party competition between British and American parties. It was developed further in 1979 by the 'Manifesto Research Group' aimed at a comparative content-analytic approach to the policy positions of political parties. This classification scheme is introduced at the end of this section.

### **The Method of Mimetic Convergence**

*Mimetic convergence* is a methodology that helps describe the construction of party identities during long-term party competitions on television from a dynamic perspective, governed by the logic of the contingent. This method aims to capture the contingent logic observed in electoral campaigns by focusing on the repetition and innovation of themes sustained in party broadcasts, which opposes a sociological approach to party systems according to which the understanding of the dynamics of electoral competitions should be directly related to a pre-given divergence between fixed party identities. According to a sociological perspective, each party should offer a pack of programmes, compromises and world-views that are crystallised throughout its history, characterising a polarised or divergent competition. According to the post-structuralist perspective, the party identities, the Real, cannot speak without mediations, because there is not a natural centre fixing the meaning of a party structure, it rather depends on ad-hoc articulations. There is no empirical reality outside articulations of meaning. Reality is a result of power struggles that unify ideas of social structure as a result of contingent interventions. In Brazil, these contingent interventions have proven to be mimetic and convergent rather than divergent and polarised, being integral to the repetition of dichotomised world-views.

*Mimetic convergence* aims to show the process of fixation of meaning through discursive articulations that repeat, alter and subvert political issues that come into play. For this reason,

parties are not taken as the pure expression of conflicts for the representation of interests of different classes, religious groups, ethnic groups, regions (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Lijphart, 1984) but as attempts to recompose and re-articulate ideas of an absent totality around *empty signifiers*, gaining positivity. This methodology is able to capture the 'logic of the contingent' dominating the political field, enabling an analysis of the constitution of party identities from the theoretical perspective of *deconstruction* and *theory of hegemony*.

The hypothesis of *mimetic convergence* supports the Downsian interpretation<sup>1</sup> that, in general, party and rational voters converge in the direction of uniform positions in most thematic dimensions. The concept of *issue* is understood here as *questions of position* following Downs' definition of *policies* for every substantive issue. *Issues* are a function of the contextual situation in every election and are therefore considered to be relevant for candidates and voters who intend to guarantee the maximum advantage. In the majority of cases, candidates and voters hold intermediate solutions close to the politico-ideological centre. My concept of *issue* is not synonymous with 'dimension' as in the work of Donald Stokes (1963) who argues that electoral conflict occurs around substantive questions and not around *policies* that vary in a unique left/right dimension. In Stokes' terms, each question corresponds to a specific and independent dimension. Apart from *substantive issues* there are also *questions of valence*. The latter are relative to the attachment of parties to a positive or negative position as evaluated a priori by the electorate. The dichotomy between *questions of position* and *questions of valence* has been considered as irrelevant by Budge and Farlie (1983) since all questions are already *questions of valence*, being traditionally owned by one party. I disagree with this view if applied to electoral competition on

<sup>1</sup> Downs' spatial model has, nevertheless, been criticised by Robertson (1976) in his analysis of the American and the English two-party systems. The author shows evidences that during fifty years of English elections and fifty two in the US, the average of references between the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in Britain, and between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party in the US, convergence was very low. It corresponded to only 6.5% of total emphases on issues, varying from 0% to 26%. Robertson (1976) has also proved that even in two-party systems, a selective emphasis on issues that are traditionally 'owned' by certain parties could lead them to very differentiated positions. In my view this is true only in relation to explicit references but it is not only by means of explicit references that parties construct mutual interpellation. For this reason, in my analysis of thematic convergence in the 1989 electoral campaign in Brazil, I did not reduce convergence exclusively to explicit references between candidates. I have created a method that takes into consideration implicit reference between electoral discourses, in respect to substantive issues.

television, as media interference seems to open all positions to every party. According to Budge and Farlie, only questions of position would be the *contingent* or *erratic questions* related with government performance, personal evaluation of candidates and the management of external relations. These issues would correspond to an erratic support by the electorate and an equally erratic evaluation by candidates for the simple reason that they are not be owned by only one party. Moreover, the emphasis on *erratic issues* would not be associated with a defined direction of change, as in my view the erratic condition of issues applies to all questions.

### **Mimetic Convergence and the interference of Public Opinion Polls as a working hypothesis**

The hypothesis guiding my analysis of *mimetic convergence* between party political broadcasts, is that during the 1989 presidential competition, public opinion polls on vote intention, published on TV 25 times throughout the campaign, contributed to successive revisions of candidates' discourses. I contend that this was due to the signal sent by voters. I have also considered the interference of other kinds of input on electoral propaganda such as internal and external political crises and the arbitrary interference of private interests on the dispute. Moments of internal crises in disputes between candidates resulted from the 'exhaustion' of a certain strategy. These moments of "exhaustion" consequently precipitated an "inversion in the thematic flux".

The hypothesis of my research on *mimetic convergence* is that public opinion polls exert a decisive influence on the "inversion of the thematic flux" and has led to the development of my methodology.

### **Public Opinion and the Organisation of Empirical Data**

Using the working hypothesis described above, I based my data on the 1989 elections consisting of 59 hours of party broadcasts aired from 15th September-12th November. From this total I have analysed only those broadcasts that preceded and followed the publication of polls, restricting my empirical investigation to 26 hours of party broadcasts, therefore analysing 44 percent of all cases. The cutting was not based on statistic reasons but was performed analytically

as a function of my interpretative hypothesis: candidates undergo mutual influence which is a function of their success on vote intention polls. In other words, the most successful in the polls tend to dictate the rules of the game.

In this sense even if the analysed data presents more than five thousand cases, since these compose not a sample but the result of a hypothesis, I cannot deduce generic conclusions from my analysis of electoral discourses. If percentage of mimetic convergence is high, and my hypothesis proves to be strong, we can conclude that, at least from the point of view of the hypothesis, the number analysed was reasonable. Even so, some could argue that the unconsidered intermediate days, could have been decisive to a change in the interpretation of the influence exerted by candidates. From all points of view and dimensions the data cannot therefore be taken as a totality, but as a selection organised by an interpretative hypothesis without the intention of giving an account of the electoral campaign in all its extension.

The hypothesis that the IBOPE, DATAFOLHA AND GALLUP polls interfered with party behaviour led me to take them as analytic references. It is known that the results presented by different institutes are not always coincident due to the methods by which they conduct their surveys, therefore, their results are not always coherent, creating some difficulties in analysing the interference of pools on the 'game' between candidates.

As the differences between pools' results sometimes attain more than double the figures, I have considered data from a third Research Institute to analyse the disparity between such information in more depth. I have also compared researches realised in similar periods, checking the oscillations between pools taking into account the Institutes over time and comparing the different results over the same period.

#### **Free Electoral Time on TV and Analytic Phases: Pools interference on the Party Electoral Broadcasts**

To analyse the evolution of issues such as 'self-promotion', 'mutual attack' and overall the convergence on substantive themes and government platforms, I have drawn the following division

of the HGPE on TV using four analytic phases. The 1<sup>st</sup> Analytic Phase covers days 1 to 5 of the campaign, the 2<sup>nd</sup> from days 15 to 17, the 3<sup>rd</sup> covers days 20 to 25 and finally the 4<sup>th</sup> Analytic Phase covers the party electoral broadcasts from days 28 to 32 of the television campaign. All dates are inclusive stating from 15/09/89 to 16/10/89.

