

## An Afro American and poor neighborhood dweller woman in power: possible ethos and representatons evoked by Áurea Carolina / *Uma preta e periférica no poder: possíveis ethé e representações evocados por Áurea Carolina*

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### ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to reflect, from a Discours Analysis (DA) perspective, about two Aurea Carolina's interviews after being elected a councilwoman, with an expressive vote, in Belo Horizonte / MG in 2016. The analysis of this young black, slum dweller, with "no political sponsorship" woman speeches leads us to an impression that we are facing a "new way of doing politics". From this point of view, the proposal was try to understand how the social representation and the imaginaries can perform the ethos built by this councilwoman during her power achieving process. Áurea emerges in the political scene with a "collective campaign of multiplicity", embracing discourses of identity, egalitarianism and solidarity, which for Charaudeau (2006) go together with the construction of a "popular sovereignty" imaginary (the democracy's myth). In this context, a collective demand for a specific kind of leadership can be seen, an ethos that in a certain way coincides with the image the councilwoman reveals. Such perception shows that the imaginaries around this political subject, suppose an idea that her proximity to the poorer classes can legitimize her as a representative for these groups.

**KEYS WORDS:** Discourse analysis; Ethos; Social representations; Political speech.

### RESUMO

*Este trabalho procura refletir, sob o prisma da Análise do Discurso (AD), acerca de duas entrevistas concedidas por Áurea Carolina após ser eleita vereadora, com votação expressiva, por Belo Horizonte/MG em 2016. A análise das*

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*falas dessa mulher jovem, negra, de periferia e “sem apadrinhamento político” nos leva à impressão de estarmos diante de uma “nova forma de fazer política”. Dentro de tal ótica, a proposta foi tentar compreender como as representações sociais e os imaginários podem estar presentes no ethos construído pela vereadora nessa escalada ao poder. Áurea surge na cena política com uma “campanha coletiva da multiplicidade”, valendo-se de discursos que pautavam o direito à identidade, o igualitarismo e a solidariedade, o que para Charaudeau (2006) coincide com a construção de um imaginário da “soberania popular” (mito da democracia). Nesse contexto, percebe-se a demanda de uma coletividade por um tipo específico de liderança, um ethos em certa medida coincidente com a imagem que a vereadora deixa transparecer. Tal percepção nos mostra que os imaginários, também circulantes em torno desse sujeito político, envolvem a crença de que a sua proximidade com as classes menos favorecidas pode legitimá-la como representante desses grupos.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Análise do discurso; Ethos; Representações sociais; Discurso político

## 1 Introduction

Our purpose in this paper is to analyze, under the light of the Discourse Analysis (DA), two Áurea Carolina's interviews from October 2016, just after she was elected a councilwoman with more than 17.000 votes, an unseen fact in the political history of Belo Horizonte. The interviews were published on the websites: *Brasil de Fato*, from MG, and *Forum*<sup>1</sup>. The choice for these two media to broadcast is due to the fact that they are not part of the big business communication Brazilian groups, arousing our interests to the discourse as proposed, which may justify, even, the possible ideological-discursive positions present in the very issues raised by the interviewers. The first interview was broadcasted on October 3, 2016 on the "Brasil de Fato" news site under the title "The black and slum dweller women have power, says BH's most voted council member". The second one was entitled "Although few, we resist, says Áurea Carolina, the most voted black councilwoman in BH", she has been interviewed by the digital magazine "Forum" on October 6, 2016.

In order to establish discursively our study object, which Charaudeau characterizes as a communicative situation, we should highlight the political moment in which Áurea Carolina was elected. This PSOL (Socialism and Freedom Party)<sup>2</sup> candidate won a seat in the Chamber of Minas Gerais' capital surrounded by an environment where, theoretically, both conjunctures

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<sup>1</sup> Brasil de Fato (BdF) is a news site and a radio agency. Proposing itself to be plural and diverse, it brings together journalists, writers and popular movements from Brazil and the world. Source: QUEM SOMOS. Brasil de Fato(BdF). Disponível em: <<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/quem-somos/>> Acesso em: 24. fev. 2017. The *Forum* magazine provide stories, reports and interviews bringing up world visions dissenting from the great traditional media. Fonte: Fórum. Disponível em: <<http://www.revistaforum.com.br/sobre-a-revista/>> Acesso em: 24. fev. 2017.

