

DOSSIER

# THE DISCOURSE OF FEMALE PHOTOJOURNALISTS:

## The imbalance between remunerated labor and maternity as a professional calling

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**ABSTRACT** - This article aims to understand how female photojournalists see maternity within the profession in the contemporary world through the use of a study on the cultural and historical influence of gender roles on the performance and development of female photojournalists in the city of São Paulo. A qualitative methodology was adopted using semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted with nine female photojournalists from three different age groups who work both formally and informally. For the purposes of this study, we selected only the parts of the interview where the interviewees referred to their role of mother and professional. The analysis was based on a discursive approach, with theoretical support from French Discourse Analysis. The results show the influence gender roles have on forming symbolic barriers that connect having a career with an imbalance between paid work and maternity.

**Key words:** Photojournalism. Female condition. Gender. Discourse analysis. Professional practice.

### O DISCURSO DAS MULHERES FOTOJORNALISTAS: Desequilíbrio entre trabalho remunerado e maternidade como apelo profissional

**RESUMO** - O artigo objetiva compreender como as mulheres fotojornalistas percebem a maternidade dentro da profissão na contemporaneidade por meio de um estudo sobre a influência cultural e histórica dos papéis atribuídos de gênero na atuação e desenvolvimento feminino no fotojornalismo paulistano. A metodologia empregada é qualitativa, com uso de entrevista do tipo semiaberta. As entrevistas foram realizadas com nove mulheres que têm o fotojornalismo como principal atividade, com relações de trabalho formais e informais, divididas em três grupos etários. Para este texto foram selecionadas apenas as falas em que as entrevistadas faziam referência ao papel de

mãe e profissional. O procedimento de análise seguiu uma abordagem discursiva, com subsídios teóricos na Análise do Discurso de linha francesa. Os resultados apontam a influência dos papéis atribuídos aos gêneros sobre a configuração de barreiras simbólicas que atrelam a permanência na carreira à exigência de um desequilíbrio entre trabalho remunerado e a maternidade.

**Palavras-chave:** Fotojornalismo. Condição feminina. Gênero. Análise do discurso. Práticas profissionais.

## **EL DISCURSO DE LAS MUJERES FOTOPERIODISTAS: desequilibrio entre trabajo remunerado y maternidad cómo apelo profesional**

**RESUMEN** - El artículo objetiva comprender cómo las mujeres fotoperiodistas perciben la maternidad dentro de la profesión en la contemporaneidad por medio de un estudio sobre la influencia cultural e histórica de los roles socialmente asignados de género en la actuación y el desarrollo de mujeres en el fotoperiodismo de la ciudad de Sao Paulo. La metodología empleada es cualitativa, con uso de entrevista del tipo semiabierta. Se entrevistó a nueve mujeres que actúan en el fotoperiodismo, con relaciones de trabajo formales o informales. Ellas han sido divididas en tres categorías de edad. Para este texto se seleccionaron sólo las palabras en las que las entrevistadas se referían al papel de madre y profesional. Los resultados apuntan a la influencia de los papeles atribuidos a los géneros sobre la configuración de barreras simbólicas que atreven la permanencia en la carrera a la exigencia de un desequilibrio entre trabajo remunerado y maternidad.

**Palabras clave:** Fotoperiodismo. Condición femenina. Género. Análisis del discurso. Prácticas profesionales.

### **1 INTRODUCTION**

(1) When she [her daughter] was small I had a maid who stayed at the house. So this helped a lot! And when I had to work the weekends, the maid was off work so I left her with my sister. She stayed with me on my weekends off. When I had to work weekends she stayed with my sister, who is married but does not have any children. She is her godmother. So then she ended up staying with her. Do you understand? So, it was ok (Eve, 54 years old, photojournalist<sup>1</sup>).

Eve's statement inspired us to write this article with the goal of shedding light on the difficulties between the productive content of work and maternity. We consider this case symbolic because Eve thought the challenges of being a mother and a photojournalist were so natural, she thought it was "ok" for her daughter to be raised while she frequently travelled to cover football games even though she needed the help of other women.

The naturalization of the need for women to work a double shift is the result of a strong history and culture based on the functional gender framework.

