

**Racism and the Constitution of an Ideological Sign of Resistance /
*Racismo e a constituição de um signo ideológico de resistência***

*Maria Helena Cruz Pistori**

ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand the dissemination and consolidation of an ideological sign of resistance, starting with the analysis of a verbal-visual utterance, a photo reportage published in the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso*. That reportage, through a series of photographs and a brief text, shows a demonstration in Lisbon, in June 2020, against the murder of George Floyd, by police officers, in the USA. The Dialogical Discourse Analysis, grounded in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and the Circle, is the theoretical and methodological basis for this article, which mobilizes the notions of ideological sign and dialogic relations. Starting with one of the photos referred to in the title of the reportage, the analysis raised meanings produced in the various axiological dialogues among spatially and temporally distinct statements, using words, images, and gestures shared during the protest demonstrations. The dialogic chains of statements show how a discourse of resistance to racism and other social inequalities is constituted, and expressed in an ideological sign.

KEYWORDS: Black Lives Matter; Bakhtin and the Circle; Dialogical Relations; Values; Ideological Sign

RESUMO

Este artigo tem o objetivo de compreender a disseminação e a consolidação de um signo ideológico de resistência, a partir da análise de um enunciado verbo-visual, uma fotorreportagem publicada no jornal português Expresso. A matéria, por meio de uma série de fotografias e um breve texto, mostra uma manifestação ocorrida em Lisboa, em junho de 2020, contrária ao assassinato de George Floyd por policiais nos EUA. A Análise Dialógica do Discurso, advinda da obra de Mikhail Bakhtin e o Círculo, fundamenta teórica e metodologicamente o trabalho, mobilizando especialmente as noções de signo ideológico e relações dialógicas. A partir de uma das fotos, referida no título da reportagem, a análise levantou sentidos produzidos nos diversos diálogos axiológicos que ocorreram entre enunciados espacial e temporalmente distintos, com a utilização de palavras, imagens e gestos compartilhados por ocasião das manifestações de protesto. As cadeias dialógicas de enunciados mostram como se constitui um discurso de resistência ao racismo e outras desigualdades sociais, expresso em um signo ideológico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Black Lives Matter; Bakhtin e o Círculo; Relações dialógicas; Valores; Signo ideológico

* Associate Editor of *Bakhtiniana*. Revista de Estudos do Discurso, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo – PUC-SP, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil; Post-doctoral researcher in Linguística Aplicada e Estudos da Linguagem [Applied Linguistics and Language Studies], Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo – PUC-SP, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil; <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0751-3178>; mhepist@uol.com.br

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.
*Universal Declaration of Human Rights*¹

With respect to a person, love, hatred, pity, tenderness, and emotions in general are always dialogic in some measure.
*Mikhail Bakhtin*²

Racism is a social reality: in Brazil, in Portugal – headquarters of the newspaper that produced the photo reportage to be analyzed in this article -, in the world. It supposes subjects at different poles not only in a relationship of power and domination, but also in a relation of resistance and confrontation. In other words:

(...) It is a systematic form of discrimination based on race, and which is manifested through conscious or unconscious practices that culminate in disadvantages or privileges for individuals, depending on the racial group to which they belong (Almeida, 2019, p.25).³

Regardless of how it is defined, there is a heated debate around the issue of repeated violence, and the tremendous injustices that they bring about are unquestionable.⁴ Even if, in general violence might be perceived by Brazilians, its deep consequences may not be totally looked into. Oliveira and Resende (2020, pp.149-171) offer us important reflections on the theme in a work carried out based on open questionnaires and on focal groups with undergrads at Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). This study was carried out in a state where more than 75% of the population declare black. The research investigates the perception of racism by self-declared Brazilian white students at that university. Although the research is restricted to a specific

¹ Available at:

<https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf>. Access on November, 02, 2022.

² BAKHTIN, M. The Problem of the Text in Linguistics, Philology and the Human Sciences: An Experiment in Philosophical Analysis. In: BAKHTIN, M. *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*. Translated by Vern W. McGee and Edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1986, p.113.

³ In Portuguese: “é uma forma sistemática de discriminação que tem a raça como fundamento, e que se manifesta por meio de práticas conscientes ou inconscientes que culminam em desvantagens ou privilégios para indivíduos, a depender do grupo racial ao qual pertencam.”

⁴ In January of 2022, *Folha de S. Paulo* offered a debate space about racism/structural racism based on the article “Racismo de negros contra brancos ganha força com identitarismo” [“Racism of Blacks Against Whites Becomes Stronger with the Identitarianism”], written by the novel writer and anthropologist Antonio Risério. Among other articles, according to an interview by Samuel Santana Vida (re)published in Portal Galèdes (acc. Galf, 2021).

group, issues come to our attention: first, the broad recognition of the existence of racism by self-declared white students; second, the fact that these students' reflection (or almost no reflection) on the subject is, in general, socially stereotyped, which can be the foundation of practices and/or of racist discourses; thirdly, the little interest of the group in discussing the theme, making the authors state: "One gets the impression that whites are not interested in hearing what blacks have to say about racism" (Oliveira; Resende, 2020, p.162).⁵

Some events, however, cause a breach in this supposed torpor in relation to the theme, highlighted by police violence against blacks. A sadly common fact that can generate protests and become a motto for debate on the issue. This violence in Brazil, recorded on the *Mapa da Violência* [Violence Map] since 1998, and based on official data from the Sistema de Informações de Mortalidade do Ministério da Saúde [Mortality Information System from Ministry of Health], informed that in 2021 blacks were more than twice as likely to be murdered in the country; this group represented 78% of homicide victims (Porto, 2021). Recent crimes against blacks, victims of violence, poverty and exclusion, continue to happen day after day in Brazil and in the world. They are reported, and the perplexity in front of them often also gives way to indifference, though.

In Portugal, at the end of December 2021, UN human rights experts denounced that Afro-descendants suffer systemic racism in that country (according to *Redação* [Editors]. *Veja*, 2021). The report showed that this is largely because Portuguese society is still tied to its colonial past. Slavery, trade and trafficking of Africans are barely recognized in a "broad vision of Portuguese identity,"⁶ says Dominique Day, head of Grupo de Trabalho de Peritos da ONU sobre Afrodescendentes [UN Expert Working Group on Afro-Descendants] on the same subject signed by the Editors. The text also refers to major anti-racist protests that took place in Portugal in 2020, such as the one that motivated the photo reportage: *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa* [Black Arms Intertwined with White Arms. The Images of the Demonstration in Lisbon], published on June 06, 2020 at 10h48 pm, in the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso* (Fernandes, 2020), presented below. As for police

⁵ In Portuguese: "Fica-se com a impressão de que as pessoas brancas não estão interessadas em ouvir o que as pessoas negras têm a dizer sobre racismo."

