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Contracampo – Brazilian Journal of Communication is a quarterly publication of the Graduate Programme in Communication Studies (PPGCOM) at Fluminense Federal University (UFF). It aims to contribute to critical reflection within the field of Media Studies, being a space for dissemination of research and scientific thought. PERSONAL IS POLITICAL IN AZMINA MAGAZINE: Testimony legitimization and recognition demands in texts on maternity

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Abstract

Based on the analysis of texts on maternity published in the journal AzMina between September 2015 and May 2018, this article aims to analyze which are the discursive fields that articulate demands for justice materialized in the publication testimonies and the way in which such testimonies are consistent with recognition spheres of a plurality of possible forms of motherhood. For this, we will study texts from recognition models proposed by Honneth (1995): strong emotional connections, adjudication of rights and orientation by values. We will analyze the recognition issues in the articulations of voices in this publication (in terms of the testimonies that assume the foreground and those that are silenced) and the demands for justice and recognition associated with these testimonies.

Keywords

Maternity; AzMina; Testimony; Legitimation; Recognition.

Introduction

The social recognition on plural forms of subjectivity and the self-reporting are, for Butler (2015), interconnected performative acts. The reason for this is that the constitution of a narrative self is not limited to a self-absorbed individual, but corresponds to an alterity request - that is built not only on a rhetorical dimension, but it is connected to the shared legitimate ways of being into the world. According to her, when I narrate myself, there is a request for recognition as an ethical posture, since "I am, in other words, doing something with that 'I' – elaborating and positioning it in relation to a real or imagined audience". And so, the author asks: "which part of 'telling' is an acting upon the other, a production of the 'I' anew?" (Butler, 2005, p. 66), referring to the dynamic interdependent process between forms of recognition and testimony.

From these reflections, the purpose of this paper is to analyze how the feminist publication called AzMina uses testimony discursively in the articulation of its narratives about motherhood from the perspective of recognition models proposed by Honneth (1995). We aim to study discursive strategies from which feminist alternative press constitute itself as a struggle space for otherness and for recognition of plural forms of subjectivity.

Recognition and subjects

By asking himself about what are the conditions under which individuals see themselves as subjects of law, Honneth (1995, p. 93) places recognition as the central analytical category to answer to this question. In this sense, the normative transformations of societies would be intertwined with "morally motivated struggles of social groups" in "their collective attempt to establish, institutionally and culturally, expanded forms of reciprocal recognition". Fraser (2017, p. 279) discusses the fact that being falsely recognized is not simply being slighted or undervalued in others conscious attitudes or mental beliefs, but it is having denied the status of full partnership in social interactions and being barred from participating as an equal in social life, not necessarily from distributive inequality perspective, but as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of interpretation and evaluation.

For Ricoeur (2005, p. 94), testimony is one of the socially demarcated places in which recognition operates, since "by launching the idea of capacity by being able to say things, we confer on the notion of human action the extension that justifies the characterization of the self as the capable human being recognizing himself in his capabilities". This is in line with Butler's (2005) perspective, for whom self-reports are always built in harmony with recognition theories, based on norms, conventions and truth regimes that are implicated in the ongoing struggle for social valuation. Thus, even if morality provides a set of rules that produces a subject in its intelligibility, it is nonetheless a set of norms and rules that a subject must negotiate in a vital and reflexive manner, that is addressed to an-other. Self-reporting requires an imaginary other that is presupposed, so that new forms of subjectivity imply another forms of self-reporting and a new recognition request for the imaginary other. "New modes of subjectivity" are not possible "from the fact that there are individuals with especially creative capacities". This becomes a reality "when a certain self is risked in its intelligibility in a bid to expose and account for explain the inhuman ways in which the human continues to be made and unmade" (Butler, 2005, p. 133).

Testimony importance as a political instrument for strengthening democratic regimes finds fertile articulations in journalism discursive space. This is because testimony has the potential to enable the struggle for "the entry into the literate culture of other identities voices, of silenced voices, of texts produced in outside spaces of constituted power, of unofficial interpretations of history" (Marco, 2004, p. 48). Witness-based journalism can be a relevant actor in political discussion organization and it can institute other forms of debate and discourse sustained in silenced groups expression. In addition - and

taking into account the ethical dimension - testimony is always accompanied by a demand for justice (Ricoeur, 2007) that is based on an authority strategy, from which the "I saw" originally conceived as a testimonial feature can be articulated in the form of an "I know" (Derrida, 1997). Both testimony and recognition, however, have problematic aspects that intend the idea of communication democratization from a plurality of voices.