The strongest variation on voting intentions in the 1989 campaign was by Collor de Mello who started the HGPE at his maximum limit of popularity. According to IBOPE, during 59 days of television exposition, the PRN candidate lost 19 percent of the vote. The candidate, Lula, secured most votes throughout the whole period when party electoral broadcasts were aired in national network obtaining plus 9 points during his 59 days on television, Afif (PL) being the second candidate to also win more votes with an increase of 5 percent.

### **Mimetic Convergence and its Descriptive Categories**

In order to describe the dynamic selection of issues by candidates throughout party broadcasts, I have created a series of categories through which I quantify the influence of the discourses of all candidates in the same group to verify which discourses were the most 'copied' throughout the television campaign. My objective was to discover if the selection of issues was motivated by the repetition of discourses already accepted by voters and confirmed through the opinion polls. The analysis of tendencies on party discourses enabled the phase-by-phase monitoring of strategic movements by candidates in relation to themes that were traditionally related to them and their parties.

#### **The Mimetic Convergence**

This is a central category for my analysis, since it refers to the percentage of common themes mentioned by two candidates, considering that one is repeating or 'copying' the issues stressed by the other in previous phases. Mimetic percentage convergence 'type 1' is a short-term repetition in the immediately subsequent phase after the issue in question was selected by the first candidate that supposedly exerts influence on the other who repeats it. The percentage of mimetic

convergence 'type 2' refers to a repetition of issues in a two-phase gap. The percentage of mimetic convergence 'type 3' refers to a three-phase gap after the first mention of an issue by a reference candidate. The same is applied until mimetic convergence 'type 6' that refers to a very long-term repetition in the last analytic phase of the campaign. It is important to highlight that when one candidate 'repeats' a thematic selection of other candidate there is no proof of intention that he or she is 'copying' the discourse of reference in A previous phase.

Take for example Table A below, where we have themes mentioned by Collor and Brizola, with maximum relevance, throughout the seven phases of the HGPE (1)

**Table A**

Candidate	1 <sup>st</sup> phase	2 <sup>nd</sup> phase	3 <sup>rd</sup> phase	4 <sup>th</sup> phase	5 <sup>th</sup> phase	6 <sup>th</sup> phase	7 <sup>th</sup> phase
Themes mentioned by Collor, with emphasis 001, in the HGPE* (Candidate A)	0101	0207	0203	0106	0401	0602	0101
	0105	0602	0508	0401	0405	0104	0104
	0107		0509	0410	0406	0101	0509
	0602		0510	0713	0410	0105	
			0602		0500	0106	
			0706		0508	0406	
					0509	0410	
					0701	0509	
						0709	
Themes mentioned by Brizola, with emphasis 001, in the HGPE (Candidate B)	0105	0510	0101	0405	0510	0105	0105
	0106	0710	0201	0601	0701	0201	0201
	0201		0410	0605	0710	0409	0406
	0405		0501	0701		0601	0601
	0601		0509	0704			
			0510	0713			
			0601				
			0605				
			0713				

Source: Data Bank- DBase II Plus - Teseficm. dbf (F.Carvalho, 1994)

\*In my Data Bank I have also classified candidates' discourses not only by theme but also by intensity that varied from 001 (very emphatic) to 003 (not emphatic). In order to provide an analysis of the most significant moments of the campaign I have selected in my analysis only discourses with high emphasis.

The percentage of mimetic convergence of Collor in relation to Brizola is calculated in the following way:

Percentage of mimetic convergence = Type 1	Number of themes (of relevance 001) in common em between Candidate A in phase X+1 and Candidate B in phase X + Number of themes (of relevance 001) mentioned by Candidate A in phase (X+1)
Percentage of mimetic convergence = Type 2	Number of themes (of relevance 001) in common between Candidate A in phase (X +2 ) and Candidate B in phase X + Number of issues (of relevance 001) mentioned by Candidate A in phase (X+2)

To analyse the influence of candidate Brizola's (PDT) phase 2 on Collor's (PRN) phase 3 (see Table A), we verify firstly that questions mentioned by Brizola in the 2nd phase were:

- theme 0510 (Welfare and Quality of Life – Agrarian Reform: positive/ Expropriation, intermediate solutions keeping respect to private property, penalisation of unproductive lands through taxation, support to landless groups), and
- theme 0710 (Social Groups – Non-privileged minorities not defined in economic terms).

Secondly, we verify questions mentioned by Collor in the 3rd phase:

- theme 0203 (Nature of Political Regime – Democracy and Constitution);
- theme 0508 (Welfare and Quality of life – supply and production of food);
- theme 0509 (Welfare and Quality of Life – social justice);
- theme 0510 (Welfare and Quality of Life – Agrarian Reform/positive);
- theme 0602 (Social Order – Morality of Customs and Public Behaviour);
- theme 0706 (Social Groups – Small and Medium Farmers / Defence of the social function of small and medium rural properties).

Comparing the variables mentioned by Brizola in the 2nd phase with themes emphasised by Collor in his 3rd phase, we find only one common theme in both party broadcasts that is the variable 0510 (Welfare and Quality of Life – Agrarian Reform/ positive). This number (1) will be divided by the number of questions mentioned by Collor in his 3rd phase, which was 6. The result of this division is 0.166 or 16.6 percent, the number that corresponds to the percentage of mimetic convergence

'type 1' - 2/3, of Collor in relation to Brizola, considering only maximum relevance themes.

The calculation of the percentage of mimetic convergence considers only the presence of issues and the intensity with which they are mentioned. It disregards the percentage of time donated to each issue. The frequency of issues mentioned is necessary to enable a comparison between party broadcasts holding heterogeneous air-time, and to also indicate the weight of certain questions in the HGPE. To eliminate the time dimension from my calculations, I have selected only the most relevant issues, and the equalisation between party broadcasts with different duration was solved through the weighting. I have divided the number of convergent themes between the candidates being compared, by the number of relevant themes mentioned by the candidate who is apparently 'copying' the discourse of the other in a previous phase. The importance of this division is if a candidate has a longer party broadcast, he or she can emphasise more issues and thus the percentage of thematic convergence with the other candidate must be weighted by the total number of issues emphasised by both.

#### **Percentage of real convergence / Percentage of artificial convergence**

When calculating the percentage of mimetic convergence, it is notable that the same issues common to both candidates repeat several times throughout several phases. In these cases we cannot confirm with certainty if the candidate was in fact copying another or their own programmes in previous phases. This problem led me to create the descriptive categories "percentage of real mimetic convergence" and "percentage of artificial mimetic convergence".

The decomposition of "percentage of mimetic convergence" into real and artificial enables a clear identification of thematic re-alignments between candidates since it highlights only the first mention of a common theme. The difference between real and artificial modalities of convergence is helpful to differentiate candidates who dictate the greatest number of thematic changes from those who simply present packages of the most mentioned questions in the campaign.

### Calculating Co-occurrence

To indicate the relation between the percentage of mimetic convergence between candidate "1" and candidate reference "C", we verify, firstly, the number of themes that are common to candidate "1" (in phase  $F+1$ ) and candidate "C" (in phase  $F$ ). This number must be weighed up, i.e., it must be divided by the number of themes mentioned by candidate "1" in phase ( $F+1$ ). The result is adjusted to base 100, corresponding to a percentage of mimetic convergence *Type* that measures convergence between contiguous phases.

