

CULTURA INGLESA PROFICIENCY TEST

VERSION: TEST A

PAPER - Reading

TEMPO: 2h00min

INSTRUÇÃO AOS CANDIDATOS

Só abra este caderno quando o fiscal autorizar.

Escreva seu nome e data de da prova abaixo.

Leia as instruções para cada parte corretamente.

É permitido o uso de dicionário físico.

Responda a prova à caneta.

HÁ 2 QUESTÕES NESSA PROVA

Student: _____ Date: _____

Teacher: _____ Grade: _____

Reading – Text A

Questions 1 - 6

Marque a resposta correta de acordo com o texto abaixo.

The Politician, The Wife, The Citizen, and her Newspaper

Rethinking women, democracy, and media(ted) representation
Charlotte Adcock

Introduction

Our understanding of the problems of “real” women cannot lie outside the “imagined” constructs in and through which “women” emerge as subjects. (Rajeswari Sunder Rajan [1993](#), p. 10)

On May 8, 1997, Britain's New Labour party chose to celebrate its first day in government by staging a photocall of its female MPs gathered around the new Prime Minister, Tony Blair. This image of a record number of 120 women elected to Westminster was initially widely interpreted as a fitting symbol of Labour's modernisation and commitment to a new, inclusive style of representative politics. In contrast to a Conservative Party many regarded as incompetent, sleazy or out-of-touch, these women appeared to embody a new political force. May 1997, declared one commentator, “promised the dawn of a new era in gender relations” (Wilkinson [1998](#), p. 58). “Blair's got a huge ‘girl power’ boost,” proclaimed *The Sun* newspaper, while *The Guardian* described the doubling of women in the House of Commons as an “irreversible trend” in the “slipstream” of the larger electoral revolution that “transforms absolutely every possibility on the political landscape.”¹ “At the heart of this new Britain,” the *Mirror's Woman* page predicted, “will be the issues that affect women: child care, health and education. And reforming parliament.”² This dramatic rise in women elected to Westminster (and to the United Kingdom's newly devolved institutions) also renewed scholarly interest in women's presence in parliamentary politics.³ Heralded as a critical breakthrough, their arrival has raised new questions about the significance of gender and the dynamics of change, and prompted reconsideration

of the conceptual and methodological frameworks necessary for researching women's representation.⁴

However, one key aspect of women's representation is often absent from this work—the role played by the media “as a dominant space of politics today” (Dahlgren [2000](#), p. 313). Regrettably, consideration of women's media(ted) representation—as well as feminist work on democracy and citizenship—also remains marginal to much political communication scholarship. This article aims to widen understandings of political representation in a way that both takes account of the media's contribution to processes of governance and draws on feminist critiques of contemporary “representative” political practices. By way of developing my argument, I present an analysis of women's media(ted) representation in the press campaign coverage of the 1997 British General Election. This highlights the ways in which the gendered politics of newspaper imag(in)ing, storytelling, and commentary constrained women's visibility and self-representation. It also reveals the extent to which stereotypical and idealised images of “Womanhood” underpinned journalistic narration of politicians' bids for political and cultural legitimation. Additionally, it seeks to underline the importance of attending to the varying textual characteristics of political coverage within and across specific news formats and market sectors. I conclude by suggesting that improving women's presence in media(ted) political discourse might be one means of strengthening women's symbolic and substantive representation. My account opens with a brief review of recent research on gender, parliamentary politics, and media(ted) representation.

The Politician, the Wife, the Citizen, and her Newspaper

After 18 years of Conservative rule, New Labour's 1997 election victory, with its unprecedented Commons majority and ideological shift to the political centre-ground, can be “regarded as marking a critical watershed in British *parliamentary* politics,” if not in party-voter alignment (Norris & Evans [1999](#), p. 260). This election also constituted an historic moment when issues around women's political representation might have figured in campaign discourse. The significant increase in women MPs was widely predicted. Party strategists had made a sustained effort to appeal to women, conscious of gendered voting trends and the high proportion of female “floaters” (Lovenduski [1997](#); Short [1996](#)).¹¹ Feminist advocacy organisations also bid to highlight women's concerns, advising that there was a clear set of neglected issues of importance to certain groups of women (Adcock [1997](#); Fawcett Society [1997](#); Wilkinson & Diplock [1996](#); Women's National Commission [1996](#)). This election offered a key opportunity, then, for assessing how well newspapers served women—how were

women (re)configured, addressed, and judged across the national press as target voters, political candidates, policy subjects, and citizen-readers?