<sup>2</sup> A dissention of the PT (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, the workers' party), the PSOL was created with an intention of representing a "new and historic" moment for the country and the socialist left, holding up the working and the oppressed classes, opening the way for a left, socialist and democratic alternative. PSOL Program. Available at: <<http://www.psol50.org.br/partido/programa/>>. Accessed on: 30. Apr. 2017.

personal and political were unfavorable and/or atypical. From a personal point of view, the Áurea's achievement is new in the political environment, especially because she is young, black and comes from the poor neighborhoods. She also achieves an exploit as a candidate, as much as she rises to the political power, by being elected without considerable campaign expenditures and without claiming for political inheritance and/or patronage, as traditionally happens in Brazil<sup>3</sup>. Another aspect that should be considered in Áurea's victory is the political conjuncture itself. The election was in 2016, a period marked by the impeachment of the President Dilma Rousseff and by the aggravation of the political scenario, at the economic and ideological spheres. This was the main factors that have led, among other effects, to disbelief in traditional discourses (which can be observed by the high number of abstentions, null and void votes in the 2016 Belo Horizonte municipal elections) and the return of conservative agendas<sup>4</sup> and candidates.

Facing this scenario, we studied Áurea's different speeches under the DA prisms, considering Patrick Charaudeau's Semiolinguistic Theory. In doing so, we seek to verify how the social representations and the imaginaries can fit in the ethos built by the new councilor. Considering the specificities of the political discourse itself, we were inspired by the analytical categories proposed by Charaudeau to examine the object in question. Either with the intention, in the first moment, to identify in which groups *ethé* (plural ethos), credibility or identification, the councilwoman speeches could be framed, either taking this first viewing, to estimate the possible representations and social discursive imaginaries such lines could evoke.

In this purpose, we verify that our analysis permeates an acceptance of voices that are usually invisible and marked by a lack of political representation. In the specific case we explored here, however, the ballot boxes' results put in evidence one of these minorities or "subalterns", to take a perspective stated by Spivak (2010), who uses the term to refer to groups with a minor political and social representation. That said, we highlight that proposing a discursive analysis of these Áurea Carolina's speeches consists, among other aspects, in an effort to identify the main circulating imaginaries in these groups and the universe where they are located, always considering the self image the candidate allows to be seen.

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<sup>3</sup> Today in Brazil, for example, half of the current deputies inherited their mandates from relatives.

Source: PULLICA, Agência. *Herdeiros de políticos ocupam metade da Câmara*. Congress Site in Focus. 2016. Available at: <<http://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/noticias/herdeiros-de-politicos-ocupam-metade-da-camara/>> Accessed on: 02. mar. 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Source: 2006, Elections. Second shift confirms right and conservative turn. Folha UOL| 2016. Available at: <<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/eleicoes2016/2016/10/1827871-segundo-turno-confirma-guinada-a-direita-e-conservadora.shtml>> Accessed on: 24 Feb. 2017.

## 2 About the ethos in the political discourse

Although we don't deal in this article with a situation in which Áurea appears as a candidate searching for votes, but, on the contrary, as a councilor (already elected) being interviewed, we realize, however, that studies by Charaudeau (2006) of the possible *ethé* that involves the political subject can be here coherently discussed and analyzed. For the author, the candidates, in a wish of winning the preference of the electorate, use discursive strategies aiming to build an image of themselves that is credible to the eyes of their public and, at the same time, are capable to create identification links with those people.

According to Charaudeau, in the midst of this set of typical political discourse strategies, it's difficult to establish a border between the *ethos* and the ideas defended by a certain political subject, once the image process construction resides, among other aspects, in the very way these ideas are introduced. Based on this point of view, the ideas would be worthless if they were not associated to a subject who convey credibility and, at the same time, serves as a support for identification. In this sense, candidate's credibility must be associated to a faith in their "power to do"; on the other hand, the identification aspect is anchored on the premise that in order to create adherence to one's ideas, we must first adhere to the personality of the speaking subject himself. From these strategic nuances of the political discourse, Charaudeau (2006) sees the arising of identarian figures that constitute two great categories of *ethos*, taken in this paper, which are credibility *ethos* and identification *ethé*.