To verify convergence in the middle and long term, I calculate percentage of mimetic convergence Type 2, Type 3, Type 4, Type 5 and Type 6, by comparing reference phase  $F$  with phases  $F+2$ ,  $F+3$ ,  $F+4$ ,  $F+5$  and  $F+6$ . Through this operation I find the *percentage of real mimetic convergence*, with which I work since the *percentage of artificial mimetic convergence* is not taken into consideration in my analysis. The difference between *real* and *artificial* convergence is that the former takes into account only the first mention of a theme in common with another candidate. It does not consider the repetition of this same issue in subsequent phases whilst the latter takes into account all thematic convergence that includes that of candidates with their own discourse in previous phases.

### Matrix of Co-occurrence or Contingence

The matrix of thematic coincidence between candidates is built in the following way:-

The average of *artificial* convergence of all candidates with candidate C in Phase  $F$  = percentage of artificial convergence divided by 9.

The average of *real* convergence of all candidates with candidate C in phase  $F$  = percentage of real convergence divided by 9.

<b>Percentage of Mimetic Convergence real/artificial. Influence of Candidate C with reference to issues in Phase F: A, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j</b>	<b>Phase F + 1 Convergence Type 1</b> Phase F/ Phase F+1 Influence of Phase F of candidate C On Phase F+1 Of other candidates	<b>Phase F + 2 Convergence Type 2</b> Phase F/Phase F+2 Influence of Phase F of candidate C On phase F+2 Of other candidates	<b>Phase F + N Convergence Type N</b> Phase F/Phase F+N Influence of Phases F of candidate C On phase F+N of other candidates
Candidate 1	Number of themes mentioned in common between candidate C in phase F and candidate 1 in phase F+1; Divided by number of themes mentioned by candidate 1 in phase F+1 = PMC% themes a/b/c Real = PMCR% themes a/b Artificial = PMCA% theme c	Number of themes mentioned in common between candidate C in phase F and candidate 1 in phase F+2; Divided by number of themes mentioned by candidate 1 in phase F+2 = PMC% themes a/e/f Real = PMCR% themes e/f Artificial = PMCA% theme a	Number of themes mentioned in common between candidate C in Phases F and candidate 1 in Phases F+N; Divided by number of themes mentioned by candidate 1 in phases F+ N = PMC% themes a/b/c Real = PMCR% Themes a/ b/c Artificial = PMCA% theme a
Candidate 2			
Candidate 3			
Candidate n			

Using this matrix and taking as reference the group of issues emphasised by ten candidates in the 1989 Brazilian presidential campaign, I present evidence in chapter 6 of the dynamics of mimetic convergence between party electoral broadcasts and the blurring of ideological differences promoted by the mass media.

## Section 2

### **The Second Methodology:**

#### **A Comparative Analysis of Discursive Strategies in the 1989 and 1994 Presidential Elections in Brazil**

In order to compare the 1989 and 1994 presidential campaigns using the computational programme TEXTPACK, I have applied a different methodology to enable the content analysis of a large volume of text. For the sake of this empirical analysis of the strategies of political communication used in these elections I have created a dictionary of rhetorical articulations classified under three broad categories of narrative structures: *primary*, *secondary* and *tertiary* discourse (Guha, 1988: 47).<sup>2</sup> The latter categories are meant to capture evidence that the electronic media weaken the possibilities of drawing clear-cut *frontiers* in Brazil, dissimulating ideological *connotations* in political messages. Through its meaningful articulations and emphasis on subjective relations,<sup>3</sup> television expands the political, the creative articulations, thus widening its own aesthetic hegemony.

A *primary discourse* performs the function of reporting; intending to be neutral, *indicative* and without exception official in character and seems noticeable by its sheer physical presence that is affected by immediacy carrying low levels of *indices*. It assumes several forms, yet it is mainly used for information, its production and circulation are contingent on the reasons of a dominant

<sup>2</sup> These narrative structures make no reference to Freud's primary and secondary psychic processes. This is not to say that they cannot be associated in some ways. See R. Guha (1988) 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency' in Selected Subaltern Studies.

<sup>3</sup> Such paradigmatic relations which are generally centred around *dramatis personae* link together subject/object, donor/receiver, helper/opponent explaining what Roland Barthes (1977:93) calls the *functionality of being* which involves metaphoric operations, in opposition to a *functionality of doing* involving metonymic relations. See Barthes, Image, Music, Text, (London, Fontana Press, 1977)

power.<sup>4</sup> The sequence of narrative in primary *discourse* follows a concatenation of verbs or functional units that are dissociative in their operation. Television news, for instance, emphasises the analytic rather than synthetic aspect of discourse and there is some evidence for this in the predominance of verbs over adjectives. In order to link the problem of the *primary discourse* with the theoretical frame I am working in, I would say that the syntagmatic concatenations characterising the *primary discourse* are largely based on repetition or *iterability* in Derrida's terms. It produces the illusion of presence giving rise to an essentialistic interpretation of the context, which also defines the dynamics of *authoritarian discourse*<sup>5</sup> of television.

The *paradigmatic* dimension of language, which characterises the *secondary discourse*, is the domain of creativity and polysemy. The *secondary discourse*, mainly paradigmatic, is subjective, pervaded by comments, partial and *interpretative* aspects that displace signifiers, giving them new uses and meaning. Comments by the author of a *secondary discourse* disrupt the syntagm or logical concatenation, helping him to superimpose a temporality of his own, the so-called authorial time. In grammatical terms, the *secondary discourse* includes the presence of the first person and the operation of the past tense, therefore excluding the present and usually corrects the bias caused by the absence of the third person. In this way the *secondary discourse* breaks the syntagm and turns events taken from its raw material, the *primary discourse*, into history and transforms the *primary* whilst processing its information. Any difference between both is therefore a function of time and the position of the narrator, who in the *secondary discourse* is *outside* the event, explaining it.<sup>6</sup> Personal views permeating the *secondary discourse* give rise to a cultivation of moral values that merge with temporal aspects of the narrative.

A sensation of depth generally accompanies the statement of values set up in a secondary type of discourse, resulting from the production of myth populating an imaginary or remote past.

<sup>4</sup> A good example of *primary discourse* in television language is given by the news, which supposedly constitutes an immediate account of events.

<sup>5</sup> I mean *Authoritarian discourse* in the terms of Maria Tereza Fraga Rocco (1989).

<sup>6</sup> Primary and secondary discourses are often found embedded in each other as a matter of necessity. Proof of this is in the news bulletins mentioned above which includes reports and interpretation which is mainly contained in the images. As television journalism pretends to be impartial, text is not carried with much interpretation. For the sake of my argument, however, I consider the news as predominantly a primary discourse.

The *logic of hegemony* operates through the same ascendancy to interpret the world as the *secondary discourse* does. This will shortly be explored further, but for the moment, it is important to note that it is the distension and expansion of the *primary* syntagmatic chains (and this is the main work the mass media does) that enables paradigmatic elements to permeate it. The latter reassemble discursive segments into a meaningful and hegemonic whole. To understand the displacement that is operated by the *secondary discourse*, one has to focus on the substitution for the literal term by another term. This is motivated (resembling the operation of *displacement* in the Unconscious process, as described by Freud) and diverts a literal term from its use and meaning, enabling them to receive new ones. The action of *displacement* is the source of all figures of words taken outside their signification. If we concentrate on the semiotic dimension of television, this obeys a paradigmatic dynamic concerning the metaphoric connection between textual and visual. Metaphor is the figure that founds the structure of the context. It is the instrument of construction and change of meaning insofar as it also implies a shift from the 'denotative' (intellectual) meaning to the 'connotative' (affective), rendering all things sensory through condensed analogies.

