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Body control in media-normalizing politics: regularities in the 2002 Lula election campaign

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ABSTRACT. Body control in media-normalizing politics within the context of the Brazilian presidential candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's electoral campaign in 2002 is analyzed and discussed. Photographs exhibited by three Brazilian weekly reviews, *Época*, *IstoÉ* and *Veja*, are analyzed according to French Discourse Analysis, mainly under the aegis of Foucault's investigations. An analysis of the candidate's photographic images reveals the social media's concern in presenting Lula's campaign through a representation featured by contrasting expositions. In fact, the 2002 election campaign is contrasted to that of former electoral periods. The normalization for a docile representation policy in the media comprises a regular 'behavioral norm' and a 'gesture norm' when broadcasting Lula's dociled body. The denunciation of body docilization by the social media also questioned the Brazilian Labor Party campaign as a possible de-characterization of Lula and his party to guarantee positive results in the elections. However, the historical review of body treatment and the contemporary overlaying of politics and the media show that the process of modifying Lula's presidential campaign was an adaptation stance towards the needs of politics being more immersed in the communication media.

Keywords: election campaign for president, Lula, body docilization, communication media, politics.

O controle dos corpos na política ambientada pela mídia: as regularidades na campanha de Lula em 2002

RESUMO. Este artigo objetiva discutir o controle dos corpos na política ambientada pela mídia, mais precisamente aquele em torno do candidato Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, nas eleições presidenciais de 2002. Sob o viés da Análise do Discurso de linha francesa, numa perspectiva baseada principalmente nos estudos de Foucault, analisamos as imagens fotográficas apresentadas por três revistas impressas: *Época*, *IstoÉ* e *Veja*. Pela análise das representações imagéticas do candidato, percebemos o trabalho da mídia em apresentar a campanha de Lula por uma representação regularmente marcada pela exposição em contraste, que focaliza o momento da eleição de 2002 em oposição a momentos eleitorais anteriores. Nesse movimento, traçamos o surgimento de uma normatização para a representação política docilizada na mídia, por meio de uma 'norma comportamental' e uma 'norma gestual', regulares na divulgação do corpo-dócil de Lula. Ao denunciar sua docilização corporal, a mídia questionou a campanha petista como uma possível descaracterização de Lula e do partido com a finalidade de ganhar as eleições. Contudo, a visada histórica apresentada no tratamento dos corpos e as imbricações contemporâneas entre política e mídia demonstram que o processo de mudança da campanha presidencial de Lula foi um movimento de adaptação às necessidades de mediação da política.

Palavras-chave: eleições presidenciais, Lula, docilização dos corpos, mídia, política.

Introduction

Even when cross-sectioned according to each aim, the history of the body is always a challenging affair. Following Sant'Anna (2006), we may penetrate this theme by retrieving a very important factor analyzed in Santos (2009). Our focus is how one historicizes the use of the political body in a specific event, specifically the 2002 Brazilian presidential elections, involving politics and the communication media.

We based ourselves on Foucault (1997b) who describes the birth of a 'disciplinary society' that molds itself by normatization and by the docilization of individuals who were considered delinquents by French penal society.

In our opinion, the control over the body described by the author comprises much more than the prison. In fact, it works similarly in all social spheres, especially in politics. Within the history of political relationships during several periods, such as

our post-modern present, public people had to be provided with a power over their body. This fact has been mainly underlined when politics started to be highlighted within the various media materialities, as it occurred during the 2002 polemical presidential campaign in Brazil.

When the use of the body in politics is taken into consideration, the discussions by Haroche (1998) and Courtine (2003) are focused upon. Their historical approach makes us reflect on the manner vigilance and the control of bodies (applied within the monarchic system of the 'Ancien Régime') is at present appropriated by the political system of several countries, including Brazil. Since the social media's role in the spread of these policies is highly significant, we will focus on Brazilian political and communication media archives of the 2002 presidential elections. This event struck our interest since it brings about discussions on the use of the body and gestures by the presidential candidate and the most favorite in popular opinion, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The event also shows the discursization of the practice of gesture contention of the political body in a period of media limelight.

