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# Talkey Shows and Press: A Reading Based on Critical Speech Analysis

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**To cite this article:**

Maria Stella Galvao Santos. Talkey Shows and Press: A Reading Based on Critical Speech Analysis. *English Language, Literature & Culture*. Vol. 6, No. 4, 2021, pp. 102-108. doi: 10.11648/j.ellc.20210604.12

**Received:** July 19, 2021; **Accepted:** November 2, 2021; **Published:** November 17, 2021

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this communication is to analyze President Jair Bolsonaro's pronouncements in his daily contact with reporters outside the Palácio da Alvorada in Brasília, baptized by his advisors of "Talkey shows". We will focus on two episodes that explain the degree of breakdown in the relationship between journalists and the head of the national executive. The "scoop" episode, aimed at journalist Patrícia Campos Mello, from Folha de S. Paulo, and the bananas offered to reporters by a comedian during a "talkey show", in February and March 2020, respectively. We will use the theoretical tools of Critical Discourse Analysis, a theoretical aspect that postulates the social use of language in interactions in which power relations and domination are established by economic and political groups that use language as a form of social control, through various forms of discursive practices, such as mockery and demonization of the press. We use as theoretical references Van Dijk (1990, 2009, 2011, 2017), Fairclough (2003), Charaudeau (2003, 2015) and Sodr  (2017), among others, using linguistic tools to analyze the relationships between language, power and social control. Instead of focusing on purely theoretical issues related to critical discourse analysis, our objective in this article was to examine paradigmatic episodes of the precarious relationship between the Brazilian State President and the press. His cynical, derogatory and misogynistic attitudes towards the journalists' class have decisively contributed, in the Brazilian case, to the demonization of the press among a portion of the Brazilian public opinion.

**Keywords:** Press, Critical Discourse Analysis, Talkey Shows

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## 1. Introduction

This article proposes to analyze the discursive practice of President Jair Bolsonaro in two circumstances in which the conflictive relationship between the head of the Brazilian state and journalists reached the point of paroxysm, producing a chain reaction from the media, the entities that represent the sector, and politicians of different political parties. In our view, the two episodes make explicit the bolsonarist tactic of demonizing reporters and the media outlets they represent, pointing to an intricate relationship between the speech and the concrete initiatives of the government. Leader of a government marked by almost daily confrontations with journalists, Bolsonaro raised the tension in the clash with the journalistic field on several occasions throughout the first 17 months of his four-year mandate.

This analysis also proposes to unveil the mechanisms by which the country's current president transformed daily press conferences into a mix of personal spectacle in histrionic

tones and a festival of insults shouted at professionals from various media outlets, including print, digital, radio, and TV. It also seeks to expose the artifices used by those who control the public discourse and devise strategies that will determine the content of the information disseminated. Although disjointed and often burlesque, they are the ones that will circulate in the public space.

One of the peculiarities of such "shows" is that their protagonist does not allow journalists in the exercise of their professional activities to question statements and actions of the government. When this happens, he raises the aggressive tone and abruptly ends the interview. Bolsonaro's daily speech outside the Alvorada Palace<sup>1</sup>, invariably applauded by the sympathizers present, was nicknamed by palace advisors as a talk show and adapted to "talkey show" due to his language habit of ending sentences with the question "is it

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<sup>1</sup> The Alvorada Palace, designed by Oscar Niemeyer, is the official residence of the president of Brazil.

ok?". This analysis is based on two paradigmatic episodes of the confrontation referred to above, which occurred in February and March/2020, selected because they represented a frontal attack on press professionals and generated wide repercussion in the public opinion and in the media.

Initially, we will approach the assumptions and concepts of the methodology employed, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), followed by the episodic reports of the texts (or discourses, better understood), their context and repercussion. This is a methodological cut that proposes to highlight episodic events as examples of a current practice in a given context, in this case, the current Brazilian political scenario. Contemplated since the mid-1960s, this field of study became more explicitly institutionalized in the 1980s. This type of analysis draws, among other sources, on Critical Linguistics, conducted in the late 1970s in England by Roger Fowler [8] who proposed linguistic tools to analyze the relationship between language, power, and social control. In this direction converge the ideas of the also British Norman Fairclough, for whom discursive practice is inseparable from social practice.

*Different discourses are different perspectives on the world, and they are associated with the different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people. Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions.* [6].