The *tertiary discourse*, generally present in the *antagonistic* speech, is distanced from events that are explored as its theme and always looks at them in the third person. As Guha (1988:72) notes, the discourse of the left 'is particularly important as perhaps the most influential and prolific of all the many varieties of the tertiary discourse'. Taking the Brazilian case, the Worker's Party adopts the peoples' and the workers' point of view and regards the world with them against the establishment. For this reason, it shows a strong similarity with the *secondary discourse* formulated by the elite, by trying to interpret events according to its subjective view. Yet, the discursive field does not present conditions of possibility so that a *tertiary discourse* can interpret raw events for society as a whole. A tertiary position cannot create history in Brazil insofar as the hegemonic task of formulating a *primary discourse* is already taken by mass communication's monopoly, controlled by adversarial groups.

The purpose of the *tertiary discourse* in the Brazilian case is to retrieve the people's history from the continuum that is designed by an elitist mass media, arranging it along the alternative axis

of a campaign for radical democracy and social justice. As Guha (1988) points out, the dilemma confronted by the *tertiary discourse* includes a *distortion* derived from the mediation of the author who stands for the people, speaking on their behalf. This *distortion* is a function of the gap between event-time and discourse-time which makes the verbal representation of the past less expressive.<sup>7</sup>

I must point out that the *primary*, *secondary* and *tertiary* rhetorical strategies are inseparable in concrete discourses since while the *primary* rhetoric produces an illusion of truth that consolidates a system of differences, the *secondary* rhetoric advances an equivalential logic that reorganises discourse around nodal points or empty signifiers. Lastly, the *tertiary* strategy consists of the use of antagonistic terms by excluded actors aiming at disrupting the *primary* discursive system of differences by denying it. However, as the *antagonistic* identity is always the *constitutive outside* of hegemonic discursive constructions, it is forged by a *secondary* discourse that constitutes the limits of discourse in relation to the threatening outside. Thus, the *tertiary* rhetoric is not efficient in disrupting established discursive constructions. Notwithstanding these interrelations between the three discursive strategies, in order to accomplish a quantitative analysis of concrete discourses, I felt that a very schematic observation of political proclamations was best, since it could be further developed in a subsequent qualitative analysis.

### The Empirical Analysis

My analysis concentrates on the different processes of fixation of meaning in party broadcasts as opposed to processes of fixation in their manifestos. I aim to show how persuasive techniques of mass communication are contaminating political party programmes and consequently affecting the political system. My assumption is that television discursive forms attenuate

<sup>7</sup> One might argue that in the case of the Workers Party, its candidate in both 1989 and 1994 elections was a genuine worker and thus stood as an equal to the people he intended to represent. However, the question here is that the mass media also 'stands' for the people. TV Globo, for instance, formulates its discourse as the voice of the people, produces programmes which reflect the people "exactly" as they are and it is successful in this task. Conversely, the Workers Party candidate tried to represent the people in a biased way - as miserable, poor, hungry, in order to make clear the urgency for a change and this has perhaps contributed to a further distortion of the representation of events.

differences between those affecting political ideologies<sup>8</sup> and transforming party platforms by means of the privilege it gives to conciliatory strategies as a means of obtaining the audiences' adherence. I pay close attention to the ways in which denotative discourse fixates meaning by reinforcing the feeling of *presence* and also draw attention to the connotative discourse composed by metaphorical processes of creation of meaning. Finally, I reflect upon the discourse of insurgency as being emphasised by the left, as this usually opposes an official point of view trying, without success, to subvert meaning through this strategy.

To systematise this enquiry I propose the integration between content analysis and *discourse analysis* that gives an account of the dimension of *enunciation*, elucidating how discourse is built, and *content analysis* which gives an account of the *enunciated*, or what was actually said. These can complement each other insofar as 'content analysis' is a methodology that helps to establish and to organise a comparison of different texts.

The integration of Laclau's discourse theory and the quantitative-systematic method used by content analysis is hereby attained by the creation of categories able to show what the differences would be between *institutionalising discourses* by means of a differentiation of demands and *mobilising discourses* which create equivalence between demands. The first, considered here as a primary or denotative discourse, enables a proliferation of policy positions that enter into relation of combination whereby it maintains a certain stability and positivity of the social system. The second, which is considered as discourse of connotation, creates a system of equivalence necessary for any subversion of meaning. Additionally, I also consider a tertiary discursive type of polemic negation that assumes distance from events in an attempt at subverting them from an outside position, which is external to communication itself.

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<sup>8</sup> In previous research, 'The Centre of the Labyrinth: A study of the 1989 elections on television' (MA thesis. IUPERJ, Rio de Janeiro, 1994), I have analysed the sixty days of Free Electoral Time on television that were allocated to candidates contesting the 1989 presidential election. This study has not only shown an extensive picture of the political platforms but also described the dynamic interaction between parties and the realignment of their programmes in a process that I have called mimetic convergence. MC is a methodological construct created by the researcher to show the dynamic of political discourses during an electoral campaign, transmitted systematically on a pool of television networks during consecutive days of campaigning. MC is an index, which measures the perception of thematic convergence between discourses of all candidates in a campaign, without assumptions about their intentions. In the 1989 presidential election, for example, political parties presented more than 50% of mimetic convergence with the Liberal Party (Partido Liberal) broadcast.

The categories of *mobilising*, *institutionalising* and *antagonistic* discourses will organise a textual analysis of party broadcasts to be compared with party manifestos that supposedly present a moderate use of *mobilising* discourse. It is important to note that these categories do not include any judgement as to whether political discourses are left-wing, anti-establishment or right-wing, pro-establishment. Nevertheless, as I will show in chapter 4, *left/right* conceptions can only be conceived as ethnographic categories describing political culture in Brazil. For this reason, conceptions of left and right are developed in this chapter from an empirical basis and not on the traditional concepts developed by political theory. My alternative was to use a data analysis of public opinion polls<sup>9</sup> that reveals, for instance, that in 1989, 41 percent of respondents could not place themselves, according to the criteria, left or right. Nevertheless, from the majority who could declare their ideological position, approximately 32 percent considered themselves to be right-wing, supporting the continuity of traditional hierarchical relations.

To show the differences in discursive forms, such as the *institutionalising* discourse, the *mobilising* discourse and the discourse of *frontiers* and systematise the analysis of party electoral broadcasts and party manifestos, I create a dictionary with categories designating the three discursive forms: (1) The institutionalising or *primary* discourse; (2) The *mobilising or secondary* discourse; and (3) The *antagonistic or tertiary* discourse. These types of argumentation present points of contact with the discursive logic of *difference* and *equivalence* and other concepts in the Laclauian framework like *empty signifiers*. These categories are applied to an analysis of party manifestos/broadcasts with the help of TEXTPACK, textual analysis software.

The study of political discourses from the perspective of discourse analysis is contrasted with a traditional content analysis that explores the emphasis of traditional issues in party manifestos.<sup>10</sup> The main objective in this area is to expose the cardinal changes, which occurred between the 1989 and 1994 elections in Brazil. I do this by referring to the political behaviour of

<sup>9</sup> Here I refer to a data analysis made by Echegaray (1996) in 'Atitudes da Classe Trabalhadora e Democracia no Brasil'. *Opinio Publica*, Vol.IV, n.1, Campinas, CESOP/UNICAMP, pp. 23-39.