The theory of the French Discourse Analysis will contribute to investigate several issues related to the use of the body in politics (hailing from the French monarchy) and the diverse relationships between the media, politics and the production of identities in the 2002 presidential campaign in Brazil.

The translation of all quoted references from the Portuguese and French sources is mine.

Vigilance Society

Foucault (1997b) investigated the transformation of penal practices in the modern age in his description of the model of the French prison characterized by a society that molded itself by the normatization and docilization of so-called delinquent people. According to the author, the condemnation processes in Western society up to the 20th century were based on a specific type of technology with a power mechanism on criminals, or rather, vigilance and the control of the body.

French criminals were condemned in public places. The 'one hundred deaths' referred to the idea that criminals should die gradually, through suffering, as a punishment for their crimes against society. Therefore the spectacle of their death should also be publicly seen. Although such practice was accepted and followed by that society, the violence of death caused great popular dissatisfaction that a sudden change in the paradigm of the French judicial process was required. "Slowly punishment was not considered a

spectacle any more" (FOUCAULT, 1997b, p. 12)¹ and the death spectacle was replaced by other types of condemnation processes.

As a consequence, confinement became the most relevant type of condemnation within the French penal system. Through this process the culprits' body was not touched or mangled in public squares. People were confined or exiled and thus posited far from the eyes of social critics. They underwent a severe policy of body reeducation that consisted of a chronology of activities and an absolute control of time and behavior. According to the French philosopher, this new punishment comprised a technique underpinned by a discourse that the body should be retrieved from delinquency and re-integrated into society as a dociled and useful person.

The so-called Disciplinary Society should be emphasized within the context of forms of condemnation. It is a vigilance system applied by the penal system of the time and which may be found in the country's political system in contemporary society. This is especially true if we consider it as a policy cultured by current social media.

The fabrication of the dociled body

Introduced after the spectacle institution, the prison was not merely a new punishment mechanism within society but also a type of control on condemned people. A power chain warranted the submission of culprits by an all-embracing gaze on their bodies. It was a vigilance that made the condemned persons act and execute 'useful' tasks within a constrained and suffocating chronology and under several interdictions on their mind and body.

The punishment ritual indicated the start of a new period characterized by the use of bodies. The art of knowing and studying the human body was introduced so that the body could be transformed into a retrieved and useful object within the capitalist system. Foucault named the process 'non-corporal punishment'.

The prisoners' time mechanism and space organization thus became productive since the penal process warranted that their mind would not remain empty, merely concentrated on planning flights from the prison. Within the context of this type of mental control, the prisoners' day was not wasted since confined people had things to produce. Therefore, time control as an instrument of submission was a type of dissimulated torture, albeit highly functional.

¹The quotes were translated from the original work.

The certainty of punishment and not the abominable spectacle is the true deterrent of the criminal; the exemplar mechanism of punishment changed the machine workings (FOUCAULT, 1997b, p. 13).

Punishment was a torture that did not wear out the public opinion since it masked the violence hidden by isolation and control of individuals, by the study of their mind and by the submission to different types of moral, spiritual, physical and mental punishments. This occurred due to a supplicant basis within modern mechanisms of criminal justice that prohibited body sufferings. In the theory brought forth by Foucault (1997b, p. 142) there is the source, or rather, the present profile: “[...] the classical period saw the birth of detailed military and political tactics by which the State controlled the body and power of the individuals”.

Foucault's history (1997b) on the use of punishment on the body, briefly given above, will indicate the process of a similar control in the rise of gesture pedagogy within politics.

The control of the body and gesture in the policy of the French monarchy

In 1563, Queen Catherine de Medicis wrote a letter to Charles IX in which she discussed items on the art of governing. It comprised the essential gestures proper to the behavior of a successful public person of the period. Taking this historical document as a basis for his arguments, Haroche (1998) describes the origins of a more contained behavior in politics.