Among the various journalistic spaces that try to represent socially invisible groups based on testimony, we chose AzMina magazine as object of our study because it is a publication created by a group of women who did not feel represented by newsstands publications. They decided to create their own editorial project, aimed at all kinds of readers ("from A to Z"). This journal is born with the objective to constitute a space of struggle and visibility for other gender performativities that look for social recognition. Created in 2015, in a segment of digital publications aimed at openly feminist female audience, what distinguishes AzMina magazine is its journalistic approach, applied to the project's professional structure, the diversity of covered topics, the narrative genres - that ranges from short articles to long reportages, without being restricted to personal texts that are characteristic of blogs. Magazine's sections cover various subjects, seeking to include diverse kinds of women agendas – black women, lesbian women, periphery residents, among others. Thus, by analyzing the published texts in this magazine, we believe it is possible to understand how the greatest exponent of feminist digital journalism in Brazil establishes

Testimony is one of the main discursive legitimation tools used by AzMina magazine to articulate its narratives with recognition policies. From the analysis of the texts on maternity published between September 2015 and May 2018, this article aims to study the use of testimony as a legitimizing discursive tool in this publication and a starting point for reports production. In this sense, we will analyze what are the discursive fields¹ which articulate the demands for justice materialized in journal's testimonies and how these testimonies fit into spheres of a plurality of possible forms of motherhood recognition. For this, we will analyze texts based on recognition models proposed by Honneth (1995): the strong emotional connections, the claim for rights award and the social recognition. In this sense, we will analyze the recognition problems in the articulations of voices in this publication (in terms of testimonies that take the center stage and those that are silenced) as well as the justice recognition demands associated with these testimonies.

The choice for texts about motherhood are justified because it is a field of fierce discursive clashes about which voices should be recognized as legitimate - that of the mother herself, that of the doctor, that of specialists, among others. It is important to highlight that creating narratives about new forms of maternal care and new models of maternal performativities not only represent a transformation in discursive field, but also contribute to the expansion of motherhood social imaginary, making it more inclusive (Aguero & Cingolani, 2018), more focused on multiple female experiences and less conditioned by institutional norms. Internet also becomes an ideal space for dissemination of experiences like these, as it offers horizontality and reproduces support networks that women have always built in their private and personal lives (Santamaría, 2010).

We will use the assumptions of French Discourse Analysis as methodology, in order to correlate testimony with recognition models, concatenating strong emotional links to the editorial project proposed by the magazine; the adjudication of rights to the demands for justice presented in the discursive plan; and social recognition to content level exposed in testimonies. The research corpus consists of all articles on maternity published by AzMina magazine from September 2015 to May 2018. Twenty-nine texts were analyzed. Firstly, we will show how testimonies are articulated in magazine's narratives and, subsequently,

¹ Maingueneau (1989, p. 28) defines discursive field as a set of discursive formations that are in competition while delimiting reciprocally. This includes both direct confrontation and the alliance between discourses that have the same social function and differ on how to address it.

we will study its discursive strategies of appeal for recognition in order to investigate how this journal discursive fields and its silencing are articulated.

Testimony: the personal is political

Before we analyze how these narratives are constructed, it is necessary to understand testimony definitions. According to Lage (2013), testimony exhibits the complexity of journalistic practice, since, through it, journalist, sources and viewers no longer assume different positions, but are entangled by the same text. In addition, witness and testimony are not initially exposed, but are stitched and mediated by the article, story or report - "it is the testimony narrative configuration that allows us to experience the event and its subjects" (Lage, 2013, p. 81). Testimony presents a "we" and a "they", a group of victims and a group of oppressors, from a moral background (Lage, 2013). Thus, while the text seems to assume the function of mediating another person's suffering through testimony, on the other hand, it can increase the visibility and sayability of some populations.