<sup>10</sup> As I detail later in this chapter, the first version of party manifestos categories was developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75) for a comparison of modes of party competition between British and American parties. This was developed by the 'Manifesto Research Group' constituted as a research group of the European Consortium for

two political parties- the PSDB (Party of the Brazilian Social Democracy) and the PT (Workers Party)- in their Broadcasts and Manifestos. This will clarify the type of influence television exerts on party behaviour in Brazil.

In my empirical analysis presented in chapter 6, I concentrate mainly on how political discourse on television rejoins the contingent world of differences, transforming it into an 'objective world' of references, directly interfering with the discourse of emancipation in Brazil.

### The Dictionaries

The first dictionary is partially based on: (a) Gottlob Frege (1892) philosophical writings *On Sense and Reference* and *On Concept and Object*<sup>11</sup>; (b) the structural analysis proposed by Roland Barthes (1977) in *Image, Music, Text*<sup>12</sup> and (c) the framework of discourse theory as developed by Ernesto Laclau (1985, '90, '94, and '96). The main objective of this dictionary is to provide categories indicating different linguistic operations involved in the process of fixation and subversion of meaning, showing that the creation of new limits depends on the unifying effect of discursive strategies and not on their antagonistic effect. The process of articulation and disarticulation of meaning matters insofar as the institutionalising powers of the *one-nation* discourse and the mobilising powers of the discourse of *frontiers* are able to overcome polysemy present in the field of differences. They do so by arresting the flow of differences and constructing points of partial fixation of meaning around *empty signifiers*.

Nouns, or substantives, constitute the basic units explored in my analysis as indices of *floating signifiers*. Nouns are differential grammatical categories that eventually assume meanings in political communication becoming nodal points organising a whole discourse. Among different types of nouns are *concrete nouns* referring to: (a) physical things like bridge, train and hospital; (b) Events and actions like election, landing and robbery and (c) Roles like worker, journalist and

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<sup>11</sup> In *Translations from the Philosophical Writings of Gottlob Frege*, Peter Geach and Max Black (eds.), (Oxford, Blackwell, 1970).

<sup>12</sup> Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text*, Essays selected and translated by Stephen Heath, (London, Fontana Press, 1977).

president. Nouns can also be a name like 'Brazil' and 'Lula'. In his work on names and propositions, J.S. Mill (1843) has employed a division of all names into five categories: the first distinction is made between *general* names and *individual singular* names. The first (like man and colour) as a name of a class of attributes or an indefinite multitude of individuals denoted by a general but not a *collective* name. The second (like 'Britain') is only capable of being truly affirmed, in the same sense, as one thing.<sup>13</sup>

The second division of names proposed by Mill encompasses *concrete names* and *abstract names*. *Concrete* is the name of an object, which stands for a thing (like 'school', 'house', etc.) with a single and definite attribute, whereas *abstract names* are all names resulting from generalisation, which stands for an attribute of an object: e.g. 'freedom', 'humanity', 'equality' and 'modernity'. Some of the abstract terms are certainly *general* when they are names of a class of attributes like 'shape' which is a common name for round, quadrangular, triangular which also denotes serial attributes in the same way as the word 'weight' denotes various degrees of weight: 'heavy', 'light', etc.<sup>14</sup>

Mill's third division, is into *connotative* and *non-connotative* names and are the most important for the clarification of the mobilising powers of political communication when successful in the use of *empty signifiers* or ambiguous words presenting high appeal to an audience. *Connotative* or *denominative terms* are the ones that denote a subject and imply an attribute ('men', 'family' and 'citizen'), whereas *non-connotative* terms can signify either a subject (like 'Brazil', 'Lula' and 'São Paulo'), sometimes being called absolute, or can signify an attribute ('virtue', 'literacy', 'intelligence'). The latter are not *connotative* but 'virtuous', 'literate' and 'intelligent' are.

For J. S. Mill (1919:19), all *concrete general names* are connotative but so too are some individual names. Taking first the *concrete general names*, the word 'president' for instance,

<sup>13</sup> John Stuart Mill, *A System of Logic*, (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., [1843], 1919, p. 17).

<sup>14</sup> As J. S. Mill (1919:18) notes, there are names that cannot be considered as *general names* because they denote an attribute of many different objects but this attribute is always considered as one, not many. Examples of this are: 'visibleness', 'tangibleness', 'equality', 'squareness', 'milkwhiteness' (the name of the colour exclusively, the name of every white object). All designate only one property that is not variable in degree or in kind.

denotes in Brazil, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Juscelino Kubitschek, Getulio Vargas<sup>15</sup>. These names are *connotative* because they indicate the subjects' special attributes in the same way that 'man' is a *concrete general connotative* name which signifies all attributes man has and at the same time all subjects which possess these attributes. Thus, words like 'man', 'women', 'black' and 'worker' denote in a direct way an indefinite number of individuals taken as a class which indirectly possess certain attributes which constitute humanity (like body, life, rationality) and a certain external form. *Individual names* like 'the sun' and 'God' are predictable of only one object but are in fact a description and therefore connotative terms insofar as there is not only one God and only one sun.

*Abstract general names*, which refer only to attributes, can also be connotative insofar as they have attributes ascribed to them. This is the case with the name 'democracy' understood as common to many attributes like 'free and fair elections', 'political rights' and 'freedom of speech,' and connotes a constitutional regime as an attribute of all mentioned attributes.

*Concrete general connotative names* seem to present a communicative efficacy that is absent in the *general abstract names*. This is so because *general concrete names* function as *metaphors* given the combination between the *phoros* (pictorial aspect of the name) and *themes* associated with the signifier. *Concrete general connotative names* thus give rise to symbols which catalyse agreement, as was the case with the word 'maharajas' used by Collor de Mello in the 1989 presidential campaign. The image of an Indian Prince surrounded by luxury and extravagance was invoked to symbolise the sort of life enjoyed by civil servants who should be punished by the voter. It seems that the *general abstract name* 'corruption' would not enable so much agreement around it as would the symbol of the Indian Prince and his idiosyncrasies.

Mill's fourth division of names is between *positive* terms (good, working, drunk) and *negative* terms (no-good, idle, sober). This division considers that to every positive concrete name there is a corresponding negative.

<sup>15</sup> Proper names are not connotative, they denote an individual who is called by a specific name but do not implicate or imply any attributes.

The fifth division of names is into *relative* names ('father', 'son', 'governor', 'governed', 'ruler' and 'ruled'), and non-relative or absolute names ('party', 'church' and 'road'). The relative names connote events that constitute the relation and thus the so-called *fundamentum relationis* is the basis of their meaning.

Most *general names* entail indeterminate connotation, lack of precision and vagueness which enables a circulation of meaning around words considered as *empty signifiers*. If, then, *general concrete names* like 'father' that do not have a fixed connotation become illuminated by new connotations which reactivate their meaning, the same does not happen with *general abstract terms* which always acquire new explanations. This occurs insofar as *general concrete names* present a symbolic, pictorial reference, which allows a meaningful anchorage, that is absent in the case of *abstract general names*. The lack of fixed *connotations*<sup>16</sup> thus affects political language constructed by equivocal terms like 'democracy' and 'liberalism' which are at the same time concrete when referring to institutional arrangements yet also abstract when referring to values.