According to the above-mentioned letter, the Monarch should show himself accessible to the needs of his subjects. His power should be visible within the society he governed since the rapture effect inherent to royal pomp in State ceremonies and in Court activities caused affective and emotional mechanisms to warrant the maintenance and the fear of royalty.

If the King marched in his ceremonial vestments with all his authority, he will fix in the people's mind that he is committed to their well being. Traveling throughout the kingdom should be accompanied by the order and harmony brought about by the very person of the Monarch, by his behaved body, shown in private activities at least to a small group of people who will be satisfied that they may accompany him in the most intimate moments.

So that the majestic behavior is enhanced, the king should comply with a serene logic of body use and exhibition, characterized by slow movements in walking and a self-containment which communicates,

impresses and forces respect. Slow movements and a stonewall face reflected the royal necessity of being distinguished above the other Court members.

On the other hand, the body behavior of a good subject should follow the containment of the ruler. In the context of an array of respectful compliments of the ‘Ancien Régime’, such as genuflections and eye directions, were controlled movements, the result of the domestication of bodies aiming at the perception of the royal grandeur. Consequently, the nobility should give special attention to details of facial expressions and thus pressuring the subjects to be restrained and control themselves. They would thus fabricate a different individual image based on respect and submission.

One of the profoundest items in this policy based on communication consists of the vigilance issue in each relationship: the subject's vigilant gaze that followed the steps of the king or the sovereign's face which in its thorough functionality perceived the needs and the aspirations of those whom he should please. The centrality of the gaze is important because, according to Haroche (1998, p. 107), “[...] the low classes of people have more need to see than to listen; exhibition to satisfy is thus necessary”.

As one may observe, as far as Antiquity, that the political machine uses a great quantity of tools based on the corporal values of gestures, facial expressions and movements, and gazes placed to reproduce a communication policy. Coupled to these moderate rites, public people could use a gestural norm with political aims.

The above history of the use of the body in politics reflects on the manner movements which are common in the people's daily life of have their origin hailing from a dominant-dominated stance.

On the other hand, if at present politics is totally inserted within the media, the idea based on vigilance and body control, which had been applied by the monarchical system of that time, has penetrated at present in the several spheres of the country's political system.

The history of the punitive power over the body reveals that the 2002 presidential elections also featured a similar control process. During 2002 the Brazilian communication media produced a discourse on a stance change of the Labor Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, commonly known as PT) candidate through vigilance on the political and personal behavior of its candidate Lula. Employing the same ‘biopower’ investigated by Foucault, the Brazilian communication media maintained a constant critique of the candidate. The movement did not apply the physical aggression of the

'Execution Era' but punished the 'condemnable' attitudes of the Left in its propagation of a voluble image of and, therefore unfavorable to the candidate, before the gaze of the Brazilian electoral public, as will be contextualized below.

The 2002 presidential elections: production conditions

The Brazilian 2002 presidential elections featured a political and social media event with high national and international visibility, especially in the way they were placed in the media as a spectacle for all. The discursivity of the media gaze on this public event was devoted to the production of an intense footage material on the Labor Party candidate.

From the very start, all the different media voices agreed on the idea that Lula abandoned his characteristic leftist identity as an opponent of the ruling administration and, due to his last historical electoral defeats, presented himself in the 2002 elections through an aesthetic, ideological and corporal profile constructed to achieve a sure election victory. Questionings on his future government's policy, the political and party alliances and, mainly the image he presented during the presidential campaign were at the very core of the media discourse.

In these discourses there was a constant factor on the task of the top marketing man. Mr. Duda Mendonça was of paramount importance for the establishment of the candidate's image made very similar to that of his political opponents in the current administration. When the Brazilian media tried to explain the high popular acceptance of the Labor party candidate and the high favorable rates in public opinion given before the election, they broadcasted a denunciation discourse on the sudden changes mainly in the candidate's physical and behavioral plane: physical aspects, a more traditional gear, a contained behavior, a dociled style, a less Leftist discourse, a more refined language and an attenuated stand.