The construction of gender stereotypes defines these genders not only as being different in terms of their behavior, activities and spaces of legitimate belonging, but also as radical opposites. The androcentric perspective places women as being “naturally” predisposed to the private space, to taking care of children and the family; activities that are socially devalued and invisible as they are considered to be part of the stereotype of their gender, while the public space where political decisions are made are reserved for men. They are involved in productive activities that generate income valorized by a capitalist society (Bourdieu, 2014; Lipovetsky, 1997).

Along these same lines, during the second journalism described by *Ciro Marcondes Filho* (2000), the social recognition of the press as a public mediation institution culminated with the assertion of the masculine dominance in the press. Over the course of the three revolutions, as defined by *Jorge Pedro Souza* (2004), press photography adopted this existing privilege which added to the growth of photojournalism at the time of the wars between industrialized powers in the nineteenth century, and ended up strengthening its masculine stereotype by recognizing the “essential” qualities associated with that gender as necessary for its practice; for example, virility, objectivity and dedication to producing productive capital. The formation of photojournalism is essentially linked to producing productive capital and plays a huge role in developing the intense and unpredictable work routines embedded in its professional culture, leading to an imbalance between the public and private spheres.

Eve's statement (transcribed above) and those of others make up part of a broader exploratory study on the cultural and historical influence of gender roles on the development of women in photojournalism in the city of Sao Paulo. This is where semi-structured interviews (*Duarte, 2006*) were conducted with nine female journalists. These interviewees were selected according to their particular dedication to their professional activities, in what capacity they work (formal or informal), and their ages, which ranged from 25 to 60 and was divided into three age groups: 25 to 35 (four interviewees); 36 to 49 (three interviewees); and 50 to 60 (two interviewees). These professionals were initially contacted through

studies made on large journalistic vehicles and, subsequently, through recommendations from other professionals based on the previously mentioned criteria.

For this article we used a discursive approach supported by the theory of French Discourse Analysis, and selected discourses from professionals who had links between maternity and their profession. We were looking for hints of education and gender stereotypes, basically the social and historical characteristics.

Despite the centuries separating the entry of women in the workplace since the industrial revolution of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the female workers of today, there are discourses in society that identify the feminine role in balancing productivity and maternity as still not being able to completely free themselves from the weight of domestic duties and caretaking, labelling them as predispositions of gender stereotypes (Lipovetsky, 1997). These dispositions are the genesis of the sexual division of labor that hierarchizes productive activities according to their social value and designates the ones of greater recognition and status to men while the majority of women were delegated to less relevant activities due to the stereotype of secondary labor that hovers above them; they are more prone to being distanced by their strong connection to the domestic sphere (Abramo, 2007).

It has only been since the 1970s that feminine labor has started to acquire social legitimacy. Some of the key reasons for this social change are both basic and higher education and the expansion of the service industry (Lipovetsky, 1997, pp. 221-224). In a similar fashion, the number of women in journalism in Brazil increased in the same decade and became more intense throughout the 1980s and 1990s, mainly due to an increase in trained professionals because of the increased number of journalism courses being offered. Despite carrying central values of impartiality and objectivity, journalism is not immune to power relations inherent in social relationships and preserves the areas of coverage which are heavily dominated by men, such as visual coverage.

A national study conducted by the National Federation of Journalists (FENAJ) on the recent occupation of newsrooms showed that 63.7% of Brazilian journalists in 2012 were women. Of note is the fact that 48% of these women were between the ages of 23 and 30. For those between 31 to 40 that percentage dropped to 21.9%, those between 41 to 50 it dropped to 11.1%, leaving the last group of 51

and over representing 8% (Mick & Lima, 2013, p. 33). The numbers indicate that one of the reasons for the female contingent dropping after 31 years of age is related to maternity and the challenges they face of reinserting themselves in journalism.

## 2 Stereotypes and gender

The formation of social stereotypes is connected first to defending the gender as a cultural interpretation of what is natural for the sexes. For women it's the reproductive function; a more emotional and irrational function predisposed to taking care of children and the home. Men are attributed to rationality, objectivity and belonging to public space. The essentialist logic feeds the whole system that searches to normalize and interiorize the sexual divisions as radically opposites based on the "androcentric perspective" (Butler, 2015). In this way, female activities are implied as being inferior to male ones, which are "naturally" inserted in careers with more social value.