Once we are dealing here with a candidate who won a great visibility in the 2016 elections, especially in Belo Horizonte, but who, until then, was not known by many people in the political scene, we defined as valid for this study a reflection about the parameters that allow us to contrast, comparatively, elements that may characterize a pre-existing Áurea Carolina's *ethos* and another, more strategic and discursively constructed.

### 2.1 Identification strategies and/or credibility?

For Charaudeau, the credibility is not necessarily related to the subject's social identity, but it's a result of an identity that is discursively built and that is based, among other aspects, on

an individual ability to demonstrate that what he says corresponds to his way of thinking and that he is able to fulfill his promises. Which means that his credibility is based on a "power to do", proving he really has power to achieve certain things. The actualization of this credibility, however, says Charaudeau, depends on the simultaneous fulfillment of three main conditions: sincerity, performance and effectiveness.

Regarding to the *ethé* group of identification, another category marked as compositive of the political discourse, Charaudeau (2006) understands that, in a similar way to the *ethé* of credibility, the figures of *ethos* converge for both the citizen and the reference values. Within the sphere of the *ethos* of identification, however, images are built out from a "social affection", a situation in which the individual can establish an identity relationship (not rational) with a certain leader and/or political subject. According to the author, such images can be built (or used) in different ways by politicians, according to their objectives and/or interests, but some may better characterize the identity *ethé* group as: the *ethos* of power, the *ethos* of character, the *ethos* of intelligence, the *ethos* of humanity, the *ethos* of boss and the *ethos* of solidarity.

In the political universe, says Charaudeau (2006), the appreciation of the *ethos* depends on the circumstances and comes from the social representation domain. Success in this game of identity construction results, basically, from a set of strategies combined by the political subject that coincides with an eventual demand for an *ethos* in a society at a given historical moment, a demand that is sometimes vague and unconscious (not always easily identifiable). In this hypothetical scenario, the author believes, it is necessary (or at least convenient) to the *ethos* of the citizenship to recognize itself in the mirror of the political power instance just as it is displayed, a process that is possible by choosing and adopting strategies capable to handle a great range of *ethé*, according to the situation. Sometimes, the *ethé* of credibility might be the most appropriate or even have the greatest impact; in others, strategies involving *ethos* of identification can be decisive.

## 2.2 *Ethos*: a result of a Double Identity

Considering some particularities of our *corpus*, involving a political figure previously unknown to the general public, but presenting a considerable acceptance among specific groups and/or specific segments, as well, we think it's worth to bring into our discussion other aspects of

this strategic play set of Áurea Carolina's *ethos*, especially regarding to the categorization of that identity (social or discursive) that can reflect (or not) the expectation of a given collectivity.

In order to reflect on these aspects, we resort again to Charaudeau (2006), who resume the Aristotelian rhetoric, mainly, to weave his discussions about the role of the *ethos* as a strategy in the political discourse as part of a framework where *logos* and *pathos* are treated as potential discursive ways of influencing an audience.

[...] the *logos*, on one hand, which belongs to the domain of reason and makes possible to convince; the *ethos* and the *pathos*, on the other hand, belong to the emotional domain and enable the thrill [...] If the *pathos* is intended to the audience, the *ethos* turns itself to the speaker. (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, 113)

In the midst of other questions about this rhetorical category, the author inquires *ethos*, as a self-image construction, is linked to the real person who speaks (the speaker) or to the person as a speaking being (the enunciator); in another point he asks whether the self-image concerns only the individual or can extend to a group of individuals. As for the first problem, the author emphasizes that some proponents defend the *ethos* as a pre-existent element to the discourse leaning on the individual image, an image that issues from their intrinsic characteristics, their own personality. On the other hand, there are the adherents of the idea of an *ethos* formed in the act of enunciation, endowed with the intentionality to make a good impression, independent of the sincerity of the speaking subject. This position, defended by the discourse analysts, characterizes the so-called discursive *ethos*. Although he acknowledges the existence of these different points of view, Charaudeau (2006) believes that *ethos* is even the result of a double identity that ends up to merge into an only one. One is the social identity, based on what the interlocutor knows *a priori* about the speaking subject; the other is the discursive identity, which manifests itself in what is constructed and said about the speaker in the act of enunciation.