In spite of the polemical discussions prepared by the media during the electoral campaign, Lula won the first election round on the 6th October 2002 with 39,445,233 (46.47%) valid votes and the second round on the 27th October 2002 with 52,782,475 (61.28%) valid votes. The media movement triggered our interest on the matter. It was more than mere speculative phenomena since in the opinion of the electoral public the journalistic texts broadcasted by the press tended to be unfavorable to the Labor Party candidate.

The 2002 political scene culminated with a host of research work on the same narration in discussions that investigated the discourses of the

presidential candidate through different aspects and aims. Discussions by the Political and Media Studies Group (GEPOMI) of the State University of Maringá and prior investigation by the author of the present essay committed us to analyze the electoral campaign under analysis within a study of the discursive phenomena involved in this historical scene so that we may establish an analysis on the construction of a dociled Lula, according to Foucault's notions, by means of image representations that were presented by journalistic coverage on the use of the body and gestures during the presidential candidate's campaign.

Treatment of the political and communication media archives of the 2002 elections

So that we may investigate the construction mechanisms of media discourses based on the methodological perspective of French Discourse Analysis, we will discuss the concepts 'archive', 'enunciation', 'discursive formation and regularity', which are essential for the adoption of the archeological method proposed by Foucault (1997a).

According to Foucault (1997a, p. 149), 'archiveis',

[...] a system that controls the event of the enunciations as regular happenings [...] It differentiates discourses in their multiple existence and specifies them in their own duration.

Discourse is understood to be discursive practice which occurs through established enunciations, obeys certain rules and figures in an event.

The concept of 'event' (FOUCAULT, 1997a) is highly important for the understanding of the historical moment of the 2002 presidential elections which emerges in the political and communication media 'archive' as a scene full of meaning. Based on these concepts and adopting Foucault's archeological method, our analysis on the materiality of media texts of the period critiques the historicity of the events through an investigation of discursivity of the candidate Lula's images during the electoral year.

According to Sargentini (2006), the Foucauldian notion of archive demands that the analyst evokes the dispositions and configurations that pinpoint the formation/transformation system of the event-produced enunciations. Through such methods we will establish an analytic disposition in which concepts and methods are required and explored at their proper time in our interpretation of the electoral campaign.

In the construction of this method to analyze the discursivity of the changes of the Labor Party candidate in the 2002 presidential elections, we will

select a 'discursive space' which comprises the use of the body in three Brazilian weekly magazines, namely *Época*, *IstoÉ* and *Veja*. The core of the reports in the printed weekly magazines is made up of Brazilian themes and international issues on economy, culture and politics. Although their editorial policy is different, each weekly magazine had its own proper stance devoted to the presidential campaign. This is the place to investigate the political-communication media framework of the campaign.

Taking into consideration the discursive object of all the editions of these magazines, the proper categories to the analysis of the printed media will be employed with regard to the news they represent. In the corpus employed many texts give information in news reports through distinct and veracity-tested procedures and through fidelity of scenes and facts informed in the issues.

Therefore, different narratives of the above-mentioned political event made us perceive the communication media-ization movement of this period through the candidates' images involved. The idea that the selection by the media of certain issues or the silencing of others defines themes, events and actors relevant to news demands a reading of the quantification of imagefeaturing of the candidates in these publications.

The focus on the image to reach body representation is justified by our comprehension of its discursive function as a material form which, historically inscribed, have an enunciation statute. Since the communication media marks the broadcasting of political issues of a campaign, it is fundamental to perceive how images are part and parcel of the media. In fact, photos are often the indexes of a materialized reality.

