

**GENDER VIOLENCE IN THE PRESS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THREE
ARGENTINEAN NEWSPAPERS**

by

María Natalia Gómez Calvillo

English Language Teacher, B.A. Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, 2002

English Philology, B.A. Universidad de Valencia, 2006

Communication and Education, M.A. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2006

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

University of Pittsburgh

2008

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This thesis was presented

by

María Natalia Gómez Calvillo

It was defended on

September 22, 2008

and approved by

Scott F. Kiesling, Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

Barbara Johnstone, Professor, Department of English, Carnegie Mellon University

Gonzalo Lamana, Assistant Professor, Hispanic Languages and Literatures

Thesis Director: Scott F. Kiesling, Associate Professor, Department of Linguistics

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María Natalia Gómez Calvillo, M.A.

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Gender violence appears to have entered the Argentinean media spotlight, as demonstrated by the increasing amount of press coverage dealing with different types of male aggression on women. In my work, I study the representation that three national newspapers in Argentina, i.e. *Página 12*, *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*, make on cases of physical violence against women by men. I draw on critical discourse analysis and critical gender studies to move from the linguistic form into the ideological content of the texts. In particular, I follow an analytical heuristic that focuses on the ‘naming’, ‘voicing’ and ‘agency’ devices employed by the journalists in order to arrive at the gender ideologies that support the language surface. Five out of six ideologies correspond to a patriarchal discourse which (1) deems poor women more prone to the violence, (2) holds women silent and passive in the face of male abuse, (3) blames women for the violence they suffer from, (4) views women as disposable objects, and (5) punishes women for breaching the public/private divide. A sixth ideology was also revealed in some of the articles. Ideology (6) challenges the patriarchy-based ideologies by establishing that women are not inferior to men, and consequently, women’s emancipation from violent men must be fostered. The driving force behind my study of press representations of gender violence in Argentina springs from the conception of language as social action. Overall, this thesis stands as a work which demonstrates the value of media literacy, a movement that falls within the realm of “educommunication”, which promotes a critical stance before the media messages around us.

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PREFACE

I would like to thank my adviser, Scott F. Kiesling, for his support and guidance throughout this effort. My deep thanks, as well, to the other two members of my committee, Barbara Johnstone and Gonzalo Lamana, for their willingness to participate in this project and for their advice.

I would like to thank my partner, Cristian Maldonado, for his faith in me and his love, which continues to provide me with the necessary strength to pursue my personal and professional goals. Also, my heartfelt thanks to my parents, Ninfa Calvillo and Anibal Gómez, for their continuous love and companionship throughout my life.

My thesis is dedicated to each and every woman in Argentina who suffers from violence at the hands of men. For the sake of these women, I strongly believe in the power of language users to challenge the systems of belief that have women oppressed. I hope that this thesis will help to raise awareness about this power.

"La tierra del silencio es la que hace el humus más fértil. Si el crimen no se nombra, es menos crimen, porque la palabra es el primer testigo incómodo"

Griselda Gambaro

1.0 GENDER VIOLENCE

The purpose of this thesis is to study the representation of “gender violence” in the Argentinean press. “Gender violence” is the literal translation of the Spanish phrase “violencia de género”. To define it, I turn to the Spanish law 1/2004, which establishes that “gender violence is the violence exercised by men on women in order to subjugate the latter simply because they are women” (my translation)¹. In turn, the Women’s National Council (Consejo Nacional de la Mujer) in Argentina establishes that the concept “gender violence” emerges from a consideration of the asymmetrical relationships between men and women that exist in our societies; these relationships perpetuate the subordination and deprecation of women, constituting a key factor in the scope and seriousness of the violence against women”².

Both the Spanish law and the discussion by the Women’s National Council in Argentina demonstrate that “violencia de género” has a broad scope in Spanish since neither point to any specific “kind” of violence suffered by women at the hands of men. It is worth noting, as well, that the phrase “violencia de género” demonstrates Cameron and Kulick’s (2003) point regarding the existence of a bias in relation to the concept of gender, evidenced by the frequent use of the

¹ “Violencia de género es, según la Ley 1/2004, la violencia que ejercen los hombres sobre las mujeres para someterlas solo por el hecho de ser mujeres” <http://www.publico.es/espana/039045/manual/redactor>)

Unless otherwise noted, I have translated all texts that are originally written in Spanish.

² “La mujer y la violencia en la República Argentina”. Consejo Nacional de Coordinación de Políticas Sociales. Consejo Nacional de la Mujer. <http://www.cnm.gov.ar/>

term as if only women had a gender (7). The bias associating gender with women, while excluding both men and non-heterosexuals, appears to be present in Argentina. Most newspaper articles which can be read as dealing with “gender violence” are about violent and discriminatory actions taken against *women by men*.

These considerations led me to the focus of my study. On the one hand, I have decided to concentrate on press representations of “physical violence” against women by men. That is, through a study of the linguistic choices made in three Argentinean newspapers – *Página 12*, *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina* – dealing with cases of women beaten or sexually abused (sometimes fatally) by men, I identify the gender-based, ideological conceptions which support the language surface. It is worth highlighting that while I center on the “physical violence” inflicted on women by men, I do not overlook the fact that such violence also involves emotional and psychological aggression. On the other hand, I have worked with articles which focus on women as victims and men as victimizers because, as stated above, they are the people who are usually reported on in pieces tackling gender violence; however, the analytical framework I have employed on this occasion could also be of use in future research dealing with other marginalized groups as well as different violence types (e.g. “salary discrimination” suffered by homosexuals in the workplace).

As a student of linguistics, I am aware that the analysis of the language of the press and its ideological representation of various social issues is not innovative (for a thorough account of language studies on the languages of journalism see Zelizer (2004)); however, I believe its currency is perennial, for we are surrounded (and influenced) by media messages every single day of our lives. As Caldas-Coulthard (2003) asserts, “the language of the media is one of the most pervasive and widespread discourses that people from all sorts of literate societies are

exposed to. With the advances of technology within communication systems and networks, the production of written and spoken news invades our lives daily” (273). As a woman, I know that the violence perpetuated on women at the hands of men is an age-old problem, thus no new topic is discussed in this work. Nevertheless, “gender violence” appears to have entered the Argentinean media spotlight, as demonstrated by the increasing number of newspaper articles dealing with different types of male aggression on women. This speaks of a heightened sensitivity (social and political) toward the violent reality in which many women are immersed. The study of the ideological meanings conveyed by press representations on gender violence, then, is all the more critical in order to establish to what degree the Argentinean press is, in fact, challenging patriarchal values. Meanwhile, as a woman linguist, in the course of the analytical work in this thesis I pay full attention to the linguistic features employed in the articles, I do not lose sight of my overarching goal in doing this study: to contribute to the resistance of patriarchy by bringing awareness of the power of language to do (or not do) so.

1.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1.1 Gender and Gender Ideologies

Zelizer (2004) refers to the work done by critical linguists like Fowler (1991), who focus on the invisible ideology that impregnates language. In newspaper reporting on cases of physical violence against women by men, “gender”, together with the ideologies related to it, come to the fore. Journalists, inasmuch as they are social actors, are shaping events in ways that agree with the newspaper’s general stance on reality, and gender is a key element of that reality. Gender is a social category: it has been created, in the same way as categories such as “class” and “race”. Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet (2003) support the view of gender as a social construct: “gender is the means by which society jointly accomplishes the differentiation that constitutes the gender order” (14). Scott Kiesling (2007) explains that gender permeates every aspect of life in almost all societies. Therefore, not only does “gender” figure in newspaper reporting in general (e.g. journalists’ views on what constitutes gender-appropriate behavior may determine their use of so-called generic masculine forms in Spanish), but more overtly, newspaper reporting that centers on cases of physical abuse against women draws on specific gender ideologies, which underpin journalists’ representation of the events. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) explain, gender schemas and ideologies, e.g. the assumption of universal heterosexuality, figure as assumed background knowledge in all communication (6). In turn, these ideologies make up “the gender order”, which, according to the authors, represents “a system of allocation, based on sex-class assignment, of rights and obligations, freedoms and constraints, limits and possibilities, power and subordination” (34). That is, people follow networks of beliefs “by which they explain, account for, and justify” (35) their actions, and

against which they evaluate the behaviors of others. In particular, gender ideologies underlie the way women and men participate in their lives (entrenched as these are in the gender order) and serve as explanation and justification of that participation (35).

Consequently, the language used by the press in its representation of violence against women by men can be taken as a manifestation of one portion of the gender order that prevails in Argentina, for example, by presenting patriarchal notions as natural or by challenging them. As Kress (1985) explains, ideological meanings are conveyed in language forms in two ways:

First, as the sign of ideologically determined selections made by the speaker or writer – in other words, as an index of ideological activity. Second, as the expression of ideological content expressed by a linguistic form in the context of other forms in the text. This content becomes specific because of the copresence of the other forms in the text that narrows and determines the meaning of any linguistic form (31).

Accordingly, the study of the linguistic resources favored by journalists from *Página 12*, *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*, respectively, allow for the pinpointing of some of the larger ideological schemas about gender that enjoy currency in Argentina today. As Zelizer (2004) explains, linguists interested in a critical approach move from “an a priori recognition of language’s constructedness and ideological positioning to a delineation of the syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, and textual features” that make it possible (124). This work, then, involves a similar undertaking: I conduct the study of the linguistic surface in the articles so that some of the underlying gender ideologies can be revealed.

1.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

The driving force behind my interest in the analysis of “gender violence” in Argentinean newspapers – in particular, cases of physical violence against women by men – springs from my belief in language as social action. Language is historically and situationally determined. Language is in a dialectical relation with society, for it helps to reinforce and reproduce the (cultural, political, and economic) social order, while it is also a creative tool which may lead to change in the status-quo (Fairclough, 1995). Accordingly, newspaper articles covering cases of violence against women are part of the linguistic system that helps both to maintain the reality the abused women face and also to attempt a change of their predicament by using language particularly to that end. Shedding light on the ideological content of newspaper articles on gender violence can serve as an example of the two-way relationship between language and society: not only do gender ideologies pre-exist the texts but these are maintained (or challenged) through the articles. My goal is to establish to what extent the language used in this specific type of articles matches an increased sensitivity toward the presence and, more importantly, the need for eradication of male violence against women in Argentina. Thus, in this work, I follow Fairclough (1992, 2003) in his understanding of text analysis as a way to study the language of texts with a consideration of social theoretical issues.

Such a perspective might be seen as drawing upon two conceptions of “discourse”: i.e. discourse as a unit of language larger than the sentence and discourse as language embedded in social interaction (Schiffrin, 1994). Deborah Cameron (2001) explains that viewing discourse as social practice is related to considering it as language in use: “language used to do something and mean something, language produced and interpreted in a real-world context” (13). She refers to Deborah Schiffrin’s explanation regarding two important currents in linguistics in the 20th

century that adhered to different definitions of “discourse”. One is formalism or structuralism, which has “an interest in the abstract form and structure of language”. The other is functionalism, which has “an interest in what language is used to do” (13). In consideration of these points, this thesis, while focusing on the linguistic resources employed by journalists in articles tackling male violence against women, analyzes them not with an aim of delving into the formal structure of language, but rather, with a view to uncovering the gender ideologies which provide support for the linguistic surface.

In looking into the data, I adopt *critical discourse analysis* for it is, as Young and Harrison (2004) put it, “an approach towards, or a perspective on the examination of social problems manifested discursively” (2) which spring from a move beyond a description of language in a dispassionate and disinterested manner (Ehrlich, 2001). Accordingly, and in line with what was stated at the beginning of this section, I view the newspaper articles I study as social practice, which points to their two-way connection to larger belief systems regarding, for example, “appropriate” gendered behavior for women and men in Argentina. As Wodak (1996) explains:

Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse – the use of language in speech and writing – as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it (6).

Of particular interest to me in this work is the *constitutive function* of press reporting on violence against women by men. Not only do these representations emerge from specific gendered beliefs (e.g. men's violence results from natural passionate outbursts which women provoke), but also their reiteration (e.g. through different articles) helps to both naturalize and keep those conceptions alive, thus perpetuating the violence. In bringing these gendered assumptions to the fore, this thesis contributes to raising awareness about the patriarchal conceptions which might underpin the language surface of the articles. At the same time, the comparative nature of this work – through the analysis of articles from three newspapers – leads to better conclusions regarding what kind of gender ideologies, constituting a specific gender order, are favored by one sector of the Argentinean mainstream press. As Cameron (2001) expounds, critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on the way reality, “including such aspects of it as power and gender relations”, is constructed through texts. Critical discourse analysts delve into texts “by paying attention not only to their content but also to their form [...] CDA looks for the ideological significance of the choices speakers and writers make” (51). Therefore, I see CDA as the analytical framework that is most fitting to the revealing of ideology I carry out in my study.

As a discourse analyst interested in the way in which Argentinean journalists report on “gender violence”, specifically cases of physical violence against women, I am aware I cannot aim at complete impartiality in my analysis. As Sykes (1985) explains, the existence, in all societies of value systems which comprise a number of competing ideologies means that “there will be no agreed upon criterion of favourability or unfavourability in the description of a wide variety of social statutes, social actions, or social processes” (87). Similarly, Ann Weatherall (2000) acknowledges that “values and biases enter into the most rigorous of empirical approaches by, for example, the types of questions asked and the kinds of interpretations made”

(287). Nevertheless, despite the presence of competing ideologies – and thus, this points to the ones I myself bring to the analysis – Cameron (2001) challenges the argument that “a text can support an infinite variety of readings”, as what *is* in any text “puts limits on what the reader can do with it” (138). At the same time, Cameron continues to defy the “infinite variety argument” by fostering a close and systematic attention to the *whole* text, considering, as well, a larger corpus of data (139). Cameron states: “the analysis is enriched, and the risk of making overly subjective or sweeping claims reduced, by going beyond the single text to examine other related texts and to explore the actual interpretations their recipients make of them” (140). Accordingly, the linguistic strategies present in each article are viewed as a web of linguistic resources which put together, in the same text and among texts (e.g. by looking into various pieces tackling a case throughout a stretch of time in the newspaper) lead to better founded conclusions about the representations favored by each newspaper. At the same time, the counsel provided by other readers (among whom are the members of my M.A. committee) has been invaluable as a check on my interpretive work. Moreover, and in line with what Fairclough (2003) suggests, I do not assume that my analysis of the texts can tell us all that might be said about them. He recommends, instead, that discourse analysts distinguish the ‘actual’ from the ‘empirical’, without taking for granted that “the real nature and properties of events and texts are exhausted by what we happen to see in them from a particular perspective at a point in time” (202). Fairclough asserts that different analytical categories like the ones I have employed in my work (described further in section 2.2) can be combined in a productive manner in order to enhance the analyst’s capacity to see things in texts (202).

1.1.3 Representation and Educommunication

Johnstone (2002) explains that “the uses and effects of all media, not just writing, are in part the results of systems of belief, or ideology” (180). “Newspaper” reporting on cases of violence against women by men is one example. While the linguistic strategies that journalists employ in their news reports do not always spring from a “conscious” decision (i.e. they, like any other person, write in the language they are proficient in; therefore, their choice of specific language tokens over others might simply respond to these being part of the journalists’ knowledge of, as in the cases at hand, Spanish grammar and vocabulary), the press plays a key role, as expressed by H. Leslie Steeves (1997), in securing consent for specific hegemonic ideologies through the use of language to represent reality in particular ways. Therefore, press journalists’ language, while not always the result of conscious planning, does reflect the newspaper’s interests to convey some messages and not others. Teun A. van Dijk (1987) highlights the representational nature of the language of the press as newspapers “express models of fragments of real or constructed social reality”, and such language “both models and persuasively communicates the position of minority groups in society. That is, it is neither a passive reflection of dominant group attitudes, nor a routine account of social structure” (40). Therefore, representations of women abused (the minority group – disempowered – this thesis focuses on) are never neutral, i.e. without a particular ideological standpoint.

Fairclough (1995) stresses that newspapers are “eminently profit-making organizations, they make their profits by selling audiences to advertisers and they do this by achieving the

highest possible readerships [...] for the lowest possible financial outlay” (42)³. Relatedly, Goatly (2000) explains that newspapers’ dependence upon advertising revenue plays a crucial role for them to attain financial viability, which in turn, makes it “very difficult to run a national newspaper which represents the views of the poor, or takes their political agenda seriously” (250). These, then, are considerations that must be borne in mind when studying the representations of male violence against women in the three newspapers. Not only are they depicting this violence from particular ideological viewpoints, but also these viewpoints are structured by economic stakes so that the flow of “advertising revenue” is maintained – i.e. the coverage on male violence against women may not go against the interests of those sectors which finance the newspapers.

While the close link between newspapers and corporate interests is a reality I cannot attempt to change, I view this thesis as participating within the larger process of promoting media literacy in Argentinean schools, a movement which fosters taking a critical stance before the ever-present media messages around us. Such movement falls within the realm of “educommunication”, which is, as Jacquinet (1998) puts it, an array of actions that are destined to, among others, develop a critical spirit among mass media users and adequately employ information resources in educational practices. In turn, Morduchowicz and Minzi (2003) posit that Argentina is one example of a society where information abounds. This information is, very

³ There are also “niche” markets, e.g. community media organizations, which do not depend on corporate advertising but on contributions from the public (for one example of a community radio/TV program, see <http://www.democracynow.org/about>). These community media, however, are not part of the mainstream media that Fairclough speaks about; in turn, the three newspapers analyzed in this thesis do belong to the Argentinean mainstream press.

often, commodified, while both the opportunities to access it and the development of competences to process it are unequal at best. Such information overload makes up a context which runs counter to the so-called levelling of opportunities which simply having access to information was once held to imply. Morduchowicz and Minzi assert that reading the newspaper, then, does not necessarily mean that a person is well-informed; neither does it inevitably lead to social participation. However, they highlight that the press *can* be a key socializing agent in students' education, particularly when the focus is on fostering an informed citizenry. Therefore, they support the promotion (through in-classroom practice) of a reflective attitude toward finding the connection between the journalistic text and the social context which brought it into being and on which it will have an effect (7 – 8). As a consequence, the study of the representations which three Argentinean newspapers put forth when a man violently abuses a woman will further the practice of educommunication in Argentina, advancing the questioning of naturalized ideologies (under the guise of background knowledge) in the mass media.

2.0 DATA AND METHOD

2.1 DATA

As mentioned before, I have worked with three Argentinean newspapers, *Página 12*, *La Nación*, and *Crítica de la Argentina*, respectively. I have employed five articles per newspaper. All these pieces were published between November 2007 and June 2008. It is important to point out that while the articles taken from *Página 12* specify the name of the journalists who have written them, some of the articles from *Crítica de la Argentina* and *La Nación* do not mention an author. The latter articles are called “noticias simples” (simple news reports) in Spanish, and so the author of the article is not given.

The number of articles selected demonstrates that this thesis concentrates on qualitative analysis as it is the emergence of ideological positions that I am interested in highlighting (instead of more overarching conclusions based on larger corpora of quantitative data). Regarding the date span of the articles, it was chosen based on textual material I collected for other studies on “gender violence” that I had already conducted.

I performed my search for articles within the newspapers’ respective online archives. As stated above, the criterion for article selection has been thematic: in particular, I considered the definition of “gender violence” as per the Spanish Law 1/2004 in order to make the first choice of articles for my study. Therefore, I employed phrases like “gender violence”, “sexual abuses

against women”, “domestic/family violence”, and “discrimination against women” to retrieve results. I then narrowed down the scope of the articles by selecting only those which deal with cases of “physical violence against women at the hands of men”. It is worth noting that while there is an instance where three articles (one from each newspaper) tackle the same case of sexual abuse, the other articles chosen do not concur in the specific cases discussed but rather with respect to the general topic discussed (i.e. physical violence against women by men).

It is also worth mentioning that two of these newspapers, *Página 12* and *La Nación*, are owned by the multimedia corporations, Grupo Clarín and Grupo La Nación, respectively⁴. *Crítica de la Argentina* does not belong to any multimedia group. The fact that each newspaper has distinct financial backing has led me to choose them for my analysis in order to compare and contrast their respective treatment of cases of physical violence against women by men.

2.2 METHOD

Through a critical discourse analysis of fifteen articles dealing with cases of violence against women by men, I “dissect” the linguistic surface of the texts in order to reveal some of the gender ideologies that provide support for the journalistic representations. I model my assessment of the linguistic resources in the articles by following an analytical heuristic – “a set of broad questions to ask about the texts which we work with” (Johnstone, 2002) – which has allowed me to, as expressed by Johnstone, “insure that systematic attention is paid to all the possible reasons for a text’s having the form and function it does” (27). In this heuristic I have

⁴ <http://argentina.indymedia.org/news/2005/02/264063.php>

concentrated on three textual aspects, i.e. **1)** “naming”, **2)** “voicing” and **3)** “agency”, in order to look into the newspapers’ general stance regarding violence against women by men. I chose these particular aspects due to the following reasons:

1) Newspapers’ naming practices are an instance of what Cameron (2001) depicts as the “great deal of power and social control” that is exercised by the activities of experts, in this case journalists or editors, who are in a position to “define, describe and classify things and people”, e.g. the victimizers in cases of “machismo”, their crimes and their victims. As Cameron puts it, words can be powerful: “the institutional authority to categorize people is frequently inseparable from the authority to do things to them” (16). That is, the referring expressions favored by journalists contribute to the circulation of specific ways of describing male violence against women, demonstrating the powerful position of the media to (re)create – or oppose – this very same reality.

2) Newspapers’ voicing practices, i.e. “who” is cited and “how” in the articles, is another index of their social power, as journalists get to choose the people whose voices are allowed in their pieces while framing such voices in specific ways. van Dijk (1987) asserts that it is usually the opinions of “national and local authorities, the state institutions (courts, police, welfare offices, and so forth), and all those groups that are equipped to provide routine stories” which figure as the voices of the news. In the case of coverage on violence against women by men, the newspapers’ stories are, as van Dijk states, “(re)formulations of various discourse types provided by the elite groups mentioned above” (361). In turn, he explains that everyday stories – for example, a conversation among friends – often reproduce “media” stories. Therefore, newspapers’ key role in shaping the content of what we know about “gender violence” and from whose perspective is worth investigating in the study at hand.

3) When dealing with violent acts inflicted upon women by men, identifying who is ascribed responsibility for the crimes – overly or subtly – is key in order for me to arrive at the newspapers’ stance regarding “gender violence”. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state, “verbal meanings and word order are critical cues” (they refer to English, but this is the case in Spanish, as well) to “how their producers are interpreting the causal relations in the situations they seek to represent, which roles they are assigning to which participants” (208). Thus, paying attention to, for example, whether or not journalists use passive or active constructions as well as their (non)preference for nominalizations or metaphorical expressions can help us to determine which actors are made accountable for the existence of male violence against women in Argentina.

I uncover the gendered-based, ideological meanings which buttress the linguistic surface by addressing the following research questions:

1) Naming

What referring expressions do journalists employ to name the crimes committed against women by men? If they use the phrase “gender violence” in their articles, is it equated with other phrases? What effects do all the naming choices (about the crimes as well as about the victims and victimizers) put together bring about in the general depiction of the violence, e.g. do they create more specificity?

2) Voicing

What use of direct and indirect citations do journalists make in the articles? Who is quoted? Who is not quoted? Are these voices contextualized positively or negatively? What general effect does the combination of other voices with that of the journalists’

produce in the overall representation of the cases; e.g. do journalists' reports allow the victims' opinions in or do they only focus on "expert" standpoints?

3) Agency

Which participants are involved in the cases? Of these, who are held accountable (through specific reference or through allusion) for the violence? What linguistic resources do journalists employ to signal agency? Also, which women and which men (e.g. socioeconomically speaking) are talked about in cases of physical violence against women?

4) Naming + Voicing + Agency

What general stance do the newspapers, through their journalists' naming, voicing and agency choices, appear to take regarding cases of violence inflicted on women? More specifically, what gender ideologies (within a heteronormative discourse) may serve as general background to the articles?

It is important to note that while these research questions are all addressed in my study, the articles at times demand that I focus more on the naming choices than on the resources signaling agency, for example. As Johnstone (2002) explains:

Unlike the procedures in a set of instructions [...] the procedures of a heuristic do not need to be followed in any particular order, and there is no fixed way of following them [...] A heuristic is not a theory. It is a step in analysis which may help you see what sorts of theory you need in order to connect the observations about discourse you make as you use the heuristic with general statements about language, human life, or society" (9).

Therefore, I guide my analysis using some questions more than others depending on the structures the journalists appear to favor and give more importance to in their respective texts, without losing sight of any question in the overall conclusions I draw.

Moreover, the following information will also be provided in the analyses: (a) the section in the newspapers where the articles are located; (b) the articles' length (in number of words); (c) the presence or absence of visual input; and (d) specification of whether or not any other stories featured in the newspaper on the same day may be connected to (and influence the general representation of) the articles on violence against women.

2.2.1 Comparative Analysis

In the following chapter, I put the heuristic into practice by addressing the research questions for each of the fifteen articles. The discussion centers, first, on the pieces from *Página 12*; then, it focuses on the pieces from *La Nación*; and last, it deals with the pieces from *Crítica de la Argentina*.

Polovina-Vukovic (2004) refers to van Dijk's (1998) and Wodak's (1996, 2000) recommendation regarding the need for discourse analysts to understand the discursive strategies adopted in texts through an understanding of the social background against which they were formulated (156). In Polovina-Vukovic's study of the representation of social actors made by two Canadian newspapers during the disintegration of Yugoslavia, she included a section called "Brief History of Yugoslavia", where she outlined some of the events that unfolded before the break-up to serve as backdrop for the linguistic choices made in the pieces she analyzed. For this research, however, the violence inflicted on women by men in Argentina does not point back to events, whose "historical, political or sociological dimensions" (Wodak, 1996) could easily be

pinned down. Rather than resulting from a series of historical happenings, the existence of violence against women by men is a response to patriarchal values upheld over the centuries in Argentina. That is, when a man decides to physically abuse his wife, for instance, preceding historical events cannot be brought up as easily as in the case of the disintegration of a country's political system in order to provide a background for the violence. Instead, it is the patriarchal ideologies which underlie the Argentinean society that might serve as explanation of why such man took the decision to beat his wife.

Therefore, since we are dealing with “press representations” of the violence inflicted on women by men, and because van Dijk's and Wodak's recommendation is worth taking into account, I did provide my analysis with contextualization. However, in this case, rather than making a historical outline like Polovina-Vukovic's, it is a “textual” contextualization – in the form of either pieces whose perspective on male violence against women in Argentina is general or through co-referencing within and among newspapers – that allows for a better analysis of the treatment each newspaper makes about specific cases of women abused. As Carvalho (2008) argues, looking at alternative constructions of the same reality such as different media reports can enhance the identification of ideological standpoints in texts (171).

Consequently, while the discussion pertaining to each article is self-contained – i.e. the linguistic resources signaling voicing, naming and agency are studied in depth one article at a time – the analysis starts with an overview of “background articles”, i.e. pieces issued by each newspaper tackling the violence inflicted on women by men from a general perspective. In turn, as the discussion advances, inter-article referencing becomes more possible (within a newspaper and among newspapers). These contextualizing strategies permitted me to conduct a more

thorough analysis of the representation (through the study of the linguistic choices (dis)avored) that the three newspapers make about male violence against women.

For example, one of the background articles presents this violence as a reality which mostly occurs in intimate relationships and employs statistical data collected by a human rights organization to support this claim. When looking into the specific articles, however, the newspaper's coverage tends to center on cases of women who were abused or raped by "strangers"; consequently, there emerges a mismatch between the newspaper's positioning in a general piece and the representation it favors in an article tackling a specific case. This incongruity – which would not be noticed without a "comparative-synchronic" (Carvalho, 2008) perspective – helped me to arrive at better insights about the gender ideologies behind the newspaper. At the same time, by specifying if other stories featuring in the newspaper on the same day tapped into the representation made in the articles under study (e.g. if the sexual overtones of a different piece reinforce the theme of sexual violence in the article), the generalizations regarding the stances each paper takes on male violence against women – and the gender ideologies behind them – were also better founded.

In order to further make these larger ideological discourses evident, I also connected – on a few occasions – an article with other reports about the same story but issued on different days by the same newspaper. Through this technique, a representational line was made more apparent than if I had only considered the article in isolation. For instance, by focusing on the naming practices used in various pieces covering a case of a man who killed four women, I could identify that the journalists disavored the term "femicide" to refer to his crimes and, instead, they only associated "femicide" with "feminists" (in a pejorative way), while positioning the man as a victim in need of special attention. As Carvalho (2008) asserts: "It is a confrontation of

alternative depictions of reality that mainly aims to enhance the critical reading of news discourse and help identify the specific discursive traits of a given news outlet” (172). Accordingly, by paying attention to the voicing, naming and agency choices made in the articles under study, as well as in other pieces, I was better positioned to arrive at supporting evidence for my conclusions. As readers will see in the forthcoming analyses, journalists from the three newspapers position themselves as denouncers of “machismo” in Argentina; at the same time, on various occasions, media reporting on cases of women violently abused by men is the source which other organizations employ to denounce the crimes. Both journalists’ self-ascribed role as denouncers of machismo and the fact that media coverage is employed by others to fight gender violence further evidence the need for **educommunication**, since, as Caldas-Coulthard (2003) states, “news is not a natural phenomenon emerging from facts in real life, but socially and culturally determined” (274). Consequently, what this thesis supports is work toward ideology-reflexivity (other AND self-centered) bringing awareness to the *representation* of gender violence in, especially, the Argentinean press.

The articles under study were originally written in Spanish; consequently, translations are provided within the body of the discussion so that readers can access their content and better understand their analysis. The original articles from *Página 12* can be found in Appendix A; the articles from *La Nación* are located in Appendix B while those from *Crítica de la Argentina* make up Appendix C. Regarding the transcription conventions, I employ quotes (“”) to mark the sentences I use from the articles; e.g. “The Inadi sternly questioned the sentence of the court of justice in Salta”. When I employ excerpts exceeding two lines (only from the fifteen articles dealing with specific cases), they are set off from the main text to allow readers to better differentiate the object of the discussion from the discussion itself; e.g.

This whistle of alarm, insured their promoters, will continue defeaning the Saturdays until the provincial government complies with a petition they presented [...] They also request the creation of a protocol to attend to the victims of abuse.

At the same time, I use *italics* to indicate that the sentence is a direct quote from the original article; e.g. “*If there is no legal sanction, we’ll fight so that there is at least social sanction, expressed Vicky*”.

3.0 PÁGINA 12

3.1 HEURISTIC APPLIED

3.1.1 Background Articles

Various articles on gender-related issues in *Página 12* demonstrate that the newspaper appears to take an overt position against different kinds of violence against women. For example, on 22 May, 2008, in an article titled “A Test that Lost by Knockout”⁵, staff journalist Mariana Carbajal explains how a test that appeared in a magazine called *Man*, by *Perfil Publishing House*, was widely rejected by different “personalities, organizations, and official bodies” due to its discriminatory content against women. The test – which was part of the print and online editions of the magazine – included a series of multiple-choice questions that were aimed at measuring “how violent men were against their partners” and “made jokes about the different ways of beating and punishing a woman”. Carbajal asserts that, thanks to a warning that *Página 12* issued about this test, criticism began pouring in and led a member of the parliament of the city of Buenos Aires, Diana Maffía, to present a project in which the national judicial authorities are urged to investigate if the test represents “instigation of violence and/or an apology for crime”.

⁵ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-104594-2008-05-22.html>

Therefore, “A Test that Lost by Knockout” allows readers to see that journalist Mariana Carbajal is depicting *Página 12* as playing an active role in the eradication of violence against women, in this case, in the Argentinean press.

Moreover, on 13 June, 2008, Mariana Carbajal interviewed Montserrat Comas d’Argemir i Cendra, a Spanish judge and the president of the Domestic and Gender Violence Watch, which belongs to the Spanish judiciary. In this interview⁶, Carbajal asks Comas d’Argemir i Cendra to assess the progress made in Spain since the passing of the Law against Gender Violence in 2004 (i.e. Spanish Law 1/2004). Carbajal starts the interview by quoting what the judge presents as one of the most important facts brought about by the law: “We have been able to end the sensation of impunity that existed regarding the crimes of violence against women”. One of the questions that Carbajal poses concerns the fact that in Argentina, the reports conducted by specialist groups when looking into a case of violence against a woman – which, in turn, lead to protection measures in favor of the victim – take a long time to complete; she then goes on to ask Comas d’Argemir i Cendra how long it takes for these reports to be ready in Spain. The judge answers that the law permits for “judges to have the results of these reports *on call time*”, which implies that whenever a woman comes forward to denounce the violence she is the victim of, the specialists’ reports may be ready in short order. This interview, where Mariana Carbajal represents the judicial actions taken in Spain as a model for Argentina, may be taken as another example of the newspaper’s open stance opposing violence against women.

At the same time, in an article called “How to Say It”⁷ from February 1, 2008, journalist Paula Carri – writing in a supplement called “The 12”, which is defined on the newspaper’s

⁶ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-105948-2008-06-13.html>

⁷ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/las12/45-3891-2008-02-01.html>

webpage as “the supplement on gender”⁸ – mentions the stance taken toward the use of the phrase “gender violence” by another newspaper, *Público*, from Spain. Carri explains that *Público*, in its manual of style – accessible online⁹ – has overtly committed itself to only using the following expressions when reporting on a case of gender violence: “gender violence” itself, “machismo violence”, “sexist violence”, and “male violence against women”. Carri adds that *Público* rejects terms like “domestic violence”, “couple violence” and “family violence”. The latter expressions might be seen as connoting that the violence is part and parcel of – i.e. “belongs to” – the domesticity of the home, intimate relationships or the family, respectively. Therefore, the Spanish newspaper’s refusal to employ these terms can be considered an indication of its position against the violence inflicted on women by men, in this case through its preference for language – i.e. naming practices – that “denaturalize” the occurrence of the violence. In turn, by writing about what *Público* has established as the referential expressions with which “gender violence” can and cannot be equated, Carri, and through her *Página 12* at large, may be seen as taking the same position as the Spanish newspaper, i.e. *Página 12* can be seen as against the naturalization of violence against women by men. Once again, the Spanish actions regarding this kind of violence – in this case in the realm of language use by the press – are portrayed as a guide for the Argentinean newspaper, which is overtly positioning itself as against “machismo”.

The articles discussed above do not deal with *specific* cases of women who suffer from violence at the hands of men. Instead, they tackle the topic more generally by means of a presentation of concepts – e.g. in the article called “How to Say It” – or by overtly positioning

⁸ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/usuarios/institucional.php>

⁹ <http://www.publico.es/espana/039045/manual/redactor>

Página 12 as fighting against gender violence – e.g. in the article “A Test that Lost by Knockout”. Such articles act as background for the ones which focus on particular women who are victims of men’s violence. Thus, it is now time to look into the five articles I have selected from this newspaper in order to assess the representation its journalists make of cases of violence against women by men.

3.1.2 Articles 1 and 2

Article 1, headlined “*Discriminatory and Sexist Sentence*”, is authored by staff journalist Mariana Carbajal. It dates from November 12, 2007, and refers to a legal sentence which acquitted a man who had raped a girl (she is the daughter of the man’s “concubine”, as expressed by Carbajal). Both victim and victimizer belong to an indigenous group, Wichí, and the absolution was granted by the court of justice of Salta – a province in the Argentinean Northwest – on the grounds that the rape took place within the limits of Wichí ancestral traditions. The article’s deck (i.e. a secondary headline which provides additional information about the story) reads: “Legal Report by the Inadi against the Court of Justice of Salta”.

In line with this deck, the journalist bases most of her piece on the opinions – both as an institution at large and through its president – of the National Institute against Discrimination (‘Inadi’ in Spanish), a government agency. Through the voice of the Inadi, Carbajal criticizes the court’s sentence for its discriminatory and sexist content. At the same time, she includes both the voice of a Wichí leader who took action against the sentence, and the voice of the court itself. The piece is 793 words long and it has a photograph of the Wichí leader, Octorina Zamora, who took the case to the Inadi.

On the same day this article was published, there was another article (which will also be discussed in this thesis: Article 2) headlined “The Law and the Customs”, by Mariana Carbajal, as well. The article’s deck reads: “The Story of the Abused Girl in the Wichí Community”. As in Article 1, and in accordance with what she wrote in the deck, the journalist centers her representation on the case of the raped girl itself. Thus, she provides readers with more detail about the sequence of events following the crime. This piece is 559 words long and, unlike Article 1, does not contain visual representations. Both Article 1 and Article 2 are located in the “Society” section in the newspaper; the other sections in the newspaper being “The Country”, “Economy”, “The World”, “Entertainment”, “Illustrated Report”, “Dialogues”, “Psychology”, “Arts”, “University”, and “Back Cover”.

3.1.2.1 Looking Into Articles 1 and 2

The reason why I decided to employ two articles dealing with the same case is related to the fact that their combination allows me to better analyze the journalist’s, and the newspaper’s, stance on violence against women by men – in this case, by looking at a report on the rape of a girl. Article 1 focuses on the legal report issued by the Inadi, which might be taken as an indication that Carbajal – and through her, the newspaper at large – is aligning herself with its position. That is, by allowing the National Institute against Discrimination in Argentina to have an almost exclusive say in her piece, the journalist is showing that the opinions from this institution are worth reporting on, which indirectly demonstrates her support for its viewpoints. In turn, Article 2, since it does not center on the Inadi’s perspective, allows readers to access more of the journalist’s own views on the case so that a better examination of how *she* chooses to depict the rape of the Wichí girl – beyond what is stated by the Inadi – can be made.

By employing a direct quote by the Inadi in the headline of Article 1, “*Discriminatory and Sexist Sentence*”, Mariana Carbajal begins to ascribe value to her report. Rather than citing a single person’s opinion, she provides her article with argumentative force by citing the words this “institution” (i.e. a group of people whose views against discrimination supposedly converge as a monolithic block) has put forth concerning the decision taken by the court of justice in Salta. Barbie Zelizer (1989) studied the different uses that quoting can be put to in the news. Among many others, she explains that “in repeating the words of another, speakers can enhance the legitimacy of their own statements” (371). Accordingly, in the second paragraph (right after the lead), Carbajal lets the Inadi speak by employing both direct and indirect reporting, as in:

3.1 The Inadi sternly questioned the sentence of the court of justice in Salta which dropped the prosecution of a man from a Wichí community who had been accused of raping a girl from his same ethnic group. The argument for this annulment required that the abuse be interpreted as belonging to the ancestral customs of this people [...] *it is discriminatory against the Wichí girls and women in Argentina* [...] the sentence refers to a *stereotypical and racist discourse. This discourse, under the guise of a defense of the indigenous peoples, in fact justifies a sexist outlook.*

From this point on, and until the end of her piece, Carbajal continues to make room for the Inadi’s opinions, which is in line with what she announces right at the start of her article (through the deck). In turn, this can explain why the quotes by this institution outnumber the other two voices (the Wichi leader’s and the court’s) present in the article: the Inadi is quoted sixteen times (3 indirectly and 12 directly) as an institution and once (directly) through the opinion of María José Lubertino, its head. In contrast, both the Wichí leader, Octorina Zamora and the Court of Salta are given voice once, respectively (both are direct quotes).

Jane H. Hill and Judith T. Irvine (1993) highlight the importance of “dialogicality and the social construction of meaning” (2). They refer to the key role played by the agents (in this case, Carbajal) in the creation of knowledge through the way they interpret events, establish facts, convey opinion, and constitute interpretations as knowledge by means of dialogue in discourse (2). This dialogicality enables us to see how the conspicuous presence of the position taken by the Inadi – materialized in the article by means of Carbajal’s reporting on the institution’s views – permits the journalist to construct knowledge on the case through the voice of an expert institution. In turn, this value granted to the Inadi is linked to the notion, expressed by Niko Besnier (1993) that reported speech implies both the representation of linguistic actions and commentaries about these actions (161). With the Inadi’s words, Carbajal is depicting the case from an authoritative position, which may be seen as her employing such “dialogue” as a mechanism for objectivity. That is, she is not only speaking for herself (i.e. giving her own “subjective” commentaries), but she is speaking with the support of an official actor.

The ubiquity of the Inadi’s voice may be considered, then, as granting argumentative validity to Carbajal’s article, which responds to a tendency, pointed out by Fairclough (1988), that:

News tends to be seen as very much a conceptual and ideational business, a matter of statements, claims, beliefs, positions – rather than feelings, circumstances, qualities of social and interpersonal relationships, and so forth. Correspondingly, the focus is upon what is said by the mainly public figures and organizations whose discourse is reported (64).

Consequently, we can posit Niko Besnier’ question, “How do the quoted speaker and the quoting speaker share responsibility for the information communicated in reported speech?” (161), to

bring further awareness to Carbajal's self-positioning as knowledgeable and expert-like through her inclusion of the Inadi's statements.

At the same time, Carbajal may be viewed as allowing the official institution's report itself to gain more importance by means of her article: i.e. while the Inadi's conclusions are unbinding, and therefore, do not have a direct impact on the decision taken by the court of Salta, by concentrating so much of the article on its point of view, Carbajal is permitting a larger sector of society (beyond those who were involved in the Wichí girl's case) to learn about the Inadi's opposition to the court's sentence. In doing this, her article serves as a megaphone for the Inadi, which might, ultimately, lead to exercising pressure on the Argentinean courts in favor of abused women. On the Inadi's official site¹⁰, one can read: "The actions of the Inadi are aimed at those people whose rights are affected by discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin or nationality, public opinions or religious beliefs, gender or sexual identity, disability, age or physical appearance". Consequently, Mariana Carbajal's reporting fuses with the Inadi's aims, and a two-way relationship is established: the report is accessed by a larger audience – which, as said before, may serve to exert pressure on the court of Salta to change course in future cases of rape – while Carbajal's representation of the crime attains more credibility through the conspicuous presence of the expert institution.