We can think of social stereotypes as the form in which senses are attributed to different groups without necessarily being negative. According to Walter Lippmann (2008, p. 96), stereotypes are mental images that help individuals understand and place themselves in the world through their social application; a world that offers the individual comfort in familiarity, which unites and adjusts its expectations, and where any non-conformity would upset its structures. He acknowledges that no stereotype is neutral because "they are the fortresses of our tradition, and behind our defenses we are able to continue feeling secure in the position we occupy" (Lippmann, 2008 p. 97).

A complementary vision from Agnes Heller (1998) states that stereotypes are ultra-generalizations of knowledge, unavoidable in daily life because they help towards its organization and flow. Conversely, having to think about each one of the daily actions would interrupt the continuity of life. She describes the process by which stereotypes are formed:

We arrived at the ultra-generalization characteristic of our daily thoughts and behaviors in two ways: on one hand, we accept pre-established stereotypes, analogies and frameworks; on the other, they are not "pushed on" us in the way we grow up and a lot of time can go by before we take critical attitude to these received frameworks, if it ends up producing such an attitude at all (Heller, 1998, p. 44).

Therefore, stereotypes are formed and reproduced in a social dynamic and the disagreement with or non-acceptance of certain analogies is conditioned to personal experiences, leading to non-validation or believing that some of these premises might be false. The stereotypes, or ultra-generalizations, are temporary judgements because, when there is no practical proof, or when they are challenged, they tend to be modified within social or individual activity (Heller, 1998).

The problem with social genders happens in the moment that deep-rooted stereotypes mask the individual needs by generalizing a group of subjects. In the case of gender, the stereotypes are predominantly used to control women's bodies, limiting their social, economic and citizenship possibilities.

### 3 Division of sexual roles

The established gender structures are not only prejudicial towards women, but to all those who have sexual bodies. This concept, as Butler (2015) argues, is rooted in the androcentric ideal that is ingrained in the social spaces occupied by genders in the performative rules of gender, which results in a sexual division of labor.

Pierre Bourdieu (2014, p. 12) states that masculine domination and the way it is imposed and experienced stems from a symbolic violence. According to its definition, symbolic violence is “[...] a soft violence insensitive to its own victims that is practiced essentially by pure symbolic channels of communication and knowledge, or more precisely, of ignorance, recognition or ultimately, of feeling” (Bourdieu, 2014, p.12). However, the symbolic should not be understood as unreal, or purely spiritual, because its consequences exist and are felt on a daily basis.

According to Bourdieu (2014, p. 138), the way these symbolic exchanges work is by attributing different participatory spheres to genders based on the distinction between symbolic capital and productive capital. With the capitalist logic, the activities that are not a source of remuneration are stigmatized as unproductive and devalued in society while remunerated activities are considered productive, responsible for pushing the economy forward. Women are responsible for maintaining the symbolic capital, which tries to strengthen social ties, parental bonds, and the family *status*; while

men are responsible for productive capital, understood as that which generates wealth through socially important labor.

The distribution of tasks is based on the existence of more important activities which are worthy of recognition from others. On this, Bourdieu (2014, p. 88) attributes the fundamental sieve of masculine participation and the consequent association with its “essential” characteristics to determine which works are understood as “superior” from a social point of view. So, men are responsible for all activities associated to objectivity, rationality and virility, understood as being compatible with skilled professions. Conversely, women are attributed to “unskilled” labor, associated to emotion and passivity.

What you can see here is that women have never been idle but their activities had mostly been invisible, naturalized by the idea that they were fulfilling their biological role. The work of women is done for free to the family, surrounded by an aura of beneficent love and, therefore, labelled as unproductive.

Women have always worked and most known societies invariably allocate child care and domestic chores as their job; however, the way that society values feminine activities and the way domestic and public spaces are balanced are factors that change the most. Feminine labor in pre-industrial societies was highly sought after as an integral part of the functioning family economic. Even weddings required productive work from each spouse. Despite this spousal partnership, the social status of women continued to be subordinate to that of men; a social, political and symbolic domain of masculinity. These features make up the presuppositions that revolve around the first woman, which Lipovetsky called (1997, pp. 228-229): depreciated women.