In our analysis and with the quantification of images, we may compare the initial treatment received in each magazine by each candidate. During this second stage of our quantitative analysis, we will focus on the image discursivity at different periods, namely, during the entire electoral year, during the campaign period (from the launching of the candidates up to the electoral victory) and in specific periods between the first and second rounds.

The systematization of the periods will monitor the images published in the magazines. After comparing quantitatively the space destined for each candidate, we will formulate the criteria that would help us in our interpretation for the data inherent to our archive. All the factors which in their discursive materiality have inscribed and given meaning to the image of the presidential candidate Lula will be investigated.

The object of our research will be contemplated within the 'regularity' of the historical event inherent to the discursive practices under analysis. Foucault (1997a) defines discursive regularity as the task the analyst develops when organizing the events. He searches that which is regular within the dispersion of linguistic or image relationships of the enunciations. The set of images-discourses that act in the maintenance of the relationships and/or the effects of meaning on changes undertaken by the presidential candidate Lula is perceived as regular.

Although the studies on regularities in the candidate's image provides, in information terms, the space of the Labor Party campaign in the weeklies under analysis, numerical data alone do not make explicit whether the media-ization of the Labor Party campaign was framed positively or negatively. We will consequently turn to the communication media framework of Lula's body in the representation of photos published.

According to Barthes (1984), the photographic image is predominantly characterized by reference and performs a deictic function which may confound it with its own referent – this fact made us understand the illusion of truth installed by the communication media discourse.

The methodological bases for an analysis of the effects of meanings possible to such frameworks are thus constituted. The communication media provides a discourse network which offers to the readers, within the context of printed matter, symbolic forms that would allow it to construct a representation of reality.

Thus, the object under analysis contemplates Lula's image as presented in the materiality of the printed media. Through the discursive object made up of 154 issues of the three magazines *Época*, *IstoÉ* and *Veja*, we will analyze whether the change of the discursive profile by the printed communication media in the denunciation of Lula as a dociled body produced by the Labor Party marketer may be thought of as a docilization process of the body standardized by the Brazilian social media.

The control of political bodies in the media: spectacle production

The political history of several periods in human history has been characterized by a special trait towards convincement and public sensitivity. The political discourse is an ancient practice that acquired different and essential modalities in societies at various level of civilization. For long periods of time the political speech was systemized by eloquence within the milieu of public scenes

given to large and heterogeneous audiences, especially in the traditional political meeting.

By the 1950s this type of discourse was significantly transformed when crowd risks and the introduction of different media forced politicians to abandon the face-to-face type of politics and acquire space in the communication media. From such changes on the screen and in other modalities, the political discourse constantly acquired specific traits that guarantee the production of a real political spectacle.

Any spectacle brings about a corporal logic through the unceasing search of the gaze. While aiming at the spectators' provisional adhesion, the subjects speak, gesticulate and displace themselves in groupings of detailed programmed visual movements that direct a narrative proper to the event while they exhibit themselves to the public.

The new political discourse is specially marked by a discourse in which simulation, feigning, punctuality, brevity and simplicity create a supposed dialogue with a non-present public. This fact simulates less authoritarianism and more accessibility to the voter weary of being the object of the vengeance of dictatorships. The political discourse is thus characterized by brief forms: "[...] in politics communication would be the employment of few words [...], short phrases, introduction of formulae" (COURTINE, 2003, p. 23). TV-or radio-mediated speech had to adapt itself to the possibility of penetrating the intimacy of the voter in a clear and objective manner.

Further, the conversation-spectacle style started to be also introduced. The simulation of a discourse open to the debate of ideas with the general public was needed to maintain a token of democracy in front of the voter: "[...] the political discourse which started to be fabricated within technical formulae transformed itself into slogans" (NUNES, 2004, p. 356). Consequently, Miguel (2002) remarks that public heterogeneity touched by this type of media causes the politician to dilute the discursive contents of the theme and the focus to the detriment of a wide-spread and superficial talk.