⁶ In Portuguese: "visão alargada da identidade portuguesa."

violence, one of the most aggressive aspects of the demonstration of racism around the world, Mamadou Ba, a Portuguese-Senegalese activist, says: “When we look at police violence, we realize that there is the uniform syndrome, because most physical attacks against black people in Portugal are committed by people in uniform, whether they are police officers or security guards of private companies”⁷ (according to Coutinho, 2022).

The *Black Lives Matter* movement emerged in the United States in 2013, organized by American activists, and was conceived as a fight for all against racism. According to Silvana Inácio, Brazilian journalist and creator of the biweekly podcast *Zumbido* [Buzz]⁸ – about the black universe, “*Black Lives Matter* gave us visibility, but our fight is much older, for existence as human beings, for the right to live and go out on the street without being shot.” (Arruda, 2020)⁹ On May 25, 2020, the murder of George Floyd by a police officer in Minneapolis, United States (murder caused by asphyxia), was the trigger for new waves of protest against racism around the world that were either summoned by the movement or evoked it.

The fight against racism is undoubtedly essential. Therefore, we believe it is important to retake that moment, when indignation and protests took to the streets of the whole world, in the analysis of the photo reportage published in the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso* shortly after that murder, in June 2020, and especially focusing on the photo that gave title to the text. Medvedev teaches us that

Nor do philosophical views, beliefs, or even shifting ideological moods exist within man, in his head or in his “soul.” They become ideological reality only by being realized *in words, actions, clothing, manners, and organizations of people and things* – in a word: *in some definite semiotic material*. Though this material they become a practical part of the reality surrounding man (Bakhtin/Medvedev, 1978, p.7; emphasis added).¹⁰

⁷ In Portuguese: “Quando olhamos para a violência policial, percebemos que há a síndrome da farda, porque a maioria das agressões físicas contra pessoas negras, em Portugal, são cometidas por pessoas fardadas, sejam elas policiais ou seguranças de empresas particulares.”

⁸ In Brazilian Portuguese *Zumbido* means more than the buzzing sound as it contains in itself the word *Zumbi*, the name of a black slave who resisted slavery and built a getaway place for escaping slaves. He is considered a hero in the fight for freedom.

⁹ In Portuguese: “*Black Lives Matter* deu visibilidade, mas a nossa luta é muito mais antiga, pela existência como seres humanos, pelo direito de viver e sair na rua sem ser alvejado.”

¹⁰ BAKHTIN, M. /MEDVEDEV, P. N. *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship*. A Critical Introduction to Sociological Poetics. Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978 [1928].

By referring to words, actions, clothes, manners, organizations of people and objects, to some material in the form of a specific semiotic material, Medvedev is leading us to observe how each of those aspects points to our own conceptions of the world, beliefs and specific ideological realities. The aspects constitute themselves as *ideological signs*, pointing to social values of individuals socially organized in a certain sphere of human activity. Observing the *multi-accentuation* of ideological signs, the difference in expression and intensity in the expression of values is to observe the way in which existence *reflects and refracts* social reality, in an intersection of social interests: “differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign” (Vološinov, 2017, p.23).¹¹

On describing, analyzing, and interpreting the photo reportage *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa* focusing on the photo that was entitled *Black Lives Matter* by GESCO (Arquivo e Centro de Documentação do jornal *Expresso* [Archive and Documentation Center of the *Expresso* newspaper], and based on concepts coming from the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and the Circle, we state the following objectives: (1) to seek possible meanings of the photo and the photo reportage, explaining the dialogic relationships (expression of positionings) that begin in distinct times and spatialities; (2) from there, to recover discursive chains of meanings, taking into consideration that each utterance is a link in the chain of discursive communication, and so responds to previous utterances; (3) and to recognize the accentuations of the ideological signs of resistance, that is, the evaluative emphasis that accompanies them.

In the first section, the article recovers Bakhtinian notions that will be mobilized in the analysis, in theoretical and methodological terms, and, in the second, it presents the analysis itself. In the final considerations, the text shows how the paths of analysis and interpretation lead us to recognize the various modes assumed by the discourses of confrontation and resistance in response to domination, violence and power generated by racism and other inequalities and social injustices.

¹¹ VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Trad. Ladislav Matejka and R. Titunik. Translator’s Preface. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.

1 Ideological Sign, Dialogic Relationships and Values. Also: Methodological Notes

The Dialogical Discourse Analysis (Brait, 2006, 2008), anchored in precepts and concepts of the work of Mikhail Bakhtin and the Circle, will be our theoretical-methodological foundation, as previously expressed; besides it offers subsidies for the analysis of verbal-visual utterances, as Brait amply explains in various texts (among others, Brait, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2013). The author explains that the Bakhtinian work presents a theory of language in general, and not just a theory of verbal, oral or written language. Therefore,

(...) the semiotic-philosophical-ideological perspective, precisely the one that will build what Vološinov designates as an ideological sign, (the one which) serves as a foundation for the reading of the visual, of visual culture, even though Vološinov, *apparently*, had not dedicated himself to image (2013, p.46; emphasis in original).¹²

In this item, however, we only deal with some essential Bakhtinian concepts to be mobilized in the analysis of the photograph entitled *Black Lives Matter* and the photo reportage of which it is part, composed of a brief text and 12 images from the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso* (Fernandes, 2020a). We start with the notion of *ideological sign*, already mentioned above. Vološinov introduces us to this notion in the first part of *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*,¹³ especially in chapters 1 and 2 of Part I (1978, pp.17-44), linking it with the science of ideologies (studies on science, literature, religion, morals etc.). Throughout these two chapters, the author shows us how every sign is linked to different fields of ideological creation/creativity, as each of them has its own way of socially orienting itself in reality and refracting it. Later he adds that, although the word is the ideological sign *par excellence*, it is, in principle, neutral; however, it accompanies all everyday communication and all ideological communication, participating in them; thus, it can assume any value and any function in the various scientific, aesthetic, moral, religious spheres... Furthermore, Vološinov recalls that verbal discourses are accompanied by other signs, which also give/add meanings to them, such as facial

¹² In Portuguese: “(...) a perspectiva semiótico-filosófica-ideológica, justamente a que vai construir o que Vološinov designa como signo ideológico, (a que) serve de fundamento para a leitura do visual, da cultura visual, ainda que Vološinov, *aparentemente*, não tenha se dedicado à imagem.”

¹³ For reference, see footnote 11.

expression, gesticulation, etc., an important issue to be observed in photography and photo reportage.