The Inadi – as expressed both on its site and through the quotes chosen by Carbajal – is very much committed to the redress of injustices like the Wichí girl's rape. Nevertheless, it is still an institution that originates from the central government of Argentina, which is, after all, mostly made up of people of European descent (at least in part). This fact relates to the notion

¹⁰ http://www.inadi.gov.ar/inadi_quees.php

put forth by Teun A. van Dijk (1989) that the typical sources for news about minority groups (like the Wichí community) are the authorities, e.g. state agencies or city council. van Dijk explains that these sources have preferential access to the media “because of the elite status, power, high credibility and because of systematic links with newsbeat routines” (220). “[...] In news about ethnic minorities it is usually the White institution, such as the government, the city council or the police, that is accounted for and quoted, and much less the representatives of the minority groups themselves” (204). While van Dijk’s insights are reflected in Article 1, the Wichí leader is still allowed in, which shows that despite the journalist’s stated focus on the Inadi, Carbajal attempts to provide an insider’s viewpoint on the rape. At the same time, the photograph with the article also shows the journalist’s willingness to highlight that some women among the Wichí take active steps against sexual abuse. The photograph shows Zamora with her arms crossed and looking directly – and intently – at the reader, thus signifying “closeness” and “credibility” (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003). Christine Anthonissen (2003) refers to Kress and van Leeuwen’s concept of “grammar of visual design” (298). Following these authors, Anthonissen explains that among the different kinds of interplay between verbal and visual, “the written text may remain dominant, with the visual highlighting important points” (302). Accordingly, while the written text takes up most of the space in Article 1, the image of Octorina Zamora serves to stress the important role played by the Wichí leader to take steps against the discriminatory sentence.

However, van Dijk’s point is still true in Article 2, where the Western perspective is maintained. Carbajal’s goal is, as the deck points out, to tell “the story of the abused girl in the Wichí community”. While she depicts Zamora – together with another indigenous leader whose name Carbajal chooses not to mention – as having a different opinion from the abused girl’s

mother (who, as Carbajal states, is demanding that the abuser be freed), the Wichí leader's only quote is found at the end of the article. In turn, the rest of the quotations are organized as follows: four in favor of the abuser – three by the court and one by his defense – found at the start of the body, and five against him – by the dissident judge, María Cristina Garros – located immediately afterwards. That is, the quotes “for” and “against” the rapist are almost equally distributed and yet again, it is mainly white people of Western descent who are given most of the opportunities to speak about the girl's rape.

In respect to the abundance of opinions emanating from sources with an outsider outlook (in the two articles), Carbajal may be seen as presenting the girl who was raped – and through her, the other women in the community – as an “other”, that is, her case is portrayed as something that is outside of those who pass judgement on it. When highlighting the intersubjectivity and relational character of identity-construction, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) posit the “adequation-distinction” axis of identities (598 - 599). As Bucholtz and Hall state, “distinction depends on the suppression of similarities that might undermine the construction of difference” (600). Accordingly, the case of the raped girl in the Wichí community is spoken *about* by expert institutions like the Inadi, or by authorities like the judge, whose opinions are imbued with a halo of otherness (they are objectively analyzing a reality that is not their own). This leads us to the concept of “alterity”, which Hastings and Manning (2004) posit as key in identity-construction: accordingly, the identity of the Wichí women (and men) is presented from the standpoint of an expert which is different and detached from them.

Carbajal's reporting, then, might accentuate the gap between the social worlds of the native peoples' descendants (note that aboriginal peoples in Argentina have been historically discriminated against, which led to their impoverishment and segregation) and those who hold

power, e.g. judges, who are usually of European descent. van Dijk (1989) asserts that minorities have less access to the media, e.g. by press conferences or press releases. At the same time, journalists are “less inclined to actively search for or listen to minority sources, for the same organizational reasons” and “such sources are considered to be less objective and hence less credible” (215). Therefore, Carbajal may be seen as ultimately associating the occurrence of sexual violence against women with an indigenous community while it is mostly the voice of the non-indigenous actors which is quoted as calling for justice.

It is also worth discussing where in Article 2 Octorina Zamora’s quote is placed: as mentioned before, readers find the Wichí leader’s voice at the end of the report, which might hinder their recall of her stance. According to van Dijk (1989):

Topics express the most important information in the text, and form a hierarchical thematic structure [...] In news reports, such a summary is expressed in the lead, whereas (in principle) the highest proposition of the thematic structure is expressed in the headline [...] Psychological research has shown that [...] people usually recall topical information best (209).

The topical section of Article 2 (notice the headline “The Law and the Customs”) consists of information which might lead to readers’ interpretation of “the Law” (i.e. white people’s law) as opposed to “the Customs” of indigenous (primitive?) communities, which again brings the concept of “alterity” to the fore. This opposition is made more apparent with Carbajal’s assertion that since the girl’s mother registered her daughter two years after she was born, the girl should be eleven, rather than nine (as the girl’s ID indicated) when she was raped. Following van Dijk’s explanation, the girl’s mother (and, possibly, the entire community) might be seen as irresponsible (an “other”) for not registering the girl in time (i.e. what is customary according to

Western traditions). In the body of her article, Carbajal continues to underline the Wichí mother's irresponsibility. She explains that when the girl's school teacher found out about the rape, José Fabián Ruiz was detained; however, Carbajal states, "Tejerina [the girl's mother] and some members of the community demanded that the accused be freed". After this, the journalist includes the voices of the court, the rapist's defense, and the judge who voted against the sentence (she has so far employed 30 lines, out of 41). Carbajal opens the penultimate paragraph (line 31), stating that "[...] after the sentence by the provincial court, Ruiz was prosecuted again and has been detained since June 2005". Nevertheless, she returns to the idea that "members of his community are still demanding his release". It is only after this depiction that readers access an insider's, "Wichí", outlook on the case. As mentioned before, readers are only told about the active role played by the Wichí women who are fighting sexual abuse in their communities once the report is almost finished.

However, Carbajal may also be seen as denouncing the very Western(ized) legal system she appears to be giving more importance to (through the people she decides to quote, and through the manner she lays out the information). While she gives no room for the opinion of the victim's relatives or other members of the Wichí community (plausibly because she is representing the girl's mother as against the abuser's imprisonment), Carbajal may still be considered as taking charge against the sexual violence suffered by girls at the hands of men. This is demonstrated by her mention of the names of the three judges who voted for the rapist's freedom ("Guillermo Posadas, Omar Antonio Silisque and María Rosa Ayala"). In doing so, Carbajal is pointing to the specific people in the Argentinean judicial system who are responsible for the maintenance of patriarchy and its corresponding abuses on women. Carbajal's specificity, then, can be proof of her own contribution toward a gender-just legal system. This stance is

supported by the quote she chooses from the Wichí leader (located at the end of Article 2, though):

3.2 As women, mothers, sisters, it is extremely painful to accept a sentence like this, which puts our children and women at risk because it is based on racism and xenophobic attitudes. The Court employs a fable to justify who knows what interests, argued the two women in the presentation before the Inadi, last January.

As pointed out before, nevertheless, both the information layout and the preference for non-Wichí voices might still signal Carbajal's indirect depiction of all Wichí as different, and even inferior to the white, hegemonic, culture in Argentina.

Fairclough (1992) posits that when producing or interpreting language texts, we deal with clusters of words and meanings, instead of words or meanings in isolation, though, he acknowledges, "it is sometimes useful for analytical purposes to focus upon a single word. The relationship of words to meanings is many-to-one rather than one-to-one, in both directions: words typically have various meanings, and meanings are typically worded in various ways" (185). Focusing, then, on the naming practices employed by Carbajal to depict the case in Article 1, we encounter the following phrases: 1) "[...] the resolution is **sexist** toward the Wichí girls and women of Argentina"; 2) "[...] justifies a **sexist outlook** supported by the resolution"; 3) "[...] incorporate [...] a **gender perspective**"; 4) "an interpretative frame [...] with a **gender perspective**"; 5) "the **human rights of women and girls**"; 6) "the **violence** and all forms of **harassment** and **sexual exploitation** (of women)"; 7) "condemn all sorts of **discrimination against women**"; 8) "**women's human rights**"; and 9) "the **sexual violence** implies [...] a pattern of domination [...]". For example, María José Lubertino's quote reads:

3.3 When asked by Página 12, the head of the Inadi, María José Lubertino, highlighted the importance that the Justice adopt *an interpretative frame according to the international treaties with a gender perspective*.

As these examples demonstrate, the phrase “gender violence” per se is not employed; instead, the words “gender” and “violence” occur separately in different expressions. It appears that Carbajal’s preferred mode of reference to this case revolves around the notions of **sex(ism)**, **violence**, **human rights** and **discrimination**. It is important to stress that, in accordance with what Carri wrote in her article “How to Say It”, neither “domestic violence” nor “family violence” is employed in Carbajal’s report.

In Article 2, the journalist employs expressions like 1) “the **abused girl** in the **Wichí** community”; 2) “the **Wichí girl’s rape**”; 3) “the **abuse** was evidenced”; 4) “author of her daughter’s **rape**”; 5) “**sexual abuse** with **carnal access**”; 6) “against **rights** to both **personal integrity** and **dignity**”; 7) “**racism** and **xenophobic** attitudes”. Once again, her depiction focuses on the concepts of **sexual abuse** and **violation** of **rights**. Note that in Article 2 (in which the perspective assumed is more explicitly Carbajal’s than the Inadi’s), there is more reference to the fact that the rape occurred in a Wichí community, which is further emphasized by the wording the journalist chooses to talk about the victim (“the abused girl in the Wichí community”; “the Wichí girl”) and the victimizer (“a Wichí accused of raping”; a man from a Wichí community”).

On the one hand, Carbajal’s representation of the case, through expressions pointing to the sexual abuses and violation of rights which the court of justice of Salta permitted, connotes her repudiation of the violence against women at the hands of members of the legal system in Argentina. On the other hand, her wording makes it difficult to overlook the fact that the crime occurred in a Wichí community. In relation to this, Teun van Dijk (1989) declares that when

reporting about “outgroups”, i.e. groups which do not belong to the dominant Western culture, “the media favor stories about negative events, and such stories are generally recalled better, especially in the case of outgroup members” (204). That is, readers who are not Wichí will more easily remember this case, and quickly associate it (e.g. due to the information layout in Article 2, mostly) with the practices of the community at large. As van Dijk puts it: [...] “there is a complex ideological framework in which intergroup perception, prejudices, White group dominance, cognitive strategies as well as journalistic news values all contribute to the negative representation of ethnic minorities in the press” (204). When it comes to prejudices, it is also worth paying attention to Carbajal’s use of the word “concubine” in conjunction with the word “shaman” to present the abuser: “Tejerina señaló a su **concubino**, José Fabián Ruiz, hijo del **chamán** de la comunidad, como autor de la violación de su hija” – “Tejerina [the girl’s mother] pointed to her concubine, José Fabián Ruiz, son of the community’s shaman, as the author of her daughter’s rape” (in a sentence located after the lead in Article 2). A possible interpretation leads to linking the lifestyle of the Wichí with practices that are held inappropriate by a dominant discourse in Argentina: that of the Catholic Church. Braslavsky and Cosse (2006) highlight the influence that the Catholic Church has exerted over education reforms throughout Latin America. While on this occasion, we are not dealing with education matters, the strong hold that Catholic beliefs have on Argentina might be evidenced in Carbajal’s depiction of the Wichí’s customs: this Church prohibits concubinage and disbelieves in all religious authorities that are not Catholic, e.g. shamans; thus, Carbajal – inadvertently or not – may be seen as portraying the raped girl’s community in pejorative (anti-Catholic) terms. Non-Wichí readers might then posit the following question: are people who do not abide by the “Catholic” institution of marriage more prone to committing sexual abuses? In turn, the fact that the rapist is the son of a “shaman”

might trigger the question: Are the Wichí spiritual customs (i.e. non-Catholic) perverse and degenerate? Readers might also posit this other question: Is the Court of Justice in Salta (and the Argentinean legal system in general) so blind as to acquit a girl's rapist? In any case, in the penultimate paragraph of Article 2, the journalist declares: "After the sentence at the provincial court, Ruiz was prosecuted again and has been detained since June 2005". Thus, he is being punished while, as Carbajal notes, "members of his community continue demanding his release", with which the negative depiction of the Wichí comes to the fore again.

Fairclough (2003) explains that "when the voice of another is incorporated into a text, there are always choices about how to frame it, how to contextualize it, in terms of other parts of the text – about relations between report and authorial account" (51). Thus, Carbajal frames the Inadi's statements with processes like "discredit", "consider", "point out", and "remind". All these processes match the fact that the Inadi's statement is unbinding, and therefore, Carbajal presents it as an institution that, though in strong opposition to the decision of the court (which, accordingly, is quoted with the framing verb "order"), can only make recommendations. Similarly, when Octorina Zamora's quote appears, Carbajal frames it with "consider", a verb denoting "expression-of-opinion-only", i.e. her actions are incapable of bringing about change in the court's decision. The same pattern emerges in Article 2: the court's quote is framed with the verbs "order" and "request", denoting its power to execute an action; the opinion of the defense is contextualized with "support", in line with its role; the dissident judge's voice, together with Octorina Zamora's position, are framed with "maintain"/"consider" and "argue", respectively, which once again point to opinions by people who are not in a position to change the court's course, but only to protest against it. It is also worth stressing that the journalist uses mostly

active sentences in both articles, which help represent the violence suffered by the girl as a crime whose actors are portrayed as performing actions rather than being affected by them.

It is interesting to note that both Article 1 and Article 2 appeared when an article about the case of a female adolescent, who was kidnapped in July 2004 and whose whereabouts remain unknown, was published, as well. This noticeable presence of news items dealing with violence against women on the same day might serve to further position *Página 12* as a newspaper which is intent on denouncing different forms of gender discrimination and violence in Argentina. Like the two articles under study, this article was included in the section “Society”, which features news items on a wide range of topics: e.g. legal issues discussed in congress; police reports on murders, kidnappings and robberies; recycling campaigns; and of course, gender issues (usually featuring cases on violence or discrimination against women). Such a variety of themes might signal that the newspaper does not deem violence against women as undifferentiated from, for example, a waste-recycling campaign. However, the various articles on gender matters together with the supplement on gender (“The 12”) that the newspaper issues every Friday show, as stated before, that *Página 12* takes an overt position against – and therefore, reports frequently about it – violence against women.

This analysis demonstrates the emergence of two main themes. On the one hand, Articles 1 and 2 can be viewed as the journalist’s – and the newspaper’s – denunciation of the Argentinean legal system for its contribution to the maintenance of sexual violence against women. Consider, for instance, Carbajal’s naming of the crime through expressions focusing on the need for the court to take on “a gender perspective” (e.g. in **3.3**); at the same time, the fact that the piece about the female adolescent kidnapped was also published on the same day together with the journalist’s specific mention of the names of the judges who acquitted the

rapist (Article 2) also point to a criticism of the malfunctioning of the Argentinean justice. On the other hand, the almost exclusive presence of non-Wichí voices, the manner in which the information is laid out (i.e. negative features of the Wichí mentioned first), and the choice of wording – e.g. “concubine” in connection with “shaman” – portrays the Wichí as an “other” and inferior to the non-indigenous actors that are quoted as calling for justice. In turn, this voicing and naming choices might lead readers to associate sexual violence against women with indigenous (and by transitivity, marginalized and poor) people. Jill Radford’s (1992) refers to the complex interconnection between racism and misogyny (8), of which Carbajal’s article might serve as evidence: i.e. while she speaks up against the sexual abuses perpetuated on a girl, her report still makes extensive room for a portrayal of the indigenous community – particularly the girl’s mother – as forgiving toward rapists.

3.1.3 Article 3

Article 3, headlined “Rending the Walls of Silence”, dates from January 18, 2008. Its author, Elisabet Contrera, refers to a group of women who have decided to hold monthly marches in the streets of the capital of Tucumán (a province in the Argentinean northwest). When they are demonstrating, they blow whistles in order to break the silence which veils the gender violence they and their children endure.

The article is 932 words long and belongs to the supplement “The 12”, “the gender supplement”. A photograph shows a group of women who are blowing whistles and playing drums while they march on an unpaved road.

Apart from reporting on the actions taken by an association of women called “Women’s House Norma Nassif”, Contrera focuses on a specific woman’s story. The journalist states that

Laura (whose real name, Contrera explains, was changed to “preserve her identity”) is a woman who remained silent about the abuses she suffered at the hands of her uncle when she was a girl. Now, however, she has decided to speak out for her daughter’s sake: her seven-year old child has been molested by a man in her family.

3.1.3.1 Looking Into Article 3

Elisabet Contrera quotes the phrases Laura and other women – all members of the organization – shout out every month (on a Saturday) when they march in the streets of San Miguel de Tucumán: “*No silence!*” (which Contrera depicts as Laura’s favorite motto); “*No injustice!*”; “*No sexual abuse!*”; “*Stop sexual abuse of boys and girls!*”; “*It is time to say stop, it is a time not to be silent, it’s a time not to forget!*”. Apart from these quotes – which are presented by Contrera as being said by a group of undifferentiated women (except the one explicitly linked with Laura) – the president of the campaign “The Super Whistle”, Vicky Disatnik, is cited five times (four direct quotes and one indirect quote). For example: “[...] *the whistle was the mode we found to denounce the abuse and to call everybody’s attention*”. At the same time, Contrera expresses:

3.4 The increase of cases of sexual abuse – according to local media reports –, together with violent situations they experienced themselves (*I have a student who was beaten and pawed in order to steal her cell phone and 10 pesos*) led the members of the organization, almost spontaneously, to take to the streets for the first time in June last year.

Here, the sentence between parentheses is a quote whose author is not identified; it might be interpreted as only one example of a situation which caused that different women take part in the campaign. It is also important to note that Contrera presents local media reports (“according to local media reports”) as playing a crucial role in women’s decision to speak out against the violence. Indirectly, then, the journalist may be seen as making her own (and the newspaper’s)

contribution to the public voicing of women's suffering at the hands of men, i.e. Contrera's contribution to the breaking of the silence.

In connection with the notion of "silence", Adrian Howe (1997) refers to the media's "pattern of discovery/forgetting/rediscovery of men's pervasive violence against women" (66), which is connected to the media's controlling position to bring the attention of audiences/readers/listeners to events, and perspectives on the events, of their choosing at the time they see fit. While the victims of gender violence might be immersed in a situation that is far from silent (i.e. secret), it is perhaps the inactions (or unjust actions) by the government(s) (recall the sentence by the court of justice in Salta – Articles 1 and 2), together with forgiving representations by the media, which must do the real work against the violence and its silencing. The Women's National Council in Argentina is, as its webpage reads, "a national government institution whose goal is to promote a socio-cultural transformation based on the egalitarian participation of women in the social, economic, political and cultural life of the country"¹¹. In its "3rd Assessment Report on Cases of Family Violence" (November 2007), the council refers to the lack of "real articulation among the police, the legal system and specialized services" at the time of women's reports against this violence. Such lack of articulation (i.e. the different organizations' inefficiency to work cooperatively among one another) could be taken as undermining women's willingness to come forward, which in turn, directly contributes to their "silence" about the violence. It is worth considering Susan Ehrlich's (1998) reference to "the pervasiveness of models of miscommunication between women and men" (157). One of these, she explains, is the "deficient model of miscommunication" put forth by Crawford (1995),

¹¹ <http://www.cnm.gov.ar/>

which, as Ehrlich points out, implies that women are deficient communicators in the context of potential sexual relations (162). Although Ehrlich brings it up to analyze the questioning practices at a sexual assault tribunal in York University, Canada, I consider that the same model might underlie the fact that the officials from the police, the legal system and specialized services in Argentina do not “articulate” their services in favor of the victims. This lack of complementary work among the official agents in charge of protecting women might signal their covert adherence to the “deficient model of miscommunication” as they do not show an interest in creating a functional system in favor of the women abused – indirectly pointing to their belittlement of women’s capacity to speak up. Such official inaction, then, contributes to the existence of the silence: i.e. women are being “silenced”.

Contrera’s reporting on the actions the organization is demanding that the legal authorities in Tucumán take is a direct reference to the **government’s need** to implement concrete measures against the silence surrounding women’s abuses by men. The journalist chooses processes like “make sure”; “request”; and “demand” to frame five quotes by the organization as a whole (four indirect and one direct). These verbs demonstrate that the women are, as in the case of Octorina Zamora in Article 1, only in a position to *make requests* for more justice (as opposed to being able to take concrete action – e.g. by passing laws – as members of congress in Argentina can against different types of “gender violence”). For instance, Contrera reports the following:

3.6 This whistle of alarm, insured their promoters, will continue deafening the Saturdays until the provincial government complies with a petition they presented [...] They also request the creation of a protocol to attend to the victims of abuse [...]; the reform of the Penal Procedural Code to allow district attorneys to file abuse reports in the hospitals

[...], and the creation of a public prosecutors office, specialized in searching for evidence, with a gender perspective [...] Besides, the women demand that abortions be permitted in cases of pregnancy after a rape.

Therefore, despite the portrayal of Laura as a woman who did not dare speak up against her abuser, Contrera's inclusion of the demands the organization "Women's House Norma Nassif" is making shows that the silence pertains more to the government than to the women abused. As quote 3.6 shows, a linguistic resource employed by Contrera – in line with her representation of the women as actively seeking justice – is the use of metonymy, i.e. "a kind of non-literal language in which one entity is used to refer to another entity that is associated with it in some way" (Hurtford et al, 2007). Accordingly, "This whistle of alarm" stands for the women who take to streets and blow whistles to call the government's attention regarding the sexual violence they endure. At the same time, the use of processes whose agent (i.e. the women as a whole) is well identified, like "They also request" and "the women demand" help to portray them as actively committed to their cause. Besides, the photograph ties in with the theme of "silence-breaking" since it shows a group of women blowing whistles and playing drums while they march along an unpaved street (which also connects with the theme of poverty, discussion forthcoming). As Anthonissen (2003) explains, following Kress and van Leeuwen, the visual and verbal components of Article 3 complement and extend each other (302). Consequently, by giving extensive room to the women's claims, the journalist might be seen as supporting their cause; at the same time, *Página 12* appears as a newspaper which is not complicit in the *government's* silence.

Turning now to the fact that Contrera cites a group of undifferentiated women (from the "Women's House Norma Nassif"), Barbie Zelizer's study on quoting practices in the news can,

once more, shed light on the present discussion. Zelizer (1989) explains that one of journalists' commonly-accepted practices is the use of quotes lending authority to "largely unspecified sources behind the news" (373) in order to make these bodies appear collective and their opinions more influential – which, in turn, ascribe worth to journalists' reports. Similar to what was found in Articles 1 and 2, the two other voices Contrera includes in her piece, i.e. the victim's and the organization president's, demonstrate, as explained by Zelizer, "the journalist's posture of technical neutrality" by "relying on quotes from those who are supposedly involved" (373). Therefore, Laura is given voice five times, always directly. For example, two of her quotes (interspersed with the journalist's own words) read:

3.7 *In the beginning, I was ashamed, I felt good and bad at the same time, but I dared speak anyway,* recounted the young woman, 26 years old.

3.8 They walked around the dirt roads and groves of the impoverished town Colombres, alerting people to the habits of the man – who is in his fifties and is very friendly – and putting up signs with his name and photograph on every light post of the area. *It's been months since he's been out for the last time. He stopped working at the kiosk. His daughter is in charge,* said Laura. She is holding her own: *I have a lot of strength to go on.* The pain and impotence from her own and her daughter's pain accompany her all the time. The difference is that now, in both stories, the man responsible for that pain has been completely identified.

As quotes **3.7** and **3.8** exemplify, and different from Carbajal's articles above, Contrera makes room for the women abused to speak in her article (not only through Laura, but also through the voice of both the women of the organization and the organization president). This time, rather than representing the victims as an "outgroup", the abused women's opinions make up most of

the report and the general presentation is that of women who are active against the abuses of which they are victims.

Such a difference from the previous two articles might be related to the section of the newspaper Article 3 belongs to, i.e. “the gender supplement”. The fact that *Página 12* issues this supplement shows what Fairclough (1992) speaks of as the “democratization of discourse” through which, he asserts, there is a “removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people” (201). He further explains that there is “a democratization of access to prestigious discourse types, and prestigious and powerful subject positions within them” for, among other marginalized groups, women (202). This opening up of possibilities for women might have pushed *Página 12* into the creation of “The 12”. However, Fairclough is quick to highlight that a parallel process to that of democratization is taking place as well, i.e. “commodification”: “the process whereby social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the narrower sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption” (207). Consequently, readers might wonder whether or not the board of directors at *Página 12* are truly interested in bringing about change in cases of violence against women: Do they, instead, act in response to the emergence of groups – e.g. women activists, women organizations, and feminist judges or academics – that might be considered as perfect targets for the sale of their product (and of their image as a newspaper that is committed to gender issues)? To answer these questions, it is useful to remember what Andrew Goatly (2000) explained: “The owners of newspapers and other media have enormous scope, should they so wish, to exert pressure to suppress or highlight certain topics or events, or to mount campaigns, and to establish consensus, by denying alternative agendas, or silencing opposing

news” (247-248). Nevertheless, *Página 12* undeniably makes room for the discussion of violence against women¹² – e.g. in articles, interviews, and illustrated reports – not only in its gender supplement, but as we saw before, in the main section (e.g. “Society”) of its printed and online editions.

When it comes to the naming practices employed by Contrera to depict the case, one can read phrases like: **gender violence/abusers**; and **rapists/sexually-assaulted sons and daughters** (used by Contrera in the lead and last paragraph, respectively); no/stop **silence**; no **injustice**, no/stop **sexual abuse** (of boys and girls); the **abuse**; cases of **sexual abuse**; wounds from the **violence**; situations of **violence**; **beaten/pawed**; **sexual violence against women**; victims/reports of **abuse**; **gender perspective**; **rape**; law of **sexual and reproductive health** (from quotations by Laura, the president of the organization and its members as a group). The focus seems to be similar to that of Carbajal in Articles 1 and 2: **the sexual violence** perpetuated on women is linked to the notion of **absence of legal protection**. The phrase “gender violence” is only used once (in the lead) and then its scope is narrowed down to denote sexual abuse. Once again, neither “domestic violence”, “family violence” nor “couple violence” are chosen to represent the abuses. Note, too, that when Contrera quotes the president of the organization, Vicky Disatnik, in “*The whistle was the mode we found to denounce the abuse and to call everybody’s attention*”, in the Spanish original, she avoids the masculine form “*todos*” and uses the female form as well “*todas*” (this difference is lost in English as both terms are translated as “everybody”). Thus, Contrera makes an overt move to avoid discrimination against women through the so-called masculine generic forms.

¹² Compared to the other two newspapers studied in this work, *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*, *Página 12* stands out regarding the number of pieces focused on gender-related topics.

Also, once the president of the organization is quoted for the first time, the journalist then decides to refer to her as “Vicky” (without her last name). For example, “*If there is no legal sanction, we’ll fight so that there is at least social sanction*, expressed Vicky” (note that this quote further positions the women as actively seeking justice – pointed out in regard to **3.6** above – as the agent (i.e. the women as a whole) of the process “fight” is well identified). This might be related to two tendencies. The first one is brought up by Fairclough (1995), who asserts that informality is becoming more and more widespread (as a corollary of democratization): “A central manifestation of increasing informality is the way in which conversational discourse has been and is being projected from its primary domain, in the personal interactions of the private sphere, into the public sphere” (204). That is, Contrera may be seen as representing the organization’s president as a woman who might be close to anyone of the readers, someone with whom readers can identify. At the same time, we can view the journalist’s decision to call her “Vicky” as a way to underline the women’s determination and organization despite their lack of economic resources and poverty. Guha (1988), when referring to the literature on peasant insurrections in colonial India, explains that, for a peasant, the act of rebelling necessarily and explicitly implied a “violation of a series of codes”, which, in turn, defined his subalternity. Said (1988) explains that the implied opposite of the word ‘subaltern’ is “dominant or elite, that is, groups in power” (vi). In this case, then, Contrera’s depiction of the head of the organization – and thus, of these women at large – goes against what is routine, i.e. to provide a person’s full name; in doing so, the journalist is contrasting the women (subaltern) with the government (elite). The journalist might be seen as differentiating the women’s capacity to organize themselves and speak up against the violence from the government’s complicit silence and inaction. Guha (1988) points out that there existed a risk far too great for peasants to engage in insurrections in a state of

absent-mindedness, i.e. their actions embodied their conscious subaltern agency (45). Therefore, in highlighting the difference between the women and the government (in this case by employing “Vicky”), Contrera might be stressing that despite all the stakes against them (they are poor, they are abused, the government does not protect them), the women’s “conscious” subaltern agency is in full swing.

The absence of expert voices, in turn, is a point which differentiates Contrera’s article from the other two presented so far. While this grants Contrera’s reporting an in-group perspective (as opposed to the “otherness” of Articles 1 and 2), allowing readers to feel closer to (and even empathize with) the victims, there is still room for doubt as to whether or not Contrera is broadening the gap between the women on whom she reports and the expert voices she does not include. In connection to this is the fact that poverty is associated with gender violence by means of different references (including the photograph). For instance, in quote **3.8** (by Laura), apart from the overt reference to poverty with the phrase “impoverished town”, “unpaved roads” connotes lack of urbanization (and thus, little economic development), “He stopped working at the kiosk” reinforces the idea that the jobs in the town are not related to large-scale businesses, much less industry. Moreover, Tucumán is one of the provinces (together with Salta, the province where the Wichí members of Articles 1 and 2 live) where the levels of poverty and destitution are among the highest in the country¹³. Similar to the depiction of the Wichí girl’s rape, the representation of Laura’s case might result from the practice, identified by van Dijk (1989), that most newspapers will not blatantly state that minorities are criminal, but “special

¹³ “La pobreza en Argentina: Perfil, Evolución y Determinantes Profundos (1996, 1998, 2001)”; Maestría en Economía. Universidad Nacional de la Plata. http://www.depeco.econo.unlp.edu.ar/cedlas/pdfs/doc_cedlas7.pdf

attention, focus and selection of crime stories establish such associations in a more subtle way” (219). In this case, the issue is not so much connected to a minority group (like the immigrants that van Dijk’s study centered on) but to class: power control is still involved and the allusion points to the link between violence and “the poor” (rather than “the rich”).

On the same day this article was published, two other pieces appeared which are connected to the topic and the representation in Article 3. One was titled “The Damage of the Silent Reaction”, which deals with the case of a storehouse in the province of Santa Fe (Center-East of Argentina) where hundreds of condoms and contraceptives were found. These had been bought by the State, through a program for reproductive health, so that they could be distributed for free. However, all of them had already expired. As in Article 3, the headline focuses on the negative effects of “silence”, while the notion of sexual rights and government negligence is also brought to the fore. Besides, this report was also issued in “The 12”, which further positions *Página 12* as a newspaper overtly committed to reporting on different gender-related issues. The second article appeared in the section “Society”, in the main edition of the newspaper. Its headline is “Four Bullets, a Woman Murdered and an Ill-Named Crime of Passion”. The story (which will be analyzed in detail in Articles 6 and 7) centers on the murder of a 29-year-old woman in a private neighborhood in Buenos Aires; her husband, according to police reports, is the principal suspect. Note how from the headline, the stance projected by *Página 12* (the article has no specific author) regarding the appropriate expressions to refer to gender violence is reinforced, which, in turn, relates to the terms chosen by Contrera to refer to the women’s abuses.

This discussion shows that Contrera’s article has a few strong points: 1) the victims’ voice is heard; 2) women are depicted as actively taking action against sexual abuses, which

could encourage other victims to speak up; 3) expressions like “family/domestic violence” are not employed (a point further emphasized by the piece “Four Bullets, a Woman Murdered and an Ill-Named Crime of Passion”); 4) the government’s silence is portrayed as the target of actions against sexual abuse, not the women’s or the newspaper’s silence (once again, the piece “The Damage of the Silent Reaction” reinforces this point). However, a careful reading might allow us to see that, as van Dijk (1989) pointed out, negative reporting on marginalized groups might remain implicit, in this case, through the indirect association of sexual abuses with poverty.

3.1.4 Article 4

Article 4 dates from March 28, 2008 and is headlined “Valentina, at the Abyss”. The author is María Mansilla, who writes in the gender supplement “The 12”. The article is 1,021 words long. A photograph shows the legs of a cloth doll, stained with dirt.

Mansilla writes about the case of Valentina, a 7-year-old girl, who was raped by her own father. In the lead, Mansilla reports that the girl’s mother, María Daniela Vallejos, reported the abuses five years ago. The journalist writes that while the injuries were verified, the man was acquitted due to “legal formalities”, and was even granted custody of the child. Mansilla adds that Vallejos (on the day the article was published) was outside the Court of Justice (throughout the article, there is no place specification: I infer it is Buenos Aires city), together with Sister Martha Pelloni¹⁴ and other social organizations. They demanded that Valentina’s voice be heard.

¹⁴ Sister Martha Pelloni entered the media spotlight when she founded a movement seeking justice after the rape and murder of María Soledad Morales, a 17-year-old adolescent from Catamarca (a province in the Argentinean Northwest). At the time of the crime, Sister Pelloni was the principal of the school that Maria Soledad Morales

3.1.4.1 Looking Into Article 4

In the body of her piece (from paragraph 2 through paragraph 5), Mansilla makes an account of the girl's story. The journalist begins by stating that in August 2003, the mother found out about the girl's abuses when her daughter told her – while she was taking a bath – that “*daddy's willy*” hurt her. In her report, Mansilla includes the words the mother was told at the clinic where she took her daughter: “*vaginal and anal injury, prolapse and mycosis*”. The journalist explains that while Vallejos sued her ex-husband for her daughter's rape, which, as the journalist puts it, “was endorsed by the experts”, a legal sentence dismissed the charges against Germán Fernández Pescuma, the girl's father. Mansilla refers to him as “the *alleged* abuser”, in what can be interpreted as her opposition to the court's mitigation of the man's culpability: i.e. her general representation of the case highlights the man's responsibility for the girl's abuses as well as his ability to get away with crime (thanks to a legal system that is fraught with irregularities), and her use of quotation marks¹⁵ furthers this position by setting the word off from the rest of the piece, signalling that the journalist distances herself from – and even repudiates – the court's position. At the same time, Masilla presents him as someone “who knows the weak points of the law: he is a lawyer”. She goes on to state that every attempt to find justice was corrupted by arbitrariness and negligence. For example, she mentions that every time Valentina was testifying, she would be interrupted, and that her mother would not be permitted to be accompanied by her lawyer.

attended. Pelloni attracted the attention of the media by organizing “silence marches”, i.e. public demonstrations in complete silence.

¹⁵ Recall that I am using italics to transcribe the journalist's use of quotation marks.

Following Mansilla's account, readers learn that after the visit to the clinic, the girl's mother decided to go with her daughter to a friend's house, using the language "She found refuge at a friend's house". Note how the word "refuge" denotes the idea of "escape from danger", which is, taking Valentina's abuses into account, what her mother was actually doing. However, Mansilla continues, it was then that Fernández Pescuma (who the journalist describes once more as "the *alleged* abuser") saw it fit to demand Valentina's custody. Mansilla goes on to provide readers with the last name (and the jurisdiction under his control) of the judge who granted Valentina's custody to her father, i.e. "Judge Güiraldes".

Up to this point, Mansilla's manifest goal seems to be the presentation of the legal system as inefficiency-stricken. This is demonstrated through: 1) the headline, "Valentina, at the Abyss" which connotes, among other things, that the girl is on the point of extreme danger; 2) her use of the present tense – paragraphs 3 through 5 – which creates momentum for the story and grants currentness to the case; and 3) her choice of words and expressions to refer to the girl's predicament. For example, "due to **legal formalities**, the man **was acquitted** and **was granted** the custody of the child"; "**a legal sentence** granted the custody of the child to the very father of Valentina, **the *alleged* abuser**, called Germán Fernández Pescuma"; "the **girl's injuries** do **not** count as **sufficient proof** to find him **guilty**"; "the defendant's **charges** are **dismissed**"; "while it is **judicially admitted** that Valentina **is assaulted**, the **victimizer is not singled out**"; "every **attempt** to find **justice** is undertaken according to **formal procedures**, but it is subsequently **corrupted** by **arbitrariness** and **negligence**"; "the **non-fulfilment** of the Convention on the **Rights of the Child**". These expressions can be grouped under the label "Unjust Justice", as they all point to the irregularities and corruptness of the (Argentinean, Buenos Aires) legal system.

The legal system is, in turn, chosen by Mansilla as the performer of the actions (sometimes explicitly, sometimes, inferable by the co-text), which the journalist expresses, mainly, in passive voice (e.g. **was acquitted/are dismissed/is not singled out**). While it may be understood that for generic reasons (rather than an in-depth investigation, she is writing a news article), the journalist does not name all of the particular actors (e.g. judges and district attorneys) behind the abuser's acquittal – such lack of specificity might contribute to the maintenance of the injustice: Who is to be held accountable? “The Law”/“The Legal System”, and not the concrete people who constitute it and make the legal decisions in cases like Valentina's. However, such indeterminacy is avoided somewhat, when, as was mentioned above, Mansilla provides readers with the last name and the jurisdiction under his control of the judge who granted Valentina's custody to her father: “Judge Güiraldes (from National Civil Court N° 56)”. At the same time, she nominates the girl's father and abuser by his full name, “Germán Fernández Pescuma”. In this case, then, Mansilla *is* contributing to the singling out of those members in the Argentinean courts who do not work to eradicate gender violence. While what she is denouncing is dismal, i.e. as a result of Güiraldes' decision, the girl is in the custody of her abuser, she is allowing a large readership to know who the person responsible for Valentina's (and her mother's) plight is. Among this readership, there might be authorities who can bring about change in such negative situation, which would exemplify the material effects produced as a result of language use, in this case, by means of journalists' work.

In order to further obtain support for her message, Mansilla's choice of photograph – showing the legs of a cloth doll, stained with dirt – could be interpreted as her recourse to visual metaphor, by which she can allude to the horror in Valentina's life. Thus, the visual and the

verbal “duplicate each other in expressing the same meaning” (Anthonissen, 2003), and then, the journalist’s message is more forcefully conveyed.

Throughout this first part of the article (i.e. from the lead through paragraph 5), Mansilla does not quote any person in particular; instead, she employs what Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003) call “integrated citation”. The authors define this style as having “the form of indirect citation but with segments – of greater or lesser extension – signalled as being cited directly/literally with clear graphic or typographic marking, mainly with quotation marks or marked fonts (boldface or italics)” (155). In Mansilla’s report, we see instances of integrated citation when she writes: “the *alleged* abuser”; “*vaginal and anal injury, prolapse and mycosis*”; and “*acting in a state of necessity*”. Mikhail Bakhtin’s “polyphonic character of discourse” is evidenced in the journalist’s citation choices since Bakhtin’s “voicing”, as explained by Eisenlohr (2006), “directs our attention to how particularities of linguistic practice can evoke social images and link them to actors in a social situation” (113). Accordingly, these phrases allow the journalist to point to the places and the people (unindividualized) that were involved in Vallejos’ denunciation of her daughter’s suffering – the court, the clinic and lawyers, respectively. In turn, they add to the momentum and the sense of currentness which the journalist is creating, demonstrating the idea that “where a quote is reflects the strategic decisions of journalists to put it there” (Zelizer, 1989). These citations also demonstrate, as was discussed in relation to Article 1 above, the importance ascribed by journalists to the use of “dialog in discourse” (Hill and Irvine, 1993) in order to grant credibility to the interpretations they present as facts.

From paragraph 6 through paragraph 9, the journalist begins to make room for other – this time, “specific” – voices to be part of her article. Therefore, readers access the opinion on

Valentina's case as expressed by a lawyer, Fernando Sorrentino, a member of Casacidn (Argentinean Committee for the Continuation and Application of the International Convention on the Rights of the Child). Mansilla frames Sorrentino's voice using the verb "sentenced", whose denotation further reinforces the negative depiction of the legal system that the journalist is making:

3.9 The mother could have been found guilty of – in a worst case scenario – preventing the visits [i.e. the father's visits to his daughter], but never have her child's custody taken away from her – sentenced the lawyer Fernando Sorrentino. In a country that is compared to, as was done some years ago, the economic level of Brussels, things are happening against boys, girls, and adolescents which are more in line with a dictatorship. The Judicial System violates, as well, the rights of the mother. There is a judicial formality which moves away from the law and legitimizes an illegal appropriation.

As noted by Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003), quoting is a "strategy of the writer not only to convey information but also to give an orientation to the text through the choices made in the linguistic constituents of the quoting procedure" (154). Therefore, note how the words and expressions like "dictatorship", "violate", "judicial formality" and "illegal appropriation", while said by Sorrentino, may also be strategically employed by Mansilla to further represent Argentina as a country where no legality – particularly, in cases of women's abuses by men – can be expected, and thus, she herself may be seen as denouncing such reality.

However, it is also important to stress the high level of abstraction that Sorrentino's words bring to the report. The lawyer's opinion, while critical of the legal proceedings, remains unspecific ("*things are happening against boys, girls, and adolescents*"; "*The Judicial System*

violates”) and highly conceptual (“*a judicial formality*”; “*legitimizes an illegal appropriation*”). Therefore, even though this citation may serve Mansilla’s purpose to condemn the conduct of judges who do nothing to stop sexual abuse, lack of specificity is created once again.

