NEW REPRESENTATIONS OF WORK: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NEWS GENRE DURING THE COVERAGE OF THE 'BREQUE DOS APP'S'

Benedito Gomes Bezerra[1], Darío Brito Rocha Júnior[2], Maria Eduarda Alves de Andrade[3], Amanda Cavalcante de Oliveira Lêdo[4] and Jaciara Joseph Gomes[5]

ABSTRACT

Based on the assumption that journalistic news is capable of reinforcing or denouncing social problems, in this work we propose to carry out a critical analysis of the news genre with a focus on the platformization of work (Grohman, 2020). It is a phenomenon of contemporary society whose main impact is the precariousness and annulment of labor rights of workers linked to digital platforms. In Brazil, these workers are mostly black, peripheral and low-income. Through the analysis of news published during the App Brake, the first national strike of app delivery workers, we aimed to identify how these social actors were represented and which discourses were used by the press to explain the problem in question. The theoretical-methodological construction of the study is based on Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 2003) and on the theory of textual/discursive genres with a sociorhetorical basis, using as analytical categories: (i) social and textual macroanalysis, in which we observe the dimensions of discursive (inter)action (activity, social relations and communication technologies) and (ii) microanalysis of actional meanings from intertextuality. The criterion for choosing the online news portals was their wide dissemination and propagation, while the texts were selected from the CrowdTangle tool, taking into account: high engagement rate, date of publication and use of the keywords "app brake" and "delivery stoppage". We believe that this study can contribute to the understanding of the social role of the news genre, discerning and discussing the discourses that guide the themes addressed and, consequently, unveiling the political and ideological interests of communication portals.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, News genre, Platformization of work, Brake of apps.

[1] University of Pernambuco
[2] Catholic University of Pernambuco
[3] Catholic University of Pernambuco
[4] University of Pernambuco
[5] University of Pernambuco

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, with the development of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT), especially those of a digital nature, society has been reformulating its modes of production and socialization. In addition to the transformations with regard to social interactions, there is also a structural crisis of capitalism, reflected in major challenges for democracies and workers' rights (Srnicek, 2017). The internet and digital platforms are responsible for dramatic changes in companies and their hiring models, and it is from this scenario that the phenomenon of the platformization of work arises (Grohmann, 2021).

It is a concept in use since 2010, whose main objective is to shed light on the processes of precariousness and inequality that modulate the activities of workers linked to digital applications. In Brazil, platform work has become an evident reality in the last 10 years, with the arrival of international brands such as *Uber, iFood* and *Rappi*. However, it was after the New Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic that this service regime began to be seen as a social problem.

The movement #fiqueemcasa spread throughout the country, in an attempt to reduce the rates of contamination by the disease. In contrast to health professionals, who had to remain in hospitals to face the crisis, app delivery workers had to work on a front line where they exposed their bodies so that many of us could receive at home the supplies necessary for survival, such as food and medication. Despite their exposure to a disease that is still unknown and without a vaccine, they were not guaranteed any labor rights, in addition to being poorly paid, receiving an average of R$ 1.50 reais per delivery (*G1*, 2023).

Surrounded by the feeling of devaluation, the class collectively organized #BrequeDosApp's, the first national stoppage of app delivery workers in Brazil. For two days, the national press covered hundreds of demonstrations across the country, with messages of warning and demanding better working conditions. It is worth noting that, according to the latest survey published by IPEA (2021), there are more than 1.6 million Brazilian app delivery workers, most of whom are black or brown men, under 50 years old, residing in peripheral regions.

Although this is a more recurrent debate in the research agenda of the social sciences, an observation in the linguistic field is valid given that the consolidation of social phenomena, as Fairclough (2003) argues, is mediated by the propagation of discourse. In

his studies, in Critical Discourse Analysis, the researcher defends the idea that the relationship between language and society is internal and dialectical. This implies that social issues are, in part, questions of discourse and vice versa (Chouliaraki; Fairclough, 1999). In this way, we can understand language as an irreducible part of social life, constituting itself to the same extent that it generates effects and consequences in the most diverse social, political, cognitive, moral and material fields (Fairclough, 2003).