Given the above considerations, my coding frame based on Frege, Barthes and Laclau's discourse theory gave rise to the following categories:

### ***0010-1st Meaning or Primary discourse***

- 0011 \*\*\*\*\* Individual concrete, objective names
- 0012 \*\*\*\*\* Abstract individual names
- 0013 \*\*\*\*\* Definite article
- 0014 \*\*\*\*\* Quantifiers
- 0015 \*\*\*\*\* Proper names
- 0016 \*\*\*\*\* Time, dates
- 0017 \*\*\*\*\* Places
- 0018 \*\*\*\*\* Non-subjective verbs

<sup>16</sup> Giving a fixed connotation to names was J. S. Mill's (1919:25) strong concern. With this purpose of erasing the vagueness of connotation he classified all things denoted by names into (1) 'feelings, or states of consciousness', (2) 'substances', (3) 'attributes', (4) 'relations', and (5) 'quantity'.

### 0020- 2nd Meaning or Secondary discourse

- 0021 \*\*\*\*\*Subjective verbs
- 0022 \*\*\*\*\*Affective adjectives
- 0023 \*\*\*\*\*Demonstrative
- 0024 \*\*\*\*\*Non-axiomatic evaluations
- 0025 \*\*\*\*\*Axiomatic evaluations and subjective adverbs
- 0026 \*\*\*\*\*Abstract general names
- 0027 \*\*\*\*\*General concrete names (empty signifiers)
- 0028 \*\*\*\*\*Personal possessive pronouns and reflexive pronouns
- 0029 \*\*\*\*\*Indefinite pronouns and expressions which fail to designate an object

### 0030- 3<sup>rd</sup> Meaning or Tertiary discourse

- 0031 \*\*\*\*\*Negative names
- 0032 \*\*\*\*\*Personal pronouns
- 0033 \*\*\*\*\*Possessive pronouns
- 0034 \*\*\*\*\*Reflexive pronouns
- 0035 \*\*\*\*\*Demonstrative
- 0036 \*\*\*\*\*Tertiary verbs (past, third person)

The *1st meaning discourse* is composed by *objective* messages, either concrete or abstract, which are not vague or connotative. Here these objective terms are considered to include a higher amount of floating signifiers or elements not wholly articulated to a discursive chain and also to characterise the composition of the *one-nation* discourse.<sup>17</sup> By objective messages I mean *individual concrete* and *individual abstract* names in J.S. Mill's (1919) sense. These names compose the referential part of language as theorised by Frege (1892) in his *Philosophical*

<sup>17</sup> According to my empirical analysis of party manifestos and broadcasts in the 1989 and 1994 elections in Brazil, the PSDB-Party of the Brazilian Social Democracy presented in 1994 the highest levels of primary discourse. The latter composed 45% of its manifesto and 38% of its television propaganda while the primary rhetoric has

Writings,<sup>18</sup> according to whom, the logical use of language is comprised of *content* (reference) and *judgement* (sense). *Content*, or objective messages, are *first level functions* that do not need supplementation because they are the saturated part of discourse. Proper names, concrete nouns, objects, substances, dates, instants, places and numbers are accordingly objective messages that provide the argument. As references, they function as the 'truth value' of a sentence.

The truth-value of a sentence remains unchanged when an expression is replaced by another having the same reference. One has the right to conclude only that the reference of a sentence is not always its truth-value, and that 'morning star' does not always stand for the planet Venus when the word has its indirect reference.<sup>19</sup>

Objective nouns like road, house, school and hospital, are concepts or expressions of objects that do not entail an empty place and therefore cannot be used as grammatical predicates. The reference of these signs are as objects perceivable by the senses, ideas often saturated with feeling, and they constitute *truth-values* as theorised by Frege (1892b). Definite articles and words like 'all', 'any', 'no' and 'some', which are prefixed to concept-words, are also classified as objective messages.<sup>20</sup>

The *2nd Meaning, or Secondary discourse*,<sup>21</sup> corresponds to paradigmatic articulations in concrete discourses. These names used as articulation of ideas, stand for what Frege (1970:24-38) calls *sense, second order function or contents of judgement*. The notion of *sense* in Frege's theory

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composed 36% of the Workers Party broadcast and 40% of its written manifesto.

<sup>18</sup> See Translations from Philosophical Writings of Gottlob Frege, 1970.

<sup>19</sup> Idem., pp. 65-7.

<sup>20</sup> I am not considering here other parts of discourse like interjections, prepositions and conjunctions, which fulfil the function of separating parts of discourse and must be analysed in context.

<sup>21</sup> As I will show in chapter 6, if compared with the *primary* and *tertiary discourse*, the *secondary discourse* is the main component of political discourse in both written manifestos and on television broadcasts. During the 1989 and 1994 presidential elections in Brazil the PSDB and PT discourse was comprised of:

Discourse	PtMan.	PSDBMa	PTtv	PSDBtv
1989Primary	41	35	40	40
1989Secondary	43	51	44	43
1989Tertiary	16	14	16	17
1994Primary	40	45	36	38
1994Secondary	49	46	41	45
1994Tertiary	11	9	23	17

(PTMan.= Workers Party manifesto; PSDBMa= PSDB manifesto; PTtv= Workers Party broadcast; PSDBtv=PSDB; Party broadcast).

is not subjective as an idea, 'but is yet not the object itself',<sup>22</sup> it constitutes the unsaturated part of discourse since the same sense has different expressions.

The same sense is not always connected, even in the same man, with the same idea. The idea is subjective: one man's idea is not that of another. There results, as a matter of course, a variety of differences in the ideas associated with the same sense. A painter, a horseman, and a zoologist will probably connect different ideas with the name 'Bucephalus'. This constitutes an essential distinction between the idea and the sign's sense, which may be the common property of many and, therefore, is not A part or a mode of the individual mind.<sup>23</sup>

Sense, or second level functions, are composed by *general nouns*, either abstract or concrete, some of them in Laclau's sense potential empty signifiers, such as democracy, justice, rights and modernity. Sense (or secondary discourse) is also constituted by adjectives, adverbs, state verbs, conditional and imperative forms which are used indirectly because they are incomplete, in need of supplementation. They constitute immaterial truth and are characterised by *indefiniteness*<sup>24</sup> and so these categories are not a *truth-value* but a thought, a command, a request or a question that appears in the subordinate clauses. Most of the second order words are affective and evaluative and derived from verbs or adjectives.

According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980), subjective terms are the most pertinent to give an account of the problem of enunciation and the interpretative dimension of language. The author provides an inventory of connotative adjectives, adverbs and verbs<sup>25</sup> and from these I have created categories to check the use of a secondary connotative discourse in party broadcasts and written manifestos as follows:<sup>26</sup>

*Subjective verbs* (0021 \*\*\*\*) are *state verbs* which express meanings such as being, having, opinions and feelings (e.g. prefer, appear, want and wish whereas *State verbs* cannot be *passive*, e.g. 'the candidate is appearing calm'. Instead, the right form would be 'the candidate appears calm'. *State verbs* occur generally in the present tense and not in the continuous form, such as the

<sup>22</sup> *Idem.*, p. 60.

<sup>23</sup> *Idem.*, p. 59.

<sup>24</sup> See Frege (1970), p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> See Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni, *L'Enonciation de la Subjectivite dans le Language*, (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1980).

<sup>26</sup> To the five categories I have added categories like (a) Expressions which fail to designate an object: someone, whoever, nobody.

action verbs. There are, however, exceptions like *hurt*, *ache* and *feel* which can be simple or continuous with little difference of meaning (e.g. my head hurt/was hurting, I am feeling happy). As seen before, *action verbs* are generally used with the continuous form but in some instances *action verbs* and *state verbs* might be the same verbs but with different meanings.