By pointing out that one of the distinctive aspects of the ideological sign is the “evaluative accentuations that accompanies all content” (1978, p.21),¹⁴ the Russian linguist explains that such valuation is linked to the social horizon of an era and a social group, which accentuates and emphasizes those evaluative aspects in their own way, expressing values linked to each sphere of human activity. In fact, the axiological question, the way in which every utterance expresses values through its intonation, is fundamental in the work of the Circle, whether in the texts of Vološinov, Medvedev or Bakhtin. For example, when dealing with discourse in the novel, Mikhail Bakhtin states:

Actual life and historical becoming create within an abstractly unitary national language a multitude of concrete worlds, a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems; within these various systems (identical in the abstract) are elements of language filled with various semantical and *axiological content and each with its own different sound* (Bakhtin, 1981, p.288; emphasis added).¹⁵

If ideological signs sound differently in “a multitude of bounded verbal-ideological and social belief systems,” the production of the meanings of concrete utterances - verbally, visually or verbally-visually constituted - occurs in dialogic relations with other utterances, since the dialogical orientation is constitutive of any discourse, which always meets other discourses in “a living, tension-filled interaction” (Bakhtin, 1981, p.279);¹⁶ in this encounter between discourses, positions and values are expressed. In the words of Faraco (2009, p.22):

We live and act, therefore, in a world saturated with values, within which each of our acts is an axiologically responsive gesture in an incessant and continuous process. (...) the self/other relationship and the axiological dimension – will, therefore, be the constant and core axes of Bakhtinian thought and his peers.¹⁷

¹⁴ For reference, see footnote 11.

¹⁵ BAKHTIN, M. M. Discourse in the Novel. In: BAKHTIN, M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Translated by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

¹⁶ For reference, see footnote 15.

¹⁷ In Portuguese: “Vivemos e agimos, portanto, num mundo saturado de valores, no interior do qual cada um dos nossos atos é um gesto axiologicamente responsivo num processo incessante e contínuo.” “... a relação eu/outro e a dimensão axiológica – serão, portanto, os eixos constantes e nucleares do pensamento bakhtiniano e seus pares.”

It is the internal dialogicity of the discourse that leads to a responsive and active understanding between the partners of discursive communication: “the understanding of a sign is, after all, an act of reference between the sign apprehended and other, already known signs; in other words, understanding is a *response* to a sign with signs” (Vološinov, 1978, p.11; emphasis added).¹⁸

We may also expand this concept and consider that *dialogic relations* are extralinguistic and can occur among texts, whole utterances, an isolated words, or any “phenomena, provided that these phenomena are expressed in some *semiotic* material,” as we will see in the analysis of the photo; in these phenomena, it is possible to hear the others’ voices, as they express positions (Bakhtin, 1984, pp.184-185).¹⁹ The various discourses show the positions and values of the subject, a (social) voice among (social) voices, in different areas of activity, expressed in various semiotic materials.

All these notions are closely linked: if the ideological sign participates in a given sphere or field of human activity, such an ideological sphere, like every sphere, is linked to a use of language, that is, to a discourse genre: genres, as Bakhtin (2016, p.11) puts it, are as “multiform” and varied as the spheres of human activity themselves. Each of them dominates “certain definite aspects of reality. Each genre possesses definite principles of selection, definite forms of seeing and conceptualizing reality, and a definite scope and depth of penetration,” in the words of Bakhtin/Medvedev (1978, p.196).²⁰

When dealing with genres, in the work *The Formal Method in Literary Scholarship. A Critical Introduction to a Sociological Poetics* (1978, pp.129-141),²¹ Bakhtin/Medvedev state that genres have a two-fold orientation in reality, an external orientation, i.e.: one facing the outside, the space and real time; and an internal orientation, i.e.: another facing the interior, the thematic content:

In the first place, the work is oriented toward the listener and perceiver, and toward the definite conditions of performance and perception. In the second place, the work is oriented in life, from within, one might say, by its thematic content. Every genre has its own orientation in life,

¹⁸ For reference, see footnote 11.

¹⁹ BAKHTIN, M. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. 8th printing. Translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

²⁰ For reference, see footnote 10.

²¹ For reference, see footnote 10.

with reference to its events, problems, etc. (Bakhtin/Medvedev, 1978, p.131).

That is, the *external orientation* of the utterance refers to listeners, conditions of realization and perception: time, space and ideological sphere defined, which is, in our case, the broader context of the photo/photo reportage, of which analysis we present below (Brait, 2012, p.15); the internal orientation, from within the utterance, is linked to the theme, composition and style (linguistic, enunciative and formal elements), which may suggest a methodology of analysis. However, both orientations are *tensely* articulated and interrelate intimately: between addressee and author, a relationship proper to the ideological sphere in focus is established, “which involves and constitutes the production, circulation and reception of a genre, reassuring its relationship with life...” (Brait, 2012, p.15).²²

Well observed, these teachings dialogue with the methodologically grounded order for the study of language proposed by Vološinov (1973, pp.95-96).²³ The Russian linguist says that we must start from the observation of dialogic interactions among discourses: firstly, interactions with the broader sphere in which the enunciative event is constituted – its historical, social, political, cultural and religious aspects; then the interactions with the narrower sphere, especially the genre in question – in the case of this article, a photo reportage; finally, the analysis should focus on the forms of the language (in correlation with the images, in this case), in its usual linguistic conception. In short, external and internal orientations of the utterance. This order will guide us in the analysis of the tensely articulated and intimately linked temporally and spatially interactions proposed by the photo reportage (and the selected photo).

3 Verbal-Visual Dialogues. The *Black Lives Matter* Photo

The broader context of the photo reportage was briefly presented at the beginning of the text; but we will return to it later. We will start the analysis by defining and understanding the photo reportage genre itself, of which the chosen photo is part. As part

²² In Portuguese: “que envolve e constitui a produção, circulação e recepção de um gênero, pontuando sua relação com a vida...”

²³ For reference, see footnote 11.

of a whole – the photo reportage *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa* (Fernandes, 2020a), the selected photo (Figure 1) is the result of a unique discursive project that produced the newspaper story, a project signed by a historically and culturally contextualized social subject (individual or collective). In this case, the producers of the article are both the photojournalist, José Fernandes (2020b), who signs the photo reportage, and the newspaper itself, that published it. The meanings emerge not only from the dialogues that come out from this inseparable set – selected photo/photos from the photo reportage/text, but also from other dialogues, as we will see later.

These concrete utterances will be analyzed as discourses, which point to the object to which they refer, to the context, and also to the discourse of the other. Let us remember that dialogic relations are the premise of discursive interaction and, although they belong to discourse, they do not belong to a purely linguistic field; hence the possibility of observing such statements from different dialogical angles that confront them, complement them, agree with them, and disagree with them or not. And they are proposed by the analyst, by the reader, by the addressee in the observation and responsive and active understanding of the utterance, in the meaning making production.