In close dialogue with the perspectives of discourse analysis, sociorhetorical theories of gender facilitate the look at discourse as concretized in texts and situated in the social conventions of genres. Gender is a form of social action (Miller, 2012) and, as such, constitutes a category to understand the meanings constructed by the news.

Therefore, by proposing a dialogue between critical discourse studies and socio-rhetorical gender studies, we seek to analyze the social representations propagated by the national press during the coverage of the App Brake. We start from the assumption that the way journalism portrays platformization tends to interfere in the social perception of the subjects about labor relations and in the legislative, executive and judicial agenda. Thus, we aim to answer the following questions: i) what is the purpose that the press attributes to the protests of app delivery workers? ii) what is the level of influence (governance) exerted by the press on its readers, when presenting the platformization of the work? (iii) what voices are identified in these news?

Since the problem exposed here reinforces neoliberal structures of precariousness of the working class, it is necessary to foster academic debate on the impacts of this discourse that, in significant part, always reveals itself in a positive way as synonymous with economic progress. The proposition of this study does not imply opposition to the emergence of new digital technologies applied to work, however, we defend the need to manage these labor reconfigurations taking into account the reality of social inequality prevailing in countries like Brazil.

Next, we will present the theoretical concepts that guide this work, focusing on Critical Discourse Analysis and gender theory. Initially, we discuss the discursive practice (Fairclough, 2001), based on the writings of Da Silva and Ramalho (2008). Subsequently, we will discuss genders as social actions, using the studies of Miller (2012) and Fairclough (2001). The following section explains the methodological procedures and the entire process of selection and analysis of the *corpus* so that, in sequence, the analyses and

discussions can be made. Finally, we present brief considerations about the results obtained, pointing out future paths of investigation.

GENDERS AS SOCIAL ACTIONS: AN INTERSECTION BETWEEN CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND GENDER THEORY

As a starting point for understanding genders as social actions, we suggest, we begin with a brief explanation of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). It is an approach known for its transdisciplinary character, in which language is studied as an irreducible part of social life. Based on Fairclough's (2001) studies, we can understand that, as a critical science, CDA is concerned with the ideological effects that (meanings of) texts may have on social relations, actions and interactions, knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values and identities.

By adopting this critical perspective, researchers evaluate power as a central means of social life, turning not only to the notion of struggles for control, but also to intertextuality and the recontextualization of competing discourses (Wodak, 2010). It is necessary to understand that each text is historically produced and interpreted based on the time and space in which it is situated, that is, the text carries a complex ideological structure elaborated from its socio-historical perspective (Rezende, 2006).

It is not a simplistic observation between what is said and what is social, but rather taking into account the premises of domination that question each text. That said, those who adopt this path of research tend to agree with Habermas:

> [...] Language is also a means of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. To the extent that the legitimations of power relations are not articulated, [...] language is also ideological. (Habermas, 1977, p. 259).

Fairclough (2001) considers that the process of discursive elaboration does not begin and end in itself, however, it always functions as a response to what has already been said, being able to anticipate or polemicize a series of voices. In view of this, in his studies, he resorts to seminal concepts of Bakhtin (1997), defending the existence of a dialogical relationship between language and society. For both researchers, even apparently non-dialogical discourses, such as written texts, are internally dialogical and polyphonic.

Once the CDA is presented, we will enter the debate around discursive genres. It is worth noting that the theory of genres is interpreted in different ways. Freadman (2012, p.

436) proposes that the study and understanding of gender is, paradoxically, a genre, since "the schools of thought, or paradigms, evident in gender theory since its inception are governed by the pragmatics of its apprehension, its use by professionals in specific scenarios".