- (1) 'To *have*' can be a state verb: we *have* (*own*) a great country;  
but 'To *have*' can also be an action verb: we are *having* (*enjoying*) a nice debate;
- (2) 'To *think*' can be an action verb: we are *thinking* (*deciding*) about changing the constitution; but 'to *think*' can also be a state verb: I *think* (*believe*) we ought to change;
- (3) 'To *expect*' can be an action verb: we are *expecting* a strike; but 'to *expect*' can also be a state verb: I *expect* you believe in me.

On the other hand, some verbs like - *belong to*, *consist of*, *contain*, *depend on* and *deserve* - always express states and so cannot be continuous, whereas 'can' and 'could' are often used for perceptions (e.g. 'I *can see*, 'I *can feel*, 'I *could smell*'). The past simple is also used in state verbs when the thing that someone saw or heard was a complete action (e.g. *we felt*, *we heard*).

*Subjective verbs* are moreover sources of evaluation and reveal judgements of what is considered to be positive or negative. As verbs of opinion, subjective verbs imply a consideration, a deliberation, transmitting sentiments and perceptions, impressions or intellectual apprehension, e.g., to love, to promise or to pretend.<sup>27</sup>

*Modal verbs*, like 'would', 'wouldn't', 'could', 'couldn't', used as predictions of unreal situations or explanations of unreal situations that may or may not happen in the future, are also considered as subjective verbs. The same applies to *conditional verbs*<sup>28</sup> which are also included in this list like 'If he decides to vote, he will vote for Labour', 'If he had power, he would remain Prime Minister'.

<sup>27</sup> And also to criticise, to believe, to doubt, to imagine, to desire, to want, to hope, to seem, to appear, to estimate, to find, to think, to believe, to know, to be persuaded, to be convinced, to be sure.

<sup>28</sup> In Portuguese, language *conditional verbs* are easily distinguished from other forms insofar as they always have a particular ending - 'tivesse' 'votasse', 'quisesse' - and this particularity is what makes possible the distinction when codifying single words. The English conditional form must be identified by 'if' or related terms like supposing (that), provided (that), unless, as long as, etc. and not necessarily by the verbal form.

*Affective adjectives* (0022\*\*\*\*\*) enunciate, at the same time, a property of the object and an emotional reaction of the subject to this object, for instance 'the poor victim' and 'the cruel assassin'.

*Demonstrative* (0023\*\*\*\*\*) consists of 'here', 'this', 'these', indicating proximity.

*Non-axiomatic evaluations* (0024\*\*\*\*\*) consist of adjectives<sup>29</sup> that do not state a value judgement but imply a qualitative or quantitative evaluation of the denoted object. Its utilisation is based on being internal to the object, acting as a support of quality or as a subjective measure stated by the one who speaks. Examples: large, hot, numerous, small, red, green, round. Evaluative adjectives include adjectives of temperature, dimensional adjectives and the adjective 'important'.<sup>30</sup>

*Axiomatic evaluations* (0025\*\*\*\*\*) consist of adjectives. These are internal to the object that supports the property and also internal to the subject of enunciation. Moreover they are relative to systems of evaluation like aesthetics and ethics. Axiomatic evaluations convey judgements of value (positive or negative), being therefore twice as subjective, transmitting an ideology or a position in favour of or against the subject. Examples: excellent film, appalling meeting, a good book and a wise choice. Conjunctions like 'but' and 'even' and the adjective 'important', are also axiomatic or evaluative. Additionally, *axiomatic evaluations* comprise *subjective adverbs* which modify phrases like 'over there' or 'really nice'. They also modify verbs: 'Today the train *actually* left on time, and can also appear as appreciative words that indicate the emotive or affective participation of the enunciator like

<sup>29</sup> Here we can differentiate several types of adjectives which are distributed along other categories such as: adjectives of opinion (nice, wonderful, excellent, awful), size (large, short, tall), quality (clear, busy, famous, important, quiet), age (old, new), shape (round, square, fat, thin, wide, narrow), colour (red, white), participle forms (covered, broken, running, missing), origin (American, Italian), type (human, chemical, domestic, electronic, economic). Adjectives denoting abstract qualities: supernatural, unknown, mysterious, absurd, unexpected, amusing, annoying, interesting, surprising, tiring. And finally adjectives denoting social groups: (the + adjective) the poor, the rich, the strong, the weak, the hungry, the under privileged, the unemployed, the homeless, the landless, the mentally ill, the children, the young, the elderly.

<sup>30</sup> Non-axiomatic evaluations are generally higher in written manifestos than on party broadcasts. Taking the example of the 1994 elections in Brazil, the PSDB presented 14% non-axiomatic evaluations in its manifesto whereas only 6% in its television propaganda. The same is true for the Workers Party manifesto composed by 13% non-axiomatic evaluations against 6.5% in television broadcasts. The results of this analysis can be found in the

'agreeable', 'desirable' and 'plausible'.

Adverbial clauses in general are also classified as part of the subjective discourse and these include:

Adverbs of manner (quickly, fluently, sensibly, etc.), of place and time (soon, yet and still), of Frequency (usually, always and never), of degree (very, so, absolutely, etc.), and finally, Adverbs of focus and viewpoint (only, even and especially).

Truth adverbs consist of, 'perhaps', 'maybe' and 'certainly', whilst Comment adverbs consist of 'luckily', 'unfortunately' and 'stupidly', leaving Linking adverbs which include; 'also', 'however', 'firstly', 'in conclusion' and 'in other words'.<sup>31</sup>

*General Abstract names* (0026 \*\*\*\*\*) stand for an attribute or quality of an object and can denote an attribute of many different objects. General abstract terms are uncountable names like: modernity (quality of what is modern), morality (quality of what is moral) and 'colour' (characteristic of an electric magnetic radiation). Unlike the previous examples, the term 'red' is generally abstract and is here considered as a non-axiomatic evaluation (code 0024) whereas 'redness' is an individual abstract term (code 0012). General abstract names must result from abstraction or generalisation. They cannot be the name of one single and definite attribute, but of a class of attributes, showing similarities with *empty signifiers* and are not open to metaphorical creations insofar as they have no concrete referent and thus remain as pure sense.<sup>32</sup>

*General concrete names* (0027\*\*\*\*\*) are substantives or nouns that stand for a thing, for a name of a class or an indefinite multitude of individuals denoted by a general name. General concrete names are considered here to be *empty signifiers* which are 'emptied of their

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Appendix. to Chapter 6.

<sup>31</sup> According to my empirical analysis, during the 1994 elections in Brazil the axiomatic evaluations were higher on the PSDB television broadcasts (11%) than the PSDB written manifestos (9%). The same was not observed in the Workers Party discourse which presented the same amount of axiomatic evaluations (11%) in its manifesto and television broadcast. The content analysis outputs can be found in the Appendix to Chapter 6.

<sup>32</sup> In the 1989 and 1994 elections in Brazil, the General abstract names present a higher use in manifestos than on party broadcasts for both PT and PSDB. In 1989 PSDB's manifesto contained higher levels of general abstract themes (6%) than all cases studied, followed by PT's Manifesto in 1994 (5.5%).

attachment to particular signified'<sup>33</sup> standing as signifiers 'of pure cancellation of all difference'.<sup>34</sup> Their emergence indicates the limits of signification and the aim of surpassing it insofar as general concrete names give rise to metaphorical creations and these illuminate their referents, reactivating common sense uses.