When we mentioned, a few lines above, that the political subject can work with strategies in an effort to supply some demands of the society through a kind of *ethos*, we don't mean that he faces an easy task. According to Charaudeau himself, even if one can play with this double identity in the most different discursive strategies, one can't guarantee to the speaker (or speaking subject) a faithful interpretation of his intentions with his interlocutor or (emphasis added) his electors, in the political subject case. Thus, we can say that:

[...] the *ethos* is not entirely voluntary (much of it is not conscious), nor necessarily coincident with what the receiver perceives,

reconstructed or constructed; the receiver may build a speaker ethos that this one didn't want, as often happens in political communication. (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p.116)

Another aspect observed in this paper, which goes with our object of study's disclosures, is about a possible agreement between the *ethos* evoked by Aurea Carolina and the supposed *ethé* inherent to the groups the councilwoman demonstrates to represent. Next to this idea that leads to a reflection about a possible connection of the ethos to a group of individuals, Charaudeau (2006) sees the identity of the subject passing necessarily by social representations configured like "*socio-discursive imaginaries*", that is, the society's perception of an individual depends on the "collective imaginaries that it constructs for itself." Based on the existence of this "collective ethos" (anchored in social representations), the author claims that the *ethos* can be related to both individuals and groups. However, unlike the individual *ethos*, collective ethos can only be constructed from an *a priori* view that issues from a collective opinion of a particular group.

### 3 Representations and evocable imaginaries of the political subject

With the purpose of inquiring the *ethos* of the political subject, in fact, we refer to the self image as a possible strategy to this subject to make visible. Somehow, what prevails is the imaginary about what is expected of someone who stands as representative of a given population, or at least, a significant portion of this group. Thus, it is important to understand the concepts of imaginary and social representation that is all along our analysis.

According to Charaudeau (2006), the concept of social representation is relatively recent in the philosophy field and the social sciences. From an initial and predominantly mathematical logic, it was necessary to start accepting in the academia a logic that would also consider the subject and the social thought in which "this subject is inserted, a thought that tends to show that "the subject is constituted in and by the representations" (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p.195).

For Moscovici (2007) and Charaudeau (2005), in order to explain and justify the social practices their standards and rules, we should observe the "Social Representations". It would correspond to explanations, descriptions and classifications of objects, people, feelings, actions and events collected from the symbolization activities of the subjects in their social interactions. They arise from a need for understanding, from the conventions formation. From Charaudeau's

perspective (2006), we paper with the notion of social representation as a mechanism to construct the meaning that formats, that shapes the reality in an actual significant, creating knowledge forms from the "social reality." The social representations, thus, work as a way of becoming aware of a socially shared world, granting collective identity to a social group and allowing the members of this group to construct an awareness of themselves.

Charaudeau also believes that the idea of representations are "constituted by a set of beliefs, knowledges and opinions produced and shared by individuals from a same group regarding a given social object" (GUIMELLI *apud* CHARAUDEAU, 196). So, we can deduce that the knowledge constitutes representations in the means of seeing (discriminating and classifying) and judging (assigning a value to) the world. From this perspective, representations are forms of knowledge (of knowledge and belief) which, in turn, are the results of a human construction through the language exercise. For Charaudeau (2007), the wisdom of knowledge refers to the man's gaze on the world; the knowledge of belief, in its turn, corresponds to the man's gaze on himself.

About the imaginaries, a term that acquires, for Charaudeau (2005, 2006, 2007), multiple senses and, in its current use, suggests an aspect of something with no reality, existing only in the imagination and living up to some synonyms such as myth, legend, fiction etc. Among many conceptions about the term, however, Charaudeau (2006) includes the imaginaries notion to the scope of DA, based on the social anthropology, which understands the organization of human societies reflected as discourses in social rituals, myths and legends. Still, from Charaudeau's point of view, the imaginary has a double function: the values creation and the action justification.

It's understood that the social imaginary is what maintains a society united by a world of meanings. This notion of social imaginary as a "universe of significations founder of an identity of group", this concept introduced by the Greek philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis (1922-1997) is shared by Charaudeau (2006). For the author, the imaginary is from the likelihood order, because it reflects the vision of men about the social world, that is, it's the always possibly true, or, in other words, what means always be a true imaginary. Still, according to Charaudeau (2007), the activity of a world's representational symbolization takes place within a domain of certain social practice (artistic, political, educational, religious, etc.). In this sense, the relationship between the social order and the behavior that cements the social bond with the help of the regulatory apparatus – the institutions – becomes coherent.