Since the nineteenth century industrialization has demanded a huge amount of labor in order for its growth, favoring the extension of paid female labor. In general, the work of a married woman had always carried a subaltern status that could neither interfere in the fundamental role of mother and wife nor be superior to the role of man since labor could not constitute part of their identity and realization, a status occupied by the family. The participation of women outside the home, either dedicated to their own or to other families, and the remuneration of factory work provokes the idea that there is a contradiction between femininity and labor, at least the type of labor similar to men.

Lipovetsky (1997, p. 202) explains that as of the nineteenth century, the dissemination of bourgeois ideas through discourses

devalued the productive feminine activity, labelling their maternal role, their emotional instability and the domestic activities as their natural and aggregated family vocation. The feminine ideal of the first women gradually gives way to the emergence of the second women. Traditional culture, disdainful of feminine characteristics, opens up space for its sacralization yet without abolishing the social hierarchy of the sexes: “the power of the female continues to be solely relegated to the imaginary, discourses and domestic life” (Lipovetsky, 1997, p. 231).

Industrialization meant not only a change of productive character in society but also led to the mass production of goods which filled up a market in need of fulfilling its commerce. The answer, initially in the US, was to develop tools to stimulate consumption in society. The attractive advertising directed towards women ended up stimulating their individualism and weakening the ideology that surrounded the housewife up until that time.

The seductive promises of consumerism did not do away with the rhetoric of good mother and wife, but mixed the two concepts together. As of the 1970s, remunerated feminine activity reached a new social *status*. Before this, it was just a financial necessity connected to poverty and the shadow of sexual debauchery. Feminine activity became recognized as a path towards social and economic autonomy, a place where more and more individual choices could be made. Lipovetsky (1997, pp. 223-224) summarizes this process:

Social recognition of feminine labor translates into recognition of rights to “one’s own life” and economic independence, according to a culture that routinely celebrates individual freedom and well-being. This led to individualist benchmarks which led women to denounce domestic labor as submission to men, and men themselves to recognize the legitimacy of remunerated feminine labor as a tool of autonomy and self-realization.

The third woman, which Lipovetsky (1997) characterizes as an “undefined woman” breaks away from the others before it insofar as it is free from the severe impositions that shape its gender and is strongly influenced by the historical weight associated to its activity. The female stereotype slowly moves away from its old objectivity conditioned to the role of women – which should cancel itself out in the face of family and domestic needs – to a subjectivity that reallocates the feminine condition into new ideas of women and power. This new idea is a female worker in a mixture of public and domestic spheres who should still be responsible for household



chores, raising and educating children, the consequences of which interfere in its appropriation of professional space (Bourdieu, 2014; Lipovetsky, 1997).

#### 4 A discursive look

Taking a discursive look at the manifestation of a language means looking at production conditions and understanding them as a social practice of a subject immersed in a culture and a society. It is a discursive experience in and through language. However, when we look at the narratives from photojournalists in the *corpus* of our study we are not looking at the conventional structure of texts, actually, we are more interested in the act of narrating and the narrator, or on the “point of view”. To quote Rabatel, (2016, p.17): “we need to concern ourselves with [...] *Homo Narrans*, what exists in and through discourse, the discursive actualization being the place of a construction and a transformation through dialogical interactions which go beyond producing extensive structures”.

We became, in a certain way, what Milton José Pinto (2002, p. 26) described as “sociocultural detectives” looking for clues in texts that would reveal the society in which enunciators were inserted and enunciation had developed.

The first trait observed in the enunciative process is the *ethos* or image of the subject that is immersed in discourse, as part of this discourse. Using the notion of *ethos* as developed by Maingueneau (2008) and supporting it in the theories of Oswald Ducrot:

It is not about flattering comments that the orator might make about himself during his discourse, comments that run the unlikely risk of shocking the audience; but about the appearance of rhythm, intonation, whether warm or harsh, the choice of words, of arguments...In my terminology, I say that *ethos* is associated to L, the speaker, insofar as it is a source of enunciation that he sees within certain characters that consequently make this enunciation acceptable or refutable (Maingueneau, 2008, p. 59).