According to Peres (2016), testimony uses by journalism allow the construction of a singular and subjective account of an experience – and this is very significant since journalism, by itself, is an activity hegemonically guided by objectivity rules:

We understand that journalistic process of enunciation is regulated through more generalized procedures established in species of macrocodes: language, cultural matrices, social rules, ethics and ideologies. And also by microcodes, such as the particular codes established by media companies; for example, the writing manuals, but also the news values (news criteria), which will be managed and mobilized in the enunciation process. The dependence on sources of information and opinion reduces the degree of autonomy of the journalist as the author of a text and makes the journalistic discourse marked by the intersection between narrative discourse and quoted discourse (fragments of speech), according to Bakhtin, who sees indirect discourse as the analytical transmission of someone else's discourse. (Vizeu, 2003, p. 112)

In the search for neutrality, impartiality and objectivity (current values within journalistic practice), journalists use, in their texts, some legitimation tools such as historical facts, statistical data and specialists' interviews, that gives the journalistic text an effect of having polyphony of voices, positioning the enunciator in the place of an evidence collector (Casadei, 2011). Testimony differs from these instruments on its speech impacts and, in the case of AzMina magazine, it is widely used, so it will be the subject of our study.

Another interesting aspect that should be pointed out regarding to the use of testimony in the production of journalistic articles in a feminist publication is that, according feminist movement has stated throughout its recent acting history, personal experience assumes a political value. After all, when women's personal experiences are inserted in a public discourse, they carry the power to give visibility to experiences previously silenced and often confined to domestic space, besides broadening the narratives about being a woman and being a mother, with the potential to generate empathy and transform social behaviors. "Personal experiences are reflections and symptoms of power relations that take place in home private sphere, but which are inscribed and sustained in a broader context of social fabric" (Aguero & Cingolani, 2018, p. 135). Let us consider, therefore, the analysis of how these personal experiences are inserted in AzMina magazine texts through testimony uses.

Behind the speeches: witnessing mothers

A good application sample of testimony as a legitimizing discursive tool, in the context of the insertion of sources and characters experiences, is the article "From the womb to the dust" (Vicentin,

2015a), which addresses the consumption of maternal placenta by parents after child birth. The story includes the experience of four people - three women and one man - who ingested the placenta after childbirth and saw benefits from this practice; besides, there is an interview with only one doctor, who clarifies that there is no scientific proof of such benefits. Thus, the testimony of those who lived the experience gained prominence in opposition to medical authority:

Viviane salivates when she remembers the aroma of red wine, mushrooms and green smell. Spices accompanied the main course of that night seven years ago: part of the placenta that came out after her first daughter birth. "It was delicious! I was already a vegetarian, but I loved that tasty, juicy meat", describes Viviane.

[...] "I felt really stronger. But the biggest difference was in milk production. When Francisco was almost two months old, I had to cut the pills because my chest was stoning", says journalist and blogger Tatiana Sabadini, 34.

The doula Flávia Ilíada, 35, also took the capsules after Hector's birth, two years ago. "During the postpartum of my first daughter, I had very strong baby blues symptoms, that deep sadness. That did not happen the second time, I felt a much greater force", reports. "Even for the resumption of sex life I believe the pills helped, I had the disposition for sex much earlier."

[...] Flávia's husband, the consultant Julio Mariano de Carvalho, 37, tried the pills. Julio actively participated in the birth of both children at home, and considered that placenta consumption was natural. "It was very good, I felt like a boy again", he jokes. (Vicentin, 2015a)

It is noteworthy that these testimonies, along with the opinions of midwives and doulas, figures that represent normal childbirth cares, occupy 21 of the 24 paragraphs that compose the article - the remaining three paragraphs provide medical-scientific information that contradicts the idea of placental consumption. Among the shared experiences, there is unanimity: they are all positive and they all attest this practice benefits.

Thus, regardless of scientific evidence of placental consumption, this practice can be understood as a female cultural rescue, related to a reconnection with traditional rituals and with nature – actions that are aligned with naturalistic feminism and ecological motherhood principles, which are among the pillars that underpin the discursive field built by AzMina magazine. However, it is interesting to observe that, by highlighting the testimony of those who have consumed placenta and giving the medical authority a shorten space, report does not cease to warn to the possible practice dangers, but signals the female body as a territory for narrative dispute and empowerment. These women autonomy over their biological processes assume a greater importance than the scientific validation.