Mansilla then allows Valentina’s relatives to have a say in her article, as their voice is quoted indirectly in: “Today, 28 March, Valentina’s relatives march to make the case visible; they request that the media help them in the *escrache*” (in Spanish, ‘*escrache*’ denotes an act in which a public figure is openly humiliated). This quote gives Mansilla a chance (evidencing the strategic use of quotes made by journalists) to position her own perspective (and, consequently, that of *Página 12*’s) as superior with respect to other mass media, by stating:

3.10 How much despair! They make do with the help of many of the same media which reproduce the prejudices that are on top of them now, like the one which assumes that women who denounce violence do so in order to accelerate their divorce, to receive better payments from child support, or to capriciously deny their children the right to be with their dads.

With these lines, other than criticizing the judicial system – as she has done so far –, Mansilla is alluding to the power of the media to create, and iteratively reproduce, negative material effects for women who suffer from (and take actions against) sexual abuse. She is, however, distancing her own newspaper from those “media which reproduce the prejudices that are on top of them now”.

As pointed out above in respect to Article 3, it is worth remembering that this piece also belongs to the gender supplement of *Página 12*. As stated above, journalists writing in this supplement may be seen as directly concerned with denouncing violations, mostly of the rights of women. A search in the supplement’s archive retrieves few articles and interviews on the

rights of, for example, gays and lesbians – or other people who do not identify themselves within the heteronormative discourse –, demonstrating that the point made by Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick (2003) regarding the widespread use of the term “gender” in connection with women’s issues only is corroborated in “The 12”. It is worth stressing here that the instances in which the phrase “gender perspective” appeared in the articles discussed so far, the concept of “gender” was also connected with the fighting for women’s rights only.

Two other people’s voices are included by the journalist. Sister Martha Pelloni, representative of the Permanent Assembly for Human Rights and the Stop-Sexual-Slavery-and-Trafficking-of-Boys, Girls-and-Adolescents Network, and Viviana Vladimirsky, a lawyer and the director of the course “The Law and Gender” at the University of Buenos Aires. The nun is given voice in:

3.11 *Valentina’s mother has been heard, but not paid attention to. Since then, we’re knocking on doors. I myself have been to the court to express my support, tells Pelloni to ‘The 12’. It is a scandal what is happening in Argentina. Every day we receive mails about abuses, family violence and trafficking. Not only do we turn a blind eye and remain uncommitted, but Justice is corporate in these cases. Please, stress this, because this is the way it is.*

In this quote, the themes referred to before recur: on the one hand, the legal system in Argentina is harshly criticized (together with citizens’ apathy) for its inaction in cases of women’s violence at the hands of men. On the other hand, *Página 12* is vehemently asked, “*Please, stress this, because this is the way it is*”, to speak about (and up against) such an unjust reality. Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003), when speaking about direct citation, highlight: “even if the exact words are reproduced, they are extracted from the original context and are placed in a new

context that can modify the sense” (155). In this case, the last sentence of the quote may lead readers to consider *Página 12* – and ‘The 12’, in particular – as different from “other media”: i.e. at Pelloni’s request, the journalist makes room for the nun’s message. Note that the journalist could have chosen not to include the last sentence in **3.11**, but still did so – which can be interpreted as Mansilla’s further badge of differentiation between *Página 12* and other media: i.e. *Página 12* listens to people and truthfully reports on their cases while others “reproduce the prejudices that are on top of them now” (**3.10**).

The last person Mansilla cites in her article is, as mentioned above, Viviana Vladimirsky. Her opinion reads as follows:

3.12 *The Convention on the Rights of Girls, Boys and Adolescents says that boys and girls have the right to be heard [...] analyzes the lawyer [...] and makes the connection: Romina Tejerina wouldn’t be in jail, her rapist wouldn’t be free or abusive parents wouldn’t live with their boys and girls if the system of In–Justice worked in an interdisciplinary manner and the principal law operators would listen to their collaborators.*

While this quotation has instances of formal/abstract language, like “*the system of In–Justice*”; “*the principal law operators*”; “*listen to their collaborators*”, which beg the question “WHO are the specific people she is talking about?”, Vladimirsky is also referring specifically to a case that received a great deal of media attention (Romina Tejerina got pregnant after she was raped by a neighbor; when she gave birth to the baby, in the bathroom of her sister’s house, she killed it. She has been sentenced to 14 years in prison. This story will be analyzed in Articles 5, 10 and 15, respectively). By bringing up Tejerina’s case, she is creating parallels between Valentina’s suffering (“*abusive parents wouldn’t live with their boys and girls*”) and Tejerina’s own plight

(“*Romina Tejerina wouldn’t be in jail, her rapist wouldn’t be free*”), through which Vladimirsky – and Mansilla – can give concrete examples to substantiate the attack on the judicial system.

When it comes to the referring expressions employed by the journalist to represent the case, she chooses: “**rape**”; “**discrimination against women**”; “**sexual abuse**”; “**trial and punishment for abusers**”; “**the Justice is corporate**”; and “**abusive fathers**”. Mansilla does not use the phrase “gender violence” at all; similarly to what has happened in the previous articles, however, the journalist appears to concentrate on notions of **sexual violence** inflicted on **a little girl** by a **man she is acquainted with**; in turn, the **lack of protection/justice** for the victim is also highlighted. In contrast to the other three articles, however, this time the violence is not linked with poverty. Rather, the abuser is a lawyer, pointing to what the Women’s National Council in Argentina declares in its “3rd Assessment Report on Cases of Family Violence” (November 2007): “family violence affects every economic level, which is reflected in the educational level of the women who denounce it”¹⁶. The fact that *Página 12* makes room for a case whose socio-economic context is not one of poverty, destitution and racial discrimination – like the Wichí girl’s (Articles 1 and 2) or Laura’s (Article 3) – further positions the newspaper as committed to act against gender violence.

Nevertheless, there is one piece of information which the journalist does not provide explicitly: the location of the case. While expressions like “outside the Court of Justice” or “National Civil Court N° 56” might allow for readers’ inference that she is talking about Buenos Aires capital, the fact that she does not specifically name the city (cf Carbajal’s and Contrera’s recurrent mention of Salta and Tucumán, respectively) could be related to the belief (strengthened by the journalist’s report) that cases like Valentina’s are not commonplace in the

¹⁶ <http://www.cnm.gov.ar/>

capital – and the richest region – of Argentina. This absence might signal *Página 12*'s general stance regarding violence against women: it usually happens in areas where there is no economic growth (in the present work, for instance, four out of five articles deal with cases that took place in the poorest provinces in the country, namely Salta (Articles 1 and 2), Tucumán (Article 3) and Jujuy (Article 5)).

On the same day Mansilla's piece was published, another article entitled "Two-Time Vulnerable" from "The 12" also dealt with violence against women, this time in the workplace. Journalist Roxana Sandá reports that 31 percent of young women – as opposed to 19 percent of young men – are unemployed in Argentina. Sandá appears to take the same stance as Mansilla, i.e. she denounces government institutions for turning a blind eye to this sexist discrimination. Once again, as Mansilla herself reports in her piece, *Página 12*'s self-positioning is of a newspaper that differs from those other media "which reproduce the prejudices that are on top of them [Valentina and her mother; in turn, all women] now" (3.10).

As with the previous articles discussed, Article 4 centers on the government's complicit (in)actions in the perpetuation of the violence in a case of sexual abuses perpetuated on a girl by her father: recall, for example, Mansilla's use of the expression "legal formalities" related to notions of "corruption", "arbitrariness" and "negligence" in the legal system (in turn, the article "Two-Time Vulnerable" taps into this denunciation, as well). While at times, the journalist's depiction of the case may appear too conceptual (evidenced by the expressions just mentioned), not only does she make room for specificity – in her blame-placing – by nominating both the judge (who sided with the abuser) and the abuser by their full names but also when she brings up Romina Tejerina's case as further evidence of the "unjust" justice in Argentina. While this piece differs from the ones we have considered so far with respect to the socioeconomic context where

the lawyer abused his daughter, nowhere in the article is the location of the crime (i.e. the name of the city or province) made specific. Referring expressions about the judge's jurisdiction or the court name might lead readers to infer the journalist is speaking about Buenos Aires capital; however, the fact that this is not mentioned might point to the journalist's interest in not making an overt connection between sexual abuse and the richest area of the country. In turn, by leaving the city unnamed, she might indirectly be portraying the crimes as extraordinary or out-of-place (cf the explicit mention – and on different occasions – of the province names where the crimes reported on Articles 1, 2 and 3 occurred). Consequently, the reference to violence against women by men and poverty is still, implicitly, made.

It is worth pointing out that on May 2, 2008, a piece called “Never Again”¹⁷ was published in “The 12” (with no specific author). In it, the website “No + violence against women” is presented in approving terms for, among other things, the vast information it offers on cases of abused women and providing detailed updates on the successes attained to end the violence¹⁸. Browsing the site, one discovers different tabs leading to “readings”, “investigations” and “news” on women's lives in different countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. Under the heading “Data and Statistics”, *Página 12* appears on different occasions as the source for the statistical information on gender violence about Argentina. Also, *Clarín* newspaper (another

¹⁷ It is important to highlight that the article headline “Never Again” directly points to the book called *Nunca Más* (Never Again) that The National Commission on People Disappearances (CONADEP) issued at the request of the Argentine president Raúl Alfonsín in 1983. The objective of the commission was to compile all reports and denounces about the disappearances, kidnappings and tortures which took place during the military dictatorship in Argentina from 1976 to 1983 (<http://www.mcye.gov.ar>)

¹⁸ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/suplementos/las12/13-4098-2008-05-02.html>

member of the media group Grupo Clarín, to which *Página 12* belongs) is also a source on gender-related issues in Argentina. This evidences that *Página 12* is in fact respected by other organizations, which take material from it in order to, as in this case, provide people with statistics about women's violence in Argentina. That is, *Página 12* is considered to be a newspaper which takes concrete steps to denounce women's violence at the hands of men (demonstrated, for example, by the newspaper article "Never Again"), and serves as a reliable source for others, like the site "No + violence against women". Nevertheless, the fact that it belongs to a corporate media group – which owns many media (e.g. press, TV, radio, and digital) apart from *Clarín* newspaper – casts doubt on Mansilla's self presentation as distinct from those "same media which reproduce the prejudices that are on top of them now" (part of quote **3.10** above); the existence of Grupo Clarín shows, however, that the targets of Mansilla's criticism might be owned by the same hands which own *Página 12*. While acknowledging the respect other institutions have toward *Página 12*, the discussion so far demonstrates that representations are never neutral (e.g. Carbajal *chooses* to focus on the voice of the Inadi and not on members of Wichí communities – Articles 1 and 2), which makes the fostering and practice of educommunication all the more relevant at a time when the news has, more than ever before, "a social, a political and an educational role" (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).

3.1.5 Article 5

Article 5's headline reads "*It is a Shameful Sentence, Which Makes Us Very Sad*". It dates from April 9, 2008 and its author is Emilio Ruchansky. Like all the articles analyzed so far, it belongs to the "Society" section of the newspaper. The deck reads: "Women's Organizations Harshly Questioned the Sentence". The article is 709 words long.

Ruchansky is presenting the voices of different organizations “stunned” by the court’s decision. Romina Tejerina got pregnant after she was raped. After giving birth to the baby, in the bathroom of her sister’s house, she killed it and was sentenced to 14 years in prison for this crime. As Ruchansky anticipates in the deck, the report presents the opinions of women’s organizations which are protesting Tejerina’s fate at the hands of the Supreme Court of Justice in Argentina. Therefore, four women are cited throughout the article; specifically, Graciela Tejero, from the “Commission for the Defence of Romina Tejerina”; Magui Belloti, from the “Women’s Association of Work and Study” (ATEM in Spanish); Olga Cristiano, from “Women of the Left”; and Marta Rosemberg, from the “Forum for Reproductive Health”.

A photograph of a demonstration for the liberation of Romina Tejerina is present below the headline. Two signs are in the foreground, as if held by demonstrators, showing Tejerina’s face above a message which reads: “We demand the liberation of Romina Tejerina”. Unlike the other articles analyzed, this photograph is accompanied by a caption, which states: “The women’s organizations were demanding Romina’s freedom”.

3.1.5.1 Looking Into Article 5

Graciela Tejero’s words make up most of the first two paragraphs of Ruchansky’s article. In the third and fourth paragraphs, Ruchansky quotes Magui Belloti, whom he describes as “someone who is recognized by her peers as one of the historic feminists in Argentina”. The fifth and sixth paragraphs are devoted to Olga Cristiano’s opinions while in the seventh and eighth paragraphs Ruchansky makes room for Marta Rosemberg’s voice. The journalist allows the four women’s voices in by means of mostly direct quotes; at the same time, as in Article 4, there are many instances of integrated citations that, while part of longer stretches of indirect reporting, constitute segments signalled as direct or literal cites by use of typographic marking (Calsamiglia

and López Ferrero, 2003). For example, Graciela Tejero's voice is fused with the journalist's own wording in **3.13**:

3.13 *It is a simulated execution*, was the first definition by Graciela Tejero, from the Commission for the Defence of Romina Tejerina. *Imagine what it's like for Romina [...]* *A year and a half ago, it was also said she was going to be freed*, reminded Tejero.

In turn, he fuses his voice with that of Magui Belloti's in **3.14**:

3.14 Magui Belloti deemed the sentence *deplorable, above all, because there are two women at the Supreme Court*. Her anger, she admitted, springs from the support she herself and many other co-lawyers gave Carmen Argibay, *who identified herself as a feminist*, for her to hold her current position in the Judiciary [...]. The women's movement, Belloti concluded, *is receiving a hard blow*, with this decision.

Through the conspicuous presence of the "literal" opinions of these four women (whose existence and work readers might come to learn about through the journalist's piece), Ruchansky can be seen as fostering readers' involvement with his article. Deborah Tannen (1989) explains that "the casting of ideas as the speech of others is an important source of emotion in discourse" (26) – i.e. emotion leads to involvement, which, in turn, leads to readers' further appropriation of texts. This emotion-creation is further reinforced by Ruchansky's inclusion of expressions (present in the voices he quotes) which can be considered "tropes", i.e. "figures of speech that operate on meaning" (Tannen (1989) referring to Sapir and Friedrich's definition). For example, he employs – through the women's opinions – expressions like "*a simulated execution*", "*political bulldozing*", "*they passed the buck*", "*the women's movement is receiving a hard blow*", "*everything is crumbling*", "*everything is breaking into pieces*", "*legally pick on this girl*", and "*she ended up as the target of all the stabbing*". Rather than instances of language

communicated by “the logical processes of induction and deduction” (Tannen, 1989), these expressions constitute metaphorical language that helps the journalist to make his message sound familiar for readers (since, as Tannen points out, metaphors like these are commonplace in everyday talk), and consequently, might lead them to take his reporting at face value. In relation to this point, van Dijk (1988) explains that speakers use metaphors “to enhance the organization, and hence the attention, the storage, and retrieval of textual information by the listener/reader” (28). Not only through the expressions listed above, but also through the headline, “*It is a Shameful Sentence, Which Makes Us Very Sad*”, which overtly mentions two different emotions, i.e. shame and sadness, Ruchansky sets the personal tone of his article, fostering readers’ emotions and recall of its content and its outlook.

It is worth paying attention to the journalist’s wording to refer to Tejerina’s story, that is, his fusing of the four women’s voices together with his own in order to create a background to the court’s sentence. At the end of the first paragraph, Ruchansky writes:

3.15 [...] reminded Tejero, outraged by this *double violence*, social and judicial, suffered by the young woman who killed her newborn girl because, according to what she said at that time, she saw the face of the man who had raped her on the girl’s face.

The journalist’s inclusion of Tejero’s words “*double violence*” – together with his own specification of such violence, i.e. “social and judicial” – speaks of his agreement with the woman’s description of Romina’s life as fraught with different violence types (which might have played a decisive role in her killing of the girl). However, Ruchansky also appears to distance himself from Tejero’s depiction when he states “the young woman who killed her newborn girl because, **according to what she said at that time**, she saw the face of the man who had raped her on the girl’s face”. The phrase in boldface shows that the journalist is not positioning Romina

Tejerina's statement as a fact, but as her opinion. Thus, we might interpret this depiction as Ruchansky's casting doubt on the idea that the killing was justified; in turn, this indirect discredit of Tejerina's action might also cast doubt on the rape itself, i.e. her "justification" to kill her daughter. Compare how much more factual the same statement would sound without the boldface expression: i.e. "the young woman who killed her newborn girl because she saw the face of the man who had raped her on the girl's face". As in Ruchansky's version, there would be a causal relationship between the clauses without the qualifying, and somewhat discrediting, phrase "according to what she said at that time". At the same time, while Article 5 focuses on the female activists' opinions regarding Romina Tejerina's case – and therefore, it would be less representative of the voice of *Página 12* per se – other pieces in the newspaper maintain Ruchansky's detached positioning with respect to Tejerina's rape (i.e. the cause of her decision to kill the newborn baby). For instance, "Romina Tejerina, the young woman sentenced to 14 years in prison for killing her newborn baby, who, **she claimed**, was gestated after a rape"¹⁹; "Romina Tejerina, the young woman from Jujuy, who killed her newborn daughter that was, **as she stated**, the consequence of a rape"²⁰. The inclusion of framing expressions like "she claimed" and "as she stated" demonstrate that the newspaper is disengaging itself from the woman's own justification for her actions (which, in turn, sheds doubt on the occurrence of her rape in the first place).

Nevertheless, Ruchansky is still willing to maintain Tejero's initial idea with respect to the "double violence" inflicted on Romina Tejerina, as he continues to center on the notion –

¹⁹ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/sociedad/3-101698-2008-04-02.html>

²⁰ <http://www.pagina12.com.ar/diario/ultimas/20-86089-2007-06-05.html>

through the quotes he selects from the other three women – that the court’s decision has overlooked the destituteness surrounding Tejerina:

3.16 (Magui Belloti) [...] *They passed the buck. They did not take into account fundamental issues like the life and the contexts of people’s actions. It’s shameful but, above all, it makes us feel deep sadness for her,* admitted the lawyer.

3.17 (Olga Cristiano) *What a disgrace! I have the sensation everything is crumbling [...]* Tejerina’s case, the fight in favor of abortion, the unpunishable abortions, reproductive health – she enumerated – *everything is breaking into pieces [...]* The activist repeats that this is a *setback*, and senses that it all started when Cristina Fernandez took office.

3.18 (Marta Rosemberg) [...] there is a clear punishing position in Tejerina’s case, where both the origin and conditions of the pregnancy, *rather than being taken into account as mitigating circumstances, were considered as aggravating circumstances; it is as though they have decided to legally pick on this girl [...]* a loud-and-clear message for society at large, a message which evidences a commitment with those sectors that *favor the rights of the child over those of the mother, even when the latter is in a situation of extreme helplessness and abandonment.* Romina was never looked at or listened to by her relatives and neighbors [...] *Her testimony about the rape she suffered was also disallowed; they treat her as though it was a premeditated murder, it is dreadful –* remarked the psychoanalyst – *she ended up as the target of all the stabbing: everybody stabs her when they see her.*

The fact that Ruchansky allows these opinions in his report can be considered as proof of his own position (and the newspaper’s) against Romina Tejerina’s incarceration – proving, too, that he is willing to give minority voices a say. Note, as well, how these quotes bring up the theme

regarding the absence of justice in the Argentinean courts, particularly in cases of sexual violence. This notion is further highlighted phrases like the following: “[...] the attitude of the **Attorney General**, Esteban Righi, reflected this [**a political operation**] since at first, he declared the trial was **corrupt** and later he stated that everything was perfect”; “[...] the **Argentinean Justice** has **no credibility** whatsoever”; “[...] **Carmen Argibay**, who identified herself as **a feminist**, for her **to hold her current position** in the Judiciary”; “[...] it all started when **Cristina Fernandez** took office. The President says that she feels worried about being a woman; **we take that as a joke**”; “The **two (female) judges** at the Court, when they got the position there, **started to relativize everything** they once defended”; “**legally pick on** this girl”; and “Her **testimony about the rape** she suffered was also **disallowed**”. The level of specificity regarding the malfunction of the legal system in Argentina is high in this article as not only the president, but also the national district attorney and the female judges are overtly ascribed responsibility for Tejerina’s plight. That is, the injustice – like the incarceration of Romina Tejerina – appears to be substantiated by important members of the government, whose names are connected to notions like “corruption”, “lack of credibility”, “joking”, “relativizing”, and “singling out for bullying”. Such a representation is in line with what was found in the previous articles: sexual abuse is linked with lack of justice in Argentina.

It is noteworthy, however, that those making the accusations against the government belong to “women’s associations”. Notice how their viewpoints are overtly marked off by means of quotation marks²¹ – and through the article deck – which serves to position them as representative of a specific interest group only, not the stance of the majority. Therefore, while Ruchansky’s representation of Tejerina’s case projects an insider’s perspective, it is likely that

²¹ Signalled by means of italics in this work.

readers consider the women's opinions as powerless – and even too partial (note the use of expressions like “What a disgrace!”, “It's dreadful”, “It is lamentable”, which give the report an overtly subjective tone) – to bring about any change in favor of Tejerina. Such reading is reinforced by the framing verbs which Ruchansky employed to contextualize the women's words; e.g. “remind”, “stipulate”, “mention”, “deem”, “in her opinion”, “warn”, “repeat”, “sense”, “reflect”, and “remark”. All these verbs refer to mental processes, which – similar to what was found in the previous articles – relate to people who can only pass judgement on the victim's trial and not affect the reality brought about by the judges' decisions (and opinions), producing material effects – e.g. Tejerina's freedom. In a similar vein, the caption below the photograph, “The women's organizations were demanding Romina's freedom” could also be interpreted as the journalist's emphasis on what “women's organizations” wanted, which is not to be taken as representative of the goal sought by those who are *not* women or feminists, for example. Finally, another theme which emerges in this piece – similar to Articles 1, 2 and 3 – is the depiction of poverty (through the use of expressions like “social violence”, “the life and the contexts of people's actions”, “origin and conditions of the pregnancy” and “extreme helplessness and abandonment”) as closely related to the existence of violence against women in Argentina (and in this particular case, the province of Jujuy).

On the same day this piece was published, journalist Mariana Carbajal wrote an article titled “Human Trafficking, A New Crime for the Penal Code”. In it, apart from reporting on the details of the bill, the journalist gives voice to NGOs which object to a few of the items within the law. For example, Carbajal asserts that the main point they argue against has to do with victims who are older than 18 years of age who, according to what the bill states, must prove they were – among other things – deceived or violently forced into accepting their plight. This

piece reinforces the stance taken in Article 5, making room for dissident voices to speak out against both the government and the worsening of the injustices upon women.

The general conclusion I can draw from these analyses is that *Página 12* presents strong points regarding its coverage of violence against women by men, not only by including the voices of the victims – or their representatives – (Articles 1 through 5) and by providing detailed information as to who in the government might be taken as responsible for the crimes against women (Articles 1, 2, 4 and 5), but also by sticking to naming practices which do not further the naturalization of the violence (Articles 1 through 5). The journalists can be seen as taking concrete measures to denounce and challenge the existence of patriarchy in Argentina. However, all the pieces – overtly in all, except Article 4 – seem to link the existence of machismo with poor or marginalized people. This recurrent connection between poverty and sexual violence matches Jill Radford's (1992) explanation that sexual violence is often addressed in ways which suggest its commonplace status in minority groups (she referred to blacks, in particular), leading to the representation of these communities as pathological (8). As a consequence, the need for educommunication surfaces once again so that this underlying discourse can be pinpointed and denaturalized.

4.0 LA NACIÓN

4.1 HEURISTIC APPLIED

4.1.1 Background Articles

On November 21, 2007, *La Nación* published an editorial titled “The Figures on Domestic Violence are Worrisome”²². The deck establishes the focus of the article: “Report by Amnesty”; thus, the piece centers on a 14-point petition drawn up by Amnesty International addressed to the Argentinean government. The organization is presented as demanding that the fight against “domestic violence” be adopted as a national policy. Then, “domestic violence” is narrowed in scope to “violence against women”: “last year, the number of reports on cases of violence against women increased in the capital and Buenos Aires province”.

In the following paragraph, the term “family violence” is preferred about the discussion of the 26,631 reports filed in Buenos Aires throughout 2006. However, a quote by the executive director of Amnesty International Argentina returns to the concept of “violence against women”: “This is an indication that the violence against women in Argentina constitutes a serious problem. However, we do not know if we deal with an increase in the cases or, instead, women

²² http://www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=964200

are now daring to denounce the violence”. The piece goes on to indicate that the petition was presented during the opening of an art exhibition about “domestic violence”. The editorial finishes by stating: “The document makes reference to the need for the government to adopt the fight against gender violence as a national policy; the violence is very often institutional since it discourages women from denouncing it”.

With this editorial, *La Nación* appears to hold “domestic violence”, “family violence”, “violence against women”, and “gender violence” as synonymous expressions, or at least, it is as though the newspaper does not take an explicit stance regarding which term it prefers to others (cf *Página 12*’s article “How to Say It”). At the same time, two positions are brought up regarding the silencing of the violence. On the one hand, women are depicted (through the voice of the executive director of Amnesty International) as silent about the violence they suffer from; on the other hand, women’s silence is linked to the fact that gender violence is “institutional”, therefore it is official institutions, not women, that do not take action against it. When looking into the articles dealing with specific cases of women who suffer from abuses at the hands of men, it will be worth paying attention to the naming practices and the position regarding violence-silencing that the newspaper favors.

On December 3, 2007, the newspaper published an opinion article titled “Family Violence: Unveil What is Hidden”²³, about the Non-Violence against Women Day, which is celebrated on 25 November. The article establishes that the “promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment, i.e. the third of the Millennium Development Goals for 2015 is one which is barely attended to nowadays”. After presenting a brief account on why the day is

²³ http://www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=967606

commemorated on 25 November, while pointing out that Argentina is no exception regarding the lack of attention paid to this goal, the article reports that between 75 to 90 percent of victims of “family violence” are women, and 80 percent of the cases involve their own partners as victimizers. While in the editorial referred to above, “gender violence” is depicted as being institutional, in this opinion article, the term used is “family violence”, instead; that is, the sentences reads “Amnesty International demands that the fight against **family violence** be adopted as a national policy; the violence is very often institutional since it discourages women from denouncing”. Afterwards, the piece states that “[...] according to the Human Rights Secretary in Buenos Aires province, 70 percent of the telephone calls received at the 911 line has to do with situations of gender violence, which implies a total of 9,000 to 11,000 cases per month”. The article then focuses on the role played by official institutions in fostering women’s silence-breaking. The opening of an office on domestic violence at the National Supreme Court is given as example of a positive measure taken by the government to “start making the invisible visible”. Up until now, then, it is once again apparent that the newspaper does not support the use of one term over others to refer to women abused by men. The substitution of family violence for gender violence in the same sentence is a case in point. However, a new stance appears to emerge in this article: *La Nación* depicts the national government as taking concrete measures in favor of the eradication of the violence; it will be worth paying attention to, thus, whether or not this position is maintained in the five articles under study.

Moreover, through the final paragraph in the article the newspaper portrays itself as a committed fighter of the violence: “The media must duplicate the role of communicators, denouncing case after case, making our contribution so that the Argentine society stops turning its back to an evil reality, which is a sign of how internally sick society is. This violence does not

pertain to its victims and its victimizers only; this scourge undermines the foundations of the community where it develops, leading it to its definite disappearance”. Expressions like “evil reality”, “sick society” and “scourge”, while connoting how negative gender violence is, also dematerialize it with an abstract and metaphorical representation. Such abstract representation contradicts the article’s call for the media to intensify their role as communicators, “denouncing case after case”, i.e. taking concrete action. Nevertheless, this final paragraph allows *La Nación* to position itself as a committed participant in the fight against gender/family/domestic violence.

Finally, it is worth noting that on May 21, 2006, the Sunday “magazine” of *La Nación* published a 2,095-word long article titled “Abusive Men, Beaten Women”²⁴. In this piece, journalist Fabiana Scherer gives voice to victims and victimizers of “family violence”. She introduces different voices throughout the article: those of women who suffered extreme violence at the hands of their husbands (some of them are divorced, some are still with their husbands); those of men who feel repentant and have made a pledge to stop their abusive behavior; and those of specialists from different institutions. The journalist takes issue with media reporting which employs the expression “crime of passion” to refer to men’s violence against women and also provides statistical data that prove most of the aggressors are the women’s partners or husbands. She also mentions that, though less frequently occurring, men can also be abused by their wives, and gives voice to a man who suffered from such violence. With this long piece, *La Nación* appears to present itself as joining in the efforts made by different institutions to fight against family violence. However, while emphasis is placed on the

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http://www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=806876&high=hombres%20maltratadores%20mujeres%20golpeadas

change, for the better, experienced by women who decided to put an end to their violent marriages (a photograph of a woman with a broad smile on her face reinforces the notion of “change for the better”), the general depiction of family violence appears to be made from an angle of men’s repentance and women’s forgiveness. The main story, with which Scherer starts and finishes her piece, is of a man who stopped his abusive behavior, having promised his wife and children never to be violent again. While the concept “change for the better” still underlies this story, the focus is on the efforts this couple has made to remain “together”. A large photograph showing the man leaning on the woman’s shoulder reinforces a message of union despite trouble.

As with *Página 12*, it is now time to turn to the articles dealing with *specific* cases of women who suffer from violence at the hands of men. As mentioned above, this analysis will allow us to see whether or not the opinions stated in the three background articles just presented are maintained.

4.1.2 Articles 6 and 7

Article 6 is headlined “A 29-year-old Woman is Murdered in a Private Neighborhood”. It is from January 18, 2008 and is located in the “General Information” section (note that this is the story which *Página 12* also featured on the day Article 3 was published). The other sections in the newspaper are: “Politics”, “Economics”, “Sports”, “International”, “Entertainment”, “Opinion”, “Science and Health”, and “Culture”. The author is staff journalist Hernán Cappiello who, in the article deck, gives information about the location of the crime: “In Exaltación de la Cruz” (a town in the province of Buenos Aires). As summarized in these headlines, the journalist reports on the murder of a woman in a town that is 73 km away from Buenos Aires capital. The article

is 663 words long. There is a photograph of the victim, Rosana Edith Galeano, in her wedding dress, getting out of a car; the caption reads: “Rosana, on the day of her wedding with Juan Arce, one of the main suspects”. The lead is made up of one sentence only, which states: “It is believed to have been a crime of passion”.

Article 7 deals with the same case. I have decided to include two articles about Rosana Galeano (or Galliano – explanation forthcoming) because it has been reported on – according to the search I did in the newspaper online archive – eighteen times (between 01/17/08 and 04/17/08). Such a large number of articles devoted to her case (as opposed to what happens with most cases, which tend to be reported on only once) speaks of a special interest on the part of *La Nación* to follow the findings associated with it – demonstrating, once again, the powerful position the press holds in deciding which specific news events should (and should not) be in the public eye. At the same time, I considered that focusing on the reporting done on Galeano’s murder in another piece (while also skimming through the other articles published) would allow me to conduct a more complete analysis, particularly due to the presence of noticeable changes in the newspaper’s depiction of the crime.

Article 7, published on February 7, 2008, is headlined “*Everything Leads to Arce as the Author*”. Like Article 6, it is part of the section “General Information”. This time, the piece centers on the declarations made by the victim’s parents and by José Arce’s mother regarding Rosana Galliano’s murder. It has no specific author; it is 601 words and there is no visual input.

4.1.2.1 Looking Into Article 6

The second paragraph in Article 6 (located immediately after the lead) starts with an interjection in italics – “*Oh!*” – which Cappiello presents as: “a scream, with signs of fright and surprise, was the last word by Rosana Edith Galeano, 29 years of age, before she received four shots in the her

heart”. Information about both the victim’s house and the weapon employed in her murder is specified in this paragraph as well. The former is described as “a villa in the neighborhood El Remanso, of the town Exaltación de la Cruz”, and the latter as “a 45-caliber handgun”.

The third paragraph reads:

4.1 The young woman had lived in that house since she and her husband, Juan Arce, 59 years of age, split up approximately one year ago. Now the investigators are on the trail of a crime of passion, for which they investigate the victim’s ex-husband and a gardener, who, it is believed, frequented²⁵ the (young) woman murdered, as was stated by judicial sources to *La Nación*.

It is important to note that the journalist employs the concept of “crime of passion” twice in the first section of the article (i.e. in its lead and in **4.1**) allowing for readers’ better recall of this specific information since, as explained by van Dijk (1989), topics – usually expressed in the headline and lead of news reports – are “important in the effective interpretation, storage and recall of information” (209). In turn, the expression “crime of passion” can be connected to the notion of “men’s socially acceptable ‘compelling’ and ‘uncontrollable’ sexual impulses” (Hyden and McCarthy, 1994), which Susan Ehrlich (1998) brings up in her analysis of sexual assault adjudication processes (156). Ehrlich’s data correspond to instances of acquaintance or date rape, and therefore, there was no murder involved; however, the feature of hegemonic masculinity (Ehrlich, 1998) that positions men’s violence against women as “natural” can also be found in the article from *La Nación*. If Cappiello depicts Rosana Galeano’s murder at the hands of a man as the result of the latter’s “passion”, the journalist is portraying the crime as originating in the

²⁵ While in English the verb “frequent” is used with a place as its object, I have decided to employ it with a person as its object in order for the message to be similar to the Spanish original.

man's instincts and/or strong desires – i.e. uncontrollable behavior. Such portrayal, then, contributes to the attribution of a sense of “naturalness” and “helplessness” of the woman's murder or of “culpability” in her own murder. In turn, this description may – indirectly – lead readers to condone the murderer, as “he was not in control of his actions”. Consequently, Cappiello's early depiction of Galeano's killing as a “crime of passion” is convenient in terms of readers' ability to remember it as such, while it also helps to maintain the concept – within hegemonic masculinity – of men's “natural” violence toward women.

It is worth remembering that in the article called “Abusive Men, Beaten Women”, Fabiana Scherer takes issue with media reporting that employs the expression “crime of passion” to refer to men's violence against women. This can be related to Ehrlich and King's (1998) assertion that an *organization's* commitment in favor of non-sexist language is fundamental: “language reform is less successful when it is left to the discretion of the individual to abide by the policy or not and when the speech community in question displays sexist values” (177). Accordingly, it appears that Scherer's opinion is not backed by the newspaper's “institutional” stance (e.g. through style guidelines) regarding the usage of sexist terms; instead, Scherer's depiction might result from her individual decision to avoid patriarchal referring expressions like “crime of passion”. Cappiello, who is a man writing in the “General Information” section of the newspaper, does not seem to agree.

Moreover, other than the term “crime of passion”, Cappiello refers to Galeano's death as “homicide” – “the homicide occurred at 9:50 pm – and “murder” – “A 29-year-old woman **was murdered**” and “the woman **murdered**”. It is worth highlighting that the term “femicide” is not employed at all. Such absence might attract readers' attention, particularly if they take into

account that on May 21, 2006, the newspaper magazine issued a piece called “Femicides”²⁶ (which was related to the main article – referred to above –, titled “Abusive Men, Beaten Women”). In “Femicides”, sociologist Silvia Chejter wrote that 1,284 women were killed in the province of Buenos Aires between 1997 and 2003. Chejter asserted: “These crimes should be seen within the larger context of relations of power and control over women – characteristic of patriarchal cultures – with their multiple mechanisms to silence and inflict violence. In order to refer to their sexist features, the term “femicides” is employed: a concept that wants to indicate the social and widespread traits of the violence based on gender inequity”. The fact that *La Nación* has already published an article making room for a sociologist’s explanation on what constitutes a “femicide” might be seen as the newspaper’s general positioning in favor of specificity when it comes to the killing of women because they are women. However, the piece “Femicides” could also be considered as one way for the newspaper to pay lip service to the topic of “misogynous killing of women by men” (Radford, 1992), as their reporting style is not always consistent with such position. While the fact that Capiello does not employ the term “femicide” cannot be taken as the sole indication of the newspaper’s insubstantial representation of the violence inflicted on women by men, it is a combination of features in the report – e.g. Capiello’s portrayal of a woman’s murder as either an outburst of male passion or her own responsibility together with the newspaper’s ambiguity regarding which referring expressions it equates with “gender violence” (as was pointed out in the background articles) – that further

²⁶ <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/806876>

supports the claim that the journalist's avoidance of the term "femicide" might respond to the newspaper's adherence to a larger discourse in favor hegemonic masculinity²⁷.

Fasold et al (1990) considered this type of situation in a study that focused on gender differences in *The Washington Post*, concluding that even when general policies lead to reduction in sexist reporting, they do not necessarily mean its eradication. While *La Nación*'s piece about femicides – which was not written by a staff journalist of the newspaper but by a sociologist contributing her short (212 words) addendum to the main article – could be taken as the newspaper's concrete involvement against the violence men inflict on women (recall the newspaper's self-positioning as a committed fighter against the silencing of family violence in the background article "Family Violence: Unveil What is Hidden"), Cappiello's avoidance of the term "femicide" (preferring "crime of passion", instead) provides evidence for what Fasold et al found in their study: "there are more subtle ways of representing women as helpless, decorative, and in general to be taken less seriously than men" (537).

In turn, this *seemingly* gender-conscious reporting is made more obvious with Cappiello's depiction of the victim as a beautiful woman who incited someone to murder her:

4.2 [...] they investigate the victim's ex-husband and a gardener, who, it is believed, frequented the (young) woman murdered, as was stated by judicial sources to *La Nación*

²⁷ At the same time, while the piece "Femicides" was written by a sociologist, which might signal that not all the journalists from this newspaper might know that "femicide" is a possible word, the fact that the newspaper allowed this article to be published is an indication that the term is not completely unknown to all of its members, and thus, I consider its use (or not) as a choice that journalists in *La Nación* can make when reporting on a case of a woman killed by a man.

[...] There was Rosana, a young mother of two children, aged 6 and 3, blond, slender, with delicate manners, quiet and highly esteemed in her neighborhood.

As 4.2 shows, the victim is first portrayed as someone who had a relationship with a married man (later in the article, readers are told that “The gardener declared that he was home with his wife and children at the time of the crime”); therefore, her own actions were in the wrong. Note that the verb choice “frequent” further reinforces the notion of Galeano’s culpability, since it depicts her relationship with the gardener as occurring during an extended period of time. Besides, she is also described as an attractive woman, whose manners were approved of by her community. This representation of the woman murdered leads to her objectification, as pointed out by Jill Radford (1992), and similar to what Fasold et al concluded, through which “she becomes an object that can be disposed of or easily replaced” (5). Thus, the journalist “objectifies” Rosana Galeano by presenting her as being almost an epitome of what hegemonic masculinity expects a woman to be like – i.e. a blond, slender, and quiet, young mother, with good social skills – placing most of the emphasis on her outer features. The photograph showing Galeano in her wedding dress further stresses the message that she abided by heteronormative values which, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) assert, prescribe that “marriage is the legal and moral foundation of a family”, i.e. an important formal institution for the maintenance of the (heteronormative) gender order (47). Both portrayals of the victim (i.e. Galeano as an unfaithful wife and Galeano as an attractive, quiet – but sociable – young mother), nevertheless, seem to converge on the same message: whether or not women abide by a patriarchal system of values – which, among others, condemns women’s (not men’s) extramarital relations while expects women to be beautiful (“blond, slender”), submissive (“delicate manners, quiet”) and friendly (“highly esteemed in her neighborhood”), they are still killed, i.e. they are disposable objects.

Such message appears to be in line with Crenshaw's (quoted in Ehrlich, 1998) characterization of a social stance that is "overwhelmingly directed toward interrogating and discrediting the woman's character on behalf of maintaining a considerable range of sexual prerogatives for men" (150). Ehrlich's usage of Crenshaw's words is related to the requirement of "utmost resistance", i.e. "if a woman did not resist a man's sexual advances to the utmost, then rape was considered not to have occurred", which was a criterion for the crime of rape until the 1950s and 1960s in Canada and the US. Ehrlich explains that the discourse of utmost resistance has not disappeared altogether, but has a new manifestation – i.e. "miscommunication" (recall the reference to it made in the discussion of Article 3) – which also blames women for the violence inflicted upon them by men. Consequently, Cappiello's article is evidence that in present-day Argentina, the discourse of blaming women for the violence they suffer from at the hands of men enjoys currency. As Jill Radford (1992) claims, "femicide, [...] as represented in the media, is surrounded by the mythology of woman blaming. It is women's behaviour that is scrutinized and found wanting when measured against men's idealized constructions of femininity and standards of female behaviour" (6). While it is Rosana Galeano who has been killed, the way in which the journalist describes both the woman herself and her murder allows for her general presentation as a promiscuous woman (probably because of her beauty) whose own (inappropriate) actions triggered uncontrollable (natural) passions in the man who killed her (or had her killed).

The quoting practices used by Cappiello in the article also work in favor of Rosana Galeano's portrayal as responsible for her own murder. Jill Radford (1992) refers to a form of "victimology" – the notion of blaming women, who are victims of femicide, for their own deaths – which has been "most powerful in explaining violence against women": "[...] women ask for

it, enjoy it, or provoke it in how we dress, what we say, how we behave” (5). Accordingly, the following excerpt ties in with quote 4.1 in its portrayal of Rosana Galeano as guilty of her own murder:

4.3 The testimonies of two neighbors led investigators to another suspect, a gardener who lives in a villa in which he is supposedly squatting, very near the victim’s house. The cues that led to his interrogation until late last night [...] were **the reports by witnesses who claim** that one of the reasons for **Rosana’s** separation was that *she had started a relationship with the gardener* (emphasis mine).