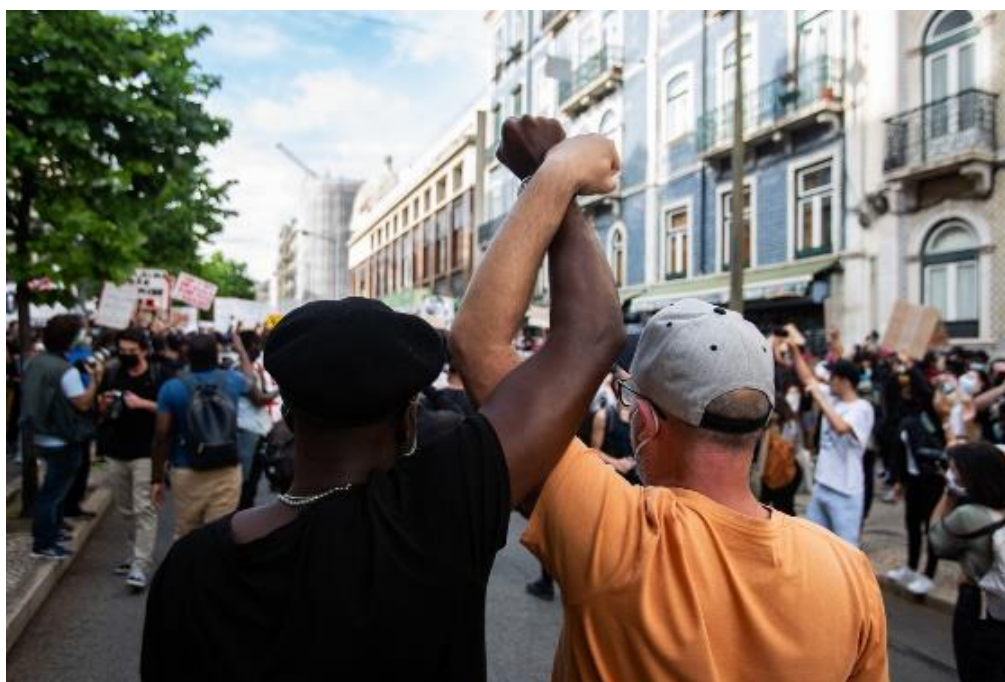


Figura 1 – Black arms intertwined with white arms. The images of the manifest in Lisbon. Photos from the Portuguese paper *Expresso*, on June 06, 2020 (Fernandes, 2020a)

As for *discourse genre*, we observe that it is about photos and photo reportage from the journalistic sphere. In a preliminary definition, it would be the set of specialized agencies that have as their objective the citizen, addressee of the communication vehicles, in order to help form opinion. The *Dicionário on-line de português [Online Dictionary of Portuguese]*²⁴ defines photo reportage as: “Reportage in which photographs constitute the main part, followed only by captions or small explanatory texts”.²⁵ This is exactly what happens in this matter, of which text is transcribed below; however, there are no subtitles in this case.

Photo reportage, photojournalism in a series, is now quite common in the presentation of a report on the web, and it constitutes a resource for presenting the news that does not fit in the printed newspaper in the same way. Online material can be accessed by readers at the pace and interest that is convenient for them. Thus, the photo of the arms intertwined is the ninth of the twelve photos in a series that shows the demonstrations against racism and police violence in Lisbon. It is the ninth, but it certainly stands out in relation to the other photos as it is present in the title: *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa*.

As we can see, the *photo reportage* dominates certain aspects of reality giving this reality a certain finalization in its own way: “It is the forms of the utterance, not of the language, that play the most important role in the consciousness and the comprehension of reality” (Bakhtin/Medvedev, 1978, pp.133).²⁶ Thus, comprehending each image is only possible by considering it as part of the whole, the concrete utterance - text and series of images. The utterance shows the way in which one orients oneself in reality, how one constitutes one’s position in front of this reality, considering the 12 photos, briefly described below, and the text.

For a deeper understanding of the genre, it is important to discuss a little more about the conditions of photo reportage production, according to web data, which can be seen in Figure 02. In a liberal economy, the sphere of journalistic activity acquires a commercial logic of a company, a logic of the market. This gives it an ambiguous purpose, insofar as the newspaper aims not only at the information/education of the

²⁴ <https://www.dicio.com.br/fotorreportagem/>

²⁵ In Portuguese: “Reportagem em que as fotografias constituem a parte principal, acompanhadas apenas de legendas ou pequeno texto explicativo.”

²⁶ For reference, see footnote 10.

reader, but at capturing/seducing the largest number of readers as possible. For this reason, the *credibility* of the newspaper is configured as one of the constraints, and this is observed in the invitation to subscribe to the newspaper, combined with the vehicle’s own advertising, in which it is stated: “Informação *credível* onde quer que esteja” [*Credible* information wherever it is] (Figure 2; emphasis added); as a corollary of this statement, the option to choose the subscription format: “*Expresso* Paper. Subscribe. Receive it comfortably at your home; *Expresso* Digital. Subscribe. Read it firsthand wherever you are.”²⁷ The image of readers in the advertisement corroborates the possibilities of reading the newspaper anywhere, in paper or digital media.

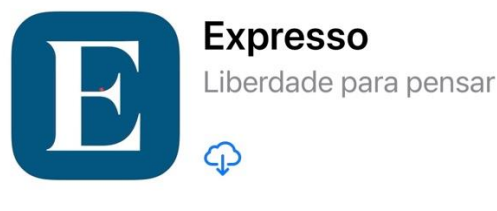


Figure 2 – Subscription ad. Source: internet. Figure 3 – App. Source: internet.

This necessity to capture/seduce readers leads us to observe the importance of photography, one of the ways to obtain credibility, as a “portrait” of reality. In fact, like verbal language, photography reflects and refracts reality, as any “ideological product is not itself a part of a reality (natural and social)... – it also in contradistinction to these other phenomena, reflects and refracts another reality outside itself” (Vološinov, 1973,

²⁷ In Portuguese: “Expresso Papel. Subscriver. Receba comodamente em sua casa; Expresso Digital. Subscriver. Leia em primeira mão onde quer que esteja.”

p.91).²⁸ Through what is conveyed – in this case, text and image – the newspaper always intends to build the *effect of a sense of truth*, which cannot be disregarded in the analysis.

Still in terms of the conditions of production and circulation of the utterance, it is important to know a little more about its *closest context* - the newspaper in which the article is inserted. *Expresso* is a Portuguese weekly newspaper, that has been circulating since January 1973, appearing shortly before the Revolução dos Cravos [Carnation Revolution], that took place on April 25, 1974. It appears when Portugal was on the way to democracy, after almost 30 years of dictatorial regime - the Salazar dictatorship, which was characterized by strong democratic repression and censorship of freedom of expression. The context in which it was inaugurated, together with its slogan, *Liberdade Para Pensar* [Freedom to Think] (Figure 4), placed just below the title of the application, points to aspects that may make it hard to be characterized as a conservative newspaper. Weekly released, it is aimed at a reader belonging to the ABC1 classes, middle and upper social strata, living in urban regions, according to information on its website (*Perfil do leitor. Expresso. s/d* [Reader's Profile. *Expresso*. No date]). The title attributed to the photo by GESCO, the newspaper's documentation center - *Black Lives Matter* - appears on a poster in only one of the photos (photo 4), but in Bakhtin's words, we may say that it works as a "word-slogan" (or expression-slogan) of the movement, capable of infecting a wide circle for its semantic and expressive impulse, for its axiological overtones and for its practically universal reach (Bakhtin, 1981, p.290).²⁹

On the *web*,³⁰ we find the way the text appears on the newspaper page: under a photo of the demonstration – photo no. 1, which is not the one with the arms intertwined (Figure 1) – as it shows many people wearing masks carrying posters (Fernandes, 2020a). Although the primary focus of our analysis is that photo in *Figure 1*, before presenting the text, we briefly describe the 12 photos, none of which are captioned. The analysis will make some references to them:

- (1) The photo shows part of the demonstration, with many masked protesters carrying banners. In the foreground, a black man carries a banner with the words "20 Educar" (*Vim te educar* [I came to educate you]); within the circle that makes up the zero number, a closed fist of

²⁸ For reference, see footnote 11.