In fact, as a methodological approach for the analysis of personal or institutional manifestations (discursive, therefore), discourse analysis has been constituted in a research field whose objective is to understand the social production of meanings carried out by historical subjects, using languages of current use to disseminate information and points of view. According to Van Dijk [15], in Ideology and Discourse, the most varied resources, such as figures of speech or the textual structure used by a group of social agents about another, perform ideological functions within the discourse. As the author states, the meaning of discourse is not limited to the meaning of words and sentences. "Discourse also relies on more global meanings, such as "themes", which represent the most important information in the discourse and explain what the discourse is about in general." [15]. Especially to the extent of their redundancy, as in the president's emphasis in addressing the press in an offensive tone. And, according to Fairclough [6], "any discursive event (i.e. any example of discourse) is considered simultaneously a text, an example of discursive practice and an example of social practice".

On the other hand, even if systematic aggressions to press professionals by the Chief Executive appear frequently in the news, they can be inferred from the analysis of the textual set of the reported fact. "As critical analysts, we can show how certain lexical elements or metaphors are used for the purpose of constructing the details of events or the

characteristics of some people in these mental models." [13]. We will use some levels of analysis proposed by this author, either because of their applicability to various discursive scopes or because the model advocated by this author reports, in general, to text (discourse) and context (social and cognitive). The analysis of the discursive content of the presidential speeches will be made in three topics related to the meaning of what is uttered, namely:

- (a) *Themes*: They represent the most important information and explain the approach of the speech.
- (b) *Level of description*: It provides many or few details about a fact, or describes it in a specific or abstract and general way.
- (c) *Examples and illustrations*: Use of narratives and illustrations that serve to support the propositions and arguments. In this topic we inscribe two images obtained by photojournalists during the analysed episodes, in order to highlight the aspects of visual representation and processing of the context, as punctuated by Van Dijk. [12, 14].

There is also the category of propositional structures also listed by Van Dijk for the analysis of how the meaning of discourse is organised and can be broken down into assertions or propositions. A sentence expresses one or more ideas that can be true or false or express a "complete thought". [15]. This mode suits the presidential issuer, whose preferred expressions, in the heat of the clash with journalists, are loose sentences punctuated by interrogations or improperisms. The propositional structures that make up a discourse can make use of presuppositions and generalizations, seeking truth effects from specific occurrences and/or statements.

## 2. Two Paradigmatic Speeches of the Conflict

In the history of Bolsonaro's clashes with journalistic professionals, we highlight two landmark events, both occurred in the first quarter of 2020. Preliminarily, it is important to mention that these events are part of the so-called Talkeys Shows, daily meetings of the president with journalists and supporters outside the official residence in Brasilia. In these daily meetings, the script of the president, who acts as spokesperson for his own government, includes giving messages to allies and adversaries, commenting on events and harassing reporters, photographers and cameramen with verbal and possibly gestural aggression. In the second week of February/2020, Bolsonaro ordered a reporter from Folha to "shut up" when asked about the conflict of interest involving the head of the Secretariat of Communication, Fabio Wajngarten, partner of a company that has clients hired by the government.

The first serious tangle that is the subject of this analysis involved a journalist from Folha de S. Paulo, Patricia Campos Mello, who became particularly notable for reporting on the purchase of illegal messages by supporters of the then PSL presidential candidate. On October 18, 2018,

the scandal came to light under the headline "Businessmen bankroll campaign against PT by WhatsApp". This investigation, the subject of several reports by Mello, made her the target of hate messages and fake news on the Internet, and was one of the generating factors of the CPMI (Mixed Parliamentary Inquiry Commission) of Fake News, created in September/2019 in the National Congress.

Contrary to what Charaudeau [5] advocates, when he states that language is not transparent and presents its own opacity through which a particular vision and sense of the world is built, the verbiage of the current occupant of the Palácio do Planalto produces an explicitly insulting sense on all occasions on which he or his government was confronted with uncomfortable questions by the press professionals. The mechanics of sense construction produced by the media, as Charaudeau states, results "from the intermingling of extradiscursive conditions and intradiscursive realizations". [4]. That is, the ideas that inhabit the discourses are born from an internalized discursive logic and, simultaneously, react to the weight of circumstances and interests in and by which they are produced. In Bolsonaro's case, this logic is centred on a tactic of confrontation that is symbolically warmongering and not infrequently based on untruths. We seek, thus, examine the impact of the presidential speech in its attempt to disqualify the work of the press and relativize its role in Brazil today.