Note how all these quotes belong to “anonymous collective bodies”, a practice which, according to Zelizer (1989), sets “a stage that allows, even facilitates, potentially uncritical decodings of news” (373). In this case, such uncritical interpretation would be associated with the notion of Galeano’s promiscuity, and therefore, her own misconduct leading to her murder. Moreover, see how the journalist refers to the victim as “Rosana”, which, as pointed out by Mercedes Bengoechea (2006), is an example of a discriminatory practice involving the usage of colloquial expressions to name women, but not men, in the press and other mass media, which, in turn, stresses the objectification of the victim that this journalist appears to be favoring. Here, differently from what was noted in Article 3, Rosana’s subaltern agency is not the focus since the overall negative depiction made about her alludes, instead, to her provocation of her own murder. Note, as well, that “the gardener” is not referred to by name at all, but by his job, which can be taken as an indication of the newspaper’s disadvantageous representation not only of women but also of poorer people, who belong to marginalized places in society (elaboration on this theme forthcoming).

One specific source is also cited by Cappiello, however. The voice of Marcelo Pernici, the district attorney in charge of Galeano's case is indirectly quoted in: "The district attorney Pernici told *La Nación* that people close to the victim are being investigated". van Dijk (1988) states that "the form aspect of news rhetoric is fully geared to the goal of putting specific content in evidence by the various relevance or prominence enhancing features of the news" (84). Among these features is the way in which news discourse emphasizes "the factual nature of events" by "using evidence from close eyewitnesses" and "using evidence from other reliable sources" (84). Accordingly, the article focuses on, for example, "The testimonies of two neighbors", "the reports by witnesses" (4.3), and also on what "was stated by judicial sources to *La Nación*" (4.2) or by the district attorney, "The district attorney, Pernici, told *La Nación*". This emphasis on "objectivity" is also exemplified by Cappiello's use of various impersonal constructions (some are translated into passive sentences in English; note the absence of agency specification brought about with these structures). For instance: "A 29-year-old woman is murdered" (headline); "It is believed to have been a crime of passion" (lead); "who [...] it is believed, frequented the (young) woman murdered" (4.1); "people close to the victim are being investigated". While choices like "A 29-year-old woman is murdered" and "It is believed to have been a crime of passion" might correspond to the fact that the murderer had not been identified at the time the article was published, their interplay with wording like "crime of passion", "Rosana", "blond, slender, with delicate manners" together with quoting strategies granting credibility to the report through the opinions of anonymous collective bodies underline the portrayal of the victim as responsible for her own killing.

While Cappiello explicitly mentions two murder suspects, i.e. the woman's ex-husband and a gardener, it is worth paying attention to the way in which he represents them: "The first

indications targeted Juan Arce, the ex-husband, who had a restraining order preventing him from coming close to his ex-wife, but allowing him to be with his children”. The fact that Arce was judicially banned from getting near his ex-wife might have been the result of Galeano’s having taken concrete measures – e.g. by filing a report – to distance herself from Arce. This action, in turn, alludes to violence on his part. However, the excerpt “who had a restraining order preventing him from coming close to his ex-wife” is a subordinate clause and as such, its content is not foregrounded but rather is presented by Cappiello as an aside. At the same time, this point appears to be overshadowed by other information given by the journalist about Arce’s advantageous financial status and his committed fatherhood:

4.4 The man has four houses in Pilar, drives a pick-up truck and is in the egg-sales business [...] He could prove that, at the time of the homicide, he was in the Pilar Hospital, where a pediatrician examined one of his children, who had a fever.

Note that in the headline, the journalist uses “private neighborhood”, which points to “rich households” in Argentina. The notion of Arce’s economic prosperity is also reinforced when the journalist, as quote **4.1** shows, informs readers that the victim had lived in that area since her divorce, further highlighting the suspect’s well-off position. Thus, Cappiello’s reporting style appears to portray the “main suspect” in a manner which not only positions Arce as a hard-working and caring father, but also stresses his favorable economic standing. Even when his possible guilt is not denied altogether, it is mitigated by this representation around the notions of economic prosperity and committed fatherhood, which proves Cameron’s (1989) and Ehrlich’s (2001) point regarding the importance of paying attention not only to sexist terms (e.g. “crime of passion”) but also to the combination of other linguistic features (e.g. subordinate clauses) that,

when put together, construct reality in sexist and androcentric ways. In turn, it is also worth paying attention to the overall representation the journalist makes of the other suspect:

4.5 [...] they investigate the victim's ex-husband and a gardener, who, it is believed, frequented the (young) woman murdered; The testimonies of two neighbors led investigators to another suspect, a gardener who lives in a villa in which he is supposedly squatting, very near the victim's house; [...] were the reports by witnesses who claim that one of the reasons for Rosana's separation was that she had started a relationship with the gardener; The gardener declared that he was home with his wife and children at the time of the crime.

Notice that her "alleged" lover's name is not specified anywhere in the article; instead, Cappiello chooses to refer to him as "the gardener". At the same time, he is depicted as "a gardener who lives in a villa in which he is supposedly squatting", linking the idea of lack of economic resources with extreme violence against women. Therefore, this suspect is depicted in more negative terms than Arce, not only because he is presented as taking part in illegal/immoral actions (squatting in a house, cheating on his wife) but also because he is identified by his job rather than by his full name. Such a representation might be connected with the notion of marginality and language use. Disenfranchised social environments were identified by Robin Lakoff (2004) as conditioning the kind of language their members produce. Rather than through an analysis of the type of language used by "the gardener", it is the journalist's negative linguistic representation of *this* suspect that may induce readers to accuse him instead of Arce.

As readers can see, while the victim is portrayed as a woman who met the patriarchal standards of beauty, youth and good manners, she is also presented (e.g. through the journalist's choice of quoting practices) as a promiscuous woman who was "frequented" by her ex-

husband's gardener. Thus, Capiello's reporting taps into what Radford (1992) calls "the mythology of woman blaming", which positions women as provokers of their own deaths. In turn, Galeano's murder is presented as a "crime of passion", which has the effect of both naturalizing the victimizer's extreme violence by alluding to his uncontrollable passions and positioning the woman as arousing those criminal passions in the man. In accordance with this reporting style, nowhere does the journalist use the term "femicide" to refer to Galeano's murder, which, in turn, matches his decision to inform readers about the existence of a restraining order by means of subordinate clause, thus stripping the history of violence of any importance. Last, the main suspect is favourably represented, through references to his advantageous economic standing and his committed fatherhood, while a second suspect is positioned in more negative terms – e.g. he is referred to as "the gardener" rather than by his full name – highlighting the link between crime and poverty. Nevertheless, the general emphasis, through the effects brought about by the naming, citing and agency choices employed by Capiello, is placed on the belittlement of Galeano's death, portraying it as something she herself instigated.

On the same day this article was published, a piece titled "Memories of the Lewinsky's Scandal Return", which deals with what is described as "the greatest sexual scandal" that ever shocked the United States at a time when Hillary Clinton was campaigning for the presidency of the country. The sexual references in the Clinton/Lewinsky's case might be seen as exacerbating the sexual connotations of Rosana Galeano's murder; i.e. her immoral (sexual) behaviour provoked her own death. Moreover, another piece, called "It May Have Been a Serial Rapist who Attacked the Teacher from Núñez" was also featured on the same day. While detailed information will be provided about this article since it belongs to the data of this thesis, suffice it

to say for now that it deals with a case of “stranger rape” which might also add to the sexual overtones related to Galeano’s death.

4.1.3 Looking Into Article 7

The headline – “*Everything Leads to Arce as the Author*” – is a quote that is attributed to the lawyer of the Galliano family, information which is made evident immediately after the headline, in the lead: “This was stated by the lawyer of the Galliano family, the victim’s parents declared today and the mother of the widower’s, José Arce”. The first feature that stands out in this article is the obvious change in the victim’s last name. The fact that it was first spelled “Galeano” (Article 6) and was then changed to “Galliano” may be explained by van Dijk (1988):

Text processing [...] implies that most of the information used to write a news text comes in discourse form: reports, declarations [...], press releases, [...] and so on [...] Events usually become known through the already coded and interpreted discourses of others, most prominently through the dispatches of news agencies (96 - 97).

Consequently, the change in the victim’s name might indicate that, after her murder, journalists from *La Nación* were not present at the crime scene, but rather, they must have obtained information about it – erroneous at that – from an agency dispatch, for instance. Readers might consider the change in names as a consequence of the “intertextuality” of the discourse of the press (Fairclough, 1995).

As anticipated in the headline and in the lead, the article is mostly made up of quotes, and the person whose opinions are given voice predominantly is Roberto Babington, the lawyer for the Galliano family. Other than in the headline, he is cited six times (two indirect and four direct

quotes) in the first part of the article (through the first seven, out of thirteen, paragraphs). For example:

4.6 The lawyer of Rosana Galliano's family asserted today that the only way to elucidate the homicide is by ordering Arce's detention. *Due to the legal proceedings, there is no other way to solve the crime. I believe the entire country has made up their mind about the existence of an instigator and a perpetrator of the crime. In this lawsuit, there is no further possibility*, said the lawyer Roberto Babington to the press.

As these words demonstrate – and because of both their location and their connection with the headline and the lead (van Dijk 1988) – *La Nación* appears to be pointing to Arce's culpability in Galliano's killing. However, another quote by the lawyer minimizes Arce's responsibility in the murder, as Babington is cited saying: "*We do not target anyone in particular, we work with all there is objective in the lawsuit, and we'll proceed from there*", he explained". Notice that first the (unspecified) journalist quotes the lawyer declaring "I believe the entire country has made up their mind about the existence of an instigator", only to subsequently mitigate the accusation by employing "We do not target anyone in particular". While these words were declared by the lawyer himself, the journalist is structuring and embedding them in his/her own reporting. Barbie Zelizer (2004) points out that journalists are involved in active "acts of negotiation, power brokering, and resource management", rather than "holding up a mirror to events" (14). As the article unfolds, the recipient of the journalist's finger-pointing gradually switches from Arce to Rosana Galliano and, at the end, to another woman, Arce's mother.

Through the quotes employed, Rosana Galliano's representation – like in Article 6 – revolves around the idea of her promiscuous life:

4.7 About the declarations made by his client, Babington maintained that *the district attorney listened carefully to all that Mr. Reinaldo knew about the relationships, situations and incidents before the event.*

4.8 At the same time, Reinaldo Galliano said that now he has finished declaring, he feels more at ease. *I unburdened myself of the things I knew about my daughter [...]* and he added: *I hope all is solved soon. The Justice is doing a good job.*

Expressions like “the relationships, situations and incidents before the event” and “[...] unburdened myself of the things I knew about my daughter” have the effect of depicting Rosana Galliano as a woman who was involved in disreputable activities, which, in turn, were a burden for her father. Kate Clark (1998) declares that all women’s lives are affected by acts of violence (by actual violence or by fear of it) committed by men. Therefore, she views the analysis of newspaper messages as key for a disclosure of the ideology underpinning such violence; for instance, by concentrating on the linguistic strategies which transfer the blame from men to women: “Often language is used to convey blame subtly, with the motivating value system only subliminally present, so that an analysis of that language is not an end in itself, but a way of decodifying and laying bare the patterns of blame” (183). Accordingly, the representation around the notion of the “burden” (**4.8**) might be an indication that *La Nación* positions the victim’s father – in line with a patriarchal society – as oppressed by his own daughter’s reproachable actions: the man, having talked about these (to another man, i.e. the district attorney), has ridden himself of a burden and feels at ease.

While, as the author tells his/her readers, Rosana Galliano’s mother made her own declaration as well, the journalist (not surprisingly) does not allow her voice into the article: “When Reinaldo Galliano finished his declaration, his wife Graciela – and mother of Rosana –

entered the district attorney's office to do the same thing". Only her first name is used, while her identity is expressed in terms of her being the wife of Reinaldo Galliano and the mother of "Rosana" – which once again points to the asymmetrical practices (Bengoechea, 2006) preferred by the press to refer to women. Besides, the lawyer refers to Galliano's father as "Mr. Reinaldo" (there is a second instance in which the lawyer is cited employing only "Reinaldo"), which, as opposed to the depiction of the victim and her mother (not only due to the inclusion of the father's own voice but also because the lawyer is cited referring to Reinaldo Galliano, but not to the victim's mother), has the effect of representing closeness between the victim's father and both the family's lawyer and even the district attorney (with whom it was relieving for Reinaldo Galliano to speak – he "unburdened" himself).

A woman's voice is, in the end, included in the article: the mother of José Arce, Elsa Aguilar. She is quoted saying: *"I loved her very much. She was my grandchildren's mother. I don't know who could have killed her"*. However, immediately after this quote, the article author states:

4.9 Sources of the investigation indicated to Télam that Pernici had Aguilar's patrimony, her accounts and even her trips (as she lived many years in the United States) inspected. According to these sources, Aguilar is the maker of the Arce family's wealth and one of the investigation lines points to her anger at Rosana, who was getting divorced from her son and wanted half of the assets, would have led her to participate in the plotting of the crime.

As discussed above, the inclusion of these indirect quotes further demonstrates that news reports often originate in other discourse forms, this time, in the dispatch of Télam, a news agency. Besides, they evidence press journalists' tendency to cite largely anonymous, collective bodies

(Zelizer, 1989) that, as pointed out by Fairclough (1998) stand for the viewpoints of official – and thereby powerful – institutions. These viewpoints are, thanks to the mediation of journalists, made available to the public, and are invested with popular force and resonance through language that is accessible to the target audience. That is, there occurs a naturalization of the voices of the powerful as if they were the voices of “common sense” (62 - 63). In this case, the quote by Reinaldo Galliano “The Justice is doing a good job” (4.8) conflates with the “sources of the investigation” (4.9) and with the notion of closeness between the victim’s family and the lawyers. Thus, the idea conveyed is that the legal system is on the right track, and consequently, its opinions (e.g. about Elsa Aguilar) are correct and commonsensical (recall the similar position taken by *La Nación* in the editorial “Family Violence: Unveil What is Hidden” where the newspaper depicts the national government as taking concrete measures in favor of the eradication of the violence). In turn, the fact that there is a change in the possible culprit, from José Arce to his mother – i.e. the bitter mother-in-law (as 4.9 indicates) – exemplifies what Kate Clark (1998) found in her analysis of crimes of sexual violence in the British tabloid *The Sun*: “the victim or another person (always a woman, incidentally) may be blamed” (183). It was already noted how Cappiello in Article 6, and the journalist in Article 7 blamed Rosana Galliano for (indirectly) provoking her own murder. Now it is her mother-in-law who might have plotted against the woman murdered.

Therefore, guilt has been transferred from Galliano to her mother-in-law (not without charging against Rosana Galliano again, since she “was getting divorced from her son and wanted half of the assets”), tapping into the gender stereotype which holds mothers-in-law as envious of their sons’ wives, always conspiring against the latter. Mary Talbot (2003) explains that “as a representational practice, stereotyping involves simplification, reduction, and

naturalization” (470). Therefore, the idea about the “cruel-mother-in-law” is added to the stereotype that holds attractive blondes as unfaithful to their husbands: i.e. this stereotype interplay leads to the depiction of Galliano’s murder as the result of “natural” anger, either from her ex-husband or from her mother-in-law. It is important to point out that on March 22, 2008, the newspaper published an interview headlined “*All Her Lovers Had Reasons to Murder Rosana*”²⁸ where José Arce is given voice exclusively. As the staff journalist Gustavo Carabajal indicates in the headline, the gist of the interview points to the different boyfriends the victim had, all of whom could have been involved in her murder. Arce’s innocence is further conveyed by the choice of photograph, which shows a smiling Arce holding his two sons in his arms. As this discussion demonstrates, the representation of Rosana Galliano as responsible for her crime is not limited to one article only, corroborating, then, the newspaper’s adherence to the myth of “woman blaming” (Radford, 1992). Fairclough (1985) asserts that “micro actions or events can in no sense be regarded as of merely local significance to the situations in which they occur, for any and every action contributes to the reproduction of macro structures” (746). Accordingly, by resorting to stereotypes about both the promiscuity of attractive blondes – and their consequent murder – along with the natural envy of mothers-in-law, *La Nación* helps to naturalize sexist, patriarchal values (macro structure) through language use (micro action).

Regarding other naming practices present in the article, it is worth highlighting that in referring to José Arce, apart from using his full name, the journalist uses the term “widower” more than “ex-husband” (4 to 1). This preference for the term “widower” emphasizes the man’s emotional attachment to the victim; he is someone who is in mourning after the loss of his

²⁸ http://www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=997741&high=rosana%20galliano

spouse. Nowhere is it mentioned, however, that there existed a restraining order banning Arce from coming close to Galliano. At the same time, never does the term “femicide” appear in this article (like Article 6). Moreover, despite the existence of the restraining order indicating a history of violence in the relationship, the terms chosen to represent the crime are “murder”, “homicide” and “crime”, which portray her killing as indistinct from a murder case without a background of male abuse. It is worth mentioning here that the expression “family violence” appears in three of the articles on this case published in January (close to the day of Galliano’s killing). In later pieces, however, the reporting makes no reference to the background of machismo (as evidenced in Article 7), and the perspective on her murder changes completely, as shown by an article headlined “Discovery in Arce’s Case”²⁹. This piece – the last one *La Nación* published on Galliano’s case (04/17/08) – depicts José Arce as collaborating in the judicial process by handing over the chip of the cell phone which belonged to Rosana Galliano (it is worth highlighting that until that date, no one had been found guilty of the woman’s murder). This headline actually casts doubt on who the victim is since the possessive phrase (i.e. “Arce’s case”) is not specific – in Spanish, at least – as to whether Arce is still considered the main suspect of Galliano’s killing or the person who suffers the most (recall the use of “widower”) after her murder, and he is even willing to help to find justice. Ehrlich (2001) asserts that “particular institutions make available or thwart certain definitions of masculinity or femininity” (10). In this case, the newspaper’s change of representational perspective – from “crime of passion” (Article 6), to “family violence” (three articles in January), to “crime”/“murder”/“homicide” (subsequent articles), to “Arce’s case” (last article) – appears to

²⁹ http://www.lanacion.com.ar/nota.asp?nota_id=1005059&high=Hallazgo%20caso%20Arce

allow achievement of two goals at the same time. On the one hand, it further obfuscates the issue of a probable femicide, depicting Galliano's killing as just one other murder. This description, in turn, might be taken as reinforcing the idea of women's helplessness at the hands of violent men as the history of male abuse is almost completely overlooked. On the other hand, it contributes to depicting the main suspect (and through extrapolation, all men) as the victim, whose "own case" – and no longer the murdered woman's case – deserves the attention of the press. Such a portrayal might help to reinforce the notion of naturalness regarding male aggression – and the possibility of getting away with crime.

In Article 7, then, the belittlement and objectification of women who are victims of male violence surface once again through the journalist's representational choices, among which, we can point to **1)** the recourse to negative stereotypes about women; **2)** the preference for male voices that stress the notion of women as provokers of the violence they suffer from, **3)** the absence of the term "femicide" – together with the backgrounding of the history of male abuse; and **4)** the depiction of men as emotionally affected, which turns them (e.g. Arce and Rosana Galliano's father) into victims (recall the notion of "unburdening" brought up through Reinaldo Galliano's quote and its consequent allusion to his daughter's improper behavior).

Looking at Article 7 in the context of the whole newspaper, an article headlined "A Young Woman is Found Dead in San Miguel" was also published on the same day in the "General Information" section as well. The short piece (with no specific author) deals with the case of an adolescent who had gone missing and was later found killed with her hands tied up in an empty lot in the town of San Miguel (NE of Buenos Aires province). The article specifies that the forensic specialists were requested to investigate whether or not the girl had also been raped. At the same time, an article called "When Being Single is Not an Honor", in the "Entertainment"

section of the newspaper, presents the movie “27 Dresses” (whose main protagonist finds happiness by becoming all her friends’ and relatives’ bridesmaid). At the start of his report about the movie storyline, Martínez states: “Getting married is the dream of almost every woman” (which might be taken as referring to the main theme of the film, but also, to what is upheld by the journalist, and in turn, the newspaper). What these articles seem to demonstrate is the importance that *La Nación* attaches to reporting about women killed in connection to extreme sexual violence while appearing to reinforce sexist stereotypes about what women are (or ought to be) like. When taken together, the content in each piece is reinforced by the other articles; therefore, the newspaper legitimizes a patriarchal system of beliefs which blames women (e.g. due to their superficiality) for the violence inflicted on them by men.

4.1.4 Articles 8 and 9

Article 8 is from January 18, 2008 (like Article 6). Its author, Paula Soler, employs the following headline: “It May Have Been a Serial Rapist who Attacked the Teacher from Núñez”. In the article deck, she declares: “Neighbors are Worried”, and in the lead, she states: “NGO that helps victims demands a record of the abusers”.

Article 9 is headlined “She Claims to Have Been Raped in Her House”. It dates from April 30, 2008, and it has no specific author. The deck (like Article 6 above) only provides information about the location of the news event: “In Palermo”. In turn, the lead reads: “The aggressor may have broken in through the balcony”.

Like Article 6 and Article 7 above, both of these articles were published in the “General Information” section in the newspaper. Article 8 is 550 words long and Article 9 is 450 words long. Neither article has visual input. Article 8 covers the rape of a gym teacher from the

neighborhood Núñez in Buenos Aires capital while Article 9 focuses on the case of a 43-year-old woman who reported to the Federal Police that she was attacked and raped by a criminal in her own apartment in the neighborhood Palermo, also in Buenos Aires capital.

The reason why I decided to examine these two articles together is because they converge with respect to some features, which might serve as stronger evidence of how the newspaper represents rape. As expressed by Kate Clark (199), “where a pattern emerges or one form is used insistently, the selection becomes more meaningful” (187). While two articles are not enough to speak of a “fixed” pattern followed by *La Nación* regarding rape reporting, the points they so obviously share might help to uncover an ideological slant (further supported by the conclusions drawn from the other pieces) favored by this newspaper to represent violence against women by men.

4.1.4.1 Looking Into Articles 8 and 9

After the lead “NGO that helps victims demands a record of the abusers”, Paula Soler writes:

4.10 The neighbors from Núñez are indignant and concerned. A 27-year-old gym teacher was raped in her apartment, where she lives alone, the day before yesterday. The apartment is on the first floor at 3400 Arcos Street. Her rape is the fifth in a series of rapes which happened in the same way in this northern area of the capital in the last five months.

The journalist goes on to inform the reader that “the previous cases took place, other than in Núñez, in Palermo and Belgrano”, after which she introduces the voice of the organizations, as a whole:

4.11 That is why organizations which help victims of sexual violence believe it is a case of a serial rapist. They demand that the bill on the record of abusers be brought up again,

after it obtained half a sanction by Congress and is still waiting to be approved by the Senate.

The fact that the rape took place in the neighborhood Núñez, together with the feeling of insecurity among neighbors, appears to be Soler's main focus in Article 8. References to both the area and the neighbors' concern start in the headlines and continue in the second and third paragraphs, as quotes **4.10** and **4.11** show. It is important to highlight that Núñez, Palermo and Belgrano are considered to be higher-middle class neighborhoods in Buenos Aires capital. Therefore, the emphasis placed on the location of the crime and the neighbors' worry might correspond to the idea of uncommonness for this series of rapes to be happening in "this northern area of the capital" (as expressed in **4.10**). In Article 9, in turn, an indirect quote is employed in the second paragraph (immediately after the lead) to introduce readers to information on the rape victim:

4.12 A 43-year-old woman reported to the Federal Police that she was attacked and raped by a criminal who broke into her apartment through a window; the apartment is located in the neighborhood Palermo, sources from the police and authorities from an institution which assists victims of sexual abuse told *La Nación*.

María Elena Leuzzi, president of the "Association to Help Rape Victims" (Avivi in Spanish) is quoted next:

4.13 The woman, who is a teacher, reported at the police station 53rd that *the day before yesterday a subject broke into her apartment, located on the second floor at 3300 Cabello Street, in Palermo*.

As excerpts **4.12** and **4.13** demonstrate, the first section of Article 9 (similar to Article 8) centers on the location of the crime, which is also mentioned in the deck. Once again, such stressing of

the location might attract readers' attention to the "inappropriateness" of the rape, implying that if crimes like these are uncommon in neighborhoods like Palermo, then there must exist other areas in Buenos Aires where such rapes are not out of place. In both articles, the emphasis put on the neighborhoods is made more evident by the specification of the victims' complete addresses.

Ehrlich (2004) refers to Susan Estrich's (1987) definition of "real rape", "in which the perpetrator is an armed stranger jumping from behind the bushes and, in particular, a black stranger attacking a white woman" (224). In the articles at hand, we could draw a parallel between Estrich's white woman with the victims who belong to the higher-middle classes in Buenos Aires capital; Estrich's black stranger, in turn, could be equated with the rapists in these cases, whose actions appear to be somewhat incongruous for places like Núñez and Palermo, with the implication that their crimes might be less extraordinary in other – i.e. poor – neighborhoods of Buenos Aires. The fact that *La Nación* chooses to emphasize this "incongruity" might evidence its adherence to the ideology linking poverty with crime, which is translated in its coverage about rape *only* when it occurs where it ought not, i.e. richer areas of Argentina. That is, it *is* rape because it has happened in Núñez and Palermo, otherwise – e.g. if it is a case of a woman living in a shanty town on the outskirts of the capital – it would not be worth reporting on as it would simply be an instance of the "natural" state of affairs, i.e. poor people are essentially criminal.

Moreover, despite the fact that, as Ehrlich (2004) makes clear, "stranger rape is a relatively infrequent event" (225), these pieces represent rape as a type of violence which is inflicted on women (who live alone) by men they are *not* acquainted with. Accordingly, Article 9 allows the voice of Leuzzi (from Avivi) to stress the fact that the rapist was *unknown* to the victim:

4.14 Leuzzi explained that [...] the woman was shocked after what she had been through. Leuzzi also explained that the victim *does not know the aggressor, nor is he part of her family or a relative*, and added that the victim was taken by surprise after he broke into through the balcony, just like the *spiderman* who has attacked in other neighborhoods.

Excerpt **4.14** shows that the journalist is representing sexual violence as a synonym for “stranger rape” – i.e. “what Estrich calls ‘real rape’” (Ehrlich, 2004). The National Women’s Council in Argentina declares that “the great majority of cases of family violence involves women who are abused by their partners or husbands; in all cases, the highest percentage of abusers – between 80 to 90 percent – corresponds to the women’s own partners/husbands or ex-partners”³⁰. Article 8 and 9, however, with the emphasis placed on the vulnerability of women living alone seem to bely the fact that most women who suffer from sexual violence in Argentina, suffer it at the hands of men they are close to. Note, as well, that in the case in which the violence might have involved a non-stranger (Galliano’s murder in Articles 6 and 7), the newspaper prefers a depiction of the crime, not as femicide (considering the background of abuse), but rather as one other homicide, murder, or crime – in which the main suspect is turned into a victim in the end.

In Article 8, Soler quotes Isabel Yaconis, head of the organization “Mothers of Pain”, which provides “legal support for victims of sexual violence”. This voice allows the journalist to provide detailed information about the crime:

4.15 *The rapist gathers intelligence about the victims; they all live alone; he ties them up, covers their eyes, and asks them if they prefer that he kill or rape them; after he rapes them, he makes them shower so that no trace of semen is left in their bodies, which could*

³⁰ <http://www.cnm.gov.ar/>

lead to his detention, explained Yaconis after analyzing the case of the gym teacher, in charge of which is the district attorney of Saavedra, José María Campagnoli.

Likewise, a detailed description about the rape is given in Article 9:

4.16 According to the victim's report, the criminal took her by surprise when she was in bed. He demanded money. Police sources said that *since the woman did not give him any money, he tied her hands up, covered her eyes – apparently with a pair of blinders – and put a blanket over her head*. After sexually abusing her, he left the apartment through the same window he used to break in.

Through quotes **4.15** and **4.16**, extensive information is given regarding the rapists' modus operandi (particularly in Article 8), which could be taken as the journalists' interest in allowing readers, in particular women, to be on their guard. That is, the journalists could be seen as issuing warnings in favor of women's safety. However, such detailed reporting on the specifics of the crimes might also signal the newspaper's preference for sensationalism in the news. This sensationalistic reporting adds to the feeling of helplessness regarding the victims' plight. The feeling of insecurity, in turn, stands out, thanks to the naming practices associated with the women raped. As expressed by Clark (1998) in her analysis of *The Sun*:

The naming of the victim takes the form of a selection of personal details. She is identified by such information as her name, address, age, appearance, occupation, marital status, and whether she is a mother or not. Few victims have all details given (185).

While in these articles, the information that prevails revolves around the victims' complete address, age (27 and 43 respectively), occupation (both are teachers), and marital status (both live alone, which could be interpreted as the newspaper's signaling that they are "single women"), the point made by Clark, i.e. "almost always details are given not so as to

individualize the victim but to label her” (185), can also be identified in Articles 8 and 9. Therefore, the warning issued might be: if you are a (professional) woman, do not live alone, lest you should be attacked in your own home. Such warning is related to Jill Radford’s (1992) “mythology of woman blaming” – similar to what was discussed with respect to Articles 6 and 7. Radford points out that “woman blaming” is not reenacted in courtroom trials only, but is also reinforced by media representations. A special recipient of this myth is women: “Step out of line and it may cost your life”. Accordingly, Radford asserts, such message can be read in the advice police and others (in our case, *La Nación*) offer to protect women from violent crime: “Women are routinely advised not to live alone; not to go out at night unaccompanied (meaning without a man); not to go to certain areas of a city” (6). Thus, we may read between the lines in Article 8 and 9 and discover a similar cautioning: women should stop living alone since they are at risk of being raped by an unknown criminal. Moreover, it is worth paying attention to the use of the phrase “sexual violence” in connection with Yaconis’ assertion “they all live alone”: once again, an implicit association between this violent reality and women living alone – i.e. “without the protection of a husband or a boyfriend” – is made.

María Elena Leuzzi, head of the Association to Help Rape Victims is also cited in Article 8, allowing Soler to return to the information she provided in the lead (“NGO that helps victims demands a record of the abusers”):

4.17 [...] said that there are cases in which the rapist’s traces are left behind, which makes it imperative for the record of rapists to be approved [...] The Rapists Record *was swept under the rug by the delegate Juliana Di Tulio, condemned Leuzzi, with the argument that it would imply the stigmatization of those rapists who have served their time in prison.*

With these words, Soler emphasizes the need for Congress to take legal action in order to contribute to rapists' imprisonment. The fact that it is a woman, "delegate Juliana Di Tulio", who is blamed for preventing the bill from being fully sanctioned might strike a familiar chord among readers (Clark, 1998). As in Article 7, where Elsa Aguilar – the mother of the main suspect in Rosana Galliano's killing – is portrayed as plotting against her daughter-in-law, it is again a woman who is presented as (indirectly) responsible for the rapes (by having the bill swept under the rug and therefore blocking its sanction). Moreover, the expression "sweeping the bill under the rug" appears to be connected, due to its colloquial tone, with the phrase "a bitter pill to swallow", employed in Article 9. The latter is used in: *Tomorrow we will be with her in the Center for Victim Assistance of the city government, to support and help her cope with this situation, **this bitter pill she has to swallow***". Both phrases correspond to the words of María Elena Leuzzi, from Avivi, and might be seen as chosen by the journalists to – as noted regarding Article 5 – foster readers' involvement with the article (Tannen, 1989). Thus, the figures of speech mentioned above could trigger readers' emotion, which, in turn, would lead to their involvement with Article 9, contributing, in the end, to their appropriation of the content of the text.

After the first section (seven paragraphs) of Article 8, Soler starts a new one, under the subheading "Prevent and Guard". The first two paragraphs in this section focus on detailed information on another rapist:

4.18 According to Mothers of Pain and Avivi, this kind of record would help in the prevention of attacks by multiple offenders, like in the case of Claudio Alvarez, who was the referent for the bill [...] In April 2006, Alvarez was sentenced to life for raping and killing Elsa María Escobar and for abusing her 13-year-old daughter near the train station

in Núñez. Between April and December of the previous year, he had already raped four girls.

The content of **4.18** can be related to the notion of journalists' warning-issuing referred to above; thus, Soler's report might be viewed as making an important push to lobby in favor of the bill. The bill, if turned into a law, could undoubtedly prevent rapists from committing such horrific crimes. However, a newspaper that calls for legal action to be taken against stranger rape – especially due to its apparent inappropriateness in neighbourhoods like Núñez and Palermo – is, as highlighted by Ehrlich, at the same time helping to construct “stranger rape” as “real rape” while rendering the vast majority of rapes invisible (225). In accordance with this reporting style emphasizing stranger rape, then, Soler's last three paragraphs are employed to give voice to people from Núñez:

4.19 The neighbors from Núñez, when asked by *La Nación*, agreed that a record of rapists would be useful, but stressed that the Justice should be harsher. *It isn't enough for them to be on the record, the Justice should sentence them to life*, said Adrián Castro, 30 years old; *I live alone and last night I did not sleep a wink, even though I'm on the seventh floor and all*, said, terrified, Soledad, a 28-year-old neighbor from Núñez; *This area is a free-for-all*, pointed out, worried, Cecilia, another neighbor who lives on the same block where the rape of the 27-year-old teacher took place. And added: *Not only do they rape, they also break into homes violently, even when we are only three blocks away from the 35th precinct.*

The inclusion of these voices in a news report demonstrates Fairclough's (1992) explanation of the process of translation which the press performs. This process “involves shifts away the legitimate terminology of written language towards a spoken language vocabulary” (109) –

recall, as well, the use of the colloquial expressions like “a bitter pill to swallow”. When the neighbors of Núñez speak, Soler becomes a provider of news in a way that is “typical of the target audience and a relationship of solidarity” is apparently projected toward that audience; the journalist becomes a mediator of “newsworthy events to the audience in its own common sense terms” (109). Once again, then, the notion that stranger rape is commonplace and must be deterred is reiterated. At the same time, the fact that the women quoted are referred to by their first names only (“Soledad” and “Cecilia”), while the man, who speaks first, is referred to by his full name (“Adrián Castro”) ties in with Bengoechea’s (2006) point – which was also brought up in Articles 6 and 7 – regarding the press’ tendency to favor asymmetrical practices to name women. Here, as noted before, there is not subaltern agency being emphasized because – apart from the prevalence of women’s blaming throughout the texts – the *man*’s full name is mentioned right next to the women’s first name only³¹.

³¹ It is important to note, too, the use of the expression “zona liberada” (which was translated as “free-for-all area” in 4.19). In this context, the reference is to areas where criminality runs rampant while the shock of the neighbors alludes to the “incongruity” of the crimes in neighborhoods like Palermo. The expression “zona liberada” gained currency during the last dictatorship in Argentina (1976 – 1983). A “zona liberada” was an area left free (i.e. uncontrolled by the police, for instance) for the military to kidnap or “disappear people” at their ease (Seoane, 2008). As Feitlowitz (1998) explains: “appalling, many expressions originating with torturers in the camps have become part of current slang, a sign of the extent to which the population has internalized that part of Argentine history” (xi). Now, thus, a “zona liberada” alludes to an area where the police is outpowered by criminals, e.g. “outlaws” like rapists, who can act freely like the armed forces did; the difference, however, is that in the dictatorship years, the crimes committed by the military were “institutionalized”.

Turning, now, to the types of processes employed, van Dijk (1989) points to press journalists' tendency to portray minorities (in this case women raped) "as experiencers or patients of actions of others, usually the authorities" (217). Accordingly, in the following excerpt (4.20) from Article 9, the police sources are depicted (through sentences in active voice) as playing a functional role in the case:

4.20 Police officers from station 53rd **are investigating** the case and **have already heard** the woman's declaration; the woman is under psychiatric treatment in the Clínicas Hospital. Police sources pointed out that they **are scrutinizing** the details of the woman's report [...] since the victim did not present visible signs of violence after the forced sexual act she denounced. When the police **arrived at** the place where the events had taken place, they **found** a disarrayed apartment, unkempt and neglected, declared a police source.

The journalist's extensive use of quotes from the police (evidenced in 4.20 as well as in 4.12 and 4.15) allow the article to take on a true-to-life tone, through which two goals are attained: on the one hand, the journalist depicts "stranger rape" as the kind of sexual violence to which women – particularly if single – are most vulnerable; on the other hand, the journalist discredits the victim ("the woman is under psychiatric treatment"³²; "the victim did not present visible signs of violence"), thus presenting her – and the crime she denounces – as unworthy of serious consideration (perhaps to obfuscate the fact that the rapists, like the murderer in Galliano's case, have not been arrested yet). Such discrediting of the victim, however, is in opposition to the

³² The Spanish original alludes to the fact that the woman had been receiving psychiatric treatment before the occurrence of the crime.

opinion expressed by María Elena Leuzzi from Avivi, which the journalist also includes in his/her report (e.g. *Tomorrow we will be with her [...] to support and help her cope with this situation, this bitter pill she has to swallow*). Leuzzi's words convey the idea that the woman was, in fact, raped and is now undergoing stress. Nevertheless, the fact that the two stances (the police's and Leuzzi's) are in opposition might leave readers uncertain about the occurrence of the rape, which, in the end, questions the woman's statements. Such a presentation, thus, also contributes to the woman's belittlement. In connection to this point is an article entitled "Secrets", which *La Nación* issued on April 6, 2008. In this piece, Spanish writer and journalist Rosa Montero posits the following question: "Why is child abuse not a priority like gender violence?" And then she adds: "Unveiling the terrible secrets from childhood, in order to relieve children from them, is compelling". Once again, by making room for opinions like this, *La Nación* can be seen as aligning itself with the author's indirect criticism of the Spanish government's actions to fight gender violence (for example, passing the Law 1/2004 defining what gender violence is) because it is receiving excessive attention to the detriment of issues like child abuse; in turn, we can extrapolate this stance to the context in Argentina, thus *La Nación* might be taken as viewing such actions aimed at fighting gender violence as excessive. Consequently, women who are victims of rape, i.e. a form of gender violence, are represented negatively in the newspaper.

The representations of rape in Articles 8 and 9 are closely linked with the notions of "stranger rape" – indirectly portraying the richer areas of Argentina as inappropriate targets of these crimes – and "women blaming" – highlighting the fact that the victims lived alone without the protection of a husband or shedding doubt on the victim's credibility regarding the occurrence of the crime. While Articles 8 and 9 could be taken as the journalists' contribution of

support for the record of rapists to be approved of by Congress, the focus on stranger rape and woman blaming might also indicate that *La Nación* would rather have other issues (e.g. child abuse, as expressed by Rosa Montero) dealt with more in-depth. It is worth recalling, as well, that in the background articles presented above (i.e. the editorial and opinion article), the newspaper does not convey a clear message as to which referring expression it favors in cases of violence against women by men, particularly when the victimizer and the victim are close. This lack of specificity, together with the preference for the blaming and belittlement/objectification of women (also seen in Articles 6 and 7), might speak of the patriarchal values which underpin the coverage *La Nación* has of cases of rape and murder of women. On the same day of publication of Article 9, the newspaper published a piece headlined “Although She Made her Daughter Prostitute Herself, She was Absolved”, also in the “General Information” section. This piece focuses on the acquittal of a mother who made her daughter prostitute herself in a context of extreme poverty. The article presents, through the voice of a member of the court, an environment of complete destitution as mitigating circumstances for the mother’s freedom; thus, the headline can – yet again – be immediately linked to the notion of woman blaming that is present in all the articles from *La Nación* discussed so far.

4.1.5 Article 10

Article 10 dates from April 9, 2008 and deals with the court’s decision to sentence Romina Tejerina to 14 years in prison. Its author is staff journalist Adrián Ventura. The headline reads: “Tejerina is to Serve 14 Years in Prison”; it is preceded by “The End of a Judicial Controversy” (deck), and followed by “The Court confirmed the sentence for murdering her baby” (lead). The article is 530 words long; a picture (right below the lead) shows Tejerina holding on to a door

knob – as if she is about to open the door – and in the background there are clothes hanging from a clothesline. The accompanying caption reads: “Romina Tejerina, in the prison in Jujuy, where she is serving a sentence of 14 years”.

4.1.5.1 Looking Into Article 10

In the second paragraph, Ventura writes:

4.21 The young woman from Jujuy, Romina Tejerina, will remain in jail and will serve her 14-year sentence for having stabbed her baby girl to death, according to what the National Supreme Court of Justice decided yesterday.

The journalist’s use of expressions like “the sentence for murdering her baby” (in the lead) and “for having stabbed her baby girl to death” (in **4.21**) appear to start setting the angle from which the story will be depicted: Tejerina is a cold-hearted murderer and deserves this punishment.

This angle is corroborated by what the journalist states next:

4.22 After a prolonged debate among the members of the court, which made different ministers change their mind on various occasions (something that is absolutely valid), the sentence, approved of by five judges yesterday, finally decided³³ to refuse the appeal presented by Tejerina’s defense against it.

Notice how “the sentence” is depicted as performing the action of “deciding to refuse the appeal”. Even though there are also references to the people who made the decision – i.e. who actually performed the action –, such a grammatical metaphor – a construction that assigns a process to a grammatical subject that is not really the agent of that process (Fairclough, 2003) –

³³ I am aware that this sentence cannot be used in English; however, I have translated it as such in order to be faithful to the original and to better discuss the meaning it conveys in Spanish.

adds to the presentation of the decision as more objective (the sentence decided) rather than subjective (the judges decided). At the same time, the fact that the sentence was not decided upon quickly (denoted by phrases like “prolonged debate”, “change their mind on various occasions” and “finally decided”) seems to lose rhetorical weight by the parenthetical expression, i.e. “something that is absolutely valid”. With this evaluative statement (Fairclough, 2003), Ventura might be stripping Tejerina’s case of its singular characteristics since the phrase “absolutely valid” could give way to readings like “natural or typical behavior”. That is, the judges’ inability to make a rapid decision does not point to the harsh social circumstances surrounding Tejerina’s case but corresponds to the usual conduct of magistrates. However, the journalist’s report does not focus on such circumstances; never does he concentrate on Tejerina’s rape, which demonstrates the negative representation he is making of the woman. Recall, in contrast, how in Article 5 (excerpt **3.18**), the president of the Forum for Reproductive Health is quoted denouncing the lack of attention to Tejerina’s circumstances which was evidenced by the judges’ decision. Such a reference belongs to the voices of two judges whose position was against Tejerina’s release from prison; consequently, the context surrounding her decision to kill her daughter is not only barely mentioned but also decried. At the same time, the fact that expressions like “sexual violence” or “rape” are not employed at all in this article is evidence of Ventura’s interest in focusing on Tejerina’s murder of her child rather than on the violence the woman herself suffered.