²⁹ For reference, see footnote 15.

³⁰ *Expresso*, June 06, 2020. <https://expresso.pt/sociedade/2020-06-06-Bracos-negros-entrelacados-com-bracos-brancos.-As-imagens-da-manifestacao-em-Lisboa>

fight is raised; a little behind, other banners: “*Alma não tem cor*” [Soul has no color]; “*O racismo é educação*” [Racism is education], among others;

- (2) The photo was deleted from the reportage;
- (3) The photo shows a black girl, with a microphone in her left hand, her right fist raised, and her left knee on the floor, in front of many banners and posters. Some words stand out, such as “*Fim à violência policial*” [End police violence];
- (4) The photo shows an agglomeration of people, many of them waving their banners in the air, several of them in English: “*Quero sonhar com o futuro, não rece(ar)*” [I want to dream about the future, not fear it]; “*Marielle Franco present*” [Marielle Franco present]; “*Black lives matter;*” “*Dark skin is not a crime;*” “*We are not our ancestors, we will fuck you up,*” ...;
- (5) In the fifth photo, we can clearly see the two-story houses of Portuguese blue tiles, which flank the demonstration and only the heads of new protesters holding banners;
- (6) The photo was deleted from the reportage;
- (7) In the foreground, protesters, mostly black, grab microphones and carry megaphones, quite possibly shouting slogans;
- (8) This photo shows the balcony of one of the houses: overlooking the demonstration, one of the dwellers films it with a cell phone, three others applaud;
- (9) The photo of the intertwined arms (*Figura 1*);
- (10) New banners in this photo carried mainly by black women, with new words: “*Currículo (foto pessoal). Vês a minha cor ou o meu valor?*” [Resumé (personal photo). Do you see my color or my value?]; “*Até quando a minha cor será um crime* [How long will my color be a crime?];
- (11) Facing a cloudy blue sky, the bust of a black man (with a mask and cap) raises his right arm with a closed fist;
- (12) In front of *Terreiro do Paço* [Palace Ground], which has an old yellow building in the background, an architectural and urban work from the 18th century, a black protester speaks before the crowd of protesters.

Above the photos, we find the following heading:

Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa
06.06.2020 às 22h48 [Black Arms Intertwined with White Arms.
Images of the Demonstration in Lisbon June 06, 2020 at 10h48pm]

Below the photos, we find the following text:

About five thousand people were present this Saturday afternoon in the center of Lisbon in a demonstration against racism, against police violence - mainly on black citizens, and in favor of greater social tolerance and inclusion. There were many masks, but social distancing quickly proved impossible to maintain given the amount of people who

had been present there. The death of African-American George Floyd under the knee of a policeman was just the latest news to circulate around the world, but there are many stories that remain untold. The fight - in images.³¹

Even though the photo reportage may be constituted as a unique discursive project, in the analysis we need to deal with each aspect at a time, relating it to the whole. As for the text, the first observation is the observation that it is brief and direct, as befits a photo reportage, and responds to the well-known journalistic lead: what, who, when, where, how and why. We notice that the text contains possible evaluations of the fact based on “*the unity of the real conditions of life that generate a community of value judgements*” (Vološinov, 1976, p.100; emphasis in original).³² Initially, we may say that numbers and quantity play an argumentative role in the text, highlighting the representative force of the protest: “About *five thousand people...*”; “There were *many* masks, but social distancing quickly proved impossible to maintain given *the amount of people* who had been present there” (emphasis added).³³ The evaluations present in the utterance are built on the notion of citizenship, on the very notion of humanity, on the injustice related to the inequality in the treatment of blacks and whites, on the condemnation of racism and police violence – mainly against black citizens. The evaluative aspect also points to the necessity of greater tolerance and better social inclusion, as the text repeatedly states in a dialogic response to the facts that gave rise to the social demonstrations: “*against racism, against police violence - mainly on black citizens, and in favor of greater social tolerance and inclusion*” (emphasis added).

The title of the photo reportage *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos. As imagens da manifestação em Lisboa*, if it initially takes up the image of the ninth photo, adds new images to the referenced one. The term “intertwined,” referring to the junction, to the linking of *black* and *white* arms, dialogues coherently with the words of

³¹ In Portuguese: “Cerca de cinco mil pessoas estiveram presentes na tarde deste sábado no centro de Lisboa numa manifestação contra o racismo, contra a violência policial - principalmente sobre os cidadãos negros, e a favor de uma maior tolerância e inclusão sociais. Houve muitas máscaras, mas o distanciamento social rapidamente se revelou impossível de manter dada a quantidade de pessoas que acabaram por comparecer. A morte do afroamericano George Floyd sob o joelho de um polícia foi apenas a última notícia que correu mundo, mas há muitas histórias que continuam por contar. A luta - em imagens.”

³² VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Discourse in Life and Discourse in Art (Concerning Sociological Poetics)*. In: VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Freudianism. A Marxist Critique*. Translated by I. R. Titunik. Edited in collaboration with Neal H. Bruss. New York: Academic Press, 1976 [1926].

³³ In Portuguese: “Cerca de cinco mil pessoas estiveram presentes;” “contra o racismo, contra a violência policial - principalmente sobre os cidadãos negros, e a favor de uma maior tolerância e inclusão sociais.”

Silvana Inácio, mentioned above, when explaining the way in which the fight takes place in Brazil: “a fight of *all* against racism” (Arruda, 2020; no italics in the article).³⁴ The addressee, that urban readership of the ABC classes, can still join the newspaper and the protesters in noticing that “The death of African-American George Floyd under the knee of a policeman was *just* the latest news that went around the world, but *there are many stories that remain untold*” (emphasis added).³⁵ In this excerpt, in the first sentence, the *just* – meaning exclusiveness is highlighted, which introduces the information that the death of George Floyd is one of many: “just the latest news to circulate around the world,”³⁶ followed coherently by the sentence that introduces the adversative “but,” of which content prevails: “but there are many stories that remain untold.”³⁷ It is a *double-voiced discourse* with a single orientation, author – the institution newspaper and journalists, photographers, join the characters of the demonstration, they are side by side (Bakhtin, 1984, p.199).³⁸ The newspaper is not neutral. “The fight – in images”³⁹ continues...