Bezerra (2022, p. 112) corroborates by stating that there is no single theory for the genres, seen in a unified way, but rather several instances or appropriations based on the interests of the researchers. Thus, we can have a brief notion of the dimension of this linguistic concept, realizing that it is impossible to exhaust, in a single text, its total understanding. For the purposes of this article, we have chosen the approach of Rhetorical Gender Studies, represented, among others, by Bazerman (2007) and Miller (2012), in view of its focus on social contexts and speech acts that genders perform in a given situation.

From this perspective, genres are conceived as typified rhetorical actions, based on recurrent situations and their study does not focus exclusively on taxonomies, since they change, evolve and decay, taking into account the complexity and diversity of society (Miller, 2012). The understanding of gender as a social action implies attributing to it the purpose of responding to the demands of the context in which the subjects are situated, each of them being endowed with interests, objectives and functions within their respective communities. Miller defends his approach by claiming that:

> Situations are social constructs that result, not from "perception", but from "definition". Since human action is based on (and guided by) meaning and not material causes, at the center of the action is a process of interpretation. Before we can act, we need to interpret the indeterminate material environment; we define, or "determine", a situation (Miller, 2012, p. 29-30).

Illustrating this debate, it is enough to think that, when we experience different literacy processes throughout life, we socialize ourselves to interact, even if unconsciously, with the most appropriate genres for certain communicative events. The way we interact during a religious ceremony, for example, differs from the language we use at school or at children's parties. For Miller (2012, p. 29), "recurrence is inferred by our understanding of situations as being, in some way, "comparable", "similar", or "analogous" to other situations". In view of this, researchers who opt for Rhetorical Gender Studies have as their starting point the action that is used for the execution of the discourse, that is, the sociological aspects that constitute a certain communicative event.

Therefore, it can be said that a text only becomes successful when understood by the actors involved. Bazerman (2009) names this process as the creation of a social fact, when certain significant social actions are carried out through language. As a result, we have speech acts that manifest themselves through standardized textual forms, determined by gender. This means that the concepts of social facts, speech acts and genders are intrinsically interconnected, making it difficult to understand them in a watertight way. The mobilization of genres as speech acts, generating social facts, culminates in the unleashing of gender systems, necessary for the functioning of the different systems of human activities.

UNDERSTANDING DISCOURSE AS A CONSTITUENT PART OF SOCIAL PRACTICES: GENRES, DISCOURSES AND STYLES

Meurer (2005) shows that within the CDA there is no systematic concern with research on gender. However, Da Silva and Ramalho (2008) explain that in this approach, genres constitute a moment of (networks of) discourse orders, linked to the way of interacting in social practices, being seen, as in Rhetorical Gender Studies, as a social action. What differentiates the approaches is that, in critical discourse studies, action through language presupposes not only "relations with others", but also power, that is, "action on others" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 28). In view of this, we will enter into the debate on social practices in order to understand genders as a way of acting and relating.

By social practice, Fairclough (2001, p.25) designates a set of articulations of different types of social elements that are interconnected to particular areas of social life. It is an articulation between discourse (language) with elements that are not of a discursive order, but of a social order. We can understand teaching in the classroom, for example, as a social practice, and the use of language for this event is also determined according to the social relations experienced in this space. In this regard, the author explains:

> Social events are causally shaped by social (networks of) practices – social practices define particular ways of acting, and while actual events may more or less diverge from these definitions and expectations (because they cut across different social practices and because of the causal powers of social agents), they are still partially shaped by them (Fairclough, 2003, p. 26).

It is worth noting that Fairclough (2003) understands discourse in two ways. Initially, in its most abstract sense, as a noun whose meaning is linked to language and other types of beliefs, values, attitudes, etc.; and also as particular ways of representing the world

(discourse of journalism, science, etc.). As for the order of discourse, it can be seen as a means of social organization that exercises the determined control of linguistic variation, constituting a network of social practices, whose elements are:

I) Gender as an articulatory mechanism that controls what can (or cannot) be used and in what order, thus determining the configuration of discourse as a mode of action and interaction (speech or writing).