The social imaginaries can be represented by symptom-signs (CHARAUDEAU, 2011), which are words or formulas revealing the ways of saying and allowing us to study social representations. The symptom-signs may be representative of the desires of a given community and thus, when analyzing them, we can perceive how the subjects approach/represent their groups. For the author, the social imaginary has a variable size, and can be changed according to the extension of the group, of the collective group memory that is historically constructed. About the *sociodiscursive* imaginary, in particular, Charaudeau sees it as a concept created to harmonize the imaginary notion to the DA's field itself, referring to the hypothesis that the symptom of an imaginary is the speech, being object of the Discourse Analysis through its Semiolinguistic Theory.

#### 4 Presentation and analysis of the corpus

As we pointed out before, the subject's identity is tied to the social representations configured as "*sociodiscursive* imaginaries", indicating that the society's view about the individual depends on the collective imaginaries built by the same society for itself. Therefore in this section we seek to analyze the Áurea Carolina's interviews in order to try to identify in the first place the different *ethé* evoked by the elected councilwoman, under the light of the concepts proposed by Charaudeau (2006). We lead the analysis discursively and also consider traces of her social identity, and, where is possible, articulating these *ethos* elements to possible representations and circulating imaginaries, especially in this particular case, within groups from which the candidate came from (and won political force).

The *corpus* of this research is composed of two interviews with Áurea Carolina. With an uncommon profile to the City Council – female, young, black and from the poor neighborhood, she became the most voted councilor in the history of Minas Gerais' capital, with 17,420 votes. The first interview, given to the journalist Wallace Oliveira, was published under the title "The black and slum dweller women have power', says BH's most voted councilwoman", on October 3, 2016, to the news site *Brasil de Fato*. The second interview, "Although a few, we resist', says Áurea Carolina, black female councilman most voted in BH", to the journalist Matheus Moreira was published in the digital magazine *Fórum*, on October 6, 2016.

#### 4.1 The credibility *ethé*: seriousness and virtue in highlights



Considering the identitarian figures that make up the *ethé* of credibility group (based on the result of a discursive construction by the subject), we can verify that there is an attempt (even if it's implicit) in Aurea Carolina's speech to fulfill the necessary conditions for building an ethos of seriousness (sincerity), of virtue (performance) and, in a certain way, of competence (effectiveness).

Concerning to the ethos of seriousness, it seems that it's constructed, among other aspects, with the help of indices that "show great energy and ability to work, omnipresence in all the front lines of political and social life, particularly together with those who suffer." (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p. 120). Such elements specially the energy and ability to work, seem to be present in the very figure (young and dedicated to a cause) of Áurea Carolina. It can be perceived semantically also in some of her lines, especially in words like struggle, strength, empowerment, resistance, etc., repeated a few times by the elected councilwoman (mostly in the interview of *Brazil de Fato*), as we can see in the excerpts below<sup>5</sup>

TF-BdF1: It is a demonstration of the *strength* of the feminist, anti-racist *struggles*, of the *daily struggles* that *resist* over the city. This *victory* is also a demonstration of how representativeness matters and how having people with this profile is really very important to progress.

TF-BdF2: No doubt that the mandate will be a hub of *articulation to the struggles*, critical debates and propositions for the city. A place to *fight* against the violation of our rights.

TF-BdF3: To expand the public debate. Our mandate can be a space to contribute to this *confrontation*. For example, the debate about gender and sexuality in education, which has been so attacked, can be approached differently in popular education spaces by making room to people to think together.

TF-BdF4: That the black and poor neighborhood women *has power*, that we can occupy the spaces and we are many and can much more, even with all this wave of fascism we are seeing. Politics can be charming.

Another aspect, also characterizing the *ethos* of seriousness, which is recurrent in Áurea's speeches, is present in the excerpts (several) where the candidate expresses a concern about her electorate, a compassion for the anguishes and sufferings, such as the black population, women, indigenous peoples, LGBTs etc. This can be seen, for example, among other lines not listed here in TF-BdF1, TF-BdF4 and TF-FOR1.

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<sup>5</sup> We consider in this work the acronyms TF-BdF and TF-FOR as "Speech Excerpt from Brasil de Fato" and "Speech Excerpt from Fórum Magazine", respectively.