Later, the journalist goes on to declare:

4.23 It has been five years since Tejerina was imprisoned, and her lawyers hoped that the Court would revoke the sentence, or it would, at least, reduce it to eight years, in which

case, the young woman from Jujuy, whose crime transcended the limits of the province and caused a heated controversy, could have been released on parole.

As this section shows, the journalist returns to the notion of “controversy” with which he started the article (the deck reads: “The End of a Judicial Controversy”). However, rather than representing the controversy – which by definition implies the existence of opposing views – from different perspectives, the journalist gives voice mostly to the two judges, Highton and Argibay, who supported Tejerina’s 14-year sentence (it is only at the end of his article that the journalist writes a four-line paragraph about the position taken by two judges who opposed the woman’s imprisonment). Ventura describes these two judges’ stance as: “In the Court, the harshest position was always embodied by Highton and Argibay”. In turn, the journalist cites Highton indirectly in:

4.24 Highton remarked that the figure of infanticide, which permitted the mitigation of charges of homicide, was repealed. Besides, she maintained that the need to *hide the dishonor* (which a child, the result of an unwanted pregnancy, could eventually have caused her) is currently deemed unjustifiable as mitigation of charges of first-degree murder.

Notice, here, how Highton’s quote mentions one of the arguments that Tejerina’s defense must have presented to appeal the sentence (*hide the dishonor*); this inserted quote, however, is qualified, once again, by use of a parenthetical phrase. Since this phrase belongs to an indirect quote, its content could be interpreted as the journalist’s “well-grounded” assertion as his voice fuses with that of the judge’s. With such voice-melding, Ventura could be seen as discrediting the defense’s point by providing an explanation that originates in an expert (i.e. the judge’s) voice. Moreover, the choice of the expression “an unwanted pregnancy”, which in no way

implies “rape”, further demonstrates the journalist’s interest in *not* drawing attention to the violence Tejerina herself suffered from.

The other judge, Argibay, is also cited indirectly (with a resulting judge’s/journalist’s voice-melding) in:

4.25 Argibay took into consideration the fact that the judges from the oral arguments court, who pronounced sentenced on the woman, did not apply the maximum punishment, but considered her puerperal state and the limitations that sprang from her socio-cultural situation.

This excerpt shows that by making reference to Tejerina’s circumstances within Argibay’s voice, Ventura is not considering them as mitigating circumstances, but is describing Tejerina as a cold-hearted murderer once again (as the lead and excerpt **4.21** evidence). At the same time, the journalist’s use of the word “limitations” speaks of his perspective on Tejerina’s case as “just another case” – recall his parenthetical evaluation “something that is absolutely valid” (**4.22**) discussed above. Since any person could be described as having “limitations” (compare the effect on the representation if he used words like “unfairness” or impoverishment”), this might be seen as yet another linguistic strategy chosen by the journalist to strip Tejerina’s actions of any reference to serious social injustices, which, in turn, could serve as explanation for her conduct.

As a consequence, the fact that Ventura includes only the most extreme opinions against Tejerina’s release – which come from two members of the court itself – permits him to: **1)** portray Tejerina as a cruel-hearted murderer of her own “baby girl”, stirring emotions among readers and thus promoting their involvement and agreement with the report (Tannen, 1989); and **2)** lend credibility to his report by including only “expert voices”, which might also further

readers' acceptance of his representation for its "expert objectivity". Following Goffman (1981), Ventura decides to be the animator of these words (he is writing them in this article) while the judges are their authors (they have created them) and principals (they are ultimately responsible for the words). Fairclough (1995) explains that newsgivers sometimes act as if they were authors, or even principals, when in fact they are not (62). In the mediator role (pointed out in relation to Article 7, in excerpt **4.9** in particular), newsgivers might be seen as "covertly transmitting the voices of social power" (63) in a way that is adjusted to their primary discourse context (e.g. Ventura's article); therefore, they put across "the voices of the powerful as if they were the voices of common sense" (63). It is then, he explains, that authorship or principalship, which originate in secondary discourse (in the article at hand, Ventura might have obtained the opinions expressed by the judges from other written sources, like a judicial press release), "appear to attach to primary discourse" (63). Fairclough refers to Halloran et al's assertion that "preferred sources are [...] identifiable individuals with known views and, ideally, well-known public figures who occupy some official or semi-official position" (qtd. in Fairclough, 1995). In our case, such figures are the judges themselves, whose role in deciding upon Tejerina's life is "officially" crucial, and Ventura's exclusive focus on their viewpoints contributes to the overall depiction of her predicament as the fair result of her actions.

Lastly, it is worth noting that Ventura mentions Jujuy three times at the start of his piece (in the caption of the photograph, and in the second and fifth paragraphs, respectively), stressing where Tejerina is from (and consequently, the location of the crime). Unlike Articles 8 and 9 where the description of rape is linked to the notion of it being uncustomary in neighborhoods like Núñez and Palermo (in Buenos Aires), no such reference appears to emerge now (e.g. there are no quotes from neighbors expressing their anguish at what happened to Tejerina), which

might lead readers to associate Jujuy, a “poor” province, with violence and depravity. The photograph, which shows Tejerina as though she were opening the door to her house, with the clothesline in the background, might emphasize the notion of the woman’s being “at home”: not only because she is in prison, where she must be according to the judges (and to the journalist, based on his coverage of the court’s decision), but also because she is in Jujuy.

As this discussion highlights, Ventura’s piece focuses only on one side of the controversy that Tejerina’s case caused in the Argentinean Supreme Court: i.e. the journalist bases almost all his report (except for the last paragraph) on the arguments put forth by the judges whose stance opposing the woman’s liberation was the most extreme. Such one-sided depiction against Tejerina matches the journalist’s decision to belittle, e.g. through his use of the inserted citation “*hide the dishonour*” and the phrase “unwanted pregnancy” in **4.24** or the word “limitations” in **4.25**, the circumstances surrounding the woman’s actions.

On the same day that Article 10 was published, three articles (one opinion article and two pieces from the “General Information” section) dealing with violence in schools (among students, and between students and teachers) were also published in *La Nación*. What these pieces appear to confirm is that the newspaper agrees with Rosa Montero’s claim (whose article “Secrets” was brought up in connection with Articles 8 and 9) that more attention be paid by the government to *child* violence and abuse than to gender violence. In conclusion, the fact that the sexual abuses suffered by Romina Tejerina herself are almost completely overlooked in Ventura’s piece might, then, correspond to *La Nación*’s stance against paying much attention to gender violence (e.g. violence against women by men); such a position is demonstrated, for example, by the newspaper’s emphasis on “women’s culpability” in attracting the violence: Rosana Galliano’s promiscuous behavior led to her own murder (Articles 6 and 7) while the rape

victims were all living alone, i.e. without the “protection” of a husband or boyfriend (Articles 8 and 9).

5.0 CRÍTICA DE LA ARGENTINA

5.1 HEURISTIC APPLIED

5.1.1 Background Articles

The third newspaper, *Crítica de la Argentina*, has made room for various articles on gender matters since the release of its premiere issue on March 1, 2008. These articles do not focus on the vindication of women's rights only, in which reporting on cases of violence and discrimination against women is commonplace; instead, they also deal with topics pertaining to gays, lesbians and transvestites. For example, pieces headlined "Doctors Do Not Know How to Treat Lesbians"³⁴; "Should We Call Them the ['las'] or the ['los'] Transvestites?"³⁵, "Gay Elderly Men Face Double Discrimination"³⁶, or "Day against Sexual Discrimination is Instituted"³⁷ allow the newspaper to project a stance in favor of inclusion and tolerance. Through this diversity of topics, *Crítica de la Argentina* might be seen as aligning itself with a position

³⁴ <http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=2714>

³⁵ <http://www.criticadigital.com/index.php?secc=nota&nid=4139&pagina=2>

³⁶ <http://www.criticadigital.com/index.php?secc=nota&nid=6392>

³⁷ <http://www.criticadigital.com.ar/index.php?secc=nota&nid=2468>

that broadens the mainstream use of “gender” by also reporting on those people who do not identify themselves as part of the heteronormative discourse, i.e. the ideology that positions heterosexuality as the norm (Cameron and Kulick, 2003).

Since the goal of this thesis is to study press representations of the violence that *men* inflict on *women*, the background articles presented next will only be related to the topic of “machismo”. However, reference to the broad scope of gender-related topics that this newspaper tackles can help us better contextualize its treatment of our focus of study; that is, by taking into account the open and tolerant stance toward gender minorities that the newspaper appears to adopt, I aim at determining whether or not its coverage of violence against women by men also reflects a predisposition toward the breaking of patriarchal values.

On June 05, 2008, journalist Cristian Alarcón published an interview with María Socorro Tabuenca, researcher from the North Frontier University (Universidad Frontera Norte), Mexico, who studied the representation (in documentaries and eight books) on, as Alarcón puts it, “the insane levels of violence suffered by women in Ciudad Juárez, not far from El Paso, Texas”. At the same time, the journalist asserts that Tabuenca’s activism with women’s associations has kept her “close to the events, in the last trench before the violence”. Alarcón titled his piece “Femicide in the Desert”³⁸, which ties in with one of Tabuenca’s quotes (in response to the journalist’s question “What is the hypothesis that explains so many deaths?”): “One points to a systematic social femicide [...] the situation of impunity. From that impunity on, with unbelievable misogyny, with excessive hatred, they believe that women are disposable, and thus, continue to kill them, without stopping”. Alarcón also cites Tabuenca saying that in all, there

³⁸ <http://www.criticadigital.com.ar/imprensa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=5653>

have been 112 women killed with different types of torture. “There are 300 more who were sexually abused and murdered. But these are called crimes of gender violence which the police dub crimes of passion”. With this piece, the newspaper, through Alarcón’s article, can be seen as calling for more specificity when referring to women killed by men in a context of, as mentioned in the interview, misogyny, hatred and “women’s disposability”. Thus, the term femicide is preferred to denote the killings of women. At the same time, a difference is established between “crimes of gender violence” and “crimes of passion”, which also relates to the call for specificity in regard to the killing of women.

Only a week later, on June 13, 2008, journalist Luciana Peker authored a piece called “A Woman Dies Every Two Days”, which brings the issue of violence against women by men closer to home. The deck – “Amnesty International Denounces Domestic Violence in Argentina” – starts to narrow down the perspective from which the journalist will present her article. In the lead, rather than sticking to the term “domestic violence”, Peker states: “The organization maintained that the government does not have a policy to prevent gender violence, despite the record of one physical aggression every 36 hours and one sexual attack a day”. Amnesty International, as an organization, is cited saying: “In the six months since the start of the new government there have been, at least, 70 victims of domestic violence and Argentina remains without an action plan against gender violence”. To this point, the expressions “domestic violence” and “gender violence” are used interchangeably. Then, Peker takes issue with media reporting that refers to the deaths of a wife, ex-wife or girlfriend as crimes of passion “as if they resulted from an uncontrollable outburst of passion. So uncontrollable that they cannot be deterred by government policies”. This excerpt, like the previous article, shows that *Crítica de la Argentina* takes an overt stance against the use of the term “crimes of passion”, disavowing itself

from those media which favor this expression. At the same time, the journalist appears to criticize the national government's inaction to address a big problem – Peker argues that “the problem is even bigger if one takes into account that machismo violence affects women more than ordinary crime does”. Notice that she adds a new referring expression to the ones used so far, i.e. “machismo violence”. Later in the piece, she points out that Amnesty International deems “violence against women” a “human rights violation”, demonstrating that “more than one case of physical violence (beatings and murders) occurs every 36 hours. There is a case of sexual violence (rapes, abuses or murders after rapes) every day”. The evidence that Amnesty International has collected, Peker explains, is “only a sketch of the real problem since it is based on the reports (police, judicial or social) produced by local and national media, and not all cases are reported on”. The fact that the data about this type of violence (the site No + Violence against Women, which we talked about in connection with Article 3 above, is another case in point) come from the media themselves underlines the newspaper's self-presentation as key in the fight against the violence – e.g. for its clear statement of difference with respect to those which favor expressions like “crimes of passion” – and as a denouncer of the government's passivity.

Lastly, the journalist introduces the term “femicide” by stating that “83 percent of the feminine crimes were described as femicide (when a woman is killed for being a woman, for example, out of her ex-husband's spite, or in order to rape her) and 68 percent of the cases involve victims murdered by their partners, ex-partners, boyfriends or lovers”. Other than providing readers with information on what makes a killing of a woman a femicide (note that in the previous article, Alarcón employed “feminicide”, showing that newspaper holds the two terms as synonyms), Peker can be seen as emphasizing that violence against women is mostly perpetuated by men with whom they have an intimate relationship. Moreover, the journalist

returns to the criticism of the Argentine government when, through the voice of a lawyer, she writes that “Cristina [Fernández de Kirchner] attacks with femicide myopia against the bodies of millions of poor women” – which, in turn, points to Peker’s drawing a connection between gender violence and poverty.

It is time to turn our attention to the five articles I selected from *Crítica de la Argentina*. It is important to note that, unlike *Página 12* and *La Nación*, *Crítica de la Argentina* has both a **print edition**, whose articles can also be found online, and a **digital edition**, whose pieces are *only* found online. In the work at hand, four articles belong to the print edition and one to the digital edition. The digital edition that *Crítica de la Argentina* produces is an example of, as Fairclough (2003) explains, the emergence of new genres that are associated with new communication technologies (68). I decided to use a digital-only piece to examine the representational line adopted by the newspaper in its two formats. As in the previous analyses, I frequently provide contextualization for each report by linking it with other pieces that tackle the same news event.

5.1.2 Article 11

Article 11, dating from March 06, 2008, is headlined “Sexual Slaves” and is authored by journalist Luciana Peker. Through the deck, i.e. “Special Report”, she overtly labels her piece, somehow preparing readers for an in-depth investigation (more than those pieces, at least, which are not so marked). The lead reads: “Police reports grew ten times more in the last three years”. The article belongs to the section “Society” in the newspaper – the other sections are “Front Cover Story”, “The Country”, “The World”, “Society”, “Cultures”, “Entertainment”, and “Sports”. The piece is 1,076 words long, which may be related to its being a “special report” (cf

Article 4 from *Página 12*, which is 1,021 words long and is not classified likewise – I compare the length of Article 11 with Article 4 because the latter is the longest of all the articles analyzed so far).

Right after the lead, there are three small, black-and-white photographs of three women who, as readers are told in the piece, are missing. They are believed to have been kidnapped by human trafficking networks. A denunciation against these organizations is the topic of the article.

5.1.2.1 Looking Into Article 11

Instead of starting her article off by providing statistical information about women who have been kidnapped by organizations of sex-slave trade in Argentina – in line with what both the article deck and headline seem to anticipate – the journalist decides to tap into readers’ emotions. Triggering participants’ personal involvement through emotion is fundamental in conversational interaction (Tannen, 1989). However, authors of written texts also strive to engage their readers in the content of their pieces by employing an array of strategies, like figures of speech and dialogue (as we saw before in Articles 5 and 9, metaphors and colloquial expressions, for instance, might create familiarity between the text and readers, and therefore foster the latter’s acceptance of the former). Tannen explains that these linguistic strategies “work to communicate meaning and to persuade by creating involvement” (28). In the text at hand, one of the most salient involvement strategies used by Peker is (oral-like) “narrative” (Tannen 1989). Thus, in the first two paragraphs, she writes:

5.1 Micaela was three years old. Her mom, Marita Verón, 23. On April 3, 2002, Marita tiptoed out of her house, so as not to wake Micaela up, and asked her mom, Susana Trimarco, to buy some dye so that they could dye their hair roots together. Marita did not

come back. Today, Micaela is nine years old. It has been almost six years that Susana has been looking for her daughter while Micaela waits for her mom.

Similarly, she refers to another woman's disappearance as:

5.2 Carlos was four years old. His mom, Andrea López, 24. On February, 24, 2004, Andrea disappeared [...] For Justice, it was desertion. She is not around. Not her. Not her body. Not alive. Or dead. Andrea has been missing for four years. Carlos waits for her. He was starting kindergarten when his mom disappeared from his life. This year, Carlos repeats third grade. He does not want to write until his mom returns.

As excerpts **5.1** and **5.2** demonstrate, Peker formulates the introduction to her report as though she was narrating it in an oral interaction; note particularly, her use of short phrases in historical present, which apart from resembling the way people tell a story, add momentum to the women's (and their children's and mothers') plight. Barbara Johnstone (2002) asserts that "involvement is signaled by a number of features that characterize more oral or oral-like texts" (190). Johnstone, following Tannen (1982), explains that interpersonal involvement can be created through, among other resources, **1**) concreteness and imageability through specific details (e.g. "[...] asked her mom, Susana Trimarco, to **buy some dye** so that they could **dye their hair roots together**"); **2**) a more personal quality (e.g. **Micaela** was three years old. Her **mom**, Marita Verón, **23**"); **3**) emphasis on people and their relationships; emphasis on actions and agents rather than states or objects (e.g. "It has been almost six years that **Susana** has been **looking for her daughter** while **Micaela waits for her mom**", "This year, Carlos **repeats third grade**. He **does not want to write** until his **mom returns**"; **4**) fuzziness – ambiguity, loose cohesion (e.g. "She is not around. **Not her. Not her body. Not alive. Or dead**"). Consequently, we seem to be dealing with an emotion-laden "special report". Note, too, that the sentence "For Justice, it was desertion" (**5.2**)

starts to present the Argentinean judicial system as being in the wrong (recall the background article “A Woman Dies Every Two Days” where Peker, as well, claims that the Argentine president “attacks with femicide myopia against the bodies of millions of poor women”).

Next, the journalist, other than continuing to employ involvement strategies (i.e. “repetition” and “rhythm”), introduces the first specific figure through an inserted citation that assigns, as Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003) point out, “explicit words to a particular agent without any communicative verb” (155):

5.3 Marita Verón and Andrea López are two missing [women]. They are disappeared. They remain disappeared. They are **two out of 465 women** who could be at the hands of trafficking networks, **according to** data by the civil association ‘The Meeting House’.

Immediately afterwards, rather than sticking to a more informational style, Peker further promotes readers’ involvement by referring to a soap opera, “Stolen Lives”, which has high ratings on Argentinean TV. The program, as the journalist claims, “resembles Marita Verón’s story” since, as she claims, “fiction becomes reality once again”. It is worth noting that *Crítica de la Argentina* appears to consider that the program has played an important role foregrounding the sex-slave trade and human trafficking in Argentina. On June 07, 2008, an article titled “Art Exhibition against Prostitution Networks”³⁹ gives voice to an artist who is “surprised by the great social awareness toward it [sex-slave and human trafficking], with the soap opera ‘Stolen Lives’ [...] a way of spreading information that sometimes equal years of work”. It appears, once again, that the newspaper positions the mass media as influential actors in the fight against sexual abuse (and other forms of violence) perpetuated on women (cf Peker’s article “A Woman

³⁹ <http://www.criticadigital.com/index.php?secc=nota&nid=5349>

Dies Every Two Days” where it is the media – as opposed to the government’s agencies – which are portrayed as providing Amnesty International with data about women’s abuses and deaths at the hands of their partners). Moreover, the expression “fiction becomes reality once again” indirectly points to the media’s ability to (re)create reality.

After these paragraphs, which seem to be intended to strike a sympathetic chord with readers, Peker introduces the voices of Julia Ferreira, mother of one of the women who has disappeared; Fabiana Túñez, from “The Meeting House”; and Mercedes Assorati, a researcher on the sex-trade and human trafficking and head of the “Foundation The Other” (neither organization mentioned above belongs to the government). With these quotes, involvement is still triggered: as Tannen (1989) declares, “rendering meaning by framing it as the speech of another, and animating the voice of the other, speakers create a rhythm and sound that suggests speech at the same time that they shape the meaning thus presented” (28). Therefore, Julia Ferreira’s opinion reinforces the notions about both the government’s (and the police’s) complicit inaction: “*In La Pampa everything is covered up. The police do not search for Andrea*” and TV’s (and by transitivity all media’s) key role in pushing for justice: “*That’s why I’m hopeful that now, with the TV, the lid will be off*”. It is worth pointing out that of the three women cited, the only one who is characterized in detail (by employing repetition and alliteration) is Julia Ferreira:

5.4 Julia has been a mother since she was 16 years old. Now she is 48, has 5 children, 5 grandchildren and 5 jobs as a maid in the neighbourhood South, from Plan 5 Thousand, in Santa Rosa, La Pampa.

While the journalist acknowledges that when it comes to women’s disappearances, lower class and middle class overlap (“[...] situations of poor and middle-class women intertwine”), the

presentation in **5.4** points more to the journalist's labelling of Ferreira than to her individualization (Clark, 1998). Readers might more easily arrive at the generalization that all lower class women are the primary targets of sex-trade.

TV's key role in allowing reality to be unveiled (through fiction) is stressed again when the journalist claims that "without television, the spotlights do not notice Andrea's absence or that of the other young women". In turn, Fabiana Túñez, from "The Meeting House", is quoted in:

5.5 We state clearly that these women are being disappeared because when a person is deprived of her liberty, kidnapped, tortured, enslaved and raped, it is necessary to call a spade a spade". She speaks again in: "Brothels are illegal in Argentina and sexual exploitation is a crime; however, there exist thousands of bordellos and apartments where women are exploited. It seems that Argentina has free-for-all areas where the police, the municipal authorities, and the judges are involved.

With quote **5.5**, Peker is pointing to the power of language to name realities ("it is necessary to call a spade a spade"), and in so doing, allow for the existence of an event or a situation. If the fact that women are not "naturally" vanishing into thin air is expressed as "women are *being* disappeared", the existence of sex-trade organizations in Argentina is acknowledged, which, in turn, has concrete material consequences; e.g. Peker's piece condemning slave-trade (together with the actions of the associations she quotes) might pressure government officials to take action against it. Therefore, this could be taken as an example of what Fairclough (2003) calls the "social effects of texts": "texts as elements of social events have causal effects – i.e. they

bring about changes”⁴⁰ (8). Another quote by Túñez by which the journalist may be seen as putting pressure on the Argentine authorities is: “It seems that Argentina has **free-for-all areas where the police, the municipal authorities, and the judges are involved**”⁴¹. At the same time, Mercedes Assorati’s quote also taps into *Crítica de la Argentina*’s overt stance against the government’s apathy:

5.6 *The investigation [...] by the International Organization for Migration studied 47 lawsuits from different regions in the country, in most of which **there are civil servants and/or members of the security forces involved** [...]*

5.7 *It is necessary **that the State take on the initiative for the development of controls regarding the places where the victims are enslaved and adopt a protection policy for the victims who dare denounce the mafias that keep them subjected.***

⁴⁰ In fact, on April 10, 2008, the Argentine Congress passed the “Human Trafficking Law”, with which the crime of human trafficking became typified and attained federal standing (<http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=2575>). Such law could be taken as an example of the “social effects of texts”, considering that articles like Peker’s could have played a key role in pressuring the government to take action against this crime. However, the article itself could also be viewed as *resulting from* the debates held in Congress, therefore evidencing the dialectical relationship between language and social reality (Fairclough, 1992).

⁴¹ Note that, here, the employment of the phrase “zonas liberadas” – translated as “free-for-all areas” – comes closer to its original meaning: “an area cleared and secured by police and military in preparation for an operation, i.e. kidnapping” (Feitlowitz, 1998). Since some government and police officials are involved in the sex trade in Argentina today, the clearing of the areas for them to act with impunity resembles the actions of the military junta between 1976 and 1983.

Before Assorati is quoted for a second time (i.e. in **5.7**), Peker poses the following question: “How could the fight against the slavery of the 21st century be carried out **with something else than a remote control?**”, which returns to the themes of TV’s (and the media at large’s) key role in bringing gender violence, in this case the sex-trade, and the government’s lack of proper action against it to the fore. This rhetorical question, together with the information present in **5.6** and **5.7**, point to Peker’s criticism of the government’s inaction with respect to preventing crimes.

The naming practices employed by Peker to refer to both the violence and the women who suffer from it – as evidenced in **5.3**, **5.5**, and **5.7** – revolve around the topic of **sexual exploitation and slavery**, depicting **women as victims** of both **sex-trade mafias** and **complacent authorities**. Peker’s own voice stresses the vulnerability of the women before institutionalized human trafficking networks in:

5.8 Sex-trade organizations kidnap women – through force or deceit (with classified ads for maids [...]) – who have to work as sexual slaves, without pay or freedom. They lose their money and their IDs. They cannot enter or leave the cabarets. Nor can they speak with their families. They cannot get out of a tangle where sexual slavery is the norm.

Notice that in excerpt **5.8**, despite the women’s position as “victims” – i.e. they are at the mercy of other people’s decisions –, they are described as “agents” of the actions mentioned, e.g. “*They lose their money*”, “*They cannot enter or leave the cabarets*”. Note that Peker could have chosen other agents and processes, e.g. “The pimps steal women’s money”; “The cabaret owners do not allow the women to leave the place”. As Sykes (1985) points out, “syntactically they are awarded the status of human actors capable of initiating action and affecting the course of social events” (88). However subtly, then, extract **5.8** alludes to women’s own willpower to (not)

perform an action, thus contradicting the journalist's depiction of them as victims, which indirectly matches van Dijk (1989) explanation that minority groups (in our case, women kidnapped for sex-trade) tend to be presented as active and responsible agents of their (bad) actions.

Apart from her use of "They are two out of 465 women who would be at the hands of trafficking networks" in **5.3** (a quote from the *non*-governmental organization "The Meeting House"), Peker states:

5.9 The Office for the Integral Attention of Victims of Crime ('Ofavi' in Spanish), took part in 85 cases of human trafficking in 2007. In 2004, it had taken part in nine. In only three years, the cases dealt with by the State grew almost ten times.

This excerpt is located before (and in the same paragraph as) **5.8**; thus, while Peker highlights the fact that the government's intervention does not seem to deter human trafficking, she is indirectly pointing to the women's own volition in the actions (by presenting *them* as agents of the processes listed). Therefore, while the government and the human trafficking networks are manifestly blamed for the violence inflicted on these women, the latter are still, implicitly, ascribed responsibility for their situation.

The other section with a more informational tone is:

5.10 In 2007, the Inadi created a telephone line (0800-9992345) for reports about human trafficking. There were 178 calls denouncing human trafficking and seven women called to tell that they had been able to escape from the places where they were kept enslaved. With fear. With the badge of the mafias that think the women are their own. That run a business which keeps growing. And which now has the name of a soap opera: Stolen Lives.

With the last four sentences in **5.10**, the journalist could be seen as overshadowing the work done by the Inadi with emotion-triggering resources – manifested through the use of present tense and repetition of syntactic structures (Johnstone, 2002) – which focus on the women’s suffering and ironically point to the soap opera’s role in bringing their suffering to the (social and political) spotlight.

While **5.9** and the first part of **5.10** show that Peker does refer to information from two government agencies (Ofavi and Inadi), thus providing the piece with a more informational stance (demonstrating, in turn, that some official measures *have* been taken against the crimes), these data do not seem to constitute the primary focus of her “special report”, but rather she appears to lean toward both emotion-triggering and conceptual language. The former, as pointed out before, is evidenced through her employment of oral-like narratives (**5.1**, **5.2** and **5.3**) and her references to “Stolen Lives”, a soap opera; the latter is demonstrated by a combination of linguistic resources used by Peker throughout her piece: i.e **1**) nominalizations (e.g. “sexual exploitation”, “sexual slavery”); **2**) metaphorical expressions (e.g. “the lid will be off”; “free-for-all areas”); **3**) participants, accountable for the violence, whose referents are general and unspecified, e.g. “civil servants”, “members of the security forces”, “the State”, “mafias” (as opposed to the instances in which the *women* are portrayed as agents of their situation); and **4**) passivized constructions that foreground the recipients rather than the performers of the actions (e.g. “victims are enslaved”, “women are exploited”, and “women are subjected”).

It is worth highlighting that Peker finishes her article with the names of four women and information about the date when they disappeared. This strategy permits Peker’s report to end with a purely informational slant. This more apparently objective perspective (in accordance with the headlines) is also heightened by Peker’s use of black-and-white photographs which,

rather than being large, color images, seem to be used in order to highlight key points (in this case, by showing who some of the women disappeared are) without lessening the importance of the written text (Anthonissen, 2003).

The overall “written-as-if-spoken” (Fairclough, 1992) as well as conceptual style stands out throughout Peker’s piece. In particular, the resources triggering readers’ personal involvement (i.e. written-as-if-spoken style) grant argumentative force to Peker’s representation of the women who are kidnapped and enslaved by human trafficking organizations in Argentina. In turn, readers could argue that the emotion-triggering sections point more to a report that leans toward sensationalism than to the more impartial exposition of a full investigation (in line with the headlines). Similar to what emerged in the background articles, *Crítica de la Argentina* targets the inaction – and in this case, the complicity and corruption – of the authorities who allow for the existence of these crimes, while stressing the key role played by the media, through reference to a “soap opera”, in their denunciation. However, Peker’s use of nominalizations, metaphors, participants with general reference and passivized constructions (i.e. conceptual style), point to a report whose criticism of the government is done in rather abstract, i.e. mitigatory, terms. Note too, that the government-blaming is further mitigated when Peker depicts the women kidnapped as agents of their own predicament.

In line with the tendency toward sensationalism that *Crítica de la Argentina* appears to show in Article 11, which in my opinion takes away part of the strength and believability of the article, it is worth noting that the newspaper featured the headlines of Peker’s piece on the front page of its 03/06/08 print edition (a square in the bottom, left-hand corner), thus ascribing importance to the report. At the top of this page, two large heavy-faced headlines read: “Hillary is Willing to Share Formula with Obama”, “Who On Top, Who Below?” Images of both

candidates waving are positioned in a way which makes them look as though they were about to hug each other. This text-image composition gives way to a mocking tone cast upon the candidates for the US presidency. The mocking tone is heightened by a large picture (taking up most of the page) of the Argentine's president, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. She is dressed in the same way as the president of Venezuela, Hugo Chávez (i.e. military suit, scarf, and a red beret) and she is holding a large gun in her hands. A big boldface headline states: "Cristina is in the Front Line". This front-page layout is an example of the newspaper's tendency to portray the government in critical terms – evidenced in Article 11 and also in the background article "A Woman Dies Every Two Days". At the same time, the mocking quality of the front page might serve as an example of *Crítica de la Argentina's* tendency toward sensationalism in the presentation of its news items, which is reflected in Peker's "special report", where emotion-triggering strategies – connected to the theme of sexual slavery and sex-trade – appear to set one of the styles (apart from a more conceptual one) of the journalist's piece.

5.1.3 Article 12

Article 12 is entitled "A High-Flying Murder" and dates from April 19, 2008. In the deck, the author (unspecified) declares: "Machismo Violence: A Vice-Commodore Killed His Wife", while the lead reads: "In the mythical building Alas [Wings], where Perón [former Argentine president] had a bunker, an Air Force officer killed his wife after a row. The neighbors, families of aviators, minded their own business".

The piece is included in the "Society" section of the print edition of the newspaper and is 687 words long. A small photograph shows the entrance to the building in which the name "Alas" can be read; a police car is in the foreground; in the background, there are people walking

by or entering/leaving the building. The caption states: “The Police took the vice-commodore by surprise when he was leaving the Alas Building, at Alem and Viamonte”.

5.1.3.1 Looking Into Article 12

The journalist begins his/her report by declaring:

5.11 Not even the three gunshots which resonated through the massive concrete walls halted the daily activity of the 40-storey, 100-square-meter, 132-meter-high block. In the Alas Building, at Alem and Viamonte, everyone minded their own business: the gym was packed; the kindergarten teachers sang children’s songs in the nursery; some women were at the hairdresser’s; in the chapel, various pious followers prayed, and the dentist was busy with his patients. In Apartment 3, on the 17th floor of the building where Air Force personnel live, a vice-commodore killed his wife, a biochemist of the Air Forces. He was detained when he was leaving the building.

This excerpt shows that, like in Article 11, the author decides to employ a narrative-like presentation, setting the context for the report. van Dijk (1988) explains that news discourse tends to be “formulated in a specific, formal style, which is characteristic for printed media” (27). “News stories are not stories of personal experiences, and they do not routinely express private beliefs and opinions. According to the prevailing news ideology, they are intended as impersonal statements of facts” (75). However, we can notice that the journalist’s introduction has a story-like quality, demonstrating that the author’s interest seems to be not in presenting the news item in “objective” terms, but rather in creating an interpersonal rapport (Johnstone, 2002) with readers. As pointed out in regard to Article 11, narrative is an important strategy to create personal involvement (Tannen, 1989), which, in turn, could be linked to what Johnstone calls the “presentational” persuasive strategy: “the language of presentational persuasion is characterized

by its rhythmic, paratactic flow [...] In contrast to the denser style of quasilogical discourse, presentational discourse is characterized by features that create personal involvement” (212 – 213). It is worth pointing out that in Spanish, the sentence translated into English as “everyone minded their own business” (‘cada cual atendió su juego’) is actually a line from a children’s song which adds to the rhythmic flow of the section that follows it, i.e. “the gym was packed; the kindergarten teachers sang children’s songs in the nursery; some women were at the hairdresser’s; in the chapel, various pious followers prayed, and the dentist was busy with his patients”. I notice, once again, that *Crítica de la Argentina* aims expressly at triggering readers’ emotions by employing features traditionally associated with oral-like discourse (Johnstone, 2005).

These emotion-triggering devices appear to be targeted at placing emphasis on two topics at the same time, i.e. not only the man’s murder of his wife but also the building where the crime was committed. Such a representational angle begins to be set by the headlines used. With the deck, “Machismo Violence: A Vice-Commodore Killed His Wife”, the journalist seems to anticipate that the gist of his/her piece will revolve around machismo violence (in line with *Crítica de Argentina*’s self-ascribed role as a denouncer of men’s violence against women, which we identified in the background article “A Woman Dies Every Two Days”). However, the headline starts to fuse the crime with the building: “A High-Flying Murder” might be taken as a play upon words (alluding to the name of the building (“Alas” meaning “wings”)), the floor on which the man killed his wife (17th floor), together with the job that the murderer and the victim had (both were officers of the Air Force). With the lead, “In the mythical building Alas, where Perón had a bunker, an Air Force officer killed his wife after a row [...]”, readers can further notice that “machismo” will not be the exclusive topic around which the article is organized, but

rather, the building itself will receive a lot of attention – out of 9 paragraphs, 4 ½ deal exclusively with details about the building. As this discussion will show, examination of the “what” discussed throughout this article helps us to notice a portrayal which belittles the woman’s unnatural death.

After the introduction (i.e. **5.11**), the journalist quotes an unspecified spokesperson from the police: “*Don’t search for anything strange. It was a crime of passion. A man killed his wife after a row, for reasons that are unknown to us*”. After this opinion, rather than taking issue with the depiction of the murder as “crime of passion”, the journalist provides factual information about it: “The crime took place a little bit after ten in the building at 719 Alem Avenue, in Retiro”. Notice how the exact location of the building is mentioned again – like in the caption of the photograph and at the start of the first paragraph – which further brings attention to the crime *scene*, rather than the crime per se. Note that the photograph used connects with this quote, as it shows a police car parked in front of the building.

The journalist continues to depict the crime in a way that resembles a “police report”, by which he/she might attempt to grant an objective quality to the piece; however, on closer examination (of the linguistic resources used), the softening of the man’s murderous act stands out:

5.12 The alleged murderer, from whom a 9-mm gun was sequestered, was identified as Enrique Spadari, 43 years of age. He is accused of killing Rosa Elvira Fridlmeier, 44 years of age, a major in the Air Force. She received two gunshots to her chest and one in the head. They had arrived from Paraná, Entre Ríos, last January: they lived in a three-bedroom apartment with their three children and paid 400 pesos for the rent.

Sykes (1985) points out that “most readers do only a limited amount of extra work in reading beyond what is printed” (93), stressing the importance of writers’ decisions to include or exclude specific information (she focused on clause agents, in particular). In the text at hand, while readers can infer – from the information in the headlines, for example – that the man *is* responsible for the crime, his guilt is mitigated – as excerpt **5.12** shows – through expressions like “the alleged murderer” or “he is accused of killing Rosa Elvira Fridlmeier”; at the same time, his agency is overtly absent in the sentence “She received two gunshots on her chest and one in the head”, in which the victim is presented as the goal of the process “receive”. In turn, the choice of verb “receive” to refer to the fatal gunshots he fired at her is also part of the journalist’s mitigatory description of the murder. Recall that, so far, the journalist has not positioned him/herself against the police’s use of the phrase “crime of passion”. Therefore, what the journalist explicitly includes – as well as, perhaps less directly, what he/she excludes from the report – might lead readers to question the man’s responsibility in the woman’s death. Besides, they might also view what he did – *if he did it at all* – as the result of his, as Ehrlich (1998) following McCarthy puts it, “socially acceptable ‘compelling’ and ‘uncontrollable’ sexual impulses” (156), i.e. his passions. Notice that in **5.12**, the journalist’s focus on the specifics of the building stands out again.

In the next paragraph, the journalist gives a chance for another unidentified spokesperson, now from the Air Force, to have a say in the report: “*Now everybody will say that there is sexual havoc in the Alas. Here, there are families like in any other building*”. Notice that this quote indirectly equates the murder of a woman by his husband with “sexual havoc”, and, like in the case of the phrase “crime of passion”, the journalist does not appear to detach him/herself from this depiction (by overtly criticizing its connotation, for instance). While the Air Force’s worry

that their reputation might be tainted by such “havoc” is brought to the fore, the journalist fails to place emphasis on the crime, for example, by looking into whether or not there was a history of abuse; instead, he/she focuses on what could be seen as the particulars of the murder scene (e.g. it occurred in the Alas building where only military families live).

The only voice which appears to take up the topic of “machismo violence” (present in the article deck), is that of María del Carmen Verdú, from the Association against Police and Institutional Repression (‘Correpi’ in Spanish):

5.13 Yesterday’s case is what the Correpi defines as an intraforce crime. That is, when a member of a security force kills his wife. *There are more and more cases of gender violence like this. Police, prefecture, gendarmerie officers kill their wives. They are all armed, which is dangerous in an argument.*

While as **5.13** demonstrates, this section could have allowed the journalist to elaborate on the information from the deck, not only does he/she not continue delving into the topic of “gender violence” and its links with the crime, but it is preceded and followed by paragraphs (one before (**5.14**), and three afterward (**5.15**)) which deal exclusively with the particulars of the building – thus, leaving “machismo violence” in the background once again. In the paragraph preceding Verdú’s quote, the journalist gives voice to a 22-year-old tenant, who tells of the security procedures in the building:

5.14 *Living here is rather strange. Every time my friends visit me, they have to sign a record sheet. If you have dogs, you’re fined; not to mention listening to loud music. There are more CCTV cameras than in Big Brother. The good thing is that there is a party hall which is really cool.*

In turn, after Verdu's citation (in **5.13**), the journalist allows two more voices in: that of another tenant, and that of an archaeologist which, together with the journalist's own reporting, make reference to the history of the building. For example, some of these lines read:

5.15 *The Alas has been overshadowed by the luxury buildings from Puerto Madero. But living in a two-bedroom apartment for 300 pesos a month is cheap [...] It's a pity that we can't buy it because it belongs to the State, regretted a lawyer [...]. Considered one of the first skyscrapers in Argentina, and the tallest building in the country until 1996 [...] the Alas Building was inaugurated in 1946 [...] it now houses a sister station of Channel 13 and various radio antennae [...]. In the 1950s, the Air Force built an antinuclear and underground bunker in the Alas for the ex-president Juan Doming Perón [...] The place was demolished in 2005, said the archaeologist Daniel Schavelzon.*

What **5.14** and **5.15** seem to confirm is the journalist's interest in focusing on the special characteristics of the building where the crime was committed while the murder itself only gets superficial attention, evidenced, for example, by the citation practices employed in the article. That is, while he/she includes a representative from the Association against Police and Institutional Repression, whose presence in the piece might be viewed as the journalist's decision to speak out against "gender violence" in the Air Force, the representative's voice – located toward the end – is outweighed by the previous and following paragraphs (as **5.14** and **5.15** show) which provide details about the "functioning" and "history" of the building. Also, the two other voices quoted in the first half of the report – and thus the one more easily recalled (van Dijk, 1989) – belong to unspecified spokespeople from the police and Air Force, respectively. The fact that these opinions originate in people whose names are not identified reflects what Zelizer (1989) presents as journalists' tendency to blur the origin of quotes in order to

“perpetuate the illusion that their discourse constitutes collective activity” (383). Therefore, these citations might be viewed as representative of both the entire police and the military – fused with the journalist’s own voice. As there is no need to specify “who” is stating the words, in Goffman’s (1981) terms, there is a focus on the principal and not on the animator or the author of the words. This type of collective stance might, in turn, further diminish the murder: it is not just one person who depicts it as “crime of passion” or “sexual havoc” but entire institutions, against whose opinions the journalist does not argue.