II) Discourse as a form of construction of representations of the material world, this being a discursive issue, given that we can distinguish different discourses, which can represent the same area of the world, from different perspectives or positions.

III) Style, which is linked to the particular ways of being that functions as an active agent in the construction of social identities, such as the doctor-patient, president-electorate or priest-faithful relationship, in which the use of language operates as a resource of self-identification.

The main forms of signification of discourse are attributed to each mode cited, in an observation that goes beyond language, justified by the dialectical relationship between the semiotic and non-semiotic moments of social life. Practices articulate discourses that, in turn, participate in non-discursive events in the material world. Thus, the elements of the discourse order (gender, discourse and style) are categories that "cross the division between the linguistic and the non-linguistic, between the discursive and the non-discursive" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 25).

For each constituent element of the discourse order, Fairclough (2003) proposes, based on Michael Halliday's Systemic-Functional Grammar, a new look at the process of signification of texts, dividing it as follows:

i) Actional meaning: corresponds to the ways of acting and relating in social practices and is intrinsically linked to gender. In other words, it is the understanding of gender as a social action, and it is possible to observe the power relations instituted between individuals from language;

ii) Representational meaning: refers to the way in which discourse functions as a tool to represent aspects of the world.

iii) Identificational meaning: it is linked to style and has the function of characterizing discursive practice. A judicial document, for example, manifests a series of particular

characteristics, allowing its identification even if it is propagated outside the legal context.

In short, although the characteristics of the discursive order (genre, discourse and style) and the meanings of the discourse have their specificities, they should not be observed in isolation, in view of the dialectical relationship between them. That is, each one internalizes traits of others, so that they are never excluded or reduced to one (Resende; Ramalho, 2005).

Thus, the attribution of meaning to a given text requires more than its grammatical knowledge. It is also necessary to consider the extra-discursive nature, paying attention to the ideological and social contexts of the communicative event. Ratifying this thought, Fairclough (2001, p. 108) points out that some texts lead to wars; others lead people to lose their jobs or get one; still others modify people's attitudes, beliefs or practices, thus making it possible to visualize how language plays a fundamental role in our social experience.

METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The time frame to delimit the selection of the corpus was July 1, 2020, the exact date on which the first national manifestation of the App Brake took place. The criteria for inclusion were: high engagement rate, date of publication and use of the keywords "app brake" and "delivery stoppage". The collection instrument, in turn, was the *CrowdTangle tool*[6], totaling the identification of 60 news items.

However, in view of the textual limitations, the analysis of this article focuses on the coverage of the Globo and R7 portals, since, according to the latest Monitoring of Media Ownership in Brazil[7], they are the two news portals (from major national broadcasters) with the largest audience in the country. The choice was made based on an intentional non-probabilistic sampling, based on the assumption that the greater the number of readers of the respective sites, the greater the discursive effects of the phenomenon in question.

The determination of the categories of analysis was made based on the methodological proposal of critical analysis of genres elaborated by Da Silva and Ramalho

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[6] It is a digital tool, produced by Meta, with the purpose of monitoring, analyzing and reporting content shared on digital social networks. Access link: https://www.crowdtangle.com/.
[7] Site: https://intervozes.org.br/projetos/monitoramento-da-propriedade-de-midia-no-brasil-mom/

(2008). Initially, we resorted to social and textual macroanalysis (Fairclough, 2003), observing the dimensions of discursive (inter)action (activity, social relations and communication technologies). Subsequently, a microanalysis of actional meanings (Fairclough, 2003) will be made from intertextuality.

Social and textual macroanalysis consists of the following aspects:

i) Analysis of the activity: this stage aims to point out the activity and specific purposes developed by the news genre, seeking to understand the journalist's intentionality when writing about the Apps Brake;

ii) Analysis of social relations: at this point, we focus the observation on the types of relations (and power) constituted between the actors involved in the communicative event (journalist, reader and app delivery workers).

iii) Analysis of communication technologies: observes the types of communication, which can occur in one or two ways, in a mediated or non-mediated way. That is, is there an interaction between the journalist and his readers?