In interaction with the broad sphere in which the enunciative event is constituted, this photo reportage relates to life, listeners, addressees, readers and, in a way, to the reaction to this reception/perception, in its historical, social, political, cultural, and religious aspects... Let’s see how: the article deals with the demonstrations that took place in Lisbon, after the murder of George Floyd by police, in Minneapolis, on May 25, 2020. The moment is of the covid-19 pandemic, as both the masks in the photo and the text say: “There were many masks, but social distancing quickly proved impossible to maintain given the amount of people who had been present there.”⁴⁰ In this way, we notice that the *internal orientation* of the utterance is tensely related to the external one: as in a dramatic performance, the characters in the photo of the “arms intertwined” harmonize and stand out for the colors they wear: the black person dresses in black – shirt and cap; white, of light colors. The background shows a part of the five thousand people reported in the text, a crowd that can be seen in the cover photo of the news, and also in several others of the

³⁴ In Portuguese: “uma luta de todos contra o racismo”

³⁵ In Portuguese: última notícia que correu mundo, mas há muitas histórias que continuam por contar.”

³⁶ In Portuguese: “apenas a última notícia que correu mundo.”

³⁷ In Portuguese: “há muitas histórias que continuam por contar.”

³⁸ For reference, see footnote 19.

³⁹ In Portuguese: “A luta – em imagens.”

⁴⁰ In Portuguese: “Houve muitas máscaras, mas o distanciamento social rapidamente se revelou impossível de manter dada a quantidade de pessoas que acabaram por comparecer.”

12 photos. Ethics and aesthetics come together not only in the intertwined arms, but also in the beautiful blue tiles of the townhouses on the street of Lisbon, sensitively shown through the eyes of José Fernandes.

Newspapers around the world covered the murder and numerous demonstrations, which still constitute the broader context of the photo reportage. In a dialogue of intense agreement among those demonstrations, this broad context can be observed in several other illustrations in different media, some of which we highlight below. They occurred in different spaces:⁴¹

- Firstly, in the article “Protestos contra a morte de George Floyd pelo mundo nesta sexta-feira” [“Protests Against the Death of George Floyd Around the World this Friday”],⁴² from June 05, 2022, on the *Globo G1 – Mundo portal* [Globo G1 – Portal World], we can observe similar protests that took place in cities such as London, Hamburg, Berlin, Washington, Pretoria, among others. From this report, we highlight two photos that dialogue coherently with the “black arms intertwined with white,” one from London and the other from Pakistan. The first shows the activist Dee Ndlovu speaking in Trafalgar Square in central London, with protesters on one knee in the background with their right fist raised; the second features Democratic Party activists protesting in Karachi, Pakistan, with banners bearing a photo of George Floyd with the words *Let him breathe* and *Oxygen is surplus*. The activist in the center, dressed in white, makes the gesture of fight, with his right fist raised; the protester in front of him makes the same gesture.

- Secondly, we can establish a dialogue with the article by Globo G1, SP, from June 07, 2020,⁴³ in Brazil, which is part of a larger report covering demonstrations against racism, and also against the Bolsonaro government in *Largo da Batata* [Potato Square], in São Paulo. The general headline *Manifestantes distribuem flores para a polícia durante o protesto contra Bolsonaro em São Paulo* [Protesters hand out flowers to police during the protest against Bolsonaro in São Paulo] is followed by a video showing such action. The

⁴¹ The selected/mentioned images come from the portal *Globo G1*, linked to *Grupo Globo* [Globo Group], a Brazilian media and communications holding. Our interest in dealing with these images is solely do show the dialogue established with the photo reportage and the photo in analysis, i.e.: we did not investigate the newspapers or groups’ positionings in the years.

⁴² <https://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2020/06/05/protestos-contra-a-morte-de-george-floyd-pelo-mundo-nesta-sexta-feira-5-fotos.ghtml>. Last access: June 25, 2022.

⁴³ Protesters demonstrating against Bolsonaro, racism, and in favor of democracy in São Paulo <https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/noticia/2020/06/07/manifestantes-distribuem-flores-para-a-policia-durante-protesto-contra-bolsonaro-em-sao-paulo.ghtml>. A. Last access: June 25, 2022.

text of the article informs that the distribution of flowers to the police was inspired by the *Revolução dos Cravos*, in Portugal (1974), and promoted by students from three private schools in the municipality (Santa Cruz, Vera Cruz and Bandeirantes), symbolizing a moment of union, without conflict or riot. Next, the report deals more closely with the demonstration organized by “black movements, organized supporters of the four big football clubs in São Paulo, and by social movements that are part of the ‘*Frente Povo Sem Medo*’ [People without Fear Front]”.⁴⁴ The protest not only recalls the murder of George Floyd, in the United States, but also the murder of the boy “João Pedro, who died after being shot during a joint operation by the Civil and Federal police, on May 18, 2020, in São Gonçalo, Metropolitan Region of Rio de Janeiro.”⁴⁵ Below, there is another photo of the demonstration, with the caption: “Black protesters kneel in *Largo da Batata*, in SP, and reproduce the gesture that is being reproduced all over the world, in protest against the murder of black people.”⁴⁶ As can be seen, the title, the caption of the photo and the images once again express the movement of shared solidarity and repudiation of racism represented by the murders of Floyd and the boy João Pedro.

- New dialogic relations of agreement can be observed in the other photos of the same photo reportage in the newspaper *Expresso* highlighted initially. The image of protesters kneeling down one knee and with their right fist raised in a fighting position, again shows solidarity and the sharing of emotions (indignation) in the fight against racism. It is important to highlight the third photo (3), in which, in the foreground, we see a girl kneeling on one knee, with one hand holding the microphone and with the other raised in a fighting position in the middle of the street, while, in the background, there are the protesters; and also the eleventh photo (11), which gives the reader an idea of the protester’s determination when making the gesture of the raised fist.

In a globalized world, these demonstrations dialogue coherently, sharing similar values of repudiation of racism: “*Social evaluation* is that common denominator of the content and form of every element of the construction” (Bakhtin/Medvedev, 1978, p.140;

⁴⁴ In Portuguese: “movimentos negros, torcidas organizadas dos quatro grandes clubes de São Paulo e por movimentos sociais integrantes da ‘Frente Povo Sem Medo.’”

⁴⁵ In Portuguese: “João Pedro, que morreu após ser baleado durante uma operação conjunta das polícias Civil e Federal, em 18-05-2020, em São Gonçalo, Região metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro.”