Although it can be understood that, due to space constraints in news reports, journalists are prevented from covering every single detail of an event (as compared to a full-fledged investigation), the general effect that “this panoramic view of news” appears to have – especially, in this case, due to its focus on details which do not pertain to the extreme violence perpetuated on the woman – is highly negative. Consider, in particular, how much attention this journalist pays to details about the building (e.g. its address, its material features, its history, the apartment rents), while fusing his/her voice with unspecified official descriptions of the murder as “crime of passion” and “sexual havoc” without taking issue at the terms. At the same time, nowhere has the term “femicide” been used – in contrast to the position apparently defended in the background articles. For instance, not only do the references to “machismo violence” and “gender violence” not seem to be developed in depth, but consider how Verdu’s quote gets outweighed by information on the characteristics and history of the building. Thus, the portrayal of the woman’s murder at the hands of her husband appears obliterated, and the deck might be viewed as constituting another emotion-triggering device, employed merely to call readers’ attention to the piece. As a consequence, the style of Article 12 might help to maintain patriarchal values which hold women as inferior and easily disposable (Radford, 1992). That is,

readers might see that the journalist' reporting (a piece on the murder of a woman by her husband that ends up stressing the features of a "historical building") is contributing, as Wodak (1997) points out, to the institutionalization of gender categories (e.g. crime of passion and sexual havoc) which serve to make male dominance over women appear as natural (4).

5.1.4 Article 13

Article 13 is headlined "House Arrest for the Dentist Barreda", from the "Society" section in the digital edition of the newspaper. It dates from May 7, 2008. The deck states: "Detained in Gorina, La Plata" while the lead declares: "The quadruple murderer will continue his life imprisonment in his house. He is 72 years old and his conduct in the penitentiary is *excellent*". The article deals with the decision made by a court from Buenos Aires permitting house arrest for Ricardo Barreda, who killed his wife, his mother-in-law, and his two daughters in 1992.

The piece does not have a specific author; it is 416 words long and contains a photograph showing Ricardo Barreda – he wears glasses and has grey hair; he has a serious expression on his face. The caption reads: "***Excellent conduct*** (emphasis in the original). Ricardo Barreda, the quadruple murderer from La Plata will continue serving time in home detention".

5.1.4.1 Looking Into Article 13

The fact that the headline refers to Barreda as "the dentist", together with the emphasis placed of the phrase "*excellent conduct*" (by employing it in the lead and by highlighting it with quotation marks and boldface type in the caption of the photograph), appears to set the representational angle from which he will be portrayed in this piece: the newspaper depicts a man who killed four women in a positive light. In the second paragraph, his being a dentist is brought up again in:

5.16 The Criminal Court from Buenos Aires granted the benefit of house arrest to the dentist Ricardo Barreda, from La Plata, who killed his wife, his mother-in-law and his two daughters in 1992, according to a judicial source. The judges from Room I in the Court took into account the age of the quadruple murderer – 72 years old –, his *excellent* conduct in the penitentiary and the time he has been imprisoned.

At the end of the first sentence in **5.16**, note the inserted citation does not contain a communicative verb (Calsamiglia and López Ferrero, 2003) so that the journalist's voice begins to meld with the court's (like in previous articles), granting legitimacy to the piece by positioning the journalist's reporting as that of an expert (i.e. the court). At the same time, the journalist positions Barreda's crime as the topic of **5.16** (i.e. the section that is considered known or given) through a non-defining subordinate clause ("who killed his wife, his mother-in-law and his two daughters in 1992"), while he/she attaches focal importance (by locating this information at the *end* of **5.16**) to his being old, his good behavior and the time he has already served in prison. This layout causes the reasons for his incarceration to be overshadowed. Notice that the photograph chosen seems to tap into his old age (through his grey hair and his glasses) and his good behavior (through the serious expression on his face).

The journalist goes on to declare that "[...] the Criminal Court will request that the Penitentiary Service from Buenos Aires issue a report on the psychological conditions of the dentist in order for him to gain access to freedom". This excerpt highlights his profession one more time, only the first example of the overt interest on the newspaper's part to foreground his higher-level education, which in this case, is connected to the idea of "gaining access to freedom". Thus, the message conveyed might be: he is a well-behaved dentist; consequently, he gets to leave prison; which in turn, begs the question: what if he were a well-behaved "plumber"

or “builder”? Ruth Wodak (2005) points out that “what is not written is potentially salient” when it comes to representing men and women (93). Accordingly, it would be worth replacing the referring term “dentist” for “murderer” and see the sharp contrast brought about in the representation. Therefore, if it said “[...] a report on the psychological conditions of the **murderer** in order for him **to gain access to freedom**”, the word “murderer” would not collocate with “gaining access to freedom”, which could lead to the depiction of Barreda’s house arrest as undeserving.

Next, the journalist declares: “If the report is favorable, as it is estimated, the quadruple murderer would be set free from the prison in Gorina, La Plata, where he is serving a life sentence”. The phrase between commas, “as it is estimated”, assigns objectivity to the report since it does not overtly state “who” is doing the estimating: the court?, the specialists from the penitentiary?, the journalist?, all of these actors together? As Fairclough (1995) explains, the merging of voices in the press – of the primary discourse (in this case, the journalist’s article) and the secondary discourse (probably, the judges’ statements) is highly frequent (58). Such merging responds to a tendency among newspapers to present “another’s speech as the speaker’s indivisible, conceptual position” (64). Therefore, the fact that Barreda’s psychological examination will be favorable is presented as an opinion widely shared, with the criteria behind that conclusion and the specific individuals who agree on it left unmentioned.

It is also worth noticing that every time the expression “quadruple murderer” is used – i.e. four times in all: one in the lead, one in the caption of the photograph, and the other two in the third and fifth paragraphs –, Barreda’s age and “excellent” conduct are also mentioned or alluded to (by the phrase “as it is estimated” pointed out before), stripping the four crimes he committed of any seriousness or magnitude. Also, it comes as a surprise that, after finding articles in this

paper where the power of language to “properly” name realities is highlighted (recall Article 11 where the phrase “to call a spade a spade” pointed to the fact that women *are being disappeared* by (institutionalized) sex-trade networks rather than naturally vanishing from their towns; in the two background articles, as well, the journalists take issue with reports favoring the use of “crimes of passion”), this time, Barreda’s murders are not referred to as “femicides”. Such a presentation ties in with the fact that the only voices allowed in the article belong to **1)** the court’s judges who decided to allow Barreda’s house arrest (e.g. “Judge Benjamín Sal Llangués suggested that [...] the defendant, due to his age, should have access to house arrest”) and **2)** Barreda’s own lawyer (e.g. “Barreda’s defense lawyer was confident about the dentist’s quick release from prison due to the good conduct he shows in the penitentiary”). Note that the themes of his profession, age and behavior are brought to the fore once again. In contrast, nowhere has the journalist included the opinions of people or institutions with dissident stances; in fact, the only reference to his crimes, apart from the caption of the photograph, comes at the end of the piece, in a paragraph that reads:

5.17 Barreda was sentenced to life in 1995 by the judges of Room I from the Criminal Court, Pedro Soria, Eduardo Hortel y María Rosentock for murdering his wife, Gladys Mac Donall; his mother-in-law, Elena Arreche; and his two daughters, Adriana and Cecilia in 1992.

The fact that the information about the women is presented in a subordinate clause, once again signals the little representational weight that the journalist assigns to their deaths.

Fairclough (2003) claims that “social agents are not free agents, they are socially constrained, but nor are their actions totally socially determined. Agents have their own causal powers which are not reducible to the causal powers of social structures and practices” (22). In

this case, readers could establish that the newspaper conventions for the digital edition – which tends to feature “simple news reports” – may have led the journalist to only center his/her piece on the latest happenings in Barreda’s imprisonment, i.e. his old age and good conduct will allow him to benefit from house arrest. However, as Fairclough acknowledges, agents are not *totally* controlled by social structures (in this case, the generic conventions for the newspaper’s digital edition); therefore, readers could view the journalist’s decision not to include voices against Barreda’s house arrest, his obvious avoidance of the term “femicide”, and his minimal reference to the four women Barreda murdered as a way of contributing to the maintenance of a larger discourse supporting the objectification of women and their disposability (Radford, 1992). Ruth Wodak (2005) asserts that

Organizations are frequently structured in a male way. We find a ‘double discourse’ which, on the one hand, promotes democratic models [...], consistent with prevalent democratic and egalitarian ideologies, but, on the other, masks the permanence of traditional models, only partially and superficially updated (94).

Thus, the positions taken in the background articles might be viewed as the newspaper’s way of addressing violence against women by men in “a politically-correct way”, which, as shown by Article 13 (together with the sensationalist slant of Article 11 and the belittlement of the woman’s murder in Article 12), is not substantiated throughout the newspaper, print and digital editions alike.

It is also worth pointing out that on two occasions the term “house arrest” is replaced by expressions connected to the idea of freedom: i.e. “gain access to freedom” and “would be set free from the prison”, respectively; another time, “house arrest” is part of noun phrase whose

head is “benefit” (in **5.16**), which evidences that Barreda will be able to lead a more comfortable life now.

On May 05, 2008, the digital edition issued another simple news report stating the following (through the deck, headline and lead, respectively): “According to Specialists from Buenos Aires”; “Barreda and His Girlfriend Should Get Therapy”; “It was ratified at Room I from the Court today, as a condition to grant house arrest to the dentist”. The focus of this article is the decision arrived at by two (female) psychologists – i.e. specialists – regarding Barreda’s mental health. The (unspecified) journalist states that, according to the declarations by a judicial spokesperson, Barreda should have access to house arrest as long as he receives “adequate psychological containment”. At the same time, he is presented as having a girlfriend, who should also receive “psychological containment”. Note the choice of word “containment” (instead of “treatment”, for example), which connotes “protection” and “care”, further depicting Barreda in a positive light, i.e. as though *he* were the victim in this case. Once again, Barreda is described in terms of his age, profession, and good conduct and only at the end of the piece and in the caption of his photograph (like in Article 13) is there reference to the four women he killed in 1992. Since no details are provided about the femicides (similarly to Article 13), the fact that all his victims were closely acquainted with him is completely overshadowed by the general focus on his good behavior, his need for “containment”, and the fact that he has started an intimate relationship with another woman.

It is worth stressing that in the print edition of the newspaper, there are two pieces which further evidence *Crítica de la Argentina*’s positive portrayal (and with a sensationalist slant once again) of Barreda. On May 21, 2008, an article (with no specific author) headlined “Fattening his Wallet” tells of Barreda’s “cleverness” to turn his case into a profitable business. The deck

declares: “Barreda Has Not Left Prison Yet but is Already Charging to Grant Interviews”. The lead, in turn, reads: “On the point of living with his girlfriend, the dentist received 15,000 pesos for an interview with América [a TV channel]. He never spoke for free. Other cases”. With this piece, Barreda is portrayed as cunningly making money out of his crimes (“he runs his own media business”; “he is clever and knows how to make a profit out of his crimes; he must earn a living somehow”). In this article, his story is related to that of a man and a woman who also committed serious crimes (the former stabbed his girlfriend 113 times; the latter fatally poisoned three friends), which adds to the sensationalist representation of Barreda’s crimes.

Moreover, on June 12, 2008, the print edition issued an interview with Barreda (leading me to wonder how much *this* newspaper paid for it) headlined “*My Balls Are Full*”. The deck states: “Poor Conchita: Barreda Suffers from An Inflammation in His Testicles”. In turn, the lead reads: “That was what he told *Crítica de la Argentina*, but he did not assign the blame to his illness, the result of an inguinal hernia, but to what journalists write about him. His doctor asked that he be seen at the Pirovano Hospital. The Justice must arrange the admission”. As these words anticipate, this piece gives Barreda an exclusive opportunity to express his disappointment at the journalists’ “inventions” about his case (despite – if readers consider the information at face value – all the money he is making out of this attention). Other than the explicit sexual reference in the headline, the name “Conchita” in the deck is a pun in Argentinean Spanish. Barreda’s girlfriend’s nickname – as is stated in the interview – is “Pochi”, which, like “conchita”, might be used in Argentinean Spanish to pejoratively refer to a woman’s vagina. Thus, the journalist’s decision to change the woman’s nickname in the deck, apart from assigning sexual overtones to his/her piece, presents Barreda’s girlfriend (and women in general) in a depreciatory light. Moreover, Barreda’s portrayal is related to his being “fed up” with what

he has to hear/see on the media regarding his “private life”. This places him in a position of control, as he is getting a say about the injustice he must endure. Such a superior positioning is emphasized by a photograph showing Barreda smoking a cigarette and leaning to the right – as though he were lost in thought – and by quotes like: “We [Barreda and his girlfriend] haven’t argued but exchanged opinions many times and later she told me: *You were right in what you were saying*”.

Lastly, on June 16, 2008, the print edition published a short piece (195 words) titled “Feminists Want Barreda to Go Back to Prison”. In the deck, the (unspecified) journalist sates: “For Them, This Case Has Always Been a Quadruple Femicide”. The piece quotes Gabriela Barcaglioni, from the “Women’s House Azucena Villaflor” saying: “Barreda must serve his life imprisonment in a jail, without the privilege of house arrest which fosters the notion – in the collective imagination – that these crimes are unpunished”. Ann Johnson (2007) explains that women’s organized efforts to improve their status in society are often trivialized, dismissed, or simply ignored by the popular media institutions. Accordingly, while *Crítica de la Argentina* does make room for this dissident voice to have a say, the short length of the piece (which implies that no in-depth representation is possible) together with the portrayal of opposition to Barreda’s home detention as originating with “feminists” show that, rather than aligning itself with the women’s viewpoint, the newspaper is presenting them as an other. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) point out that the term “feminist” signals “a social category that is widely disparaged and characterized in very restrictive and often quite negative ways” (229 – 230). Thus, the use of the term “femicide” in connection with “feminists” takes on this negative quality, stressing its “otherness” as well.

All these representations together seem to convey a clear message: *Crítica de la Argentina* is siding with Barreda. While the newspaper does not overtly support his criminal actions, the way he is depicted demonstrates that the discourse which defends the men who commit crimes against women – be it for economic interests (e.g. sensational news tend to sell more (Clark, 1998)) or not – is still widespread, despite explicit claims to the contrary. As Mary Talbot (2005) declares in reference to the NRA (National Rifle Association) rhetoric of feminism – which we can extrapolate to this newspaper’s: “[...] the NRA mantle of feminism that is ultimately an illusion [...] they pull in feminism as part of their associated field, establishing the NRA as a champion of women’s rights, but any discursive links that are implied with feminism are tenuous in the extreme” (178). van Dijk’s (1989) explanation about newspaper representations of minorities – in this case, *Crítica de la Argentina*’s portrayal of four women killed by a man with whom they were acquainted – can further highlight the crucial role the press plays in the persuasive reproduction of dominant ideologies, like “hegemonic masculinity”: “[...] the media not only express, reflect or disseminate ethnic opinions, but actively mediate them [...] they autonomously (re-)interpret, (re-)construct and (re-)present them, and therefore contribute themselves to their production” (221). By reiterating the court’s opinion on the “dentist’s excellent behavior” over and over again, by depicting him as cunningly profiting from his crimes, as well as by allowing his voice in exclusively so that he can express how fed-up he is (“his balls are full”) of journalists’ untruthful reporting on his life, *Crítica de la Argentina* is reproducing patriarchal values, thus belittling women and only superficially addressing the violence they suffer from at the hands of men (recall the short piece “Feminists Want Barreda to Go Back to Prison”).

5.1.5 Article 14

Article 14 is headlined “*Let’s Humiliate Rapists Publicly*”⁴² and dates from June 24, 2008. Its author, María Helena Ripetta, gives exclusive voice to the aunt of a girl who was run over, raped and burnt in Dorrego, a town in the province of Buenos Aires. The woman, referred to as “Adriana”, calls for citizenry organization to, as stated in the headline, publicly humiliate rapists. In the deck, the journalist writes: “Rocío’s Aunt Speaks”, while the lead reads: “She also targets the judges who have freed the man who abused her 10-year-old niece in Coronel Dorrego. *She’ll recover, she declares*”.

The piece is 515 words long and is included in the “Society” section of the print edition of the newspaper. There is a photograph of “Adriana”: her face is almost entirely covered by her hair and she is looking down. A caption declares: “**Garrahan** [hospital name]. Adriana, in the hospital hall, asks that a list of rapists be published”.

5.1.5.1 Looking Into Article 14

With this article, *Crítica de la Argentina* appears to assure its readership that in cases of women’s sexual abuse and violence, the newspaper not only allows expert voices in its pieces but also gives victims’ relatives an opportunity to have exclusive say. Therefore, this article is mostly made up of quotes from the aunt of a 10-year-old girl, Rocío, who was the victim of a multiple attack by a man she did not know. In line with this positioning, Ripetta’s second paragraph describes the girl’s aunt in favourable terms:

⁴² The verb “humiliate” has been translated from the Spanish “escruchar”, which, as pointed out in Article 4, denotes an act in which a public figure is openly humiliated.

5.18 Her look is lost in anguish, but she took the firm decision to do something to change things. Adriana, one of the aunts of Rocío, the 10-year-old girl who was run over, raped and burnt by a 27-year-old man, who has been detained, spoke with *Crítica de la Argentina* in the hall of the Garrahan Hospital.

With **5.18**, the journalist starts to emphasize the woman's willpower to take action despite her deep sadness. Such emphasis is also evidenced by Ripetta's presentation of Adriana as someone who fights back tears in order to speak and act: "*My niece's life was destroyed*, declares Adriana, who fights back tears. She is in a lot of pain, but does not want it to paralyse her".

Two points stand out, however. The first is the fact that the journalist decides not to mention the rapist by his full name. Before this article, *Crítica de la Argentina* published three other pieces exclusively dealing with Rocío's crime. In all these, the man was referred to by his name and, at times, his job. For example, in the first piece, titled "Run Over, Raped and Burnt" from June 20, he was named "The alleged suspect accused of raping and attempting to kill R. is Mauro Schetel, a 27-year-old plumber". The second piece, from June 21, is titled "*I Set Her on Fire Because I was Afraid*"; in it, readers find sentences like "One of the police officers who was surrounding him burst into tears while listening to the cold-blooded narration of Mauro Emilio Schetel, accused of running over Rocío with his car, raping her and burning her with kerosene". Notice how the newspaper's slant toward sensationalism surfaces here again through the choice of headlines – "Run Over, Raped and Burnt" and "*I Set Her on Fire Because I was Afraid*" – enumerating the abuses suffered by the girl and quoting the rapist's words, respectively; at the same time, the presentation of a police officer as "bursting into tears" further appeals to readers' emotions. In turn, the headline, "*Rocío is Incredibly Brave and Intelligent*", introduces the third piece – from June 22 – which centers on the opinions of Rocío's uncle, Eduardo Olsen. In this

article, the abuser is referred to as “[...] the detained Mauro Schetel”, which allows us to bring up the second point that stands out in the piece under study: Rocío’s aunt is named by her first name only, i.e. “Adriana”, while the girl’s uncle’s full name is given throughout this report. Therefore, it appears that Ripetta is indirectly linking Rocío’s aunt’s voice with an “unspecified” criminal, which might shed doubt on the woman’s credibility, since, while she asks for a list of all the rapists, her own words do not explicitly name Schetel, her niece’s abuser. As highlighted in previous pieces (for example, in Articles 6 and 7), the fact that Rocío’s aunt is referred to as “Adriana” while her uncle is nominated by his full name ties in with Bengoechea’s (2006) assertion that women tend to be discriminated against by naming practices in the press that present them in pejorative terms – such an overt difference, thus, allows us to view the journalist’s decision to only use the woman’s first name not as a way to emphasize her “subaltern agency” (as in Article 3), but rather, her being unworthy of much credibility.

Moreover, it is important to stress that Rocío’s aunt’s quotes contain linguistic resources whose referents are vague or general. For example, the passivized sentence in **5.18** – “[...] the 10-year-old girl who was run over, raped and burnt by a 27-year-old man who has been detained” – is, as Gunther Kress (1985) explains, shifting “the emphasis (indicated by first position) from agent to goal”, which, in turn, indicates “the relative significance assigned by the writer to the respective entities” (31). In this case, the girl (and her suffering) is placed in the foreground, while her abuser is not specifically named. Since this is not the first article dealing with Rocío’s plight, the newspaper might consider it has already provided readers with more detailed information on the case; however, for someone only reading this piece, the portrayal of the crime might sound too general. In turn, such generality might be linked to the woman quoted, i.e. “Adriana”, giving way to a presentation of her request – i.e. a list of all rapists – as lacking in

rhetorical strength. Caldas-Coulthard (2003), following Kress and van Leeuwen, explains that when the people in photographs do not “interact through eye contact with the reader, the semiotic representation signifies distance and noncredibility” (288). Accordingly, the picture showing “Adriana” looking down with her hair covering most of her face, reinforces the presentation of her opinions as lacking credibility.

There are three other paragraphs in the article, apart from the lead and the second paragraph (in **5.18**) mentioned before. In these, the journalist allows Adriana to make statements like:

5.19 *My niece’s life was taken way from her; It was the third time that this guy did this [raped a woman] [...] Does something like this have to happen for awareness to be raised?; I want to know the name of the judge who set him free. We will humiliate him publicly. My niece’s life was destroyed.*

Once again, while readers could infer that the agency left implicit in expressions like “My niece’s life was taken way from her” and “My niece’s life was destroyed” is that of Mauro Emilio Schetel’s, if they have not read the previous reports, there is no way for them to access his name in this article. Notice, as well, that both are metaphorical allusions to the crimes suffered by Rocío: compare them with a sentence like “Mauro Emilio Schetel ran over Rocío; he then raped her and set her on fire” (which the journalist could have included), and see the difference brought about by specificity of both reference (through processes like ‘ran over’, ‘raped’ and ‘burned’; through fully naming the abuser) and agency (through active voice). That is, while the journalist does not appear to make a portrayal of the man’s crimes in forgiving terms (after all, she *is* calling for justice by allowing the girl’s aunt exclusive say), what stands out is the vagueness of the wording – and in this case, its metaphorical quality – when the

opinions originate with “Adriana”. As Sykes (1985) points out, “discourse produced with sympathetic intent” (in this case, to give voice to a woman’s demands) “may be regarded as unfavorable in effect” (considering how vague, and even metaphorical, her arguments might sound) (99). At the same time, while one of the points of Rocío’s aunt’s denunciation – and of Ripetta’s article – might be for the name of the judge freeing Schetel before to be made public, the question “Does something like this have to happen for awareness to be raised?” mitigates the responsibility (of this judge’s and of other members of the judicial system in Buenos Aires) in the perpetuation of the crimes by setting rapists free. The noun “something” and the phrase “for awareness to be raised” yet again do not point to concrete referents or agents, therefore adding to the vagueness of this piece. In the last paragraph, the generality of the reference and the agentless processes are maintained:

5.20 The Justice knew about him [...] he **was protected** before and now; **The police** refuse to give us a photograph; The rapist **is protected**; This is **a system that protects abusers**; He should have been in jail. On the same day of the demonstration, there was another rape, **are they laughing at us?**

It should also be highlighted, however, that through the inclusion of quotes whose referents are general and whose agency is passivized (as excerpt **5.20** shows), the journalist might be seeking to portray the Argentine “national” government – beyond the judiciary and the police from Buenos Aires – as inefficient and corrupt. Such critical depiction is in line with what was found in previous articles from the same newspaper (in Article 11, for instance, the journalist – through her choice of quotes – states: “It seems that Argentina has free-for-all areas where the police, the municipal authorities, and the judges are involved”). That is, exerting pressure on the government to obtain a “list of all the abusers” might underlie this general depiction of the actors

involved in Rocío's crime (recall the notion of "social effects of texts" (Fairclough, 2003) which we brought up in connection with Article 11). In the end, thus, Ripetta's preference for vagueness in her piece might represent her siding with victims of male abuse.

Nevertheless, the surfacing of two other themes further evidence the journalist's (implicit) proclivity toward reporting that, ultimately, might not favor the victims. On the one hand, the rapist is abnormal; on the other, Rocío was not close to him: "*The list of rapists must be published. They ought to be publicly identified, it is the only way to hold a sick person back [...] My niece didn't know him*". With respect to the first theme, and maintaining the same denotation to abnormality, the criminal was also called "a jackal" and "a monster" in the pieces issued before the article under analysis. As stated before, these other referring terms would be lost for someone only reading the piece on Rocío's aunt's opinions. However, the fact that they were actually employed allows us to view the term "a sick person" in context, which serves as further support for the claim that the newspaper might lean toward a sensationalistic representation of events. As Clark (1998) declares, in connection with her study of *The Sun's* reporting on sexual violence, "the [...] naming of men as beasts, fiends, and monsters helps to sensationalize the attacks and maybe helps to sell papers" (195). Moreover, as was pointed out above, the newspaper's preference for sensationalism surfaces through the choice of headlines – "Run Over, Raped and Burnt" and "*I Set Her on Fire Because I was Afraid*" and through, for instance, the depiction of a police officer as "bursting into tears", which directly appeals to readers' emotions. In relation to the motive behind the newspaper's emphasis on this case (evidenced by the different pieces it devoted to Rocío's case), we can bring up Goatly's (2000) explanation regarding the value ascribed by newspapers to events involving negativity, showing a special interest in cases of heightened suffering among people (252). With respect to the

second theme – i.e. Rocío and her abuser not being acquainted – it further proves that “stranger rape” in mainstream press coverage (as in Articles 8 and 9) is more likely to be reported on than “simple rapes” – where the rapist is known to the woman (Ehrlich, 2004), belying the fact that women are mostly abused by men to whom they are close.

Apart from the three other pieces which the newspaper issued about the extreme violence inflicted on Rocío by Mauro Emilio Schetel (a criminal she was not acquainted with), *Crítica de la Argentina* published two long articles delving into the issue of rapists and the most appropriate punishment that these criminals should take. On June 22, a 1,576-word report called “What Ought to Be Done with Rapists” centered on the opinions of different “specialists” about the right action in cases of rape. The deck already sets the tone for the piece, as it reads: “Judges, Psychiatrists, Forensic Doctors and Victims Express their Opinions: All the Controversy”. The word “controversy” anticipates conflict and different interests. Out of the eight people cited, six are men and two are women. In turn, while three of the men seem to project a harsh stance against rapists (evidenced by their respective positions of “The rapist doesn’t change”, “Yes to castration” and “They should be sentenced to life imprisonment”), the two women appear to support more lenient courses of action (“They can recover” and “In favor of a genetic bank”). This majority of male voices might point to the newspaper’s positioning of men as more prepared to give expert opinions about rapes (which, paradoxically, tend to involve more *female* victims). Also, the connection between men’s stance with harsh measures and women’s stance with less severe action appears to reflect (and help to maintain) the gender order of the Argentine patriarchal society. Accordingly, the piece ascribes the role of “the caring woman” (Goatly, 2000) to the female experts and that of “protectors of women and children” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003) to the male specialists. In a like manner, Rocío’s aunt is only referred to

as “Adriana”, in what can be viewed as Ripetta’s positioning the woman as close (and affectionate) not only toward her niece but also toward the readers; in contrast, when an article is based on the voice of the girl’s uncle, he is nominated by his full name, which might project him as detached (and more serious).

On June 23, another report took up “the controversy” once again, focusing on the topic from a Spanish perspective. The headline reads “The Spanish Solution under Analysis”, while in the lead, the journalist states: “The debate on what to do with rapists seems to continue throughout the world. Chemical castration, is it a solution to rehabilitate abusers? The moral issues and the controversy”. As was pointed out regarding Articles 8 and 9 from *La Nación*, what all these articles demonstrate (not only the ones dealing with Rocío’s abuses and the two based on opinions by “specialists” but various others⁴³ which tackle cases of women who were raped and/or murdered by **unfamiliar men**) is that *Crítica de la Argentina* makes extensive room for coverage on “stranger rape” (Ehrlich, 2004) – despite the fact that, in line with what different articles in this newspaper report on, women are most at risk in their homes. For instance, recall the background article “A Woman Dies Every Two Days” (June 13, 2008) in which staff journalist Luciana Peker states that in Argentina, “domestic insecurity kills a woman every two days”. Another piece entitled “Your Body Will Be Mine Forever” (April 04, 2008) declared that

⁴³ <http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=810>

<http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=1266>

<http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=1700>

<http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=1781>

<http://www.criticadigital.com/impresa/index.php?secc=nota&nid=1780>

70 percent of women are victimized by “conjugal debt” – i.e. rapes by their spouses or partners – and in an article called “Cristian Messed with His Own Old Woman” (May 3, 2008), journalist Luciana Peker focuses on the figures of “family violence in Argentina”. In it, Peker asserts that “every two couples, there is violence, and in 90 percent of the cases, it is inflicted by a man”. Therefore, there emerge two representational lines in the newspaper: on the one hand, pieces which tackle “gender/machismo/family/domestic violence” in a general manner – i.e. articles which do not focus on *specific* cases of women abused at the hands of men – warn about its frequent occurrence with men to whom the women are close; on the other hand, pieces which deal with particular women abused and/or killed seem to favor victims of men with whom the women are unacquainted. In turn, as shown by Article 13, a case of a woman killed by her husband is not referred to as femicide (as readers might expect considering articles like “Femicide in the Desert”) nor does the crime receive much attention (since the piece also stresses the features of the historical building in which the crime took place).

As brought up in relation to Articles 8 and 9, Ehrlich (2004) stresses that “the discourses of rape that surround the criminal-justice system’s treatment of rape construct stranger rape as real rape and render the vast majority of rapes invisible”; in turn, such “definitions and categories of real rapes and legitimate or believable victims are socially controlling in the sense that they determine the likelihood of women’s disclosing and reporting of rape” (225). The fact that *Crítica de la Argentina* chooses to report on cases of rape which constitute the majority – those occurring with familiar men – without focusing on specific women (and when it does, the crime is belittled) might demonstrate that its reporting is in line with the hegemonic judicial discourse that renders, as Ehrlich states, “the vast majority of rapes invisible”. Paradoxically, the

newspaper's overt position is against the government's inaction in terms of gender violence; its reporting, however, ultimately might not be so critical.

5.1.6 Article 15

Article 15 is from April 9, 2008⁴⁴. Its headline reads: "The Court Said No to Tejerina"; the deck states: "A Very Argued-Upon Sentence", while in the lead, journalist Josefina Licitra declares: "It [the court] confirmed the 14-year sentence for the mother from Jujuy who killed her newborn baby after a rape. There is no other appeal possible". Like Articles 5 and 10 above, the piece deals with the Supreme Court's decision not to revoke the sentence that keeps Romina Tejerina in prison.

The article is 814 words long; it was printed in the "Society" section of the print edition of the newspaper. There is a photograph showing Romina Tejerina, looking down; wire netting can be seen in the background. Below this image, the caption states: "**The days without freedom** [emphasis in original]. Romina Tejerina killed her daughter in an alleged state of violent emotion. It did not serve as justification before the court".

5.1.6.1 Looking Into Article 15

In what appears to be a characteristic feature of this newspaper, the author, Licitra, starts her piece with a brief narrative that might trigger readers' emotional reaction to it, therefore fostering their involvement with the article:

⁴⁴ This piece does not follow the chronological order of the other four articles from this newspaper in order to maintain the layout of the other two newspapers, in which Romina Tejerina's case is presented last.

5.21 On April 1, Romina Tejerina, her family and her lawyers proposed a toast and spoke about the future. For the first time in a long time, there was a real possibility for Tejerina – sentenced to 14 years in prison after killing her baby girl, whom she may have conceived after a rape – to become free.

Note that from the start, the killing of her baby is related to her rape – “may have conceived after a rape” –, in sharp contrast to Article 10, in which such reference is only indirectly made and also discredited through its inclusion in the quote from Highton (**4.24**), one of the judges who voted in favor of Tejerina’s 14-year sentence. Moreover, the indirect reference is located toward the *end* of the article (paragraph 11 out of 14), which – following van Dijk’s (1989) explanation on the presentation of news about minority groups – signals *La Nación*’s disinterest in assigning importance to the violence Tejerina herself suffered.

It appears, then, that with this short narrative, Licitra is beginning to represent Tejerina in favorable terms – i.e. pointing to her unjust incarceration. However, note that the reference to the rape in **5.21** is done through the modal verb “may”, which casts doubt on the actual occurrence of the rape. Fairclough (2003) explains that the sphere of modality in language is “what people commit themselves to in what they say or write with respect to truth and with respect to obligation” (17). Nevertheless, the phrase “who she may have conceived after a rape” might attain factual weight through its connection with the expression (in the headline) “the mother from Jujuy who killed her newborn baby after a rape”, which presents the rape as categorical. Such wording in the headline responds to a tendency, widespread in media reporting, to produce modality transformations in accordance with their claim of factuality and truthfulness (Fairclough, 1992). The use of categorical modality in the headline can be viewed as a device for calling readers’ attention to the piece – i.e. involvement-triggering. Once readers delve into the

piece, however, they come across modalized structures as seen in the phrase “whom she may have conceived after a rape”, which match the fact that the rape was never “legally” backed up (recall that at the start of Article 5, the journalist refrains from portraying Tejerina’s rape as a fact – i.e. “the young woman who killed her newborn girl because, according to what she said at that time, she saw the face of the man who had raped her on the girl’s face” – which might be interpreted as his indirectly casting doubt on Tejerina’s justification for killing her daughter, i.e. the rape itself).

After excerpt **5.21** (a story-like paragraph), Licitra goes on to declare:

5.22 The celebration was based on a lot more than an optimistic outburst: [...] it was known that out of the seven judges, four of them were in favor of a reduction of the sentence, which implied Tejerina’s immediate release from prison.

Note how the journalist continues to create momentum in Tejerina’s story, employing expressions like “proposed a toast”, “celebration” and “more than an optimistic outburst”, which allude to a probable “happy ending” the story could have had. However, the climax arrives abruptly:

5.23 But yesterday, unexpectedly, one of the judges who was in favor of Tejerina – it is believed it was Doctor [address term used in Spanish to refer to lawyers who may or may not have earned a PhD or an honorary doctorate] Ricardo Lorenzetti – gave the reduction of the sentence the thumbs-down and turned everything else upside down [...] Tejerina will not be able to set foot in the street for at least five more years.

There is a marked contrast between colloquial expressions like “gave [...] the thumbs-down”, “turned everything else upside down” and “set foot in the street” and the seriousness of the reality to which they refer. The contrast between the language used and the reality it points to

seems to match Licitra's preference for devices that might promote readers' involvement (and alignment) with her reporting. As van Dijk (1987) explains "persuasion depends on what people already know and believe before the persuasive discourse, which means that these knowledge structures should be made explicit" (263). Accordingly, the journalist's overt use of colloquial language might lead readers to deem her piece as credible since its propositions sound familiar to them (on one occasion she explicitly writes: "[...] a sentence that, in domestic terms, means the lengthening of the confinement"). That is, Licitra's text, though not with an explicit persuasive goal (cf an advertisement), projects closeness and similarity to the readers, which furthers their acceptance of its content. Once again, Fairclough's (1988) notion of the preference for "commonsensical" representations in the media is evidenced in Article 15.

Regarding the citation practices employed by Licitra, the only direct quote allowed in the article belongs to Mariana Vargas, Tejerina's defense lawyer, whose opinion is constructed as a response to a question posed by the journalist:

5.24 What was the reason behind this surprising sentence? Mariana Vargas is convinced that there existed K influence [she is referring to the Argentinean president and her husband Cristina and Néstor 'Kirchner']. *Kirchnerism tinged the sentence* – she said to *Crítica de la Argentina*. *They were always against Romina's release.*

It is worth remembering that in Article 11, this same pattern is used: the journalist poses a question which is answered by one of the women she quotes (refer to quote **5.7**). As was highlighted in connection with Article 1, the concept of "dialogicality and the social construction of meaning" is brought up by Hill and Irvine (1993) in order to stress the value – in this case, among press journalists – of creating knowledge by means of dialogue in discourse (2). This question-answer resource may also be interpreted as Licitra's move to foster readers'

involvement with her text, projecting, as was stated above, proximity between her and her audience through dialogue. Note that the theme of opposition against the national government in Argentina – which was found in Articles 11 and 14, and in the background articles – emerges in Article 15, as well. Later in the piece, the journalist underlines this oppositional stance once again in: “[...] the sentence will make Kirchnerism happy: the president Cristina Fernández has always led a crusade against abortion legalization”. Other than Mariana Vargas’ direct quote, Licitra bases most of her piece on telling *about* the court’s (and the judges’) decision and the consequence of such decision, as the last citation demonstrates.

Licitra then returns to the idea expressed in the deck “A Very Argued-Upon Sentence”, by presenting Tejerina’s case as provoking a debate in court. Such debate, she states, revolved around the ruling of “damages reduction”:

5.25 If the context in which the story had occurred (poverty, alleged family violence, hiding of the pregnancy) was taken into consideration, it was pertinent that Tejerina be sentenced for eight years, the minimum number of years for this kind of homicide.

Note that Licitra’s representation of the context of violence surrounding Tejerina is made between parentheses. This is different from Ruchansky above (author of Article 5) who, after distancing himself from the notion of the rape, decides to center his piece through the quotes he selects on the notion that the court’s decision has overlooked the destituteness surrounding Tejerina (as shown in excerpts **3.16**, **3.17** and **3.18**). Therefore, in comparison with Article 5, the fact that Licitra de-focalizes such information by expressing it *in parentheses* shows she does not locate Tejerina’s actions in a broader context of injustice – like Ruchansky does. Licitra’s portrayal, then, may lead readers to view Tejerina’s killing of her daughter in isolation, as though there were no conditioning circumstances to it.

Licitra's parenthetical paraphrase of Tejerina's context can be linked to her depiction of the woman as passive and vulnerable:

5.26 Until the time this article was finished, Tejerina had not heard of the sentence. Tejerina's existence always unfolded in slumberous territory, which means she never completely understood why certain events were playing out in her life. She grew up in a lower-middle class family from Jujuy and until she was 17 years old, she led a life like any other teenager from a small town. On a Saturday, before going dancing, Eduardo 'Pocho' Vargas, her neighbor, 20 years older than her, may have forced her in a car and may have raped her.

Notice, first, how the phrase "may have forced her in a car and may have raped her" shows that Licitra's *categorical* representation of the rape in the headline points to her decision to transform (Fairclough 1992) into a fact an event with no legal backing (due to a specific judge's decision not to investigate further). Second, the sentence "Tejerina's existence always unfolded in slumberous territory, which means she never completely understood why certain events were playing out in her life" evidences the journalist's decision to portray her as if she were completely devoid of rationalization: it is not her, but her "existence" that is the agent of the process "unfold" – which denotes events happening naturally, without (human) agency. Besides, this unfolding takes place in "slumberous territory", which underlines her "unconsciousness" and "passivity" once again. As pointed out in Article 14 with the photograph of Adriana, the fact that the photograph shows Tejerina looking down might reinforce the idea of Tejerina's slumberous existence, signifying, in turn, distance and lack of credibility (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003).

Mary Sykes (1985), in her study about discrimination in discourse, explains that the presentation of victims as "having no agency in their own misfortunes" is often attained through

the use of “nontransactive processes that involve no other participant than the actor” (90). For example, in Article 15, see how verbs like “grow up” (“She grew up in a lower-middle class family”), or “lead” (“[...] she led the life like any other teenager from a small town”) tap into Tejerina’s portrayal as someone who could not take control of her life/actions. In addition, sentences like “Tejerina’s existence always unfolded in slumberous territory [...] never completely understood why certain events were playing out in her life” only add to her image as “aimless and incapable of self-determination” (Sykes, 1985). Third, notice both the explicit reference to her socioeconomic class and the presentation of her life as (ordinarily) small town-like. Once again, such portrayal might lead readers to generalize, matter-of-factly, that poverty leads to sexual abuse, i.e. poor people are sexual abusers. Finally, the idea of Tejerina’s helplessness is also emphasized by the description of the violence her neighbor inflicted upon her.

With linguistic devices stressing Tejerina’s vulnerability and passivity (with her own life), Licitra’s article proves Bengoechea’s (2000) point:

For a woman to present herself as a victim of a man’s violence means her self-positioning in front of the world as passive, unprotected, powerless, and therefore, prone to being the object of victimization [...] However, for a woman to present herself as a victim of sexual violence, but in the role of agent, subject [of the sentence], implies ‘deserving’ the violence and placing the blame on herself (10).

Therefore, the journalist’s reporting itself might serve as evidence of this dilemma that women who suffer from violence at the hands of men must face. Accordingly, the second part of Bengoechea’s explanation – i.e. the violence-deserving portrayal – also emerges in Licitra’s report:

5.27 The encounter could never be proved because the judge in charge of matters of sexual abuse – Jorge Samman – refused to request that Vargas’s DNA be examined. From that moment on – as Tejerina always recalled –, there remained a lot of hatred, disgust, and a pregnancy with a ferocious ending. On April 16, 2003, prematurely, Tejerina gave birth to her daughter in the bathroom of her house; she had a nervous attack and stabbed the baby to death. In the trial, Tejerina declared that she had seen the *face of her rapist* on the baby’s face: an argument that was not convincing for the Justice from Jujuy.

Note that here, Licitra’s presentation of Tejerina steers away from the passivity and “slumberous” quality it had before, as now the woman becomes the agent of processes like “recall”, “have a nervous attack”, “stab her baby to death”. The last two expressions may also be related to the notion of lack of consciousness that is alluded to through sentences like “Tejerina’s existence always unfolded in slumberous territory”; this time, however, the connotation points to her being incapable of rational or justified behavior.