On February 18, 2020, under the title "Bolsonaro insults Folha reporter with sexual innuendo", the journalist Gustavo Uribe reports on the presidential speech addressed to Patrícia Mello in the meeting with journalists in the so-called "cercadinho"<sup>2</sup> of the Alvorada Palace, in Brasilia. "She wanted a scoop. She wanted to give the scoop [laughs from him and the others] at any price against me."<sup>3</sup> The statement referred to the testimony of a former employee of a mass WhatsApp messaging agency that had been given the week before to the CPMI of Fake News. On the same day of the public insult directed at the reporter, Folha de S. Paulo issued a note of repudiation: "The president of the Republic assaults reporter Patrícia Campos Mello and all professional journalism with his attitude. He also violates the dignity, honour and decorum that the law requires in the exercise of the Presidency".

On the same day (18/2/20), in the afternoon, upon leaving the Alvorada Palace after a meeting with ministers, as reported in the G1 portal of the Globo Communication group, Bolsonaro returned to the subject, aware of the repercussions and the noise produced by the rudeness distilled that morning. "Anyone from Folha de S. Paulo there? I sexually assaulted a reporter today? Congratulations to the media

there. I don't want any conversation."

This discursive construction falls within the idea that mental models precede an event or manifestation. "In ideological discourse analysis, it is very important to study why some inferred meanings are explicit from a sentence or a text. The choice to express an information or leave it implicit is not neutral." [15]. It is possible to refer to journalists using many more or less synonymous expressions and descriptions, but the meanings in uses and ideological implications will differ. Other semantic properties of the discourse are defined in the relationship between propositions such as paraphrases, expressions whose meaning is approximate but do not configure synonyms. The passage "congratulations to the media there" unifies in the term media a reference which has become recurrent in the popular imagination to the media, including entertainment products, in phrases like "the media's fault" or "the media imposes standards". In the case of Bolsonaro's speech, the adverb "there" becomes an interjection and adds an intrinsically reductionist condition of the so-called "media".<sup>4</sup> As Charaudeau [5] points out, each discourse modulates its effects of truth in a particular way.

In the case of the information discourse, it modulates these effects according to what could be considered reasons why an information is transmitted, according to the particular and social characteristics of who provides the information (identity and according to the means it uses to prove its veracity. [5].

A strategic aspect to be analyzed in communication studies [we refer here to the institutional communication promoted by a holder of public office] is, according to Bourdieu (1989), the way in which the political field and the media field become a complex space of symbolic struggles that are crossed by the fundamental figure of the word of the spokesperson (the politician, the community leader, the source, the anchor, the reporter, etc.): "The spokesman is the one who, by speaking of a group, by speaking in the place of a group, surreptitiously posits the existence of the group in question, institutes this group, by the operation of magic which is inherent in every act of naming." [1]. What makes the power of words and slogans - as diagnosed by the sociologist who focused on the field of informative discourses - or rather, "the power to maintain order or to subvert it is the belief in the legitimacy of words and of the one who utters them, a belief whose production is not within the competence of words." [1].

In an article published in Folha on March 8, 2020, entitled "In Brazil, being a woman turns us into a target of attacks", Patrícia Mello detailed the reasons for the misogynistic and rude speech directed at her by the holder of the federal executive. The virtual lynching, as qualified by Mello, began after Hans River do Rio Nascimento, former employee of the marketing agency Yacows, made a statement to the CPMI of

2 The "little fence" of Alvorada Palace gained notoriety during Jair Bolsonaro's first 1.5 years in office. It is there that he speaks or yells at journalists after leaving the premises in the early mornings, and where he addresses the supporters who form a noisy clique at each swear word or vituperation in a jocular tone directed at the press professionals. They are separated from the supporters by a fence.

3 The idea of a journalistic scoop is used in a way to metaphorise a part of the female pelvic anatomy, creating a double meaning that vulgarises the journalist target of this "joke".

4 The first media theorists used the Latin word media. As they spoke of mass communication, they adopted the expression: mass media. By appropriation of the terminology of these theorists in Brazil, the word "media" started to be used as if it were a feminine word in the singular - "a mídia". [3].

Fake News.<sup>5</sup> Hans was interviewed for the report "Fraud with CPF made it possible to trigger WhatsApp messages in the election", published by *Folha* on 2 December 2018 and written by reporters Artur Rodrigues and Patrícia Campos Mello. She clarified that the report, based on public documents from the Labour Court, photos, spreadsheets and Hans' accounts, showed that a network of companies, including Yacows, resorted to the fraudulent use of names and CPFs of the elderly to register mobile phone chips and ensure the release of batches of messages to benefit politicians. "In his testimony to the CPMI, Hans told several lies, including that I would have tried to obtain information 'in exchange for sex'."