In turn, the microanalysis of actional meanings consists of the analysis of intertextuality in the news genre. We used an actional analytical category in order to observe how voices are articulated within the news. It is necessary to highlight that the absence or presence of specific speakers and the way their speeches relate to each other signals the positioning of the text in hegemonic struggles (Fairclough, 2001). In view of this, we will point out which subjects and discourses are identified within these news items.

MACROANALYSIS OF THE NEWS GENRE: UNDERSTANDING THE INFLUENCE OF JOURNALISTIC DISCOURSE ON THE PLATFORMIZATION OF WORK

Before entering the analytical process, it is necessary to present the *corpus* in question in advance. The first site selected was Globo.com, launched in 2006 as the first digital product of the Globo group. In second place we have the R7 portal, created in 2009 as part of the Record group. In table 1, we present the audience indicators of each of them.

Table 01: presentation of the news analyzed[8]

Portal	Year of creation	Average annual audience (total unique visitors)	Audience concentration on the internet
Globe	2006	63.103k	73,0%
R7	2009	49.977k	63,0%

Source: authors

By determining an observation of digital news portals, we assume that, in contemporary society, this type of content has a greater impact on the reformulation of social practices due to its large-scale propagation. The media discourse functions as a recontextualizing principle for the appropriation of other discourses (Fairclough; Chouliaraki, 1999). This implies that the way journalists portray the platformization of work, in part, will result in the way citizens will understand it.

In view of this, it is essential to review the role of the news in our society, so that we can carry out the analysis of the activity. If observed purely from the perspective of journalism, the news has the primary function of passing on information determined by a certain level of relevance, time and space. We can see it as a report of a series of facts starting from the most important or interesting fact; and of each fact, from the most important or interesting aspect (Lage, 2004, p.16). In other words, a reporter does not exactly narrate the events, but aims to expose them from his understanding, allowing us to reflect on his intentionality. It is a view in which the textual producer does not have an effective responsibility for the possible interpretations of his audience.

However, in the linguistic and social perspective that we have adopted, Van Dijk (1990) claims that the news, as a discourse, plays a fundamental role in the construction and reconstruction of social cognitions. Therefore, the journalist's intentionality is capable of shaping the perception of his readers about a given event. By presenting the App Brake, reporters can stimulate from a critical perception of this type of hiring or the naturalization of the precariousness process experienced by app delivery workers.

Below, we present the selected headlines:

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[8] The data for audience monitoring are equivalent to the year 2023, taken based on research by Grupo de Mídia de São Paulo. Available at: https://midiadados.gm.org.br/view-content/tableau@34d68852-fa78-44aa-9748-15280c745735?category=midia_digital.

Figure 01: News published in the Globo.com

Entregadores de aplicativo fazem protestos nas ruas do Rio e de SP por melhor remuneração

Informais, os trabalhadores cobram das plataformas aumento dos repasses por entrega, uma taxa mínima por corrida, fim de pontos e auxílio-pandemia

Sergio Roxo, Guilherme Caetano, Camilla Pontes e Stephanie Tondo
01/07/2020 - 13:19 / Atualizado em 16/07/2020 - 14:59

Entregadores de aplicativos fazem manifestação em São Paulo

Manifestantes cobraram melhores condições de trabalho e EPIs durante a pandemia. Grupo fez buzinaço em frente ao Tribunal Regional do Trabalho, no Centro, e passou pelas avenidas Paulista e Rebouças, além da Ponte Estaiada, na Zona Sul.