There was also the trend to publicizing the particularities of each politician. The habits, the particular details and the domestic life are summarized within the constant of the appearance of politicians on the TV screen. These needs contributed towards the appearance of election marketers defined as professional people committed to the establishment of such techniques and especially to their direct application in politics.

As one may have noted, contemporary political communication travels from the traditional

rhretorical discourse to a spectacle of the body. "The image, dissociated from discourse, qualifies or disqualifies the contents, measures their impact and welds their effects" (COURTINE, 2003, p. 24). Focused more directly on the candidates, the emotional appeals produce a personalized campaign directed towards the voters' vigilant gaze. The new political orators are seen, observed and examined on the TV screen. In a context ranging from debates to interviews, the greatest enemy of the politician may be a technical threat and situations in which light, sound and transmission may project negative traits (COURTINE, 2003). However, the politicians' personalized and emotional characteristic establishes itself in the campaigns through the exposition of a disciplined and simple body.

The amplitude of each gesticulation of this audiovisual technology may be underlined. So that they may be in the limelight, politicians softened their voices, lessened the crispness of their gesticulations, established logotypes and smiled effusively. The ability to register each attitude and the recording and transmission of messages to an infinite number of spectators triggered TV programs to exact from politicians a greater dominion of emotions and an ability to make natural all type of sympathy and constrain.

According to Courtine (2003), the great change of focus of political finesse is at present the transmission of a reliable body-image. In the wake of structural and philosophical changes in politics, communication experts and political and social scientists debate the role of each area, although the theoretical discussion is normally tainted by the subestimation of one section or another. According to Rubim (2000), the political spectacle should be seen as an immanent movement to life in society which is not foreign to current politics. A political discourse with more aesthetics was eventually unavoidable.

The relationship between the communication media and politics is increasingly in the limelight in contemporary research and each party defends either that the predominance of a communication media-entertainment logic in media-normatized politics is merely a reflection of a de-politization of politics, or that the absence of a marketing technique jeopardizes politics. Santos (2009) delineated the specificities that limit the simple normatization of politics by the communication media as a counterpoint to the eventual spectacularization of politics by the communication media. While relying on Rubim (2002), current research delineates the understanding of media normatization as a process in which the politicians seek perfection in techniques and a reorganization that would allow

them to be outstanding within society through the communication media with a linguistic, aesthetic and cultural standard proper to this broadcasting space. On the other hand, within the process of media-normalized spectacularization, politics does not merely adapt its message to the communication media but subjects it to the specific rules of a production-spectacle process:

If governments and public people are recurring themes of the journalistic reality of news or interviews as a simple process of media-normalized politics through spectacularization, this panorama is completely involved by propaganda, scandals or public manifestations that emerge in the media making use of resources that tend towards the production of several spectacles (ROMUALDO; SANTOS, 2010, p. 132).

In the wake of these considerations on the practice of body vigilance and on the use of the body in media-normalized politics, it is now high time to discuss how the political body, evaluated in the 'Ancien Régime' monarchy manifested itself in and through the communication media during the journalistic coverage of the political campaign for the 2002 presidential elections in Brazil.

Regularities in Lula's image treatment in the communication media

Possible forms in describing such an important period in Brazilian politics comprise the following issues: an analysis of Lula's image constructed in or by the communication media in the 2002 electoral context; whether there was a docilization of the body and whether the communication media contributed in informing real facts on the new personality of the Labor Party's candidate to the public; whether the communication media merely desired to put the candidate within an unfavorable light without identifying the changed context.

The Brazilian communication media built a productive image text to prove the discourse-denunciation of the Labor Party's change of profile. The Labor Party candidate's representation was regularly marked by contrast exposition. The thematic and visual regularities in the texts for the visual construction of the candidate-body during the process were several. The Table 1 will illustrate the above.

We may perceive that aspects in the photos of Lula's two different political periods are regular and, mainly, contradictory if seen from the point of view of what each peculiarity represents. Our focus will therefore show two great grouping of such regularities: a behavioral and a gesture norm.