### 3. Symbolic and Real Bananas

The fierce reactions of the President of the Republic to the questions of journalists in the "fence" of the Alvorada had in the gesture of "giving a banana" to the press a paradigmatic representation of the contempt of our character for the professionals who fulfill the daily and obligatory agenda of following the public movements of the highest authority of the Executive. In the beginning, the gesture was used at least twice before the one that would become a case of stand up comedy imbued in Brazilian politics. On February 8/2020, in an unprecedented way, the reaction involved the well-known way of showing disdain, subjecting the right forearm with the left hand and raising the right arm with a clenched fist towards the face itself. The "banana" (Figure 1) directed at the group of professionals carrying microphones, recorders and cameras was the President's response to the reporters' questions related to the negative repercussion to his statement, three days earlier, about people with HIV representing an expense to the country. HIV-positive people, as reported by BBC Brazil on 6/February 2020, used the hashtag #EuNaoSouDespesa to criticise Bolsonaro's statement on the issue.



Figure 1. The president makes a derogatory gesture to the press.

Source of photo: *Último Segundo* (15/02/2020).

Credit: Reproduction.

5 The CPMI was installed in September 2019 to investigate, within 180 days, "cyber attacks that undermine democracy and public debate; the use of fake profiles to influence the results of the 2018 elections; the practice of cyberbullying on the most vulnerable users of the computer network, as well as on public officials; and the grooming and guidance of children to commit hate crimes and suicide". By <<https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-51745900>>.

The second "banana" was motivated by questions about the dismantling of the traditional Library of the Presidency of the Republic, in Annex I of the Planalto Palace, to house the team from the Volunteer Homeland program, coordinated by first lady Michelle Bolsonaro. In a record in the newspaper *O Correio Braziliense* of 15/February 2020, Michelle's husband said: "You only worry about nonsense. No book is going to leave, everything is going to stay there. [...] Instead of you praising, you criticize. Be patient. Who acts like that deserves a banana".

The best, in terms of abusive metaphor in dealing with journalists, was yet to come. No gesture was as derogatory of the attitudes of the governor towards the press as the endorsement given to the performance of the comedian Márvio Lúcio, aka Carioca. On the morning of March 4, 2020, he arrived at the external area of the Alvorada Palace shortly before the president, in an official car, dressed as Jair Bolsonaro and wearing a presidential sash, offering real and simulated bananas to journalists (Figure 2).

In the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*, the news about the unusual presentation was published in the Economy section, which attributed the scenario and its content to a diversionist strategy set up by the government, as explained in the title of the article: "After GDP slowdown, Bolsonaro uses comedian to avoid the subject". The topic of the day was that the Brazilian economy, measured by figures tied to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), had grown by only 1.1% in 2019, the first year of the new government, the worst performance in the last three years, according to the *Folha de S. Paulo* report. When the president arrived on the scene mounted with the actor and the bananas [abundantly distributed among the government's noisy supporters], reporters promptly wanted to hear him about the previous year's paltry economic activity. "GDP? What is GDP? Ask them [journalists] what is GDP," Bolsonaro told the comedian, both laughing.



Figure 2. A comedian offers bananas to journalists.

Source of photo: *O Estado de S. Paulo* (04/02/2020).

Credit: Dida Sampaio.

### 4. The Speeches Under Analysis

In the first episode object of this analysis, on 18 February/2020, for the first time the president's speech is

addressed to a particular press professional, the journalist Patrícia Campos Mello, whose reports were at the centre of the hearings and testimonies collected by the CPMI of Fake News [installed in the House of Representatives in September/2019]. The full text of the speech passage made that morning in the "cercadinho da Alvorada" was extracted from the online edition of the *Correio Braziliense* newspaper. The full text follows:

"Look at the journalist from Folha de S. Paulo. There's another video of her there. I will not talk here because there are ladies next door. She said: 'I am 'tá, tá, tá' of the PT, is that right? In Hans River's statement to the Public Prosecutor's Office at the end of 2018, he says of the journalist's harassment of him. She [the reporter] wanted a scoop. She wanted to give a scoop at any price against me. There in 2018, he [Hans] already said that she arrived and went asking: 'Did Bolsonaro pay for you to disseminate information by Whatsapp?' And another: if you did fake news against the PT, less with less gives more in mathematics. If I'm going to lie against the PT, I'm speaking well because the PT only did bullshit."