We can notice that, during the interviews, Áurea makes some interventions to talk about herself, either to show that she is also part of these "marginalized" groups, or to talk about other aspects of her personal and political trajectory. These passages are especially important here, since the ethos of seriousness "is also constructed with the help of statements about oneself, about the ideas that guide the politician" (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p. 211). As it can be seen at the following excerpts:

TF-BdF5: My election is a demonstration of this. I do not have *political inheritance*, I do not have *political sponsors*, I'm not a *businesswoman*. I did an *autonomous walk* with the *social movements*.

TF-FOR1: Representativeness is the starting point for me. By *my life story*, by *my body* and by the political construction that gave me room to this victory. There's a broad field of *feminist, black, LGBT, and indigenous social movements* that have enabled us to launch a *collective campaign of the multiplicity* we want along with PSOL.

Another element of the *ethos* of credibility, the *ethos* of virtue supposes that the politician, as a representative of the people, is the one who must set the example, in a demonstration of honesty and fidelity, added by an image of personal integrity. According to Charaudeau, this kind of images is built over time, which could be a problem for our object of study, since Aurea (newly elected) doesn't have a formal political trajectory yet. We understand, however, that although Aurea is not yet known to the general public, she seeks in her speeches to demonstrate a coherence between thought and action with a specific and already known audience, her militancy, a group who identifies itself to the ideas the candidate defends and who certainly contributed (significantly) to her election.

In this sense, considering this militancy that walked along Áurea as part of the citizen's own instance, we can say that the speech of the elected councilwoman in her interviews is combined to an attitude of respect towards the citizen. This is one of the characteristics of the *ethos* of virtue, proving to be more often direct and transparent towards this public, since

the virtue ethos is a response to fanciful expectations of the citizen instance, insofar as it, by delegating a power, seeks to be represented by a man or woman who is a model of righteousness and honesty, at least, in a noble vision of politics". (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p. 124)

The demonstration of coherence between thought and action (or will to act), which for Charaudeau resides in the ability of the politician to show he is able to fulfill his promises

(performance condition), appears in Áurea Carolina's statements, according to us, when she answers objectively to questions related to her future actions, in the frame of specific demands and with which she is compromised. If we observe, for example, Áurea's proposal for an alternative (and objective) way of discussing gender and sexuality in education<sup>6</sup> (see TF-BdF3) by inviting different groups to think together about the subject (in a non imposing way), we will find a familiarity of the elected councilwoman with the cause even demonstrating, to be conscious that the way the matter has been conducted has not taken effects as expected (positive).

This "objectiveness" of the lines seems to be present even in stretches where Aurea resumes the idea of a collective (or shared) mandate, possibly promised during the campaign, showing her commitment to draw the best strategies for formatting and apply this form of popular participation, no longer in the speech of a candidate, but as an elected and "official" representative of some groups. Such discursive strategies can be noticed in the following sections:

TF-BdF6: We propose a *shared mandate*. The "*Muitxs* [Many]". Cida and I believe that this construction should happen in a way we can make decisions collectively, turn this space into a popular education place, deconstructing privileges

TF-FOR2: In this first moment we will begin to design the mandate. We are committed to a *collective mandate* and now we need to give form to it. What will be the *mechanisms of participation*, how we will compose the office, how to allocate the resources.

Between the three elements for the *ethos* of credibility, the condition of effectiveness (linked to the competent ethos) is perhaps what the elected councilor can respond to at first. Appealing to Charaudeau (2006), we have that the competence ethos demands, at the same time, the knowledge and ability of the politician, which Áurea demonstrates to have in a certain measure, considering her visible experience in militancy and considerable familiarity some causes to which she is linked up. However, the author that

it is by the vision of the whole trajectory of a politician that one can judge his competence degree (which puts a problem for the young people who start in politics and have not a long path to show) (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p. 125 )

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<sup>6</sup> A polemical issue, the so-called gender theology has mobilized various sectors of society. Source: BRITTO, Patrícia; REIS, Lucas. By pressure, education plans from 8 states exclude 'gender ideology'; Privacy Policy | 2015. Available at: <<http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/educacao/2015/06/1647528-por-pressao-planos-de-educacao-de-8-estates-excluem-ideologia-de- gen.shtml>>. Accessed on: 23 feb. 2017

Thus, in agreement with Charaudeau's sayings, we can see that the discursive construction of an Aurea's *ethos* of competence can be compromised, mainly in these initial statements, since the elected council doesn't have concrete parameters yet of an eventual (positive) that can be discursively studied. It's not at this time for Áurea to know all (or the main) the gears of the public life, which seems natural once she has youth and inexperience as a political agent.