In the media analysis that followed the election, such issues went largely unaddressed. Critical assessments focused instead on traditional questions of reporting bias, thematic content, and media influence, as well as the unprecedented political realignment of the right-wing press.¹² Commentators note the widespread lament over the length, tedium, negativity, and controlled nature of party campaigns. Despite the sophistication of party news management, they conclude, the national media largely set its own narrow editorial agendas. While politicians attempted to talk primarily about substantive policy issues, and the public's priorities centred on health and education, news media focused overwhelmingly on party and campaign conduct, followed by Europe, and then sleaze, with discussions of leadership cutting across several topics (Computer Aided Media Analysis/Echo Research [1997](#); Norris, Curtice, Sanders, Scammell & Semetko [1999](#); Scammell & Harrop [1997](#); Seymour-Ure [1997](#)).¹³ Press endorsements of Blair were judged to be highly qualified—more often a case of “de-alignment,” “disorientation,” and “loathing” for a divided, directionless Tory party than firm belief in New Labour (Deacon, Golding & Billig [1997](#)).¹⁴ Overall, it is argued, coverage may have helped set the agenda, certainly saw more prominent political punditry, and probably made little difference to the outcome. Figures published in *The Guardian*, meanwhile, indicated that male politicians, led by the main party leaders, dominated as the top ten most visible players in print and broadcast coverage.¹⁵

Taking this analysis as a thematic reference point, I sought to evaluate how women, specifically, figured within the election narratives of five national daily newspapers on each publication day of the seven-week campaign.¹⁶ The titles analysed have historically served different market sectors and political allegiances. They were as follows: *The Guardian*, a liberal broadsheet which advocated tactical voting to depose the Conservatives but was enthused by New Labour; *The Times*, a broadsheet which refused to endorse any single party and urged readers to vote for Euro-sceptic candidates; the *Daily Mail*, the leading mid-market tabloid, which endorsed the Conservatives but pursued a relentless anti-Europe agenda; the best selling mass market tabloid *The Sun*, which ostentatiously backed Blair rather than Labour on the grounds of his leadership, public appeal, and acceptance of some Thatcherite tenets (Deacon, Golding & Billig [1997](#)); and the traditionally left-wing *Mirror*, whose tabloid reporting was boldly partisan and coordinated with Labour's campaign.¹⁷

Overall, content analysis revealed a structural marginalisation of women. Individual women only featured in just over a third (1,437) of the reports, nibs, and columns that totalled in excess of 3,400,

and only figured as main or key actors in just over half of their appearances. Their voices were heard even less—women were directly quoted on a third of appearances—and their “newsworthiness” related closely to the key themes dominating titles’ reportage. While women were represented in 900 visual images, “women’s issues” and women’s perspectives on themes foregrounded by politicians and the press attracted scant attention, including the broadsheets, which published up to ten pages of reporting and comment daily. Female journalists’ names, meanwhile, appeared in just 402 of more than 2,200 by-lined articles. Within this broad patterning, there were marked variations between titles that did not necessarily map on to tabloid/broadsheet divisions. Most strikingly, different groups of women occupied different positions in each title’s hierarchy of female news subjects. In the broadsheets, female politicians featured most prominently but “ordinary” women were not far behind and were quoted on more occasions than their political representatives. In the tabloids, politicians’ relatives were accorded far more attention. In *The Mirror*, “ordinary” women also figured on twice as many occasions as politicians.¹⁹ There were other significant differences, too, principally the individuals judged newsworthy by each paper within the coded “types” and the reporting formats in which they figured.²⁰

“You can Judge a Man by his Wife”³⁶

A second key “type” of woman shaping the representation of women’s relation to political culture was “the political wife.” Four individuals dominated this category: party leaders’ wives Cherie Blair and Norma Major; Christine Hamilton, wife of the Tatton Tory MP accused of financial corruption; and Anna Cox, 17 year-old “mistress” of Tory MP Piers Merchant. Once again, the characterisation of each was inflected by newspapers’ differing political, moral and commercial agendas, production values, and roles allotted by party strategists. But common to much coverage was the deployment of these women as cultural reference points for the promotion or judging of political parties and their leaders. These women thus constituted sites for the playing out of a wider cultural and sexual politics.

In the broadsheets, Cherie Blair and Norma Major were chiefly presented as silent, secondary figures, loyally accompanying their husbands on the campaign trail. In the tabloids, these women were allotted a more central role.³⁷ At times they served as visual metaphors for affective, partisan narration of party fortunes. *The Mirror*, for instance, marked Major’s exit from Downing Street with a picture story foregrounding his “shattered and vulnerable” wife. More significantly, Cherie Blair was also deployed as a narrative vehicle for evaluating her husband’s leadership qualities. In the *Daily Mail*, a series of “Cherie Watches” ostensibly monitored her couture but covertly underwrote the *Mail*’s own view of New Labour as cynically expedient. “The common touch? Hardly,” pronounced one

report. “Doubtful anyone on Labour's minimum wage would be able to afford this lot. Verdict: The most stylish.”³⁸ Her presence was used to different effect in the pro-Blair tabloids. In contemporary western politics, the communicative style of a party leader has become central to the projection of a political message. Furthermore, rather than drawing the line between the extraordinary public figure and the ordinary private individual, party strategists aim to constitute the former by building upon the latter (Fairclough [2000](#); Marshall [1997](#)). Blair's identity, Fairclough ([2000](#)) contends, was anchored on a calculated, public construction of a private self as “normal, decent, likeable” person, and his ability to mix the vernacular language of the everyday with the language of politics. My reading suggests, however, that representations of his wife and family were also central to the mediation of this public personality. “Blair the normal person” was very much grounded on constructions of “normal” *masculinity*.