While the journalist makes room for specifically naming the judge (Jorge Samman) who denied Tejerina the chance to legally prove the rape, which readers could see as Licitra’s providing a justification for Tejerina’s killing, the general depiction points to the woman’s complete vulnerability due to her slumberous existence, her poor family, her unproven rape, her lack of rationality, and her being at the mercy of a judicial system – either at the local or national level – which prioritizes men’s rights to women’s. This depiction is rounded up as Licitra declares: “After this sentence [from the Supreme Court], Tejerina – and her case – do not have anywhere else to go”. Such a sense of defenselessness is also present in Ruchansky’s piece (Article 5) through his inclusion of the voices of women’s associations expressing their contempt

toward the Court's decision. Both journalists' emphasis on the helplessness that surrounds women who are victims of all kinds of machismo, particularly in contexts of poverty and destitution, might help to maintain the violence for them, as Reid and Finchilescu (1995) point out, "may contribute to a conscious process of intimidation, which serves to reinforce the existing stereotypes pertaining to the powerlessness of women" (399). Leading the same result, but from a different representational angle, is Ventura's depiction of Tejerina – in *La Nación* – which overtly connects the woman's actions with the notion of a well-deserved sentence, implicitly conveying the message that the unequal treatment of women should be maintained.

While it cannot be denied that Tejerina's chances to defend herself against her rapist and against the judicial authorities who position men's rights before women's was, actually, very limited, a series of linguistic strategies favored by *Crítica de la Argentina* point to the newspaper's adherence to the patriarchal system of beliefs which permits the injustice perpetuated upon Tejerina: 1) an emotionally-laden reporting type, bordering on sensationalism (e.g. Article 11); 2) a depiction of a woman's murder by her husband which favors both linguistic resources belittling the crime and quoting practices that grant more weight to the "building" where the murder was committed (Article 12); 3) representations – e.g. through naming practices – that render the crimes perpetuated on women invisible or that present men as both victims or "cunning" criminals (Article 13); 4) reporting which, while giving the victim's relatives exclusive opportunities to denounce the injustice they suffer from, casts doubt on the credibility of women's arguments (Article 14); and 5) coverage which either overemphasizes women's passivity or makes limited reference to the negative socioeconomic circumstances that surround women's active behavior (Article 15). Lastly, it is worth noting that on the same page this article was featured, an advertisement for a health insurance company taking up one third of

the page was located right below Tejerina's story. The ad had a photograph of a family which showed a woman and a man smiling widely, and a boy playing with a puppy; all looked happy and at ease. A sentence read: "As important as your family". Such image-text composition appears to depict a reality that is in sharp contrast to Tejerina's life, thus foregrounding her criminal actions (i.e. she did not take into account how "important" a family is).

6.0 GENDER IDEOLOGIES

Eckert (2000) explains that the concept of the linguistic market was “first introduced by Bourdieu and Boltanski” and alludes to a market “in which the value of a speaker’s verbal offerings – the likelihood that these offerings will be heard and heeded – depends on the linguistic variety in which they are encoded” (13). In the case of journalists’ language use in three of Argentina’s national newspapers, which it must be noted are mostly published in the country’s capital, Buenos Aires (where the majority of the cultural productions take place), their linguistic choices must rank high on the linguistic market. This position, thus, gives journalists from Buenos Aires more chances (than a journalist working for a local newspaper in Salta, for instance) for their “verbal offerings to be heard and heeded”, i.e. to influence their readership’s opinions.

People can be more aware of the ideological actions they perform depending on, among other things, the socio-economic position or the role they play on specific occasions, thus consciously contributing to the creation, maintenance or challenge of existing ideologies. For example, a newspaper’s style guide banning journalists from using “domestic violence” in their reports (e.g. the case of the Spanish newspaper *Público* that journalist Paula Carri from *Página 12* refers to in her piece “How to Say It”) is a conscious act – on the part of the board of directors, for instance – to not represent the abuses that a man inflicts on his spouse or girlfriend as belonging to the domesticity (i.e. naturalness) of family life. That is, this is a conscious act to

change, or denaturalize, a patriarchal value through press reporting. At the same time, a journalist that, until this instruction, had been employing “domestic violence” in his/her reports, may have been aware of the ideological load of the phrase but may have used it simply because he/she had encountered it before, and so was not directly conscious of its connotations; however, whether reflected upon or not, use of this phrase still contributes to the maintenance of the ideology behind the words.

As Cameron (1998) puts it: “language is not just a cultural edifice but also an everyday practice; and experience shows we should not overestimate the ability of norm-makers to dictate the terms of everyday usage” (13). Consequently, she defies the notion of “language as a living thing”, pointing out that “to detach language-using from its historical, cultural and social context and to place it, instead, in the ‘natural’ realm of ‘living things’ is a recipe for political inertia” (13). Likewise, gender ideologies are not independent from the people whose actions keep them alive or question them. At the same time, there are people whose positions allow them to be more influential in the naturalization/debunking of (gender) ideologies, and journalists – particularly if part of large circulation, daily newspapers (like the three I focused on) – are an example of such people.

Consequently, in the case of newspaper reporting on male violence against women, I can extrapolate Zelizer’s (2004) explanation regarding the work done by the Glasgow University Media Group to the analysis conducted in this thesis. Similar to what was referred to in the literature review sections, this group concluded that news is always reported from a particular angle, and it is the language employed, characterized by “a high degree of predictability, a simplified framing of public events, and a high level of redundancy”, that underscores the maintenance of the ideological status quo (122). In this work, I have looked into the practices

that journalists from *Página 12*, *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*, respectively, favor regarding the naming of male violence against women, the voicing of the actors involved and the way these actors were (or were not) ascribed agency in their actions. The analysis not only focused on isolated linguistic choices in a single text but established interconnections between these and other forms in the same piece; at the same time, their meaning attained even more determinacy by the drawing of links between those forms featured in different reports (in the background articles, in the pieces published on the same day, and/or in the articles tackling the same case but on different occasions). Consequently, through the study of fifteen newspaper articles about cases of male violence against women in Argentina, the following gender ideologies are revealed:

(1) Gender violence – in this case, violence against women by men – is associated with marginalized places in society, in which women are victims of men in a socioeconomic system that favors the economically-powerful groups only. Therefore, the discourse establishes that poor men are the victimizers and poor women the victims. This ideology is evidenced in five articles from *Página 12* – Articles 1, 2 (which apart from emphasizing poverty, highlight the fact that the rape took place in an indigenous community, depicting it as an “other” mostly from the perspective of people with European descent), 3 and 5, and much less directly, Article 4 (through the avoidance of the mention of the crime location, i.e. Buenos Aires capital); in *La Nación* one piece – Article 10 – overtly links destitution and poverty with male violence, while two others do so indirectly – when Articles 8 and 9 portray the richer neighbourhoods from Buenos Aires capital as “shocked” by the occurrence of cases of stranger rape. *Crítica de la Argentina*, in turn, expressly presents the poverty-violence association in one report – Article 15 – while it is less directly pointed to in the first piece examined from this newspaper – Article 11.

Therefore, if, with differing degrees of overtness, ten out of fifteen articles present gender violence against a background of low socioeconomic resources, van Dijk's (1989) point that minority – i.e. politically and economically powerless – groups are equated with negative values and behaviours in the mainstream media is proved on this occasion as well. Such emphasis, in turn, furthers the naturalization of the poverty-violence link.

Goatly (2000) asserts that “the background noise of human misery caused by poverty, malnutrition, disease, pollution and ignorance is effectively filtered out from the mainstream media” (253) while van Dijk (1987) posits that:

Deeper social causes, contexts, and consequences [...] are seldom discussed. Even when the media do not formulate negative opinions themselves, they provide a definition of the ethnic situation [which we could extrapolate in terms of the poverty-violence link] that makes such negative inferences not only possible but also plausible (46).

As a consequence, while the connection between violence against women by men and poverty/destitution is present in the three newspapers, no piece appears to make an in-depth account of the reasons why there exist destitute areas in Argentina, which, in turn, might deepen the violence against women by reinforcing partial models of the causes for “gender violence”.

(2) Women are silent and passive regarding gender violence. Eight of the articles analyzed (Articles 1, 2, 4 and 5 from *Página 12*; Article 10 from *La Nación*; and Articles 14 and 15 from *Crítica de la Argentina*) present the legal system or the national government as fraught with inefficiencies that lead to the maintenance of male violence against women. However, it is noteworthy that these are also articles that deal with cases whose victims are either girls or young women, i.e. women who are not in a position to make their voices heard against the violence they suffered from. While others (e.g. women's associations, relatives, or defence lawyers) are cited

on the victims' behalf, the fact that so much press coverage on gender violence focuses on vulnerable women (perhaps, the most vulnerable) might respond to the ideology that holds women as silent and passive people. Bengoechea (2000) remarks on "the tendency in the press to always speak of women abused as passive beings [...] there are no comments or asides regarding the women's capacity to defend themselves, their intelligence or their skill to end with the situation" (9). Accordingly, while these eight pieces do criticize the patriarchal values upheld by courts of justice, for example, for their acquittal of rapists or for their refusal to heed a woman's accusations against her rapist, the fact that the cases used to bring the government's injustice to the fore are about defenseless women might contribute, in the end, to the maintenance of the ideology under consideration. If more coverage were done on cases of women who do take action against male violence (e.g. Article 3), women's vulnerability before violent men would not emerge as the natural status quo. As Reid and Finchilescu (1995) posit: "it may be postulated that frequent exposure to media aggression directed toward women contributes to the development of what Brownmiller (1975) aptly termed a 'female victim mentality'" (409). Therefore, the need for educommunication stands out again to prevent women becoming even more disempowered by press representations focusing excessively on their (natural) condition as vulnerable victims.

(3) Women are to blame for the occurrence of gender violence; (4) In a context of gender violence, women are objects that can be disposed of or easily replaced; (5) Women belong to the private domain. Articles 6 and 7 from *La Nación*, together with Articles 12 and 13 from *Crítica de la Argentina* report on cases of women who were killed. The pieces from *La Nación* stereotypically depict the victim as a beautiful woman living a promiscuous life which led to her own murder – recall, too, the use of the phrase "crime of passion" connoting

naturalness in her murder. In turn, the victim in Article 12 is belittled by both equating her murder with a “crime of passion” or “sexual havoc” and by a manifest emphasis on the characteristics of the building where she was killed. Article 13 presents Barreda – the murderer of four women – in favourable terms, not only by focusing on his higher education and excellent behavior in prison but also by highlighting his need for protection and his cleverness. Therefore, there emerge two gender ideologies: on the one hand, there is the ideology defined by Radford (1992) as “woman blaming”, which holds the women victimized by crime as responsible for it (note that this same ideology might underlie Article 10 from *La Nación*: Romina Tejerina is depicted as a cold-blooded murderer without making room for a description of her circumstances); on the other hand, there is the ideology which deems women as objects that can be disposed of or easily replaced (Radford, 1992). These ideologies might, in turn, be connected to a third one: a gender ideology which establishes a differentiation between the public and the private domains. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) assert that:

The woman’s domestic role commonly plays out in a restriction to private space, and a male domination of public space. It also extends to a common restriction of women’s and girls’ activities to the home, both in terms of space and activity, while men and boys have not only more tasks outside the home, but greater mobility and greater access to public spaces (41).

Consequently, the public sphere is seen as the “natural environment” for men to act in while the private sphere is the “right” place for women. Women who “dare” live on their own, i.e. be independent – as in Articles 8 and 9 –, or women who get a divorce from their abusive husbands – as in Articles 6 and 7 – are violently punished, and the articles covering their cases clearly convey the “punishing” message as well. Note that both *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*,

particularly in the background articles, interchangeably employ phrases like “family violence” and “domestic violence” as synonymous with “gender violence”. Other than naturalizing the violence by depicting it as part of the domesticity of the home, “family violence” and “domestic violence” might further highlight the notion that the private sphere – evidenced by the terms “family” and “domestic” – is the realm where women belong.

(6) Gender violence is challenged by fractions of society which adhere to the ideology that holds women as equal to men: i.e. both women and men deserve to be respected and treated justly. Gender violence is challenged by fractions of society which fight against ideologies 1 through 5. The journalists from *Página 12* all chose to refer to the violence as “sexual abuse” or “sexual violence”, which, as Radford (1992) observes, have the advantage of focusing on the “the man’s desire for power, dominance and control” (3) rather than portraying the violence as part and parcel of the realm of the home, e.g. “domestic violence”, “family violence”, or as a natural outburst of passion from men, e.g. “crime of passion”: the newspaper is, then, defying the notion that male domination of women is “normal”. Therefore, *Página 12* – when considering, as well, that it issues a “gender supplement” every week, while neither *La Nación* nor *Crítica de la Argentina* has such a supplement⁴⁵ – might be aligning itself with a gender ideology that fosters the equal treatment of women and men, promoting women’s

⁴⁵ Note that the three newspapers converge on the sections where the articles are featured – i.e. “Society” (*Página 12* and *Crítica de la Argentina*) and “General Information” (*La Nación*) – which might indicate that the three newspapers do not differentiate cases of violence against women by men from other pieces tackling a wide variety of “general” topics (e.g. on tourism or bioethics). However, the “gender supplement” of *Página 12* distinguishes it from the other two newspapers (*La Nación* issues a supplement on “fashion and beauty” while *Crítica de la Argentina* does not publish supplements).

emancipation from violent men. Apart from employing reporting styles which point to other – negative – gender ideologies, the journalists from *Página 12* can also be seen as making a rallying cry for women who suffer from male violence to start taking action against it. Therefore, the journalists may be attempting to defy the discourse that has women repressed by men. It is worth noting that while Article 8, from *La Nación*, also employs the phrase “sexual violence”, it does so in connection with the notion that the women raped lived alone. Here, instead of calling for women’s liberation from violent men, the journalists might implicitly associate sexual violence with women who do not have the protection of a husband or a boyfriend, which promotes, instead, women’s dependence on men.

Similar to the work done by Dragana Polovina-Vukovic (2004), “it has been possible to make the underlying rationale for these different ideologies transparent” through critical analysis of one segment of the media (168). The analysis in this thesis points to the existence of six gender ideologies in press reporting on male violence against women in Argentina: five are in line with the perpetuation of the patriarchy (i.e. the patriarchal status quo), while one can be seen as challenging the maintenance of chauvinistic beliefs. Therefore, despite the heightened attention that gender violence seems to be receiving in the Argentinean press (evidenced, as pointed out in the introduction, by the increasing number of articles tackling this issue), this work has shown that the three newspapers analyzed still adhere – to varying degrees – to gender ideologies which might contribute to the perpetuation of the violence above all, by blaming, objectifying or belittling women; by minimizing men’s responsibility or positioning them as victims – particularly in *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina* – by exacerbating the notion of women’s silence and vulnerability (as evidenced in the three newspapers) as well as by associating the violence with destitute contexts only, leading to the pathologizing of poor people

– as demonstrated by the articles from *Página 12* and some from *La Nación* and *Crítica de la Argentina*. However, *Página 12* mostly is also challenging the existence of gender violence by supporting, with its representation style, women’s liberation from male violence. *Página 12* (another example would be the two representational lines present in *Crítica de la Argentina* which I pointed out on page 155 above) demonstrates that the same newspaper can uphold ideologies whose goals appear to be in opposition with each other: on the one hand, *Página 12* contributes to the maintenance of gender violence by alluding to women’s natural condition as vulnerable victims or by emphasizing its occurrence in marginalized contexts only; on the other hand, *Página 12* does fight gender violence by making room for pieces which highlight women’s active role in their search for justice, by reporting on a case where the violence took place in a higher-middle class context or by issuing a gender supplement, which differentiates it from the other two newspapers. This clash further exemplifies that no newspaper’s representation is impartial, once again bringing the importance of educommunication to the fore.

Some readers could argue that these are “ideologies” proper rather than specifically “gender” ideologies, in particular considering ideology 1, which points to the close-knit interaction between gender and class. With ideology 1, the fact that no social category, in this case gender, can be studied separately from others, like class, is made apparent. However, the fact that gender is an important feature in the representation of the violence – in the cases where ideology 1 surfaces more evidently – has led me to consider ideology 1 as a gender ideology as well. Like ideologies 2 through 6, ideology 1 is, in my opinion, pivotal in the constitution and maintenance of one fraction of the gender order, within heteronormativity, in Argentina (always remembering that this portion might be dominant but is not exclusive as other conceptions of the gender order are possible and present in Argentina as well). Accordingly, ideology 6 shows that

the language of the mainstream press can challenge the existence of women's oppression; nevertheless, a gender order which is against women's equal and fair treatment with respect to men's is still widespread, as evidenced by ideologies 1 through 5. The emergence of the latter ideologies in the articles points to the ways in which mainstream Argentinean newspapers help to institutionalize a gender order that is advantageous to men, mostly those who are socioeconomically powerful.

7.0 CRITICAL / LINGUISTIC EVALUATION AND OUTLINES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

These six gender ideologies should be treated with caution: not only because they emerge from only fifteen instances of written texts, but also because women and men cannot be treated as homogeneous groups whose members all act and think alike. As stated before, there are people in Argentina who do not identify themselves as part of the dominant, heteronormative gender order unveiled through these ideologies. Cameron (1998) calls our attention to the “hall of mirrors effect” (a notion introduced by Shan Wareing): instead of representing claims as absolute and factual, analysts (and researchers alike) should remember that many times they are dealing with modest claims and hypotheses which have been blown out of proportion. While I consider that these articles lend themselves to revealing a few of the gender ideologies at play in the context of gender violence in Argentina, they cannot be taken as absolute. Neither should my analysis be considered as definitive. Nevertheless, Cameron (2003) stresses that while “it is impossible to ‘transcend’ ideology” (others’ and our own) “it is not impossible for language and gender scholars to be *reflexive* about the cultural resources that have shaped their own understandings, as well as the understandings of the people whose language use they study” (457). Accordingly, the conclusions I have drawn from these articles are better seen as particular instances of the two-way relationship between language (one sense of discourse) and reality (as a

reflection of ideologies): a relationship which serves as a springboard for critical discourse analysis and the practice of educommunication.

Following Cameron's (2003) guide, the stimulating question about the representation of male violence against women becomes less "what does this representation say about language and gender – is it accurate or misleading, sexist or anti-sexist?" than "what do people *do* with this representation of language and gender?" – always bearing in mind, of course, that different people may do different things with it" (463). As Cameron points out:

People are not just passive imitators of whatever they see and hear around them: they must actively produce their own ways of behaving [...] Since human beings are social beings, their identities and practices are produced from social (which is to say, collective rather than purely individual) resources. And the representations that circulate in a culture are among those collective resources [...] Occasionally we may learn ways of acting from them directly [...], but more usually we integrate them into the broader understandings of the world on which we base our own actions (463 – 464).

As a consequence, this thesis is an example of what "people *do* with this representation of language and gender" as I myself have decided to apply my training in linguistics and gender studies to carry out the text analyses.

In relation to this point (i.e. my own work on representation of language and gender), it is worth evaluating the heuristic I chose for this thesis. As I specified in Section 2.2, I elaborated the heuristic on the basis of the importance that press journalists' (dis)favored referring expressions, their reproduction/silencing of specific voices and their ascription/obfuscation of agency has in the maintenance or challenging of the dominant gender order in Argentina. As anticipated, while I always bore all the questions of the heuristic in mind, the naming and voicing

resources in some pieces stood out with respect to those signalling agency, weighing more heavily in my analysis. However, as readers may have noticed, no single aspect of the heuristic was ascribed the most importance in my ideology-uncovering; instead, it was the *interplay* of referring expressions (i.e. naming practices) as well as who was or was not cited and made accountable for the crimes (i.e. voicing and agency devices, respectively) that permitted me to better assess the representations as well as to make more informed decisions about the gender ideologies at stake.

This heuristic, nevertheless, is not comprehensive regarding the discourse features that analysts could examine in the articles. For example, the study could also encompass, as suggested by Fairclough (2003), a detailed analysis of the existential, propositional, and value statements made by journalists. That is, questions could be posited in order to direct the analysis into specifically finding linguistic strategies that point to the *assumptions* that the journalists may be making regarding gender violence. The grammatical relations between sentences and clauses (causal-reason, consequence, purpose; conditional; temporal; additive, etc) could also be given attention to further substantiate the conclusions made here about gender ideologies. A future study would also do well to cover a longer time span (employing pieces published throughout a year, for instance) while the inclusion of more articles per newspaper would also help to better investigate the support for specific gender ideologies in the Argentinean press. At the same time, not only mainstream newspapers but also those belonging to community organizations, for instance, could be studied: a comparison and contrast among the different representations could better illuminate the importance of the close relationship between news and the sources of financial backing to which newspapers and other media resort. Another limitation of this study is the fact that it was conducted by one person only. A future avenue of study would be to do

collaborative work among analysts from different fields – e.g. journalism, communication and education as well as linguistics – which would lead to better-informed generalizations. In turn, as mentioned in Section 1.0, a different group, e.g. lesbians or homosexuals, could be chosen as the object of study in cases of gender violence, which would give way to raising awareness about the fact that the concept of gender does not pertain to people who identify themselves within heteronormativity only. Finally, another avenue for future research could be the development of an “educommunication” program, which could specify the activities that a high-school teacher, for instance, might carry out in order to practice a critical reading of press representations about gender violence with his/her students.

In respect to the ideologies uncovered, while not claiming that the representations in the newspaper articles “automatically” lead to people’s unreasoned perpetuation – or challenging – of the gender ideologies unveiled, this thesis further sheds light on “the representations that circulate” (Cameron 2003) in the Argentinean culture regarding gender violence, which people – myself included – “integrate into the broader understandings of the world on which we base our own actions”. I would like to emphasize once again that the linguistic analysis I have conducted in this thesis aims at being more than an “academic exercise” – as expressed by Noam Chomsky (1992) –, and thus, it should not overshadow the fact that the suffering of the women whose cases were analyzed is unfortunately real. However, it is the power that people’s use of language has in order to bring about changes in the material world, in this case by shedding light on the ideological load in press representations of gender violence in Argentina, which I believe can play a key role in contesting the existence of this violence. It is, thus, the practice of awareness-raising – enveloped within the movement for educommunication in Argentina – which this thesis

has both focused on and aimed at encouraging for others to *do* with press representations on male violence against women.

APPENDIX A

PÁGINA 12: ORIGINAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 1

[Sociedad](#) | Lunes, 12 de Noviembre de 2007

DICTAMEN DEL INADI CONTRA LA CORTE DE JUSTICIA DE SALTA

“Fallo discriminatorio y sexista”

Fue por desprocesar a un wichí imputado de violar a una nena, con el argumento de que 4-ocurrió dentro de las costumbres ancestrales.

Por Mariana Carbajal

La dirigente wichí Octorina Zamora llevó el caso al Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación.



El Inadi cuestionó en durísimos términos un fallo de la Corte de Justicia de Salta que declaró nulo el procesamiento de un hombre de una comunidad wichí imputado de violar a una nena de la misma etnia con el argumento de que el abuso debía interpretarse dentro de las costumbres ancestrales de ese pueblo. El organismo nacional dictaminó que la resolución del máximo tribunal provincial “resulta discriminatoria hacia las niñas y mujeres wichí de la Argentina, pues omite aplicar principios fundantes del derecho internacional de los derechos humanos”. Además consideró que la sentencia remite a un “discurso estereotipado y racista”. “Este discurso, bajo la pretendida intención de defender los derechos de los pueblos indígenas, en realidad justifica la visión sexista avalada por la resolución” de la Corte salteña, concluyó el Inadi.

“Si bien el dictamen del Inadi no es vinculante, es un antecedente favorable muy importante para las niñas, niños, mujeres y todos los pobladores indígenas que han sido discriminados por la Corte de Salta”, consideró ante Página/12 la dirigente wichí Octorina Zamora, quien llevó en enero el caso al Instituto Nacional contra la Discriminación, la Xenofobia y el Racismo para que se expida sobre la resolución del máximo tribunal provincial. El 26 de septiembre de 2006, en un fallo dividido –tres votos a uno–, los integrantes de la Corte salteña anularon el procesamiento de José Fabián Ruiz, de 28 años, acusado de violar y embarazar a una nena de entre 8 y 11 años, hija de su concubina. Y además ordenaron que para juzgarlo se tuviera en cuenta “la aceptación social que en esos grupos tiene que las mujeres mantengan relaciones desde temprana edad” (ver aparte).

Tras estudiar largamente los antecedentes del caso, el Inadi se pronunció en los últimos días. En su dictamen –al que tuvo acceso este diario– recomienda a la Corte salteña “adoptar un enfoque de universalidad, indivisibilidad e interdependencia de los derechos humanos, e incorporar en sus resoluciones y sentencias la perspectiva de género”.

Consultada por Página/12, la titular del Inadi, María José Lubertino, destacó la importancia de que la Justicia adopte “un curso interpretativo acorde con los tratados internacionales con perspectiva de género”.

El documento del Inadi tiene el alcance de una recomendación. Pero, con extensa fundamentación, deja en claro que el derecho indígena “debe leerse en el marco de los principios fundantes de los derechos humanos”. “La Conferencia Mundial sobre Derechos Humanos proclama que los derechos humanos de la mujer y de la niña son parte inalienable, integrante e indivisible de los derechos humanos universales”, señala el organismo oficial y recuerda que entre su Programa de Acción, aquella conferencia que tuvo lugar en Viena en 1993 estableció que “la violencia y todas las formas de acosos y explotación sexual, en particular las derivadas de prejuicios culturales y de la trata internacional de personal, son incompatibles con la dignidad y la valía de la persona humana, y deben ser eliminadas”.

El dictamen recuerda que la Argentina se comprometió a condenar la discriminación contra la mujer en todas sus formas, al suscribir a la Convención sobre la Eliminación de todas las Formas de Discriminación contra la Mujer, incorporada a la Constitución Nacional. “La Corte de Justicia de la Provincia de Salta, al no aplicar esta normativa, amparándose en una supuesta aplicación del derecho wichí, ha negado los derechos humanos de las mujeres”, objetó el Inadi.

“La violencia sexual conlleva el reconocimiento como legítimo de un patrón de dominación, en el que la mujer es situada en una condición de asimetría mientras que el hombre resulta ser quien toma las decisiones, incluso las relativas al ejercicio de la libertad sexual de las mujeres”, apunta el organismo oficial. “Este patrón –sostiene el Inadi– ha sido reproducido y legitimado por la resolución de la mayoría de la Corte de Justicia, en el que sí situó a E.T. –la niña– en una condición de inferioridad y sujeción a los deseos del Sr. Ruiz.”

El Inadi también argumenta que la Ley de Protección Integral de los Derechos de las Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes, sienta como principio que cuando exista conflicto entre los derechos e intereses de los chicos frente a otros igualmente legítimos “prevalecerán los primeros”. “Esto nos lleva a concluir que, en la dilucidación del conflicto planteado ante los estrados judiciales, debe prevalecer el supremo interés de la niña frente a la posible conculcación de los derechos del Sr. Ruiz, en tanto miembro de la comunidad wichí.”

ARTICLE 2

[Sociedad](#) | Lunes, 12 de Noviembre de 2007

LA HISTORIA DE LA NENA ABUSADA EN LA COMUNIDAD WICHÍ

El derecho y las costumbres

Por Mariana Carbajal

La violación de la niña wichí ocurrió hace dos años, en una comunidad llamada Hoktek T’oi (Lapacho Mocho), a 18 kilómetros de la localidad de Tartagal, sobre la ruta 86. La nena tenía entonces alrededor de 10 años, aunque no se sabe con exactitud su edad: según el DNI tenía 9, pero su madre, Teodora Tejerina, dice que la inscribió en el Registro Civil dos años después de su nacimiento y por tanto, tendría once.

El abuso quedó en evidencia cuando la maestra de la pequeña notó que estaba embarazada y le preguntó a su madre sobre el origen de la gestación. Tejerina señaló a su concubino, José Fabián Ruiz, hijo del chamán de la comunidad, como autor de la violación de su hija. El hombre, de 28 años, fue detenido.

A la semana de que la niña diera a luz, la madre y algunos miembros de su comunidad salieron a pedir la libertad del imputado. El 26 de septiembre de 2006 la Corte salteña dictó el polémico fallo que anuló el procesamiento de Ruiz por abuso sexual con acceso carnal retirado y ordenó que se lleve adelante otra vez la instrucción del caso a la luz de los preceptos constitucionales que garantizan el respeto a la “preexistencia étnica y cultural de los pueblos indígenas argentinos”. Particularmente, el máximo tribunal pidió que se pondere una pericia antropológica, presentada por la defensa, que sostiene que es “costumbre ancestral” entre wichís que “las mujeres puedan mantener relaciones sexuales consentidas a partir de su primera menstruación”.

El fallo fue firmado por los jueces Guillermo Posadas, Omar Antonio Silisque y María Rosa Ayala. La cuarta integrante del tribunal, María Cristina Garros, votó en disidencia y sostuvo que no puede declararse inaplicable la ley penal nacional por “los derechos derivados de su condición indígena y de su identidad cultural, a menos que no se confiera a estos últimos una condición de derechos universales absolutos que no poseen”. Y además, consideró que el acceso carnal a menores “de modo reiterado hasta alcanzar su embarazo, bajo la modalidad de supuestos consentimientos en virtud de relaciones matrimoniales aceptadas en ciertas comunidades indígenas, resulta objetivamente violatorio de los derechos a la integridad personal y a la dignidad del ser humano”, que no deben dejar de aplicarse a la niña “por la circunstancia de que la víctima y procesado pertenecen a la comunidad wichí”.

Después del fallo de la corte provincial, Ruiz volvió a ser procesado y permanece detenido desde junio de 2005. Miembros de su comunidad siguen reclamando su liberación. Otra visión del caso tiene Octorina Zamora, la cacique de otra comunidad wichí, la Honhat Le’les de la localidad salteña de Embarchación, quien llevó el tema al Inadi junto con otra dirigente indígena. “Como mujeres, madres, hermanas, es doloroso desde las propias entrañas aceptar un dictamen como éste, poniendo a nuestros hijos y mujeres en total desamparo porque la misma consideración muestra un racismo y una actitud xenofóbica, porque la Corte utiliza una fábula para justificar vaya a saber qué intereses”, argumentaron las dos mujeres en su presentación ante el Inadi, en enero último.

La nena violada hoy tiene entre 11 y 13 años y es mamá de un bebé de unos 12 meses.

ARTICLE 3

Viernes, 18 de Enero de 2008

LAS12

sociedad II

Rasgando los muros del silencio

La violencia de género tiene un cómplice especial en el silencio. Pero en Tucumán dijeron basta y decidieron poner el ruido en el cielo. Cada semana las mujeres marchan y hacen tocar silbatos para denunciar lo que se ampara en el silencio.

Por Elisabet Contrera



Una vez por mes, en las calles de San Miguel de Tucumán cientos de mujeres protagonizan un silbatazo para decir: “¡No al silencio! ¡No a la injusticia! ¡No al abuso sexual!”.

“Basta de silencio” es la consigna preferida de Laura. Lleva ese cartel a cada una de las manifestaciones. Sabe que haber callado por tantos años algo que a ella le pasó de niña no permitió olvidar las heridas de la violencia. Siempre permanecieron allí, latentes, a la espera, y volvieron en el cuerpo de su hija, de 7 años. Como le había pasado a ella, un hombre de la familia se aprovechó de la nena. “El niega todo, pero yo le creo a mi hija y la voy a defender”, sostuvo con dureza implacable. “A mí nadie me creyó cuando dije lo que me hacía mi tío, nadie me defendió”, contó Laura, cuyo nombre fue cambiado para preservar su identidad.

Dispuesta a que no se repita la historia, Laura salió a la vereda para reclamar justicia por su hija. Así decidió sumarse a la campaña “El Silbatazo”. Madres, estudiantes, vecinas, profesionales, coincidieron en decir “Basta al abuso sexual contra niños y niñas”, y coparon la calle gritando, o mejor dicho “silbando”, aclara Vicky Disatnik, presidenta de la Casa de las Mujeres Norma Nassif, la organización promotora de la campaña que una vez por mes modifica el paisaje corriente del centro de San Miguel de Tucumán. “El silbato fue el método que encontramos para denunciar el abuso y llamar la atención de todos y todas”, explicó.

El aumento de los casos de abuso sexual, medido a través de los medios de comunicación locales, sumado a las situaciones de violencia que vivieron de cerca (“Tengo una alumna a la que golpearon y manosearon para robarle 10 pesos y el celular”) llevaron a los miembros de la organización, casi espontáneamente, a tomar el espacio público por primera vez en junio del año pasado. El lugar de encuentro fue –y sigue siendo– la esquina de Muñecas y San Martín, sobre la peatonal más concurrida de San Miguel de Tucumán. Allí se agolparon cientos de mujeres bajo el mismo grito: “¡Es tiempo de decir basta, es tiempo de no callar, de no olvidar!”; repartieron volantes, y silbaron a coro por horas. Pese al ruido, al movimiento, a la exaltación de todos y todas, esa esquina se convierte en refugio de historias similares a las de Laura y su hija.

Ese silbido de alarma –aseguraron sus promotoras– seguirá ensordeciendo los sábados hasta que el gobierno provincial cumpla con un petitorio que presentaron. En primer lugar, solicitan que se declare la emergencia en violencia sexual contra la mujer. “Lo hacen cuando hay inundaciones o sequía. Nos parece que la situación de desprotección y desamparo que viven las mujeres, niñas y niños tucumanos obliga a actuar de la misma manera. Esta medida permitiría contar con recursos del presupuesto y la ejecución de políticas en la materia”, sostuvo Vicky.

También solicitan la creación de un protocolo de atención para las víctimas de abuso, que contemple la provisión obligatoria de anticonceptivos de emergencia, el tratamiento de HIV, hepatitis y la asistencia psicológica continua y gratuita; la reforma del Código Procesal Penal que permita a los fiscales tomar denuncias de abuso en los hospitales y “evitar así la revictimización de la persona abusada”, y la creación de una fiscalía especializada en la búsqueda de pruebas, con perspectiva de género. Las mujeres exigen además la realización de abortos en caso de embarazos como consecuencia de una violación, y la sanción de una ley de salud sexual y reproductiva ya que, pese a la ley nacional, “sólo algunos hospitales de la provincia cuentan con métodos anticonceptivos a disposición de la población”, sostuvo la presidenta de la institución. “La idea es juntar 10 mil firmas y presentarlas el 8 de marzo en el Poder Ejecutivo, Legislativo y Judicial de la provincia”.

Mientras aguardan una reacción del Estado provincial, el escrache a abusadores y violadores identificados es la respuesta concreta que encontraron las madres de hijos o hijas violentados para expulsar la impotencia y la angustia. “Si no llega la sanción legal, nosotras vamos a luchar para que haya por lo menos una sanción social”, sostuvo Vicky. Laura fue la protagonista del último escrache. Abandonó el silencio y gritó con rabia lo que el hombre adulto, que vivía a sólo cuatro casas de la suya, le había hecho a su hija. “Al principio, tenía vergüenza, me sentía a la vez bien y mal, pero igual me animé a hablar”, relató la joven, de 26 años. En ese momento de catarsis tampoco estuvo sola sino que la acompañaron otras mujeres y hombres. Recorrieron las calles de tierra y arboledas de la localidad empobrecida de Colombres, alertando sobre los hábitos del vecino, cincuentón y amigable, y pegando carteles con su nombre y su foto en cada poste de luz de la zona. “Hace meses que no sale a la calle. Dejó de atender el kiosco. Está su hija a cargo”, contó Laura. Ella está entera: “Tengo mucha fuerza para seguir”. El dolor y la impotencia por el sufrimiento propio y el de su hija la acompañan a cada momento. La diferencia es que ahora, en ambas historias, el causante de ese dolor tiene nombre y apellido.

ARTICLE 4

Viernes, 28 de Marzo de 2008

LAS 12

Violencias

Valentina, en el abismo

María Daniela Vallejos denunció hace cinco años que su hija de cuatro estaba siendo abusada por su padre. Las lesiones, gravísimas, fueron constatadas. Sin embargo, por formalidades legales, el hombre resultó absuelto y hasta se le otorgó la tenencia de la niña. Hoy, frente al Palacio de Justicia, Vallejos, junto a la hermana Martha Pelloni y organizaciones sociales, reclamarán para que se escuche la voz que más importa, la de Valentina.

Por María Mansilla

Mientras su mamá la bañaba, Valentina se tocó los genitales y le dijo que por ahí era, que en esa zona de su cuerpo “el pito de papá” la lastimaba. Esto fue en agosto de 2003. Actualmente Valentina tiene 7 años, desde fines de noviembre no vio más a sus amigas ni a sus hermanos ni a sus juguetes. La cambiaron de escuela. Y ya no puede abrazar a María Daniela Vallejos, su mamá, todos los días. Porque fue entonces cuando después (y a pesar) de todo, un fallo judicial le otorgó su tenencia al mismísimo padre de Valentina, al “presunto” abusador, que se llama Germán Fernández Pescuma y conoce bien los puntos flacos de la ley: es abogado.

Entre aquella confesión y hoy, pasaron muchas cosas. Primero, Daniela corre con su hija a un sanatorio donde le certifican “lesión vaginal y anal, prolapso, micosis”. Luego, por supuesto, denuncia a su ex por violación, acusación que los peritos que actúan en estos casos avalan. Pero éstas no resultan pruebas suficientes para encontrarlo culpable. Ni las cicatrices en el cuerpo ni la confianza de las voces autorizadas. El acusado queda sobreseído.



Foto: Julianne Rosaz

Si bien judicialmente se reconoce que Valentina es agredida, no se precisa quién es el victimario ni se piden nuevas pruebas. Luego, todo intento por hallar justicia sigue los carriles formales pero se corrompe por arbitrariedades y omisiones: mientras Valentina declara la interrumpen, a la madre le niegan la compañía de su abogado... Y así. Ejemplos que conducen, principalmente, al incumplimiento de la Convención sobre de los Derechos del Niño —que exige que sean

escuchados/as por la Justicia—, y a la Cedaw, que prohíbe todo tipo de discriminación contra la mujer. También se violan otras leyes, como una que obliga a los asesores de menores a intervenir a favor de las víctimas.

En medio de semejante panorama, María Daniela hizo lo que tenía que hacer: proteger a su hija. Los abogados llaman a ese hecho “actuar en estado de necesidad”. La madre consideró que era un peligro quedarse en su casa, y provisoriamente encontró refugio en la casa de una amiga. Fue entonces cuando Fernández Pescuma, el “presunto” abusador, creyó tener argumentos para reclamar la tenencia de Valentina. Un juez de apellido Güiraldes (del Juzgado Nacional Civil N° 56) le dio la razón: ordenó su “secuestro judicial”, concretado en noviembre pasado.

“A la madre se la podría haber culpado, en el peor de los casos, de obstaculizar las visitas, pero jamás sacarle la tenencia —sentencia el abogado Fernando Sorrentino, de Casadin, Comité Argentino de Seguimiento y Aplicación de la Convención Internacional de los Derechos del Niño—. En un país que se compara, como decían hace unos años, con el nivel económico de Bruselas, están pasando cosas con niños, niñas y adolescentes propias de la dictadura. El Poder Judicial viola, además, los derechos de la mamá. Hay una formalidad jurídica que se aparta de la ley y convalida una apropiación ilegal.”

Por eso hoy, 28 de marzo, marchan los familiares de Valentina para hacer visible el caso, y piden a los medios que ayuden con el escrache. Se reunirán a las 10 de la mañana frente a Tribunales. Por la restitución de Valentina, contra el abuso sexual y para pedir juicio y castigo a los abusadores. Cuánta será la desesperación: les sirve la ayuda de muchos de los mismos medios que reproducen los prejuicios que ahora se les vienen encima, como el que sostiene que las mujeres denuncian violencia para apurar trámites de divorcio, mejorar la cuota alimentaria o negarles caprichosamente a hijos e hijas el derecho de estar con sus papás.

Son muchas las instituciones que acompañarán a María Daniela Vallejos. Como la Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos y la Red Alto a la Trata y al Tráfico de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes. En su nombre, allí estará la hermana Martha Pelloni. “La madre de Valentina ha sido escuchada, pero no tenida en cuenta. Desde entonces estamos golpeando puertas. Yo misma he ido a Tribunales a expresar mi apoyo —cuenta Pelloni a Las12—. Es un escándalo lo que está viviendo la Argentina. Todos los días recibimos mails sobre abuso, violencia familiar y trata. No solamente miramos para otro lado y no nos comprometemos, sino que la Justicia es corporativa en estos casos. Por favor, esto ponelo bien fuerte porque es así.”

“La Convención sobre los Derechos de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes dice que los niños y niñas tienen derecho a ser oídos. ¿Hay correcta escucha de jueces y juezas? ¿Tienen capacidad para hacerlo? ¿Deben, con su limitado saber jurídico, hacerlo? ¿Qué saber tienen integrantes del Poder Judicial respecto de estos temas interdisciplinarios? En general: ninguno. ¿Qué saben de los avances producidos por las mujeres, en cuanto a los derechos de sus hijos e hijas? ¿Qué autocrítica hace ese Poder respecto de estas situaciones? Sólo aisladas y brillantes figuras”, analiza la abogada Viviana Vladimírsky, directora del curso Derecho y Género de la UBA. Y relaciona: “Romina Tejerina no estaría presa, el violador libre, y los padres abusadores conviviendo con sus hijos o hijas si el sistema de In—Justicia trabajara interdisciplinariamente y los principales operadores del derecho escucharan a los colaboradores”.

María Daniela sigue adelante. Actualmente denuncia al padre de Valentina de abusar sexualmente de su hija, de impedir el contacto entre ambas y de desobedecer a la Justicia. No es todo. Acusa al Estado argentino —lo acaba de hacer, ante la OEA— de denegarle y retardar la Justicia, le pide por la salud de Valentina y por reencontrarse con ella. Porque no hay ningún motivo para que estén separadas.