Por G1 SP — São Paulo
01/07/2020 12h15 - Atualizado há 3 anos

Figure 02: news published on the R7 portal

Entregadores de SP pedem direitos a apps após amputação por acidentes

Depois de se acidentarem nos últimos meses, Joel, Alexandro, Felipe e Robson ainda não foram indenizados. Dois deles sequer tiveram respostas

SÃO PAULO | Guilherme Padin, do R7
01/07/2020 - 02H00 (ATUALIZADO EM 01/07/2020 - 17H09)

Entregadores paralisam atividades hoje contra condições precárias

Trabalhadores têm atuado de 8 a 12 horas por dia e 26 dias por mês, e ainda assim recebem menos. Bloqueios sem justificativa também estão na pauta

SÃO PAULO | Guilherme Padin, do R7
01/07/2020 - 02H00 (ATUALIZADO EM 01/07/2020 - 08H44)

When we observe the titles, it is evident that the main intention of the portals, initially, is to present the social fact. In the journalistic sphere, the title allows the reader to decode the remaining message of the text, establishing a cataphoric connection with what follows, inducing a given reading (Guimarães, 1990, p. 52). This means that the data exposed in the headline of the article are, initially, responsible for conquering, or not, the reader's attention.

In each headline above, we can identify similarities and distinctions in the presentation of the facts. However, in the case of the same discursive practice, the style adopted does not tend to differ so much. Journalistic writing demarcates the informative priority from the presentation of the subject + social event + motivations, a structure followed by both G1 and R7.

Moving on to the subtitles, there is a greater contextualization of the facts and differentiation in the information presented, thus exalting the reporter's power of choice when determining the direction of his text. In O Globo (Figure 01), the first news item highlights the rights that are being requested by delivery workers, allowing the reader to have a brief idea of the requirements of this category. It is worth emphasizing the use of the noun "informal", implying the absence of a labor regulation.

In general, it is a simple and objective description, but attentive to what the protesters are asking for. The second text centralizes the observation in the public spaces that were occupied during the protest, briefly pointing out some of the interests of the

category. However, the intentionality of the text, initially, seems more centered on the urban disorder, due to traffic, than on the struggle for better working conditions.

In R7 (Figure 02), the first news item presents a new social event, work accidents suffered by three delivery workers, while signaling a lack of assistance from the app companies. When reading the headline, one notices a kind of appeal to the need to sensitize the population to the subjects mentioned. The text highlights the negligence of contractors not only with regard to working hours and amounts paid, but also safety and health. In the second article, in turn, the reporter makes a point of raising other problems, which reinforces the view of precariousness experienced by the workers while justifying the realization of the strike.

As Bakhtin (1997, p. 291) says, genres imply specific activities and are linked to particular practices with specific purposes, allowing us to understand, therefore, that the observed news presents a descriptive character of the event and social problematics. Although the manifestation is presented from different perspectives, there is a consensus regarding the prioritization of the discourses of app delivery workers. It is worth noting that the analysis of activity purposes, according to Fairclough (2003), must be done in a measured way, since the purposes can also be hierarchically combined, mixed, implicit, so that the boundary between them may not be so clear.

When it comes to the analysis of social relations, it is necessary to observe the types of relations (and power) constituted between the actors involved. As a post, the reporter exercises a relationship of dominance of discursive practice, being responsible for determining who will (or will not) be heard and the way society will understand the stoppage.

Fairclough (2003, p. 32) characterizes the news as a genre of governance, which he argues is important to sustain the institutional structure of contemporary society. The use of the term "governance", according to him, refers to any activity within an institution or organization directed to regulate or manage some other (network of) social practices, functioning as a kind of social management.

It cannot be ignored that the press plays a fundamental role in the inspection process of public and private agents. The way in which the platformization of work is presented in journalistic portals influences not only the readers' understanding, but also the political and governmental agenda, which, in turn, directly reflects on the labor practice of these citizens.

Thus, the news as a genre functions as an operator of "cultural pedagogies", in which knowledge and knowledge circulate and power is organized and disseminated (Gerzson, 2007, p. 13). The journalist (author) presents the facts (social event/App Brake) to his audience (society) which in turn builds an understanding of the actors in evidence (delivery workers) while signaling the institutions of power (legislative, parliamentary and judiciary) on the subject in question. It is a dialogical relationship between language and society, contributing to Fairclough's (2003) thought that social problems are also problems of language and vice versa. Our acts (and discourses) are influenced by society, in the same way that society is shaped from discursive propagation.