Table 1. The regularity of the images.

Previous electoral periods	The 2002 presidential campaign
Photo showing Lula gesticulating aggressively	Photo showing Lula hugging people or any other endearing gesture
Photo showing Lula with an "angry" facial expression, featuring wrinkles on his forehead and modified eyebrows	Photo showing a smiling Lula
Photo showing Lula alone or accompanied with supporters	Photo showing Lula beside a political authority or an entrepreneur
Black and white photo showing Lula in casual wear	A color photo showing Lula in a suit
Photo showing Lula without any special makeup	Photo showing Lula taking care of his makeup
Photo showing Lula during a speech for agitated masses	Photo showing Lula in a speech to entrepreneurs
Photo showing Lula in a TV debate	Photo showing Lula on TV: rehearsals for an electoral program
Photo showing an angry Lula brandishing the text of the Brazilian Constitution.	Photo showing a smiling Lula hugging a red star

Regularity in the communication media pages: a behavioral norm

One of the most relevant thematic regularities in the coverage of Lula's electoral campaign triggered many discourses on the political alliances proposed by the candidate. Similarly, the regularity in the candidate's image representation in the issues under analysis was Lula's photo at the right hand side of important politicians or entrepreneurs. This was shown to be as a peculiar movement in a campaign by the Labor Party which always had difficulties in approaching the Brazilian elites.

The second regular aspect is the visual contrast. Whereas in the 2002 campaign Lula is seen in color photos wearing brand suits, smiling attractively, showing cared of teeth, in previous electoral periods the black and white photos show Lula wearing a simple shirt, featuring a grave facial expression and exhibiting rough and decaying teeth when shown smiling.

In 2002 Lula appears with a new smile, featuring wide-open eyes and cared of teeth in full connivance with the smiling pose. Contrastingly, the pre-2002 photos show the smile features within the context of closed eyes and a not so cared of set of teeth. This comparison in the communication media analyzed translates the evolution of a body that is cared of prior to the broadcasting of a photo of the body destined to govern other bodies. According to Bruhns (2000, p. 89), the healthy image in the photo is relevant for the acceptance of a body that is seeking consumers: "[...] emphasis on the physical appearance is an important process in our society, reinforced by visual images as one of the propelling factors in consumer society".

The third regularity in the set of photos within our corpus concentrates on the campaign's discourse

profiles. Since Lula has always been associated to an electorate hailing from the lower classes, the photographic images showing Lula making speeches in pre-2002 campaigns exhibited an aggressive candidate with wide gesticulations in a street protest meeting in which the militant public often participated. On the other hand, the 2002 campaign shows month after month images of a more constrained Lula in speeches to entrepreneurs. They are shown paying attention to his proposals and clearly sympathetic to the possibility of a Labor Party administration.

The fourth regular item in the image representation of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva exhibited his participation in TV programs in photos provided by the communication media. The 2002 photos showed the production of his TV electoral propaganda, whereas the pre-2002 photos show the TV political debates in which the candidate was not successful.

If according to Sennet (1997) the appearance of a person may be taken as a direct expression of his deep self, a photo with a smiling Lula hugging the Labor Party ideological symbol (the red star) demonstrates the satisfaction of a future government leader representing his political party. Such an ideology is highly different from the photo showing Lula brandishing the text of the Brazilian Constitution in 1989. The political propaganda demonstrates the candidate's 'serious' and questioning face, as if he were 'fighting' for a cause not accepted by many.

The above are comparisons which implicitly provide the behavioral norm prepared by the magazines when they establish a space divided between the candidate's old and the current discourse. The vigilance of the communication media text is so perspicacious that, as suggested by Haroche (1998, p. 121), "[...] no gesture, no movement, albeit slightly perceptible, escapes the gaze of the perceiving observer".