#### 4.2 Identification ethos: a nod to solidarity

Considering the ethos as the result of a double identity, as Charaudeau (2006) says, we can say that, in addition to some traces of the ethos of credibility (coming from a discursive construction), as we could see above, Áurea Carolina also presents in her discourse at least one element that provides a considerable identification with the public, which is, in our view, anchored to an ethos of solidarity, about which we will discuss a little further on.

As we resume some general aspects of the *ethé* of identification, we can see that it's an image to be constructed from a social affection, a process in which the individual (often surrounded by an environment demanding a certain ethos) is propitious to develop a relationship with a leadership and/or a political subject. In this sense, through a state of irrational identification, the citizen ends up grounding his identity in that of the politician himself.

For Charaudeau (2006), the attempt to describe and classify the types of images that characterize the ethos of identification is not an easy task, since such images must (or should to) reach a larger number of people coming from heterogeneous groups and, of course, vague, from the point of view of the imaginaries. Aware of this, politicians often play with opposing values (even contradictory) hoping to win the adhesion of the more heterogeneous groups possible, says the author. In the specific case discussed here, this fuss with playing with opposites sides doesn't seem to exist. This is because Áurea Carolina speaks, as a new councilwoman elected, through vehicles of a nontraditional media, to a specific and already known public (perhaps the majority of voters) that hopes to reinforce to the new leadership an identitarian relationship that already exists.

Watching upon the Aurea's images that would best coincide with the *ethé* of identification, it came to our attention some characteristics of the ethos of humanity where, according to Charaudeau (2006), the human being would be measured by his ability to show his

feelings and his compassion for the most suffering, that in the case of Áurea would be in the blacks, the women, the indigenous people, the LGBT populations, etc. Expanding the analysis of Aurea's speeches, however, and in the very deployment of Charaudeau's concepts, we have seen that the elected councilor's discourse goes beyond the simple compassion (linked to the humanity ethos and that denotes someone who can be moved by the others' sorrow, even without suffering). Let's take a look at the highlights in the following speeches:

TF-BdF2: No doubts, the mandate will be an articulation hub to the struggles, the critical debate and the proposition for the city. A place to fight against the violation of *our rights*.

TF-FOR1: Representativeness is the starting point for me. *For my life story, for my body and for the political construction that gave me raise to the victory*. There is a broad field of feminist, black, LGBT, and indigenous social movements that have enabled us to launch a collective campaign of the multiplicity we want along with PSOL.

As we can see in the excerpts above, for example, Áurea not only demonstrates she is attentive to the needs of some groups, but also includes herself in them, sharing and becoming responsible for the fulfillment of their needs, which is closer to an ethos of solidarity. A solidarity that "is characterized by the desire of being together, not to distinguish itself from the other members of the group and, above all, to join them only at the moment they feel threatened" (CHARAUDEAU, 2006, p.116).

Another equally important aspect in the characterization of this solidarity ethos evoked by Áurea is, in our view, the use of the media (post-election interviews for magazines/web sites) to express and/or reinforce an identity process, especially in the reaffirmation and/or defense of the values and ideas associated to several groups. Such statements come to affirm the existence and the will of one or, in the case of Aurea, of more groups with which it is identified.

#### 4.3 Áurea, as representações de si e os imaginários

As for the representation of herself and of the groups with whom she identifies herself, the elected candidate shows in her speech, through some syntagms, that she shares a common experience with her voters. Thus, by being part of a marginalized minority (feminists, anti-racist,

black and peripheral women, blacks, LGBTs – “Muitxs”<sup>7</sup> – Indians ), she demonstrates to understand this universe by being part of it and, therefore, (re)cognizes the *daily struggles* and the resistance needs. In this case, it occupies the front line, projecting a shared leadership, as we can see in expressions such as shared mandate, collective decisions, collective mandate, participation mechanisms. In the highlighted speeches, there is a reference to an imaginary of constant struggles fought by these "less favored" social groups. Also, in this discourse, we noticed an imaginary focused on the image of the female warrior (heroine) willing to face the different battles that may arise in order to assert those voices she claims to represent.