Examples of concrete names are: the poor, the rich, the inhabitants, nation and democracy, etc.) General concrete names can be predicated only of the subjects as they signify the subjects directly whilst indicating the attributes indirectly, as a connotation.

*Personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns* (0028\*\*\*\*\*) include; I, you, we, me, us, you, my, our, your, mine, yours, ours, etc.

*Indefinite pronouns and expressions* (0029\*\*\*\*\*) are those which fail to designate an object: one, anyone, someone, etc.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> *Meaning or Tertiary discourse* is differentiated the first two by the degree of its 'formal and/or acknowledged (as opposed to real and/or tacit) identification with an official point of view. This occurs through the measure of its distance from the event to which it refers, and by the ratio of the distributive and integrative components in its narrative.<sup>35</sup> The tertiary discourse looks at events in the third person assuming the oppressed point of view. As Guha (1988)<sup>36</sup> notes, the tertiary characterises the *discourse of insurgency* but does not illuminate the insurgency consciousness insofar as the 'the rebel has no place in this history as the subject of rebellion...[and] ...there is nothing in tertiary discourse to make up for this absence'.<sup>37</sup>

Despite being appropriated by the left, tertiary discourse is normative and might represent the voice of custodians of law and order, 'reverting to that state of crude identification with the regime so characteristic of primary discourse'.<sup>38</sup> Apart from this, tertiary discourse might exhibit

<sup>33</sup> See Laclau, *Emancipation(s)*, (London, Verso, 1996), p. 39.

<sup>34</sup> See Laclau (1996).

<sup>35</sup> See Guha (1988), p. 47.

<sup>36</sup> See Ranagit Guha (1988) 'The Prose of Counter-Insurgency' in, *Selected Subaltern Studies. op.cit.*

<sup>37</sup> *Idem.*, p. 71.

<sup>38</sup> *Idem.*

disdain for the political consciousness of the masses, mainly when this is mediated by religiosity.

One of the main outcomes of the tertiary discourse is to describe the consciousness specific to a context by ascribing to it a transcendental consciousness and thus cannot be very successful in its attempts to mobilise the oppressed. In his analysis of the Indian prose of insurgency and the colonial prose of counter-insurgency in the 18th and 19th centuries in India, Guha (1988) finds that the tertiary discourse of insurgency was always reluctant to come to terms with the religious element in rebel consciousness. It was still trapped in the paradigm that inspired the ideologically contrary, refusing to acknowledge the insurgent as the subject of his own history.

The verbal representations of *tertiary discourse* are generally in the past tense- 'they have done', in this sense very similar to the *secondary discourse* - 'we have done', the main difference being that the former does not try to contradict or to unveil the primary discourse. It is more direct whereas tertiary discourse tries to re-tell history again seeking to fill a gap between the event-time and the discourse-time.<sup>39</sup>

In order to point out the use of tertiary discourse in party broadcasts and written manifestos I have classified their textual data into the following categories:

Negative names (0031\*\*\*\*\*); e.g. anti-democratic, calumny, unclear, *clientelistic*, communists, against, corrupt, guilt and decadent. These refer back to J. S. Mill's (1919:26) fourth principal division of names into *positive* and *negative* supposing that to every *positive concrete name* there is a corresponding *negative*. Examples: working/idle, drunk/sober.

Personal pronouns (0032\*\*\*\*\*) e.g. she, he, it, him, her, they and them.

Possessive pronouns (0033\*\*\*\*\*) e.g. his, hers, its, their and theirs

Reflexive pronouns (0034\*\*\*\*\*) e.g. herself, himself, itself and themselves

Demonstrative pronouns (0035\*\*\*\*\*) e.g. 'there' indicating distance

Tertiary verbs (0036\*\*\*\*\*) e.g. third person verbs, action verbs and state verbs in the past

<sup>39</sup> My empirical analysis about the 1989 and 1994 Party Manifestos and Party Broadcasts in Brazil have shown that the tertiary discourse is more significant in television broadcasts than in written manifestos. The Workers Party presents a growing pattern in tertiary discursive forms.

simple (they wrote, they spoke and he was) and past perfect continuous (had been, had gone and had governed).

### Issues Saliience

Looking at the content of communication in Brazilian elections, the emphasis on themes like 'nationalism', 'democracy', 'labour groups' and 'political authority' were the most significant for PT and PSDB in the 1989 and 1995 presidential elections. These themes also reveal important variations in party broadcasts and manifestos. Additionally, these central issues seem to correlate with the predominance of secondary discursive forms in party broadcasts as opposed to (party) manifestos. To analyse the difference between salient issues in them I have created a dictionary of themes as an adaptation of the 'Manifesto Research Group' (MRG)<sup>40</sup> coding frame, used to give an account of emphasis on traditional issues (in party manifestos). The original objective of this coding frame was to catch the ideology of parties across countries within a common framework and was first developed by David Robertson (1976:73-75) for a comparison (of modes of party competition) between British and American parties. It was further developed in 1979 by the ('Manifesto Research Group') MRG aiming at a comparative content-analytic approach on the policy positions of political parties.<sup>41</sup> This classification scheme was extended and revised to fit additional countries and (here) I have hereby supplemented it again with categories required to give an account of the Brazilian context as well as transforming it to become operational in the TEXTPACK computational programme.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> See David Robertson (1976), pp. 73-75.

<sup>41</sup> The coding frame includes general domains such as : External relations, Freedom and Democracy, Political system, Economy, Welfare and Quality of Life, Fabric of Society and Social groups. To these I added other domains typically related to television emphasis on candidates' images such as Positive and Negative Self-Promotion. See full coding scheme in the appendix.

<sup>42</sup> The main categories composing the 'Issue Saliience Coding Frame' are in the Appendix to Chapter 2, pp.5-12.

## Conclusion

These are, in sum, all the categories and methodologies I will be using throughout the next five chapters to give an account of the *iterability* of a traditional power structure in Brazil that is reinforced by the *mediatory conciliation* performed by electronic media. I will provide an historical account of the sedimentation of a consensual order in Brazilian society, explaining how discursive constructions solve tensions emerging from political domination and social coercion keeping civil society as a silent mass. I present evidence of hegemonic representations of the Brazilian 'reality' from several perspectives, by looking at intellectual accounts of the political apathy and analysing traditional mechanisms of coronelism and clientelism. I also explore public opinion polls accounting for the origin of conservative attitudes among Brazilian voters and show evidence of the influence of mass media in Brazilian society. Lastly, I present empirical studies concerning the influence of the mass media that causes convergence between political speeches. All these approaches are intended to support my thesis that the possibilities of drawing clear-cut *frontiers* in Brazilian society are weakened and that the immediacy of television's iconic dimension increases the unifying effects of political proclamations. Television is functional to a domination system since it *displaces* meaning according to its own perspective preventing the *dislocation* or destabilisation of a predominant discourse by *antagonistic* discourses and events that are integrated within the hegemonic discourse.

I will draw together indications that hegemonic narratives supported by traditional groups pervade not only the Brazilian State and government but are also the main strategy of the mass media. The latter permanently renew traditional narratives through its forms of representation that accomplish a *conciliatory mediation*. By these means the mass media assist the state and government in preventing a rupture of the social fabric. In my view, it is by way of its meaningful articulations and emphasis on subjective relations that traditional strategies of domination pervading television discourse expand the political, the creative articulations, widening its own aesthetic hegemony while transforming objective references of the social.