Finally, we also consider it important to analyze communication technologies so that we can observe the levels of interaction between the journalist and his readers. In all, there are two distinctions between the types of communication: i) two-way communication and ii) one-way communication (Fairclough, 2003). The corpus in question exercises a mediated communication in one way, given that the reader is unable to interact directly with the reporter.

The consummation of the content requires the subject to be connected to the internet and the flow of access occurs as follows: the journalist produces his text, it goes through the editor and is published on the site, thus becoming available to the reader. It cannot be ignored that in late modernity a large part of the interaction is mediated (Da Silva and Ramalho, 2008), and this process is articulated from the development of communication technologies. The way we produce and consume news has been gradually changing. Just think that an event like the App Brake, if it occurred before the emergence of news sites, would have its coverage centralized on TV, radio and printed newspapers, with no possibility of following the facts in real time, anywhere in the world.

Thompson (2002) names this process as a "mediated quasi-interaction", where social relations come to depend on communication technology, allowing distant participants, in the same space and time, to have access to the same information. Observing from the reporter's perspective, we can identify, in his communicative process, a kind of monologue. Even though he is speaking to an indefinite number of readers, the flow of his communication is predominantly one-way. There is no interaction in real time and, at the same time, even if he wanted to, he is aware of the impossibility for such an act.

In view of the above, we conclude that the news as an activity was attentive to the purpose of making explicit the social fact (App Brake) and the problems around it. Social

relations, in turn, are demarcated by the discursive domain of the journalist, who is the holder of the choice of discourses that can prioritize (or not) the delivery workers while corroborating the social knowledge of the readers. In the case of communication mediated by the internet, it reinforces the distance between the reporter and society, implying the absence of a dialogue between them, which results in the easy manipulation of knowledge, an inherent characteristic of the mass media.

DISCOURSE, MEDIA AND REPRESENTATION: THE VOICES THAT ARE ARTICULATED WITHIN THE NEWS

In this topic, we will resort to the concept of intertextuality, the "property that texts have of being full of fragments of other texts (Fairclough, 2001, p. 114), for the observation of the discursive representations identified not only in the titles, but also in the body of the texts.

As seen earlier, both outlets, R7 and Globo, use speeches from app delivery workers to explain the problem. In the four news items, the reader has the opportunity to understand the motivations of the category for holding the App Brake. However, the way in which the discourses are exposed to conquer (or not) the reader's sensibility differs.

In the Globo articles (Figure 01), the first explicit voice (interview) represents the delivery workers, focusing on the points of improvement they expect to obtain from the strike. In both texts, all the rights claimed by the category are listed, as well as the criticisms regarding the penalties managed by the app companies.

The same priority occurs in the R7 portal (Figure 02), but the narrative does not focus exclusively on the brake of the apps, but rather on the life stories of the delivery workers who suffered accidents and were ignored by the respective companies. It is a personification strategy, where the subject has his story told in order to give face to the problem in question, generating greater sensitivity and identification on the part of the readers.

It is worth noting that in the composition of the news genre, the reporter does not use only a single discourse, but a series of discourses by others, such as the quoted discourse, in order to ensure the veracity, authenticity and credibility of the facts narrated (Benites; Da Silva, 2015). Therefore, the choice of who should or should not be heard, by itself, already implies a relationship of power and discursive domination, allowing the understanding of the ideological and hegemonic character of the news.

In addition to the delivery workers, both portals present the institutional speech of the app companies. However, they are reported more succinctly and, at some points, the reporter makes it clear that he tried to seek an explanation, but did not get a response from the press office. In general, it is part of the essence of journalism to search for two (or more) versions of the facts. For each story presented, there is a counterpoint that also needs to be made explicit.