In this regard, the enunciator is seen through an interactive context of the articulation of roles, genders, places and moments of enunciation, and circulation of what is enunciated, how the enunciator sees himself and how he sees the other and the world around him; his values and beliefs. It is like what Pêcheux (1969 cited by Gadet

& Hak, 1997, p. 82): “what works in the discursive processes is a series of imaginaries that designate the place that A and B attribute to *itself* and the *other*, the image they make of their own place and the place of the other”. In this way the speaker, or enunciator, predicts the image of his receiver and builds his discourse according to this predicted representation.

### **5 Discourses on the search for balance between remunerated labor and maternity**

Maintaining a balance between remunerated work and maternity has an influence on how photojournalists project their lives. The interviewees’ goal of obtaining professional recognition was mainly represented by the chance to cover issues of “greater impetus”, a term they commonly use to refer to in-depth materials. Seeing as how in-depth coverage is reserved for specialists it represents a long trajectory they need to travel to prove they are competent at the activity. Women tend to put off maternity in favor of professional recognition, as is the case with the interviewees in this study who had children when they were closer to 30 years old. Only one of the women who had a child and worked at a newspaper was able to return to her profession, the others went back only after their children were old enough to take care of themselves. Interviewing the mothers revealed the struggle they had in balancing their practice with maternity. 54-year old Eve, the first photojournalist in this report (1) was hired by a newspaper when she had her daughter and in her opinion maternity did not interfere with her career.

In order to continue fulfilling her workload, which included working weekends and having to travel, she had to collaborate with other women in order for them to take care of her daughter for her. In her discourse she did not mention anything about her daughter’s father helping out or his commitment to the family, which means she was left with most of the responsibility. It is obvious then that maternity is still mainly characterized as a predominantly female responsibility, and if this responsibility cannot be handled by the mother, other women might need to help out who are also perceived as predisposed to childcare and housework. Relying on almost full-time help from a maid and Eve’s sister were extremely important factors towards keeping her job, something which may have made it

easier for her to focus on work and not have colleagues and superiors judging her for being a mother. Eve speaks positively about her professional role, including her role as a mother. She believes that her interlocutor – the interviewer – also sees her in the same way, sees the effort she had made to have a group of women around her to help take care of her daughter, taking on the cultural trait applied to the social role of women. The accumulation of work, the running around and the burden are evident in the impatience displayed in her discourse; she spoke in broken sentences almost without pausing to take a breath.

The other two mothers interviewed for the study, Andrea and Anna, both 43 years of age, fall into the 36 to 49 age group, and started their careers in photojournalism after having children. They are also the only women to work exclusively for photography agencies. This was mainly due to the fact that the agencies provided flexible working hours and the option to cover stories that they were more interested in. Andrea had always dreamed of becoming a photojournalist and prepared herself for this goal. Maternity represented putting off her plans for a while because of the unpredictable schedules attached to the stories she wanted to cover:

(2) I started in a photography agency because I always wanted to be a photojournalist, but I had to wait until my son was old enough because, seeing as how I had never had a formal job before, and I am enthusiastic and prefer autonomous work, so I had to wait for my son to grow up in order to be more available, because a story never has an exact time, right, it could last five minutes or last an eternity, and when you have a child, and when that child is small, the rules, specific hours, because children need this, need safety.

Andrea's vision of autonomous work is related to the ideology of becoming self-employed, having more control over how you work and being able to dedicate herself to her profession according to her goals in life. The lack of regimented hours and the dedication are premises of photojournalism, which Andrea alluded to, that make the balance between remunerated labor and maternity difficult. The financial issue is also a negative part for her as the lack of regulations in photography agencies about the minimum value for the rights to images creates a severe professional depreciation, making the activity insecure. Low pay and being overworked makes it difficult to sustain a family and requires supplementing it with extra income by working in more valued areas of photography such as weddings.

Andrea's discourse reveals an insecurity; the division between her son and work. She says she prefers autonomous work, but that is really because she needs free time to take care of her son, and formal work does not afford this freedom. On the other hand, it appears that this option has not brought in the desired income. Overall, Andrea's discourse reveals the social and professional instability in which she appears to be immersed.