The theme addressed by the president was extracted, in fact, from a factual occurrence, the testimony of Hans River to the CPMI on 11/February/2020, when he repeated the same argument already used with the Electoral Prosecutor's Office, in December/2018, alleging hypothetical harassment, promptly rejected by the journalist. Bolsonaro returned to the theme using the word "scoop" in double meaning, adding to the journalistic jargon the clear association with the sexual availability of a woman or even more expressly, to her genitalia. "She wanted a scoop. She wanted to give a scoop at any price against me," he said amid laughter from the audience.

The level of description is sufferable, limited to loose phrases with interjections that have become the trademark of the politician: that's it, that's right, that's okay, invariably in interrogative tone, seeking the complacency and identification of the interlocutors. There is no concern to contextualize the comment, which begins randomly. "Look at the journalist from Folha de S. Paulo, another video of her there". In the sequence, an onomatopoeia, "tá tá tá tá of the PT" appears in a confused manner to suggest that the reporter said she voted for the Workers' Party. The party legend is used in the course of the sentence as an example, in a repeated manner, configuring, in an obsessive manner, a pleonasm. In the eight lines that make up the clumsy speech of the Executive, the adversary party is mentioned four times.

In the second striking episode of the president's confrontation with reporters, the theme is, in reality, a metaphor stripped of any hint of subtlety. The banana brandished by the comedian Carioca is an illustrative metaphor and means, in practice, a mockery towards the work developed by the press professionals, a gesture of contempt rarely dared by a politician in activity. Let us see the dialogue between reporters and the two "presidents":

Reporter: President Bolsonaro, will you talk about the GDP?

Bolsonaro: GDP? What is GDP?

Carioca: What is GDP? Paulo Guedes, Paulo Guedes...

Reporter: The question is for the president, not you.

Bolsonaro: Ipiranga Post.

Carioca: Posto Ipiranga.

Bolsonaro: Another question.

Carioca: Another question, another question.

Reporter: President, comment on the GDP with us.

Carioca: But it's Paulo Guedes, it's Paulo Guedes.

The scene, called "Circo Bolsonaro", by columnist Mariliz Pereira Jorge, from Folha de S. Paulo, represents "the contortion that Jair Bolsonaro does to avoid answering unwanted questions", wrote Jorge on 5/March/2020. The intervention also configures the so-called anecdotal interview, characterized by "frivolous, inept, complacent conversations". [10]. The author groups the interviews in two trends: the spectacularization trend and the comprehension [deepening] trend. In the first, the grotesque, the spicy, the sensationalist traits stand out. [10].

There is no description about the scene set up beyond acting, as already reported, as a smokescreen to cover up the poor performance of the Brazilian GDP in 2019. The comedian reinforces the histrionic character of the scene by repeating, like a ventriloquist, what the president is asked. This type of case is just one of the effects of the inverted relationship between event and information, as Sodré ponders when citing a maxim of Baudrillard according to which "the information of the event is replaced by the event of the information." [11]. In other words,

*When information is an active part of the event, the subject of reception (the reading public or spectator) is thrown into uncertainty about any truth of the occurrence, which concurs to neutralize the "realist" ideology of the informative discourse (therefore the objectivity of the news) and bring it closer to the discourses in which mythological effects reign, like those of advertising and those of the spectacular performance, in which the distinctions between the true and the false become irrelevant. (idem).*

In "The narration of the fact, notes for a theory of the event", Sodré sustains that there are certain characteristics, in journalistic narratives, that can provoke a sensation of order and security in the experience of everyday life of habitual readers. "The journalistic event revives in each individual the feeling of the world, when not a sensitive reaccommodation of the quotidian, softening, if not neutralizing, the collective therapeutic impotence." [11].

Bourdieu's contribution in this field is decisive to explain the symbolic mechanisms embedded in the messages circulating in the social environment, including the mass media. The author proposes that what circulates in the linguistic market is not exactly the current language, "but discourses stylistically characterized at the same time on the production side [...], and on the reception side, insofar as each receiver contributes to produce the message he perceives and appreciates." [1]. From the perspective of the French sociologist, isolating language from its social

conditions of production is to ignore that the answer to the symbolic effectiveness of communication is not in language itself, but in the social world that produced it. Therefore, communication relations are power relations based on agency, on relations of symbolic violence, socially instituted.