ARTICLE 5

[Sociedad](#) | Miércoles, 9 de Abril de 2008

Organizaciones de mujeres cuestionaron duramente el fallo

“Es un fallo vergonzoso, que nos causa tristeza”

Por Emilio Ruchansky



Las organizaciones de mujeres reclamaban la libertad de Romina.

“Es un simulacro de fusilamiento”, fue la primera definición de Graciela Tejero, de la Comisión de Defensa de Romina Tejerina. “Imaginate lo que es para Romina, que contaba los días para salir en junio si le bajaban la pena. Y es la segunda vez que le pasa. Hace un año y medio también se dijo que la iban a liberar”, recordó Tejero, indignada por esa “doble violencia”, social y judicial, que sufre la joven que mató a su beba recién nacida porque, según comentó en su momento, veía en la niña la cara del hombre que la había violado.

La decisión de la Corte Suprema llenó de suspicacias a quienes defienden a la joven jujeña. Tejero estimó que se trata de un “apriete político o una operación política” y mencionó una actitud similar del procurador general de la Nación, Esteban Righi, quien “en un primer momento dijo que el juicio estaba viciado y en un segundo fallo dijo que estaba todo perfecto”, aseguró Tejero. “Ya agotamos todas las instancias legales, así que supongo que el próximo paso será ir las cortes internacionales –agregó–, la Justicia argentina no tiene ninguna credibilidad.”

Reconocida por sus pares como una de las feministas históricas en Argentina, Magui Bellotti, de la Asociación de Trabajo y Estudio de la Mujer (ATEM), consideró que el fallo es “lamentable, sobre todo, porque hay dos mujeres en la Corte Suprema”. Su enfado, admitió, es por el apoyo que ella misma y muchas de sus colegas abogadas brindaron a Carmen Argibay, “que se autodenominaba feminista”, para que ocupe su actual función en el Poder Judicial.

“Se sacaron el tema de encima. No tomaron en cuenta cuestiones sustanciales como la vida y el contexto de las acciones de las personas. Es vergonzoso pero, sobre todo, nos causa mucha tristeza por ella”, admitió la abogada. En su opinión, era previsible la discrepancia sobre el tema, pero resultó sorpresivo el fallo “teniendo en cuenta que, por ejemplo, (Carlos) Fayt creía que había que liberarla porque es inimputable. Otros jueces hablaban de la disminución de la pena a 8 años, que no era lo que queríamos, pero al menos le permitía salir de la cárcel en junio”. El movimiento de mujeres, concluyó Bellotti, “está siendo cascoteado” con esta decisión.

“¡Qué horror! Tengo la sensación de que todo se derrumba”, advirtió Olga Cristiano, de Mujeres de Izquierda. “Lo de Tejerina, la lucha por el aborto, los abortos no punibles, la salud reproductiva –enumeró–, todo se nos viene abajo. Nos llamaron de algunas provincias y dicen que no hay anticonceptivos, que les mezquinan la pastilla del día después y que las chicas de Acción Católica están dando clases de educación.”

La activista repite que esto es un “retroceso” e intuye que habría empezado desde que asumió Cristina Fernández. “La Presidenta dice que se siente acuciada por ser mujer, nos parece una burla. Las dos juezas que tiene la Corte llegaron al poder y empezaron a relativizar todo lo que antes defendían. Es lamentable”, reflexionó Cristiano, que junto con su organización impulsa desde hace casi 5 años una campaña por el aborto legal, libre y gratuito.

Para Marta Rosemberg hay una clara postura penalizadora en el caso Tejerina, donde tanto la causa como las condiciones del embarazo “en vez de ser tenidas en cuenta como atenuante fueron acentuadas como agravante, es como si se hubieran ensañado jurídicamente con esta chica”. La presidenta del Foro por la Salud Reproductiva estimó que ésta es “una señal muy fuerte para la sociedad”, que demuestra un compromiso con los sectores que “eligen los derechos del niño frente a la situación de extremo de- samparo y abandono de la madre”.

Romina nunca fue mirada ni escuchada por sus familiares y vecinos durante su embarazo, reflexionó Rosemberg, cuando todavía se podía revertir la injusticia. “También fue desestimado su testimonio sobre la violación que sufrió, la tratan como si lo suyo fuera un asesinato premeditado, es espantoso –comentó la psicoanalista–, ella terminó siendo una especie de receptora de puñaladas: todos le dan una puñalada cuando la ven.”

APPENDIX B

LA NACIÓN: ORIGINAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 6

En Exaltación de la Cruz

Asesinan a una joven de 29 años en un barrio privado

Creen que se trató de un crimen pasional

Viernes 18 de enero de 2008

FOTO



Rosana, el día de la boda con Juan Arce, uno de los sospechosos Foto: Telam

"¡Ay!" Como un grito entre asustado y sorprendido fue la última palabra que pronunció Rosana Edith Galeano, de 29 años, antes de recibir cuatro tiros en el corazón. Esa exclamación y los disparos de una pistola calibre 45 resonaron en el jardín de su casa quinta del barrio El Remanso, de Exaltación de la Cruz, a unos 73 kilómetros de la ciudad de Buenos Aires.

La joven vivía en esa casa desde que se había separado de su esposo Juan Arce, de 59 años, hace

aproximadamente un año. Ahora los investigadores del asesinato orientan sus pistas a un crimen pasional, por lo que investigan al ex marido de la víctima y a un jardinero que trabajó para el hombre y que, se cree, frecuentaba a la joven asesinada, dijeron fuentes judiciales a LA NACION.

El homicidio ocurrió a las 21.50 de anteaer, en la quinta de unos 3000 metros cuadrados, situada a 50 metros de la ruta 8, sobre la calle La Caramba, esquina Patria, del barrio donde tienen quintas algunos actores, cineastas y hasta funcionarios.

El terreno está rodeado de un alambrado, cubierto por una tupida ligustrina. El portón de acceso, cerrado con un candado, deja ver un chalet rodeado de verde y árboles.

Allí estaba Rosana, una joven madre de dos hijos de 6 y 3 años, rubia, esbelta, de finos modales, callada y muy apreciada en el barrio. La muchacha estaba comiendo con su hermana cuando sonó su teléfono celular. Salió al jardín para que mejorara la comunicación, que recibió cuando gritó y recibió los cuatro tiros.

El fiscal de Campana Marcelo Pernici interrumpió un asado con amigos en la zona para llegar a la escena del crimen. Las primeras pistas apuntaron a Juan Arce, el ex marido, que tenía una orden judicial para no acercarse a su ex mujer, aunque no así a sus hijos.

El hombre, que tiene cuatro casas en la zona de Pilar, maneja una camioneta y se dedica a la venta de huevos, declaró desde anteanoche hasta las 5 de la madrugada de ayer. Pudo establecer que a la hora del homicidio estaba en el Hospital de Pilar, donde un pediatra atendía a uno de sus hijos, que tenía fiebre. Esta declaración fue corroborada por la fiscalía en el centro de salud y se estableció que el chiquito tenía fiebre desde la mañana.

Los testimonios de dos vecinos llevaron a los investigadores hasta otro sospechoso, un jardinero que vive en una casaquinta supuestamente usurpada, muy cercana a la casa de la víctima. Los indicios que llevaron a interrogarlo hasta anoche, al cierre de esta edición, son los relatos de testigos que dicen que una de las razones de la separación de Rosana fue el haber iniciado una relación con el jardinero.

La policía del destacamento de Robles, acostumbrada a hurtos menores al punto que el delito más grave que le tocó enfrentar en estos días fue la muerte de dos chanchos, allanó su casa y secuestró un teléfono y ropas. El jardinero declaró que a la hora del crimen estaba con su esposa y sus hijos en su casa.

El fiscal Pernici dijo a LA NACION que se investigan a las personas cercanas a la víctima. Los investigadores reconocen que el arma usada, una pistola calibre 45, no es de las habituales en manos de ladrones. Tampoco de policía, y en cambio es un arma usada por el Ejército. Otro misterio son los tiros, pues se recuperaron solo tres de las cuatro cápsulas de los proyectiles disparados.

Al cierre de esta edición no había detenidos en la causa y todas las hipótesis estaban abiertas.

**Por Hernán Cappiello
De la Redacción de LA NACION**

ARTICLE 7

Jueves 7 de febrero de 2008

“Todo conduce a que Arce fue el autor”

Lo aseguró el abogado de la familia Galliano; hoy declararon los padres de la víctima y la madre del viudo, José Arce

Hoy fue un día movido para el fiscal que investiga el asesinato de Rosana Galliano, la joven que murió de cuatro balazos en su casa en el barrio El Remanso, en Exaltación de la Cruz. Es que declararon el padre y la madre de la fallecida y la madre del viudo, José Arce.

El abogado de la familia de Rosana Galliano aseguró hoy que la única forma de esclarecer el homicidio es que se ordene la detención de Arce.

"Procesalmente no hay otro modo de resolver el crimen. Me parece que todo el país tiene una idea sobre que hay un instigador y un autor material. En la causa no existe otra posibilidad más", dijo el abogado Roberto Babington a la prensa.

"Todo conduce a que Arce fue el autor de forma mediata ya que obviamente ha quedado acreditado que por su propia mano no lo pudo hacer", explicó el letrado al retirarse de la fiscalía de Zárate-Campana, tras la declaración testimonial del padre de la víctima, Reinaldo Galliano.

Sobre la declaración de su representado, Babington sostuvo que "el fiscal se interiorizó de todo el conocimiento que el señor Reinaldo tenía sobre las relaciones, situaciones e incidentes suscitados antes del hecho".

Consultado sobre cuándo va a pedir formalmente la detención del viudo, el letrado dijo va a actuar en ese sentido cuando termine de evaluar toda la prueba que existe en el expediente. "Nosotros no apuntamos a nadie, hacemos un trabajo sobre todo lo objetivo que existe en la causa, y a partir de ahí vamos a proceder", explicó.

Por su parte, Reinaldo Galliano dijo que ahora que ya terminó de declarar se siente más tranquilo. "Descargué todas las cosas que sabía interiormente de mi hija y ahora todo eso que dije lo evaluará la fiscalía", dijo el hombre, que además agregó: "Espero que en corto tiempo esté todo solucionado. La Justicia está trabajando bien".

Al ser consultado sobre las preguntas que le realizó el fiscal Marcelo Pernici, Reinaldo dijo que

se interesó "por todo el entorno de la familia".

Al término de su declaración de Reinaldo Galliano, ingresó al despacho del fiscal para hacer lo mismo su esposa y madre de Rosana, Graciela.

Minutos después, ingresó a declarar la madre de José Arce, Elsa Aguilar, de 78 años, quien es asistida por el abogado del viudo, Ramiro Rúa.

"La quería mucho. Era la madre de mis nietos. No sé quién pudo haberla matado", dijo Elsa Aguilar ante los periodistas que la aguardaban a la salida de la fiscalía.

Fuentes de la investigación indicaron a Télam que Pernici mandó investigar su situación patrimonial, sus cuentas y hasta sus viajes, ya que vivió muchos años en Estados Unidos. Según las fuentes, Aguilar es la hacedora del patrimonio de la familia Arce y una de la sospechas de los investigadores es que, molesta porque Rosana se estaba divorciando de su hijo y quería la mitad de los bienes, haya tenido participación en la planificación del crimen. El crimen de Rosana Galliano ocurrió el 16 de enero en su casa quinta del barrio privado El Remanso, del partido bonaerense de Exaltación de la Cruz, cuando cenaba con su hermana Mónica. En ese momento recibió un llamado a su celular de su ex esposo y, como no tenía buena señal, salió al parque a hablar, donde la asesinaron de cuatro balazos.

Link corto: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/985327>

ARTICLE 8

Viernes 18 de enero de 2008

Preocupación de los vecinos

Sería un violador serial el que atacó a la profesora de Núñez

ONG de ayuda a víctimas piden un registro de abusadores

Los vecinos de Núñez están indignados y preocupados. La violación que sufrió anteayer una profesora de gimnasia, de 27 años, en su departamento del primer piso del edificio de Arcos al 3400, donde vive sola, es el quinto caso que se da de la misma forma en los últimos cinco meses, en la zona norte de la Capital.

Los anteriores casos se dieron, además de en Núñez, en Palermo, y Belgrano. Por eso, organizaciones que ayudan a las víctimas de la violencia sexual creen que se trata de un violador serial y exigen que se reflote el proyecto de ley de registro de violadores que tuvo media sanción en la Cámara baja del Congreso y aún está a la espera de que se trate en el Senado.

Isabel Yaconis, que dirige la organización Madres del Dolor, organización que asesora legalmente a víctimas de violencia sexual, dijo a LA NACION que el ataque que sufrió la joven

sigue un patrón que indica que el violador sería el mismo en todos los casos.

"El violador hace una tarea de inteligencia, ataca a mujeres solas, las ata, les tapa los ojos, les pregunta si prefieren que las mate o que las viole, y después de violarlas las hace bañarse para que no queden rastros de semen que puedan inculparlo", explicó Yaconis al analizar el caso de la profesora de gimnasia, que quedó en manos del fiscal de Saavedra, José María Campagnoli.

No obstante, la titular de la Asociación de Ayuda a Víctimas de la Violación (Avivi), María Elena Leuzzi, dijo que hay casos en que suelen quedar algunos rastros del violador, por lo que es imperante que se apruebe el registro de violadores.

Al proyecto del Registro de Violadores "la diputada Juliana Di Tulio lo tiene finamente cajoneado -denunció Leuzzi a LA NACION-, con el argumento de que se estaría estigmatizando a los violadores que hayan cumplido su condena".

Prevenir y vigilar

Según Madres del Dolor y Avivi, este tipo de registros ayudarían a prevenir los ataques de violadores reincidentes, como el caso de Claudio Alvarez, que fue el referente de ese proyecto de ley.

En abril de 2006, Alvarez fue condenado a reclusión perpetua por violar y asesinar a Elsa María Escobar y abusar de su hija de 13 años, cerca de la estación de tren de Núñez. Entre abril y diciembre del año anterior ya había violado a otras cuatro chicas.

Los vecinos de Núñez, consultados por LA NACION, coincidieron en que un registro de violadores sería útil, pero destacaron que la Justicia debería ser más dura. "No basta con que estén registrados, la Justicia debería darles cadena perpetua", dijo Adrián Castro, de 30 años.

"Yo vivo sola y ayer a la noche no pude pegar un ojo, y eso que estoy en un séptimo piso", dijo asustada Soledad, una vecina de Núñez, de 28 años.

"Esta es una zona liberada", señaló, preocupada, Cecilia, otra vecina que vive en la misma cuadra donde ocurrió la violación de la profesora de 27 años. Y agregó: "No sólo violan, también asaltan de forma violenta y eso que estamos a tres cuadras de la comisaría 35a."

Paula Soler

Link corto: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/979856>

ARTICLE 9

En Palermo

Denunció haber sido violada en su casa

El agresor habría entrado por el balcón

Miércoles 30 de abril de 2008

Una mujer de 43 años denunció ante la Policía Federal haber sido asaltada y violada por un delincuente que entró por la ventana de su departamento del barrio porteño de Palermo, informaron a LA NACION fuentes policiales y autoridades de una entidad que asiste a víctimas de abusos sexuales.

La mujer, que es docente, denunció en la comisaría 53a. que "anteayer a las 6.30 un sujeto entró por la ventana de su departamento, situado en el segundo piso de un edificio de la calle Cabello al 3300, en Palermo", según explicó María Elena Leuzzi, presidenta de la asociación Ayuda a Víctimas de Violación (Avivi).

Según el relato de la víctima, el delincuente la sorprendió en la cama y le exigió dinero. Fuentes policiales dijeron que "como la mujer no le dio la plata, la maniató, le tapó los ojos, aparentemente con unas anteojeras para dormir, y le puso una frazada en la cabeza". Después de abusar sexualmente de ella, se fue por el mismo lugar por el que había ingresado.

Las fuentes consultadas por LA NACION dijeron que la mujer denunció que el asaltante le robó 200 pesos, aunque otra fuentes policiales, citadas por la agencia DyN, afirmaron que el botín fue de 1000 dólares y 700 pesos. La denuncia quedó caratulada como robo y violación.

Leuzzi, de Avivi, explicó que fue su hija Candelaria la que recibió la denuncia de la señora, que estaba muy shockeada por lo que le había tocado vivir. Explicó también que la víctima "no conoce al agresor ni es familiar ni pariente suyo", y que la sorprendió al ingresar por el balcón, como el "hombre araña" que ya atacó en otros barrios.

"Mañana [por hoy] vamos a estar con ella en el Centro de Asistencia a la Víctima del gobierno de la ciudad, para brindarle auxilio y ayudarla a enfrentar esta situación, el mal trago que está pasando", indicó la señora.

Los policías de la comisaría 53a. están investigando el caso y ya le tomaron declaración a la señora, que se encuentra bajo tratamiento psiquiátrico en el Hospital de Clínicas.

Fuentes policiales señalaron que están verificando los detalles de la denuncia de la mujer y esperando los resultados de los exámenes ginecológicos, pues la víctima no presentaba signos visibles de haber sufrido **violencia** durante el acto **sexual** forzado que denunció.

Cuando la policía llegó al lugar donde habían ocurrido los hechos denunciados se encontró con un departamento revuelto, desordenado, en estado de abandono, dijo una fuente policial.

Mientras tanto, están tratando de realizar un retrato del sospechoso a partir de la descripción de la víctima.

Link corto: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1008579>

ARTICLE 10

Miércoles 9 de abril de 2008

El final de una controversia judicial

Tejerina debe cumplir la condena a 14 años

La Corte confirmó la sentencia por el asesinato de su beba

Fotos



Romina Tejerina, en la cárcel jujeña, donde cumple una condena a 14 años de prisión
Foto: Graciela Calabrese

La joven jujeña Romina Tejerina seguirá presa y deberá cumplir su condena de 14 años de cárcel por haber asesinado a puñaladas a su beba, según decidió ayer la Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación.

Luego de un prolongado debate entre los miembros del alto tribunal, que hizo a varios ministros cambiar de posición en varias ocasiones (algo que es absolutamente válido), finalmente el fallo firmado ayer por cinco de los jueces decidió rechazar la apelación presentada por la defensa de Tejerina contra la condena a la que fue sentenciada.

Así, quedó cerrada definitivamente la posibilidad de conseguir una pena más leve que le permitiera recobrar su libertad.

Tejerina lleva cinco años en prisión y sus abogados aspiraban a que la Corte revocara su condena o, al menos, la redujera a 8 años, de modo de poder solicitar ya mismo la libertad condicional de la joven jujeña, cuyo crimen trascendió los límites de la provincia y provocó una fuerte controversia.

El voto de la mayoría es escueto: dice que desestima el recurso de queja. Lleva las firmas de Ricardo Lorenzetti, Elena Highton, Carmen Argibay y Enrique Petracchi.

En cambio, Juan Carlos Maqueda entendió que debía ser condenada a ocho años, mientras que Carlos Fayt y Raúl Zaffaroni se inclinaron por considerar que la mujer era inimputable.

El fallo

En la Corte, la posición más dura siempre la encarnaron Highton y Argibay.

En un primer momento, simplemente se limitaban a firmar la fórmula de estilo (lo que en la jerga se conoce como el "artículo 280"). Pero, ante la trascendencia pública que había tomado el caso, detallaron algunos importantes argumentos.

Por cierto, la Corte no debe inmiscuirse en cuestiones de hecho o prueba, porque se transformaría en un tribunal de Casación y se llenaría de causas.

Pero, al margen de esa consideración, Highton recordó que la figura del infanticidio, que permitía atenuar un homicidio, fue derogada. Además, sostuvo que la necesidad de "ocultar la deshonra" (que pudiera eventualmente producirle un hijo que es fruto de un embarazo no deseado) aparece actualmente injustificable para atenuar la pena del homicidio calificado.

Además, sostiene que el hecho de que una mujer, con posterioridad al parto, pueda sentirse afectada no es causa suficiente para reflotar por vía judicial la figura del infanticidio.

Por su parte, Argibay tuvo en cuenta que los jueces del tribunal oral que condenaron a la mujer no aplicaron el máximo de la pena sino que, ellos mismos, al dictar la sentencia, consideraron su estado puerperal y las limitaciones que surgían de su situación sociocultural.

Si hubiese prosperado la propuesta inicial de Zaffaroni de reducir la condena, Tejerina, invocando que habría cumplido dos tercios de la pena, podría haber pedido su libertad condicional. Pero ese proyecto no tuvo adhesiones y Zaffaroni se plegó al de Fayt, que consideraba a Tejerina inimputable, es decir, no responsable.

Por Adrián Ventura

De la Redacción de LA NACION

Link corto: <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1002660>

APPENDIX C

CRÍTICA DE LA ARGENTINA: ORIGINAL ARTICLES

ARTICLE 11

Sociedad / Edición Impresa

INFORME ESPECIAL

Esclavas sexuales

Las denuncias crecieron diez veces en los últimos tres años.

Luciana Peker
06.03.2008



Micaela tenía tres años. Su mamá, Marita Verón, 23. El 3 de abril de 2002 Marita salió de su casa en puntas de pie, para no despertar a Micaela, y le dijo a su mamá, Susana Trimarco, que comprara tintura para teñirse juntas las raíces. Marita no volvió. Hoy Micaela tiene nueve años. Hace casi seis años que Susana busca a su hija y Micaela espera a su mamá.

Carlos tenía cuatro años. Su mamá, Andrea López, 24. El 10 de febrero de 2004 Andrea desapareció. Su marido, el boxeador Víctor Purreta, dice que se fue de su casa. Nunca apareció. Carlos va a cumplir, el 16 de abril, nueve años. Para la Justicia, Andrea hizo abandono de hogar. No está. Ni ella. Ni su cuerpo. Ni viva. Ni muerta. Andrea está desaparecida hace cuatro años. Carlos la espera. Tenía que empezar el jardín cuando su mamá desapareció de su vida. Carlos, este año, vuelve a hacer tercer grado. No quiere escribir hasta que su mamá no vuelva.

Marita Verón y Andrea López son dos desaparecidas. Están desaparecidas. Siguen desaparecidas. Son dos de las 465 mujeres que estarían en manos de redes de trata, según datos de la asociación civil La Casa del Encuentro. Sus historias parecen tan increíbles como una novela. Tal vez por eso –o por la tendencia a mezclar la ficción con la historia viva de la Argentina como ya hizo Montecristo– la trama de *Vidas robadas*, la nueva novela de Telefe, se parece mucho a la historia de Marita Verón.

En la novela, Soledad Silveyra sufre por la ausencia de su hija (Juliana), que fue secuestrada en un pueblito de Corrientes. La policía dice que se trata de una fuga de hogar. Mientras tanto, Facundo Arana (Bautista) es un antropólogo forense que quiere dismantelar una red de secuestradores de personas y, mientras tanto, se enamora del personaje de Mónica Antonópulos (Ana), una fotógrafa. Pero el intrínquilis, claro, es que el padre de Ana, interpretado por Jorge Marrale, es el capo mafia de la red de tráfico humano.

La ficción vuelve a meterse con la realidad. “Yo tengo mucha esperanza. Acá en La Pampa está todo muy tapado. La policía no la busca a Andrea. A mí me dijeron que la vieron en un prostíbulo de Córdoba y no puedo hacer nada. Ni mandan fotos. Por eso tengo la esperanza de que ahora con la televisión se destape la olla”, dijo Julia Ferreira, la mamá de Andrea López. Julia es mamá desde los 16 años. Ahora tiene 48 años, 5 hijos, 5 nietos y 5 trabajos como empleada doméstica del barrio Sur, del Plan 5 Mil, de Santa Rosa, La Pampa.

Sin la televisión, las luces no miran la ausencia de Andrea ni de las otras chicas. Desde el 3 de abril de 2007 La Casa del Encuentro realiza frente al Congreso, todos los días 3 –por la fecha del secuestro de Marita Verón– una marcha para pedir “Ni una mujer más víctima de las redes de prostitución”. “Decimos claramente que estas mujeres son desaparecidas porque cuando una persona es privada de su libertad, secuestrada, torturada, esclavizada y violada es necesario llamar a las cosas por su nombre”, dijo Fabiana Túnez, de La Casa del Encuentro.

El delito –igual que el negocio– no para de crecer. La Oficina de Asistencia Integral a la Víctima del Delito (OFAVI) intervino en 85 casos de trata de personas en 2007. En 2004 habían actuado en nueve. En sólo tres años los casos atendidos por el Estado se multiplicaron casi diez veces. Las redes de trata secuestran por la fuerza o por engaño –con avisos de empleadas domésticas o de prostitución sin cerrojo– a mujeres que deben trabajar como esclavas sexuales, sin pago ni libertad. Ellas pierden su dinero y su documento. No pueden entrar ni salir de los cabarets. Ni comunicarse con su familia. No pueden salir del circuito en donde la esclavitud sexual es moneda corriente.

En los casos de Florencia Pennacchi estudiante de la UBA desaparecida en Buenos Aires y

Fernanda Aguirre –una adolescente desaparecida en San Benito, Entre Ríos se cruzan situaciones de mujeres pobres y de clase media. Todavía no está confirmado que ellas dos estén secuestradas por redes de trata. Se sabe que están desaparecidas. ¿Dónde están? La pregunta no tiene respuesta.

“Los prostíbulos son ilegales en la Argentina y la explotación sexual es un delito, pero sin embargo existen miles de burdeles y departamentos donde se explota a las mujeres. Parece que en la Argentina existen zonas liberadas donde intervienen la policía, las autoridades municipales y los jueces”, dijo Tuñez. “La investigación con carácter de diagnóstico exploratorio desarrollada en 2006 por la Organización Internacional para las Migraciones estudió 47 causas penales en distintos puntos del país, en la mayoría de las cuales hay funcionarios públicos y/o miembros de las fuerzas de seguridad implicados. El bajo número de condenas habla por sí solo”, dijo Mercedes Assorati, investigadora de las redes de trata y titular de la Fundación El Otro. ¿Cómo luchar contra la esclavitud del siglo XXI con algo más que un control remoto? Assorati propone: “Es necesario que el Estado recupere la iniciativa para el desarrollo de controles sobre los lugares en los que las víctimas se encuentran esclavizadas y adopte una política de protección que brinde a las víctimas las garantías necesarias para que se atrevan a denunciar a las mafias que las mantienen sometidas”.

En 2007, el INADI habilitó un teléfono (0800-9992345) para denuncias sobre trata de personas. Hubo 178 llamados para denunciar casos de trata de personas y 7 mujeres llamaron para contar que se habían podido fugar de lugares donde las tenían esclavizadas. Con miedo. Con el sello de las mafias que las creen propias. Que regentan un negocio que crece. Y que ahora tiene nombre de novela: Vidas robadas.

FLORENCIA

Florencia Penacchi estudiaba Ciencias Económicas en la UBA. Desapareció el 17 de marzo de 2005 en Palermo.

ANDREA

Andrea López desapareció en La Pampa, el 9 de febrero de 2004. Su pareja, un ex boxeador, fue condenado por facilitar la prostitución.

FERNANDA

Fernanda Aguirre fue secuestrada el 25 de julio de 2004, cuando iba a hacia su casa. Sospechan que fue vendida a una red.

MARITA

Marita Verón desapareció el 3 de abril de 2002. Una banda la vendió a un prostíbulo de La Rioja por 2.500 pesos.

ARTICLE 12

Sociedad / Edición Impresa

VIOLENCIA MACHISTA: Un vicecomodoro mató a su esposa

Un asesinato de alto vuelo

En el mítico edificio Alas, donde Perón tenía un búnker, un oficial de la Fuerza Aérea mató a su mujer tras una discusión. Los vecinos, familias de aviadores, siguieron con su vida como si nada.

19.04.2008



Detenido. Al vicecomodoro Enrique Spadari lo sorprendió la Policía cuando salía del Edificio Alas, en Alem y Viamonte.

Ni los tres balazos que resonaron entre las paredes macizas de hormigón paralizaron la actividad diaria de la mole de 40 pisos, 100 mil metros cuadrados cubiertos y 132 metros de altura. En el Edificio Alas, en Alem y Viamonte, cada cual atendió su juego: el gimnasio estaba lleno, las maestras jardineras cantaban canciones infantiles en la guardería, unas mujeres se atendían en la peluquería, en la capilla rezaban varios fieles y el dentista estaba ocupado con sus pacientes. En el departamento tres del piso 17 del edificio donde vive personal de la Fuerza Aérea, un vicecomodoro mató a su esposa, una bioquímica del Estado Mayor Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas. Fue detenido cuando salía del edificio.

“No busquen nada raro. Fue un crimen pasional. Un hombre mató a su mujer tras una discusión, por motivos que desconocemos”, dijo un vocero de la Policía Federal. El crimen ocurrió poco después de las 10 en el edificio de la avenida Alem 719, en Retiro.

El presunto homicida, a quien se le secuestró su pistola reglamentaria 9 milímetros, fue identificado como Enrique Spadari, de 43 años. Está acusado de matar a Rosa Elvira Fridlmeier, de 44, una oficial con el grado de mayor de la Fuerza Aérea. Recibió dos balazos en el pecho y uno en la cabeza. Habían llegado desde Paraná, Entre Ríos, en enero pasado: vivían en un departamento de tres ambientes con sus tres hijos y pagaban 400 pesos de alquiler. El imputado

fue detenido por personal de la comisaría 22^a y la causa quedó a cargo de la jueza de Instrucción Guillermina Martínez.

“Ahora van a decir que en el Alas hay puterío. Acá viven familias como en cualquier otro edificio. Lo militar queda de la puerta para afuera”, dijo un vocero de la Fuerza Aérea.

“Vivir acá es medio raro. Cada vez que mis amigos me visitan tienen que firmar una planilla. Si tenés perro te sancionan; ni hablar de escuchar música con el volumen alto. Hay más cámaras que en Gran Hermano. Lo bueno es que hay un salón de fiestas copado”, dijo un estudiante de 22 años, quien vive en un departamento del piso 12.

El caso de ayer es lo que la Coordinadora contra la Represión Policial e Institucional (Correpi) define como un crimen intrafuerza. Es decir, cuando un integrante de una fuerza de seguridad mata a su mujer. “Cada vez hay más casos de violencia de género de este tipo. De policías, oficiales de Prefectura o Gendarmería que matan a sus esposas. Todos están armados y eso es peligroso ante una discusión”, dijo María del Carmen Verdú, de la Correpi.

“El Alas quedó opacado por los edificios de lujo de Puerto Madero. Pero vivir en un dos ambientes por 300 pesos por mes es bárbaro, sobre todo cuando en Retiro el valor del metro cuadrado supera los dos mil dólares. Lástima que no nos permitan comprar porque el edificio es del Estado”, se lamentó una abogada que vive en el piso 19 con su esposo, un piloto de la Fuerza Aérea.

Considerado el primer rascacielos de la Argentina y el edificio más alto del país hasta 1996, por la construcción de las torres Le Parc, de 164 metros, el Edificio Alas fue inaugurado en 1946. Hasta 1977 funcionaron los estudios de Canal 7 y ahora alberga a una repetidora de Canal 13, varias antenas de radio y dependencias de la Fuerza Aérea.

“En la década del 50, la Aeronáutica construyó debajo del Alas un búnker antinuclear y subterráneo para el ex presidente Juan Domingo Perón por si algún día caía la bomba atómica. El lugar fue demolido en 2005”, dijo el arqueólogo Daniel Schavelzon. Donde se erigía el mítico búnker, construyeron tres cocheras.

ARTICLE 13

Sociedad

DETENIDO EN GORINA, LA PLATA

Arresto domiciliario para el odontólogo Barreda

El cuádruple homicida continuará la reclusión perpetua en su casa. Ya tiene 72 años y su conducta en el penal es "excelente".

07.05.2008



"Excelente" conducta. Ricardo Barreda, el cuádruple homicida de La Plata seguirá su condena perpetua con arresto domiciliario. (DyN)

El Tribunal de Casación Penal bonaerense otorgó el beneficio de arresto domiciliario al odontólogo platense Ricardo Barreda, que en 1992 mató a su esposa, su suegra y sus dos hijas, informó una fuente judicial. Los jueces de la Sala I del Tribunal tuvieron en cuenta la edad del cuádruple homicida -72 años-, su conducta "excelente" dentro del penal y el tiempo que lleva preso.

El Tribunal de Casación ordenó a la Cámara Penal de La Plata que haga efectivo ese beneficio, por lo que se estima que la cámara solicitará ahora informes al Servicio Penitenciario bonaerense acerca de las condiciones psíquicas del odontólogo para acceder a la libertad.

Si el informe es favorable, como se estima, el cuádruple homicida saldría en libertad desde el penal de Gorina, en La Plata, donde cumple su condena a reclusión perpetua.

Dos de los jueces de la Sala I de Casación provincial consideraron que a Barreda no le da el cómputo de años en prisión para acceder a la libertad condicional; y el tercer magistrado, Benjamín Sal Llargués, propuso que independientemente de esa circunstancia se contemplara la

posibilidad de que el condenado, debido a su edad, acceda al arresto domiciliario. La propuesta fue aceptada finalmente por sus pares, precisó una fuente judicial.

El abogado defensor de Ricardo Barreda confió en la rápida salida de prisión del odontólogo por la buena conducta que acredita en prisión. El letrado Eduardo Gutiérrez remarcó que el Tribunal de Casación Penal bonaerense "ya ha otorgado el arresto domiciliario, aunque siempre con carácter previo deben tomarse una serie de diligencias como fijar domicilio y solicitar un informe al Servicio Penitenciario bonaerense sobre su conducta y readaptación al medio".

Gutiérrez remarcó que "a criterio de esta defensa, no existirían impedimentos para que Barreda acceda al arresto domiciliario, ya que en el informe del Servicio (para su pase a régimen semiabierto) fue altamente positivo".

Barreda fue condenado a reclusión perpetua en 1995 por los jueces de la Sala I de la Cámara Penal, Pedro Soria, Eduardo Hortel y María Rosentock, por asesinar el 15 de noviembre de 1992 a su esposa, Gladys Mac Donall; su suegra, Elena Arreche; y sus dos hijas, Adriana y Cecilia.

ARTICLE 14

Sociedad / Edición Impresa

Habla la tía de Rocío

“Escrachemos a los violadores”

Apunta también a los jueces que habían liberado al hombre que vejó a su sobrina de 10 años en Coronel Dorrego. “Ella se recuperará”, asegura.

María Helena Ripetta
24.06.2008



Garrahan. Adriana, en el hall del hospital, pide que se publique la lista de violadores.

Tiene la mirada pérdida por la angustia, pero tomó la firme decisión de hacer algo por cambiar las cosas. Adriana, una de las tía de Rocío, la nena de 10 años que fue atropellada, violada y

quemada por un hombre de 27 años, que quedó detenido, habló con Crítica de la Argentina en el hall del Hospital Garrahan donde la pequeña está internada desde el jueves 19, cuando fue atacada en su pueblo, en Coronel Dorrego.

“Le arrancaron la vida a mi sobrina, pero ella tiene mucha fuerza y se va a recuperar”, dice, con seguridad, la tía. “Los delitos sexuales están instalados en la sociedad. La gente está acostumbrada porque hay impunidad. Tampoco creo que la pena de muerte resuelva la situación. Se mata a una persona, pero no soluciona el problema. No sabemos de los otros que están libres y siguen atacando”, asegura la tía de la nena, que vino desde Neuquén para acompañarla. “Este tipo era la tercera vez que lo hacía. La primera vez la chica no lo denunció. Ella se fue de su pueblo. ¿Tiene que pasar una cosa así para que se tome conciencia? Quiero saber el nombre del juez que lo dejó en libertad. Lo vamos a ir a escrachar. Le destruyeron la vida a mi sobrina”, considera Adriana, que trata que las lágrimas no se escapen de sus ojos. Tiene mucho dolor, pero no quiere que eso la paralice.

“Se tiene que publicar la lista de violadores. Tienen que estar identificados públicamente, es la única forma de ponerle freno a un enfermo. Que todos sepamos quiénes son. Mi sobrina no lo conocía. La Justicia sabía que él, lo había intentado antes, lo protegieron en ese momento y lo protegen ahora. La policía se niega a darnos la foto. Protegen al violador. No se sabe quiénes son. Otro puede violar al hijo de cualquiera”, sostiene Adriana, que teme que este hombre recupere la libertad. “Como no fue homicidio, capaz que vuelve a salir”, dice, descreída de las instituciones. “Espero que el pueblo de Dorrego esté parado si la Justicia lo vuelve a amparar. Los protege la Justicia, no se protege a las mujeres y ni a los niños. Es garantista con ellos y no con las víctimas. No es un accidente lo que pasó. Tendría que haber estado preso. El mismo día de la marcha hubo otra violación, ¿se están riendo de nosotros?”, se indigna la mujer, que busca que la gente se movilice, que no vuelva a pasar. “Este un sistema que protege a los abusadores. Todos los niños y mujeres están amenazados. Lo que le pasó a mi sobrina no es una cuestión individual. Se tiene que movilizar la gente. De la Justicia y del Gobierno por sí solos, no espero nada”, aclara.

ARTICLE 15

Sociedad / Edición Impresa

En un fallo muy discutido

La Corte le dijo no a Tejerina

Confirmó los 14 años de condena para la madre jujeña que mató a su bebé nacido tras una violación. Ya no hay apelación posible.

Josefina Licitra

09.04.2008



Los días sin libertad. Romina Tejerina mató a su hija en presunto estado de emoción violenta. No fue excusa para el tribunal.

El 1 de abril, Romina Tejerina, su familia y sus abogados hicieron un brindis y hablaron del futuro. Por primera vez en mucho tiempo, había una posibilidad real de que Tejerina – sentenciada a catorce años de prisión por haber matado a su beba, a quien habría gestado tras una violación– quedara en libertad.

El festejo se basaba en mucho más que un raptó optimista: la Corte Suprema de Justicia de la Nación tenía listo su fallo sobre el caso Tejerina, y era sabido que, de los siete magistrados, cuatro de ellos sostenían una reducción de pena que, en los hechos, significaba la excarcelación inmediata de Tejerina.

Pero ayer, inesperadamente, uno de los jueces que estaba a favor de Tejerina –se cree que el doctor Ricardo Lorenzetti– bajó un pulgar y dio vuelta todo lo demás. Con ese cambio de opinión, la Corte Suprema de Justicia dejó firme la condena a catorce años de prisión; un fallo que, en términos domésticos, equivale a una prolongación del encierro. Tejerina no podrá pisar la calle hasta dentro de, por lo menos, cinco años más.

¿Cuál fue el motivo de este fallo sorpresivo? Mariana Vargas, abogada defensora, está convencida de que hubo una influencia K. “El kirchnerismo tiñó el fallo –le dijo a Crítica de la Argentina–. Siempre estuvieron en contra de la liberación de Romina.”

El debate, dentro de la Corte Suprema, se dio en torno a la figura de “reducción de daños”. Esto es: si se tenía en cuenta el contexto en el que se había desarrollado la historia (pobreza, supuesta violencia familiar, ocultamiento del embarazo) era pertinente que Tejerina recibiera la pena mínima prevista para este tipo de homicidio, que era de ocho años (un monto que –como Tejerina ya lleva encerrada cinco años, más de dos tercios del total de la condena– permite la libertad inmediata).

Frente a esta figura, en la Corte las opiniones estaban repartidas. Petracchi, Highton de Nolasco y Argibay se manifestaban en contra de la reducción de pena. Pero Raúl Zaffaroni estaba a favor, igual que Fayt, Maqueda y Lorenzetti. Este último, sin embargo, habría cambiado de opinión. Y de ese modo avaló un fallo que dejará contento al kirchnerismo: la presidenta Cristina Fernández es una eterna cruzada en contra de la legalización del aborto, una postura que llegó a justificar

con una frase histórica: “Soy peronista, no progresista”.

Hasta el momento en que se cerró este artículo, Tejerina no estaba enterada del fallo. En rigor, la existencia de Tejerina siempre transcurrió en un territorio adormecido y eso significa que ella nunca entendió bien por qué ciertos acontecimientos iban ocurriendo en su vida. Creció en una familia de clase media baja de Jujuy y hasta los 17 años tuvo la vida de cualquier adolescente de pueblo chico. Un sábado, antes de entrar a bailar, Eduardo “Pocho” Vargas, su vecino veinte años mayor, la habría metido a la fuerza en un auto y la habría violado.

El encuentro jamás pudo probarse porque el juez de la causa por abuso sexual –Jorge Samman– se negó a pedir un análisis de ADN a Vargas. De ese momento quedó –recordó siempre Tejerina– mucho odio, asco y un embarazo de desenlace feroz. El 16 de abril de 2003, de modo prematuro, Tejerina parió una hija en el baño de su casa, tuvo un ataque de nervios y la asesinó a puñaladas. En el juicio, Tejerina aseguró que había visto en la criatura “la cara del violador”: un argumento que no convenció a la justicia jujeña.

En junio de 2005, le dio 14 años de prisión. La defensa de Tejerina apeló y fue hasta la Corte Suprema de Justicia: un lugar, decían, donde iba a haber “justicia en serio”. Ayer, sin embargo, la última esperanza se transformó en nada. Luego de este fallo, Tejerina –y su caso– ya no tienen más lugares donde ir.

Fue una decisión polémica: 4 a 3

La mayoría que se impuso (Lorenzetti, Petracchi, Highton, Argibay) se basó en que la Corte no discute cuestiones de hecho: no les corresponde revisar si hubo o no emoción violenta (lo que argumentaba Tejerina) porque no se trata de un tribunal de tercera instancia.

La opinión de los jueces es que hubiera sido un antecedente peligroso anular el fallo contra Tejerina por emoción violenta porque con ese antecedente muchos casos penales subirían a la Corte. La discusión duró meses. Zaffaroni, Maqueda y Fayt presentaron distintos proyectos por la inimputabilidad o para reducir la pena. Pero eso no alcanzó para liberar a la chica.

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