Professional instability is further reinforced by the cultural shaping of stereotypes around photojournalism which are contradictory to the feminine stereotypes of being weak, emotional, and lacking competitiveness, which makes professional culture discourage feminine participation. Anna, photojournalist, 43 years old, says that being a mother interferes in what stories she will decide to cover:

(3) I choose [the stories]. I like going to protests, but I don't go because when my daughter, 13, saw a boy get shot in the eye, back in 2013, she said to me, "mom, promise me that you will never go, because I don't want you to lose your sight", so I don't go, sometimes I sneak away and go, but it's quick, you know? Because, I think that, there are people who do it, who like it, but I don't do it because of my daughter, because, if something happened to me in a protest, it would be hard on her, you know? But I like it.

Anna's speech is definitely divided between daughter and professional activity. The text shows her division and is characteristic of an unsure discourse, always looking to justify herself to her interlocutor, an openly weak *ethos*.

Anna's obvious protection of her daughter is understandable; there was an incident where one of her colleagues lost her vision after police had shot her in the eye with a rubber bullet. On the other hand, the fear expressed in Anna's discourse, apparently caused by this event, comes from an old stereotype that journalism is a risky profession, and this fear extends to the public space where political protests are held and important social decisions are made, an area which has historically denied legitimate female participation.

The switch to second journalism, which Marcondes Filho (2000, p. 48) defines as between 1830 to the mid-1900s, is marked socially by a cultural change in how the press was viewed as a mediator to the public sphere. This was important for the press expanding and sustaining itself.

The cultural change of mediation is also the genesis of the stereotype of masculine dominance in the press because the

socially built and reinforced feminine stereotype is incompatible with the public domain. Despite women gradually entering the labor market, the question of them becoming legitimate mediators in the public would be shaped over time, and still influences professional journalism nowadays.

Furthermore, within the history of photojournalism, the unveiling of its news vocation was marked by coverage of the wars; topics for the first published photograph reports (Sousa, 2004). Despite the history of photojournalism, over the course of its three revolutions highlighted by Jorge Pedro Sousa (2004) the activity would end up moving further away from shock photography (covering dramatic events that are sensitive) and more towards *glamour* photography (celebrities), illustrations and institutions (Sousa, 2004, p. 201). The stereotype of the profession still exists on a large scale and still keeps women away from it through a lack of identifying belonging inside a public space.

Anna is searching for a professional balance while trying to reconcile her desire to cover protests, which she admits she likes to do, and covers the events before protestors and police confront each other.

However, as a photojournalist she knows that covering these potential conflicts in protests is also important and is missing from her coverage, something that could affect her professional image within the agency she works for. Informality is seen by professionals within the profession as the main reason for entering the profession and it offers a lot of flexibility to reconcile the double shift required of women; however, the profession is also described in the interviews as a strong source of social, financial and professional instability.

These indications uncovered in our study are determined as a global trend in the pioneer study titled, "*The State of News Photography: The Lives and Livelihoods of Photojournalists in the Digital Age*", a study which investigated the current conditions of labor among photojournalists from more than 100 countries. One of its conclusions was that the industry of photojournalism is characterized by the lack of employment relationships, as 60% of its interviewees had reported. For women, however, this number reaches 86%, which consequently means that they are less likely to be hired by larger media companies, which is what happened in 7% of the cases analyzed as compared to 22% for men (Hadland, Campbell, & Lambert, 2015, p. 54).

The professionals interviewed also recognized that journalistic vehicles rarely hire women, and the situation was

exacerbated by the lack of information from vehicles that are going through a reorganization process of the negotiation model which leads to cutting costs and downsizing in newsrooms, stimulating growth and strengthening of photography agencies as lower cost alternatives to covering events.

## 6 Discourses on professional priority

The question of economic instability present in most of the profession influences younger women to put off their maternity plans, as is the case for Tarsila, 26, who works as a freelancer for a number of vehicles:

(4) I really am afraid and sometimes I think “wow, and what if I want children?”, because I don’t even have, like, a retirement savings, you know? I don’t have any savings! My bank account, I just use debit card, because I don’t know how much I will make on any certain day.