⁴⁶ In Portuguese: “Manifestantes negros ajoelham no Largo da Batata, em SP, e reproduzem o gesto que está sendo reproduzido no mundo inteiro, em protesto contra o assassinato de negros.”

emphasis added).⁴⁷ Through the same gestures, which become ideological signs: kneeling, but with only one knee on the ground, the protesters – here and there – symbolize compassion, solidarity and even reverence towards the other who was brutally murdered under the knees of the police. Protesters express themselves morally against racism. The raised right arm and the closed fist become symbols of the fight against the suffocation of a population that does not have their rightful space guaranteed in society. In other words, that demonstration reported in the Portuguese newspaper is not unique, it is part of a global whole, which had different prominence in the distinct media.

The photo on the opening page of the article is not the one I selected, though. Its title – *Braços negros entrelaçados com braços brancos* [Black Arms Intertwined with White Arms], undoubtedly refers to it. To go deeper in the understanding, it is important to pay attention to the final words: *A luta – em imagens* [The fight – in images]. The intimate and tense correlation among time, space and the ideological sphere runs deep, and tells us more about it. The black and white arms are not only intertwined, united, but in a fighting position, in a gesture that does not end in itself. About gestures, Vološinov, in the essay “Discourse in Life and Discourse in Art (Concerning Sociological Poetics),”⁴⁸ says:

(...) *Intonation and gesture are active and objective by tendency. They not only express the passive mental state of the speaker but also always have embedded in them a living, forceful relation with the external world and with the social milieu-enemies, friends, allies. When a person intones and gesticulates, he assumes an active social position with respect to certain specific values, and this position is conditioned by the very bases of his social being. It is precisely this objective and sociological, and not subjective and psychological, aspect of intonation and gesture that should interest theorists of the various relevant arts, inasmuch as it is here that reside forces in the arts that are responsible for aesthetic creativity and that devise and organize artistic form* (1976, p.104; emphasis in original).

Observing the same gesture in other photos of demonstrations around the world, we see that there is a kind of dialogue that is not only spatial among all those protests, but also temporal; that is, it is an ideological sign that historically expresses values of resistance. The raised fist gesture was popularized during the Spanish Civil War from

⁴⁷ For reference, see footnote 10.

⁴⁸ For reference, see footnote 32.

1936 to 1939, when it was used by the Republican faction as a salute and was known as the “Popular Front Salute” or “Anti-Fascist Salute.” This gesture can be seen in a well-known photo of *La Pasionaria* (Figure 4), a Spanish communist revolutionary leader and politician, who played an important role in the Spanish Civil War by inciting the Republicans against General Franco’s troops.

The right fist salute later spread among leftists and anti-fascists across Europe. In one of the photos that illustrates the entry on the invasion of Iraq on Wikipedia, we see a white American lady making the raised fist gesture in the middle of the crowd and we read:⁴⁹ “In February 2003, one of the biggest antiwar protests took place in San Francisco, California, in the United States. Between 60,000 and 200,000 people demonstrated against the conflict.”⁵⁰



Figure 4 – La Pasionaria.⁵¹



Figure 5 - John Carlos and Tommie Smith, Mexico Olympics, 1968.⁵²



Figure 6 – TV Series (Clickbait).⁵³ Source: Pesonal file.

The same gesture is repeated by the American runners John Carlos and Tommie Smith, when receiving the gold and bronze medals respectively at the Olympics in

⁴⁹

https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invas%C3%A3o_do_Iraque_em_2003#/media/Ficheiro:Raised_Fist_at_anti_war_demo.jpg. Last access: April 07, 2022.

⁵⁰ In Portuguese: “Em fevereiro de 2003, ocorreu em São Francisco, Califórnia, um dos maiores protestos antiguerra nos Estados Unidos. Entre 60.000 e 200.000 pessoas se manifestaram contra o conflito.”

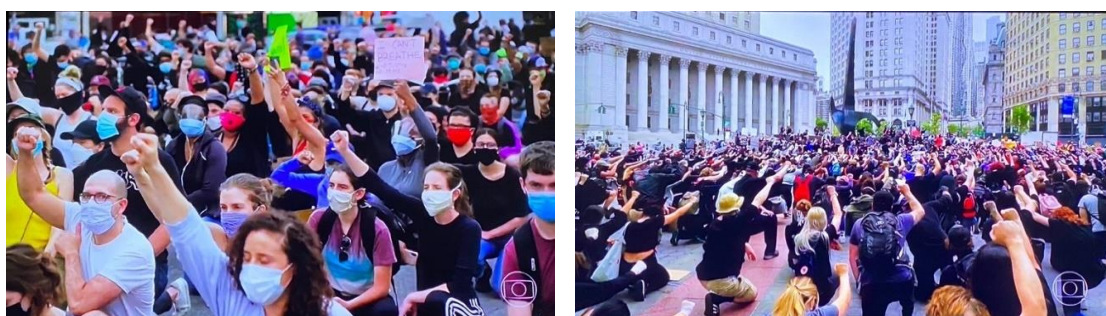
⁵¹ Source: <https://brasildelonge.com/tag/la-pasionaria/>

⁵² Source:

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Carlos,_Tommie_Smith,_Peter_Norman_1968cr.jpg

⁵³ <https://www.netflix.com/br/title/80991754>

Mexico, on October 16, 1968 (*Figure 5*):⁵⁴ during the execution of the American anthem, they lower their heads and raise their fists, as a protest against racist discrimination and the absence of civil rights for all in the United States, in a “silence that becomes deafening,”⁵⁵ says the article. The athletes’ gesture recalled the gesture of the Black Panthers Party militants, who acted between 1966 and 1982, whose agenda was the fight for civil rights, denouncing all sorts of discrimination and police violence against blacks, and defending the self-determination of North American blacks. The photo in *figure 6* shows us another aspect in the dissemination of the gesture of resistance. This is a scene in a teenager’s room from a 2021 television series (*Clickbait*); in reality, it is just an example of how the gesture has spread, but always expressing resistance from the weakest in relation to power and domination. Other films and series have placed the gesture as a demonstration of resistance.⁵⁶



Figures 7 and 8 – Manifest in New York after G. Floyd assassination.



Figure 9 – Manifest in New York after G. Floyd assassination.

Figure 10 – Demonstration in front of a supermarket in São Paulo, where a black man

⁵⁴ The gesture that turned out to be one of the symbols of fight against racism in the US. <https://horadopovo.com.br/o-gesto-que-se-tornou-um-dos-simbolos-da-luta-contr-o-racismo-nos-estados-unidos/>. Last access: April, 2022.

⁵⁵ In Portuguese: “silêncio que se torna ensurdecedor.”