The candidate's stance was, therefore, denounced as a behavioral norm that pervaded every appearance of the candidate in front of the communication media. Further, another regular norm in the communication media's discourse-denunciations was the use of the body in the context of a dociled gesture norm.

Regularity in the communication media pages: gesture norm

The transformed gesture of Lula's body was a regularity in the image representations at two instances: the facial expression and the use of the hands.

The first regular contrast in the gesture norm of the Labor Party candidate is established between the manner the facial expression of the candidate appears in the printed photos. So that an image of a reliable person is transmitted, the politician often develops types of control imbued with the body abilities of containment. Since Lula is always smiling in the photos (facing the reader) in the 2002 campaign, the sympathy of a reliable leader with great dominion of self is provided. This fact did not occur in the pre-2002 photos. An angry Labor Party man who faced the voters' vigilant eyes was regularly transmitted in all photos facing the camera.

Such a photographic construction occurred regularly in the magazine issues when comparing the gaze towards the camera with lifted head and the side, almost lost, glance.

Lula's gesture norm reproduced in the magazines also show the regularity of the contrast between hand-shaking and hearty compliments and an aggressive, uncontrolled gesture featured by the hands.

In 1994 the candidate's gestures were marked by roughness and were destined towards a single politician. Lula points his indicator finger against Fernando Henrique Cardoso in the electoral debate transmitted by the Globo TV Network. In 2002 Lula cordially kisses the cheeks of Patricia Pillar, the wife of Ciro Gomes, his political adversary in that election campaign. According to the photo, the Labor Party candidate shows himself as an educated person who is prepared to act socially as any ruler is wont to. "The manner one compliments another provides an idea of the social positions directed to others" (FIRTH, 1973, p. 323).

Through a contrasting image representation, the magazines characterized the Labor Party candidate as undergoing a docilization body process as a punishment for his change of poses surveyed by the very communication media. Within this contrast context, the broadcasting of Lula's changes became thus a pretext for the vigilance of his body. The punishment was the establishment of a typical docilization, attributed to his own personality, triggered by a never-ceasing desire to be the president of Brazil.

Final considerations

The passivity and the containment of royalty during the 'Ancien Régime' and the concern for moderate gestures and healthy bodies are essential characteristics in Brazilian presidential politics, especially when they feature in the communication media. For example, the candidate's and public

people's smile, serenity and sure gaze reflect a type of marketing prepared to conquer the vigilant eyes of the voters-TV-spectators. As traditional propaganda processes, these concerns on the employment of the body and gestures were highlighted during the electoral campaign of the Labor Party candidate during the 2002 presidential elections.

Regularities in the image treatment of Lula in the communication media show, in our opinion, a vigilance with regard to the behavioral and gesture norms which they denounced as a possible change in the candidate so that he might win the 2002 elections.

Similarly to the transmission of an image of Lula in the wake of such concerns, the Brazilian communication media critiqued the Labor Party campaign as a possible de-characterization of the candidate and of the Party after three consecutive failures in previous campaigns. However, the process of change which pervaded the Labor Party campaign was much more an adaptation movement to the needs of media-normalized politics than a kind of de-characterization. This was due to the fact that, required by the new social and historical context of Brazilian politics, concern with the use of the body and gestures in the production of the Lula campaign culminated in the 2002 elections as a late adaptation when compared to the policies of many Brazilian political parties and also those of other countries which also adapted themselves to the 'lessons' taught a long time ago.

Courtine (2003) emphasizes that this new way of making politics is criticized for its propaganda and seducing features, directed to be consumed, and not for its democratic stance. The same author, however, assures that the lights of the political spectacle were never spent, although people, scenes and gazes were (merely) transformed.

Understanding these political movements is an invitation to a greater involvement with the already written history of our political history and with the next episodes. In the context of the discursivity of bodies and gestures, the production of meaning marks the plenitude of life even in contemporary politics: navigating in such discursivity is, therefore, more than a stance of analysis but a comprehension of yesterday, today and tomorrow.

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