The fear in relation to financial autonomy motivates Tarsila, and others, to prioritize growth and dedication to their career in the hopes of eventually getting better work conditions. The uncertainty expressed through her words is a typical example of an anxious, worried, unstable discourse, a window into the whole current social and economic situation of the profession and of the country.

Tarsila’s life plan mirrors the current tendency of women who have studied the subject to put off maternity until they reach their 30s in order that they can invest in their careers first, establish themselves financially and then have children. The discourses from the younger photojournalists, between 25 and 35 years of age, show a desire to dedicate themselves solely to their careers in order to grow professionally, as in the case of 27-year old Margarida:

(5) I don’t want kids, maybe when I’m about 40. But I wouldn’t have been able to work at the paper if I didn’t have this flexible schedule. When I went to Recife, they called me that same morning asking if I could pack my bags so a car could then come around and take me to the airport. If I had children, I wouldn’t have been able to do that, I would have had to find someone to look after them; I wouldn’t have been able to accept it right away. They also call me asking me to come in earlier or later, and I try to accommodate them, I don’t have any problem doing my hours. I am completely devoted to the paper.

Through her discourse Margarida, currently working for a journalistic vehicle, shows that she does not ignore the possibility of becoming a mother, but the profession associates maternity with a lack of commitment. Her recognition of the fact she is the only female team member at the newspaper who is solely dedicated to her job is one more example of the androcentric structure in the profession that encourages an imbalance between the domestic and public sphere. Margarida's discourse represents a complete devotion to her employer, pushing her individual objectives aside or having her objectives meet those of the company – something which has been happening a lot nowadays: young people achieving a sense of fulfillment through servitude, the *ethos* of servant, of collaborator.

Giving priority to building a career over a family is not present only among younger professionals; most of the photojournalists interviewed for this study do not have children. However, the decision to put off maternity does not necessarily mean giving up on being a mother, but having children would mean family obligations which would prevent them from dedicating themselves to their profession, mirrored in the “natural” dedication of men to produce productive capital. Choosing maternity might mean these photojournalists would have to give up their profession, which is something they either do not want to do or cannot do because they do not have anyone who would be able to take care of their children for them; substituting the role attributed to their gender with other women or even their partners.

The intense dedication needed for photojournalism and the social demand placed on them to balance maternity with production is interpreted as one of the reasons why women stay away from the activity. Furthermore, the intense dedication to work means producing greater economic capital instead of symbolic capital, mischaracterizing the stereotype of feminine activity (Bourdieu, 2014).

## 7 Final considerations

The historic inclusion of women in the labor world mixed the symbolic and productive capital production together, creating an overload of work and the emergence of the status of secondary labor. (Abramo, 2007; Bourdieu, 2014; Lipovetsky, 1997). The naturalization

of the double work shift is present in the photojournalists' discourse and shows the difficulty in dividing the child-raising responsibilities with their partners, inasmuch as these partners do not share the duties that fall so heavily on women.

In addition, the analysis on work relationships in photojournalism points to the influence gender roles have had on the historic construction of the masculine stereotype characteristics in the activity such as virility and objectivity, in conjunction with the press being socially recognized in the public sphere as a mediation institution. In this context, women, who have been historically linked to the domestic and reproductive sphere, encounter symbolic barriers within the stereotype that discourage them from continuing in the activity since it demands an imbalance of dedication to work in order to reach financial autonomy and recognition. The interpretation on relationships between work and family demonstrated that the great professional demand built around the activity means it's difficult for the worlds of maternity and remunerated labor to be reconciled.

I hope this article contributes to further studies on photojournalism, which is still in need of further studying on the practice and its professionals.

\*Translated by Lee Sharp

## NOTES

- 1 The methodology applied to the interviews in this study was presented to and approved by the university's Ethical Committee, through Plataforma Brasil and the Ministry of Health. Its submission was required in order to make sure it met the necessary precautions about investigating people. In view of the possible risks of revealing the identity of the photojournalists their names were substituted for fictional names, also to provide more freedom to express their ideas about their professional experiences.



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