In face of the current picture of disbelief in the traditional political subject, as we pointed out earlier, Áurea Carolina seems to appear as an ideal alternative in some segments of the population's imaginary. Thus, she launches herself as someone with no inheritance and/or political godparents and who is not an entrepreneur, marking a certain distance from a negative imaginary that populates the political universe. The candidate, on the other hand, anchored her campaign in a discourse of struggle (against violation of our rights, occupy spaces, social movements, empowerment, confrontation, articulation, public debate, critical debate and resistance). If we consider the expressive adherence to Aurea's candidacy in an atypical time, such as those of 2016, we can say that the strategy of this "new discursive making" is echoed in her own voters, who have adhered to this discourse by collectively identifying themselves with the candidate's proposals.

### Final considerations

Attending to the objectives proposed by this paper, we can identify in the Áurea Carolina's speech, the main imaginaries and representations that circulate in the minority groups. In the two interviews in the Brazilian newspapers *Brasil de Fato* and *Forum Magazine*, the elected councilwoman reveals an image of herself that refers to the struggle, strength, empowerment and resistance of the minority groups. Thus, reporting aspects from her personal and political trajectory she identifies herself with her electors and makes them feel represented by her. Reinforced by the image of a woman, young, black, from the poor neighborhood and "without political sponsorship", she can get closer to the audience she seeks to represent.

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<sup>7</sup> It is a Belorizontinian group that represents the diversity of gender and sexuality. The letter "x" is meant to represent a third form of gender other than "a" (feminine) and "o" (masculine). In this way, the multiplicity of genders is expressed linguistically.

This observation allows us to realize that the imaginaries around this political subject involves the faith in her proximity to the less favored classes may be one of the passwords to legitimize her as a representative of these groups. In this way, we can interpret that, in the councilwoman's speech, when she speaks about herself, she places herself as part of some of these "marginalized" groups. One of the ensuring elements of this identification with the public seems to anchor in the ethos of identification (ethos of solidarity and ethos of humanity) that is present in the different Áurea's speeches.

Also can be evaluated in her speeches the social struggles for the rights of all those who need and want to be represented in the traditional political arena. Then, we can also conclude that the discourse gives room to shift that voices often invisibilised by the lack of representativeness. To understand how the imaginary and the representations are present in the *ethos* constructed by the councilwoman in her rise to the power, we pointed out the coherent discourse about the marginalized minority composed of feminists, antiracists, black and poor neighborhood women, blacks, LGBTs, Indians. And it is through the ethos of credibility (honesty, virtue, and competence) that she demonstrates to understand this universe. Indeed, she places herself as part of this universe and therefore she has credibility to represent the minorities.

The councilwoman's "collective campaign of multiplicity" brings to a discourse that is based on the identity rights, egalitarianism and solidarity, building an imaginary of "Popular Sovereignty" (myth of democracy). The councilor, who already possesses an image of citizen (activist) with representativeness and militancy for the rights of a portion of the population, is able to link her history with political representation in keeping with the "reality" of her represented. In this way, what can be seen, with the result of the ballots, was the positive people's evaluation about the new expected political subject profile, justifying the victory with a self image (consistent with the popular imaginary of political representativeness) that the candidate made prevail.

The hypothesis that the councilor, elected with such a significant margin of vote, could characterize a "new way of doing politics", can be understood by the reputation the elected candidate has built. She harnessed the image of a citizen who knows the pains of the daily life with the image of the political subject, anchoring her campaign in a discourse against rights violation, space occupation, social movements, feminine empowerment, confrontation, articulation, public debate, critical debate and resistance.

In this sense, we understand that a confluence of factors culminated in Áurea Carolina's election, but we emphasize that, from a linguistic-discursive point of view, a clear idenitarian



construction based mainly on the coherence between a social posture of the candidate and her discursive strategies becomes clearer. This is to say this "double identity" gave birth to a particular *ethos* that dialogues with another, collectivity, an *ethos* agreeing with the posture and demands of the historically marginalized groups. The image of herself built by the councilwoman is identified by the public who raised her up to the victory and this same group feels represented once she is noticed as a member of it.

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