Not restricting the debate only to delivery workers and app companies, the reporters also heard from other social actors, including experts, trade unionists and the population itself:

> Due to the pandemic, these heroes are there bearing their own costs to be able to work. They were left to their own devices. Since 2015 we have been denouncing that these companies came to Brazil to cause social doping of delivery workers – said another person (Globo, 2020).
>
> "These companies deceive the worker, because they sell false autonomy, the idea of entrepreneurship. They argue that they are only intermediaries of services", says Gerson Cunha, interim president of the union (R7, 2020).
>
> Professor of labor law at USP (University of São Paulo), Flavio Batista agrees with the MPT's decisions. "I think these contracts are all fraudulent and that delivery workers should be considered employees of the apps. But app companies consider that they are only providing intermediation services", he comments (R7, 2020).

This choice ends up legitimizing the workers' speech and also works as a recontextualizing principle, in which the problem is debated outside its original cycle. It is worth noting that recontextualization, although part of the journalistic nature, is linked to all media and social practices. However, as Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999, p. 41) argue, the discourse of the journalistic media functions as "a recontextualizing principle for the appropriation of other discourses and their presentation in special relations with each other for the purpose of their dissemination and mass consumption". Therefore, the articulation between voices, whether they are exposed explicitly or implicitly, determines the discursive representations and, consequently, the meaning of the text.

In view of the above, it is concluded that news as a genre and social practice transform other social practices. In the example under observation, we talk about the labor practice that has been reformulated from the development of communication technologies. In other words, the neoliberalist and technocentric discourse itself has resulted in the reconfiguration of working modes, given that the platforms on which delivery workers are connected are also communication tools. Thus, the perspective of gender studies is based

on discursive aspects of human forms of action and interaction in social events, with language being a tool capable of reconfiguring our experience in society.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study, we sought to analyze the news "as socially situated discursive practices, whose participants update identities and social relations in the texts that are produced, distributed and consumed in specific activities of social life" (Motta-Roth; Marcuzzo, 2010, p. 520). From the reflections provided by the analysis of the gen, it seems necessary to resume the questions raised at the beginning of this work.

We noticed that, in the aforementioned coverage, the communicative purpose of the press was to present the App Brake from the narrative of the app delivery workers, exposing the reasons for the demonstration. In general, the four articles analyzed allowed the reader to understand the precarious practices in which workers were inserted.

When it comes to news discourse, one cannot ignore the domain exercised by the journalist, with news being a genre of governance capable of influencing the perception and reconstruction of social practices. Furthermore, since the *corpus* is composed of digital articles, where there is no direct interaction or possibility of contestation between the reader and the writer, its control and narrative propagation become even more relevant.

Finally, regarding the identification and articulation of voices, there was greater priority and evidence in the requests for improvements that motivated the App Brake. In most of the texts, both outlets focus on the stories told by the delivery workers, as a strategy to sensitize the population that, it is worth remembering, depends on the service provided by the category.

That said, it seems appropriate to recapitulate that the system of labor flexibilization, fostered by app companies, is part of a neoliberal practice whose central characteristic is the unfeasibility of labor rights. In view of this, the understanding of the platformization of work permeates the observation of discourse, since this capitalist discursive order, present for decades, has been reformulating the way we face the working day.

The overvaluation of "independence", allowing citizens to be their "own bosses", determine their salaries and build their own workload is among some discourses strongly propagated in our society. Amorim and Grohmann (2021, p.47) corroborate this debate by claiming that entrepreneurship, in this sense, is an ideological and managerial operator of capital over the working class, responsible for creating coercion and seductive consensus.

Consequently, the way in which the press presents such changes cannot be neglected. The representation of a working class permeates the choice of sources. Therefore, the discourses used to expose the facts may legitimize (or not) certain power relations. As a genre, the news must, above all, stick to the social role of journalism, and it is up to us to know how to read and interpret its discourses in order to act autonomously in society.

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