Some space was opened to female commentators to evaluate these wives as role models for other women. Most of this discourse, however, worked to defuse the challenge a working woman posed to the traditional image of First Lady as public consort, political hostess, and object of display. In the *Daily Mail*, Cherie Blair largely appears as a woman removed from the life-world and values of readers—posh, professional, feminist, and intellectually snobbish. Norma Major, by contrast, is profiled approvingly as “a wife in politics”—apolitical, unambitious, cultivated, loving, and privileged to play this role. *The Sun Woman* page, meanwhile, strived to style Cherie Blair as unthreatening modern woman. A First Lady of the 1990s, concluded its editor, need not be “a Hillary Clinton figure with big hair and big political opinions. But someone who represents the fact women are now more independent and career-minded than ever. Cherie Blair fits that description.”⁴⁰ This commentary refused a politicised solidarity between women and shied away from discussing the messy structural realities and costs involved in balancing work and family. In a polling day profile, a sense of commonality with readers was forged largely on the basis of personal anxieties about body image and wardrobe. It was left to *The Guardian's* Aitkenhead to lament her presentation by news managers “as a silent void.”⁴¹

1 O objetivo do artigo é: (2,0)

- A Levantar aspectos chaves da representação da mulher na mídia e na política.
- B Ampliar a compreensão a respeito da representação política da mulher e do trabalho feminista na democracia juntamente com a contribuição da mídia nesse processo.
- C Fazer uma análise da representação da mulher na mídia na cobertura de imprensa da campanha das eleições gerais britânicas de 1997.

2 A eleição de 1997 ofereceu uma oportunidade ímpar. Ela foi: (2,0)

- A Avaliar quão bem os jornais serviam à mulher: como elas eram configuradas, como se dirigiam à elas e como eram julgadas como eleitoras, candidatas, figuras políticas e cidadãs leitoras.
- B Deu oportunidade a organizações dos direitos feministas de mandar destacar preocupações das mulheres, dizendo que havia uma série de assuntos negligenciados e que eram importantes para alguns grupos de mulheres.
- C A que tornou o evento histórico, pois os assuntos da mulher ganharam representação política e apareceram na campanha.

3 Após as eleições, a análise da mídia da época notou que: (2,0)

- A Os assuntos voltados para a mulher foram amplamente ignorados e os políticos (homens), liderados pelos seus líderes de partido, dominavam as top 10 páginas de jornal mais vistas e a maioria da cobertura midiática.
- B A mídia nacional não somente focou em assuntos políticos e a prioridade da população (saúde e educação), como também focou no assunto da mulher.
- C A mídia focou em questões de reportar o bias feminino, conteúdo temático da mulher e a influência da mídia.

4 De acordo com a análise de conteúdo de mídia: (2,0)

- A** De maneira geral, as mulheres apareciam mais da metade das publicações e eram atores principais nessas aparições.
- B** De acordo com a análise, as mulheres (políticas), lideradas pelos líderes de partidos, dominaram as páginas dos jornais mais lidos.
- C** De maneira geral, as mulheres foram marginalizadas pela mídia, aparecendo em menos da metade das publicações, independente do papel que exerciam.

5 Quando a pesquisadora fala sobre o tipo de mulher representada – a esposa de político – ela diz que a mídia as tratava: (2,0)

- A** De maneira igual em todos os jornais, pois eles tinham o mesmo pensamento político, moral e comercial.
- B** Como promoção ou julgamento de partidos e seus líderes. Elas eram a chave para julgar o caráter cultural e sexual da política.
- C** De maneira irrelevante, quase nunca as mencionando, por acreditarem no seu papel sem importância na política.

6 Quanto à avaliação feita por outras jornalistas a respeito dessas mulheres ‘esposas de políticos’, pode-se dizer que: (2,0)

- A** Ambos exemplos citados foram avaliados da mesma forma positiva: como mulheres trabalhadoras, elegantes, feministas e intelectuais.
- B** As mulheres citadas eram avaliadas diferentemente uma da outra, de forma que houvera uma intenção de desviar o foco daquela que era trabalhadora para aquela que era a figura perfeita de primeira-dama: um objeto público e anfitriã política.
- C** Ambas forjaram ter algo em comum com leitoras: problemas com imagem pessoal e roupas que usavam.

Reading – Text A

Questions 7 - 10

Traduza as frases que seguem. (2 pontos cada questão)

7 This election also constituted an historic moment when issues around women's political representation might have figured in campaign discourse. The significant increase in women MPs was widely predicted. Party strategists had made a sustained effort to appeal to women, conscious of gendered voting trends and the high proportion of female "floaters".

8 Despite the sophistication of party news management, they conclude, the national media largely set its own narrow editorial agendas. While politicians attempted to talk primarily about substantive policy issues, and the public's priorities centred on health and education, news media focused overwhelmingly on party and campaign conduct, followed by Europe, and then sleaze, with discussions of leadership cutting across several topics.