⁵⁶ Just another example, the movie *Samaritain*, 2022 (Director: Julius Avery; Amazon Studios, United Artists Released).

was assassinated (Nov. 20, 2020, *Dia da Consciência Negra* [Black Consciousness Holiday])

Other examples can also be seen in the photos in Figures 7, 8, 9 and 10, from the 2020 Retrospective held by *Rede Globo de Televisão* [Globo TV Network].⁵⁷ From the knowledge acquired in these dialogues, the gesture of the photo in *Expresso* newspaper gains new shades of meanings - objective and sociological - enriching itself, as the arms that intertwine show the union and coherence to the already long fight in favor of social equality; and, as we have already stated, they become ideological signs of the fight against racism. The echo of past social fights against social exclusion and in favor of equality among all citizens; fights in favor of peace and against violence is heard and repeated through the gestures of fight: it is one more fight to be fought, but it is also the continuity of other fights already fought and that still need to be won. The gesture of the demonstrators kneeling on one knee with their hands raised in a fighting position becomes the ideological sign of the fight for equal rights for all, an ideological phenomenon given in “the movements of the body.” (Vološinov, 1973, p.11)⁵⁸

We also draw attention to the connection between the photo in *Figure 9* and that of the intertwined arms (Figure 1): both echo Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), especially in its beginning, “all human beings,” and in the expression “spirit of brotherhood.”⁵⁹ If, on the one hand, all the concrete statements that we present coherently dialogue with each other, on the other hand, they are social voices that vehemently and indignantly dialogue contrary to the situation that generated each of the demonstrations. And this reminds us of Bakhtin’s words in the essay that deals with the text in linguistics, philology, and other human sciences, stating that feelings also dialogue: ⁶⁰ “With respect to a person, love, hatred, pity, tenderness, and emotions in general [the indignation, we add] are always dialogic in some measure.” (1986, p.113)⁶¹

⁵⁷ The photos no. 7, 8, 9 e 10 belong to the personal file of the authoress (TV).

⁵⁸ For reference, see footnote 11.

⁵⁹ For reference, see footnote 1.

⁶⁰ For reference, see footnote 2.

⁶¹ In reality, the rejection of racism should only be rational, but at least since Aristotle (Rhetoric) we know that ethos (the character of the speaker) pathos (the emotions) and logos (the speech it demonstrated or seems to demonstrate) – reason and emotion - work argumentatively in choosing positions and making decisions. The deepening of this issue, however, exceeds the limits and purposes of this article.

Finally, the social appreciation expressed in the photo reportage shows the shared character of the evaluations, corroborated by the discursive chains that we surveyed: and here we can reaffirm that the newspaper - as an institution -, and the protesters share the same evaluation, expressed in the choice of the title of the article and in the actual sense of “fight” portrayed in the twelve images of the photo report. The analysis could continue, perhaps with the proposition of new dialogues that deepen the reading of this concrete statement, as we respond to the readings with our responsive-active understanding, positioning ourselves before the other, and before society.

Final Remarks

In this text, we aimed to describe, analyze, and interpret the photo reportage of which title refers to the photo of “arms intertwined” (Figure 1), from the Portuguese newspaper *Expresso*, through Dialogical Discourse Analysis. Notions such as ideological signs, dialogic relationships and chains of utterances allowed us to advance in understanding the meanings of the photo and the photojournalism. Starting from the way in which the genre was organized in its internal and external orientations, the analysis allowed us to broaden the perception and understanding of texts and images, taken as discourses, which point to relevant linguistic and extralinguistic dialogic relations; and to highlight the importance of the broader and closer context in reading and understanding this material from the journalistic sphere, insofar as texts and images shed lights on the analyzed text, adding new meanings to it.

The valuations present in the utterances - photos and verbal text, were considered in the dialogical relationships that emerge from the chains of utterances raised by them. Temporally and spatially, demonstrations around the world shared values of equality, dignity, and respect for the other; in different times and spaces, the raised fist gesture was understood as an ideological sign of the fight for equal rights for all, and especially against racism. The analysis even showed us the historicity of the resistance gesture, an ideological sign disseminated around the world at least since the Spanish Civil War.

In 1970, Gilberto Gil published, in *Pasquim* [Baloney] from August 19 to 25, 1970, a text he called “O verbo tropicalista: Recuso + Aceito = Receito” [“The tropicalist Verb: Refuse + Accept = Reject”], refusing an award given to him by Museu da Imagem

e do Som [Museum of Image and Sound] for his song “Aquele abraço” [“Big Hug to You”]. It stated, among other things:

And let it be clear to those who criticize me and my beard that “Aquele Abraço” does not mean that I have “regenerated,” that I have become “a good black man singing samba in Carnival parades” as they want all blacks, who really “know where they belong,” to be. I don’t know where I belong, and I belong nowhere; I am no longer serving the white masters’ table nor mourning in the slave quarter they are turning Brazil into.⁶²

We know that little has changed in relation to the “slave quarters” in which the “white masters” would be (still are?) transforming Brazil at that moment. In the doctoral thesis in which Rodrigues (2021, p.203) analyzed the identity of black Brazilian women, the authoress attests that “[the] relationships between these groups [of blacks and whites] are vertical, crossed by discourses of domination, violence and hostility.”⁶³ However, texts such as this photo reportage and, above all, the dialogues against racism provoked by the murder of George Floyd and demonstrated in the analysis of discursive chains show the constitution of an ideological sign of resistance, indicating that “the fight continues...”

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⁶² In Portuguese: E que fique claro para os que cortaram minha onda e minha barba que “Aquele Abraço” não significa que eu tenha me “regenerado”, que eu tenha me tornado “bom crioulo puxador de samba” como eles querem que sejam todos os negros que realmente “sabem qual é o seu lugar”. Eu não sei qual é o meu e não estou em lugar nenhum; não estou mais servindo a mesa dos senhores brancos e nem estou mais triste na senzala em que eles estão transformando o Brasil.

⁶³ In Portuguese: “[as] relações entre esses grupos [de negros e brancos] são verticais, atravessadas por discursos de dominação, violência e hostilidade.”

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Research Data and Other Materials Availability

The contents underlying the research text are included in the manuscript.

Reviews

Due to the commitment assumed by *Bakhtiniana. Revista de Estudos do Discurso* [Bakhtiniana. Journal of Discourse Studies] to Open Science, this journal only publishes reviews that have been authorized by all involved.

Review I

Quality work in the precise use of concepts and propositions from Bakhtinian theory and the Circle. Fine, adequate, and enriching analysis of the discursive chains that constitute the meaning of the treated *corpus*. ACCEPTED

Marília Amorim – Université Paris VIII – Paris, France; <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8004-1424>; marilia66amorim@gmail.com

Reviewed on October 23, 2022.

Review II

Although there are two or three spelling mistakes in some citations and footnotes, the article is very well written and reasoned. The author approaches the theory of the Bakhtin Circle in a didactic, organized and easy way to understand. The article makes an excellent contribution to Dialogic Discourse Analysis and studies on Ideological Signs based on verbal-visual utterances. Investigations that have racism as their main theme are effective ways of resistance, and the fight in favor of equality must go on. ACCEPTED

Tania Regina Barreira Rodrigues - Faculdade de Tecnologia de São Paulo – FATEC, São Paulo, São Paulo, Brazil; <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7948-150X>; tania_trbr@yahoo.com.br

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