In the same direction, Castells points out that power is exercised fundamentally by building meanings in the human mind through communication processes that take place in the networks of mass communication, including, as the author highlights, the mass self-communication. Thus, Bolsonaro's daily speeches, apparently frivolous and disjointed, reveal a strategy with well-directed targets regarding the reception of messages, starting with the noisy *claque* present at this type of press conference. The demonisation of the press validates, on the other hand, the structure of fake news. Day after day, throughout the first 500 days of his mandate, the president has made this practice an important part of his *modus operandi*, converging to part of the ritual of power a component of aggressive histrionics that targets the information content to be disseminated. Castells says: "Although theories of power and historical observation point to the importance of the state's monopoly of violence (...), the ability to successfully employ violence or intimidation requires the individual and collective framing of minds". [2]. In this consists, to a large extent, the irascible tenor emanating from the sham of press conferences in the Brasília commanded by Jair Bolsonaro.

## 5. Final Considerations

The journalistic activity in the political arena, especially for reporters working in the branches of the media in the federal capital, has become a risky activity. In good measure, due to the postures and attitudes adopted by the President of the Republic, Jair Bolsonaro, in daily contact with these professionals. There are daily sessions marked by shouting, humiliation, mockery and disqualification of the journalists' work, which ends up enhanced by the presence of government supporters who reinforce the discourse of the country's president. A situation so borderline that, in the last week of May/2020, several media outlets, led by *Folha de S. Paulo* and *O Globo*, announced they would no longer send reporters to such sessions.

Other media outlets followed, sparing their professionals from the ruse of a press conference in the guise of pampering supporters, who were in turn incited to raise their voices against the journalists. That is what was seen on 31 March 2020, when the curses of the people led to a retreat of the journalistic troop. It should be noted that, at the time of the final edition of this article, in the first week of August/2020, Bolsonaro's morning (un)meeting with reporters was practically suspended, partly to avoid crowds as recommended by the pandemic of the new coronavirus, a recommendation, moreover, repeatedly disregarded by the president in street meetings with his supporters.

The rupture that occurred in May 2020 represented a break in the relationship of tacit respect that has marked, in Brazilian republican history, the relationship between power and the media. Fonseca, from IPEA (Institute of Economic and Applied Research), reports that Brazilian history is crisscrossed by episodes in which the press played a decisive role in the course of events that produced substantive impacts on the country's socio-political structure. He also draws attention to the fact that the media, conceived as a political-ideological actor, represents one of the most effective institutions regarding "the inculcation of ideas with strategically reproducing groups of opinion, characterizing themselves as poles of power." [7].

Interestingly, the day before the unfortunate episode of the bananas offered to professionals by a comedian masquerading as president, the government reissued and published a 2018 primer on the protection of journalists and other communicators. The document outlines government obligations about prevention, protection and access to justice in cases of violence committed against these professionals due to the exercise of their right to freedom of thought and expression. Government obligations include making public speeches that contribute to preventing violence against journalists and communicators and campaigns and training state agents on the role of these professionals in democratic societies, says the document. Exactly the opposite of the president's actions.

The current administration has taken to its final consequences what professor Marcondes Filho has been pointing out in his books about the precariousness of journalists' activities. "The work has increased, the contingent has been reduced, responsibilities have become more individual." [9]. In the current moment of Brazilian democracy, these risks become even more evident, as exemplified by the mockery with which these professionals are treated. Of the meetings in the *cercadinho* [also informally classified as "*chiqueirinho*"], when there is no production of facts, but the diatribes of a president concerned, like a monarch, to speak to his entourage and be incensed by him, with prejudice to the professionals placed in a vexatious situation.

Finally, we believe that the analytical tool offered by CDA allows us to look at this new scenario in the case of Brazil in particular, and seek to understand how such staging seeks, in a surreptitious yet discursively explicit way, to act as a smokescreen to prevent reporters from addressing thorny and controversial issues in the daily lives of governments. As Van Dijk states, we see that the production and understanding of text and speech fundamentally imply what is traditionally and informally known as the context of this discourse, "which comprises categories such as the identity and role of the participant, the institution, the place, the moment, the political actions and the artifices related to them" [14]. And, clearly, it comprises the diversionist and manipulative strategies and tactics of discourses articulated from a place and with evident purposes.

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