A symbol of this is the way that the article is narratively closed. First, there is the testimony of a woman who is also adept at placentophagy that states: "childbirth is an event in our sexuality and allows a very strong encounter with ourselves. The placenta is part of it all" (Vicentin, 2015a). There is also the speech of an obstetric nurse: "these things have immeasurable value, they translate a care that is not scientific or technological, but it is no less important for people" (Vicentin, 2015a). Thus, there is a recognition that placentophagy is a custom that is more valid from the traditional point of view and in the context of strengthening female self-esteem and autonomy, in opposition to an effective validity for health. With this statement, based on women's personal experience, this article strengthens the affirmation that the personal is political, emphasizing women's power to make decisions about their bodies, their births and their lives - a deeply political act.

Texts on humanized childbirth (Vicentin, 2015b; Rocha, 2016) and reports on tubal ligation process (Queiroz, 2017) also include women testimony, exposing their difficulties, their struggle and their overcoming. This is the case of the following excerpt:

At 2:55 am on April 7, 2014, exactly six years after hearing the heart of her first

daughter, still in her belly, beating for the last time, the designer Pamela Wagnitz was entering the Carmela Dutra Hospital in Florianopolis to give birth. After losing her first two pregnancies, reading and researching about motherhood, she was determined: this time, she would have a natural humanized birth.

[...] When she was already in labor, she eventually had to be transferred to a hospital that was not her choice. "At that moment, I knew I had lost my birth, I knew about the fight that would be there at Carmela Dutra [Hospital] and how difficult it would be to win", she remembers.

[...] After surgery, Pamela was prevented from picking up her baby. "I had to fight over my son while I was being sewed and the doctor called me ignorant", recalls the designer. "I still had to hear him tell the anesthetist that my uterus was not contracting and that if he didn't work it out, he would 'take it all away'". (Rocha, 2016)

These testimonies update the form of narrative and humanize the problems and situations reported. As we have pointed out, they can be interpreted as an act in which personal become political: placing these women in the forefront, more prominently than technical and expert sources, the article sews information under the feminist point of view that the female body belongs to woman and, because of that, woman speech should be the one that stands out. This is a fundamental action that contributes to a greater diversity of female biological processes reports such as childbirth.

The use of testimony in AzMina texts about motherhood, therefore, legitimizes the discourses constructed and mediated by the publication. Besides, reporters and columnists write texts from their own experience and testimony. In our analysis, we note that, in some cases, reporters and columnists themselves report their experiences in their texts. In this case, author and witness merge into one role, reinforcing the legitimation of that narrative prerogative. This is the case of "Mental health in maternity: we have to talk about it" (Cimino, 2015), which presents the creation of a project that shelter women. The author is also the project creator and starts the article as follows:

As soon as my daughter, Vida, was born, I went through intense and painful moments. I had many difficulties to breastfeed. When Vida was one and a half months old, I had a breast abscess, had surgery to drain the inflammation and the cicatrization, that goes inside out. I got an open cut that took about 1 month to close. I had to wean my daughter abruptly. It was extremely exhausting because, besides the

inner suffering, I felt bad about giving my daughter a bottle in public, as if everyone was looking at me and judging me. (Cimino, 2015)

The author's testimony, in this case, serves as a premise to build a reflection on the importance of thinking about mothers' mental health, besides legitimizing the issue that is the article focus: by clearly reporting the drama she faced, she makes it visible and exposes a problem that is shared with many other women. Similarly, we observe this mechanism in the articles that are produced by columnists, such as Tayná Leite with her section "My name is not mother". Many of her texts begin from the author's own experience in order to generate reflection about issues faced by mothers. By exposing her experience, once again, the author legitimizes one problem. For example, in "Maybe I am not the best mother in the world... and that's ok!" (Leite, 2017), the author states "We need to accept the different ways of mothering and that many of us don't love motherhood more than anything else in life". Thus, in addition to contest normativities imposed on motherhood, the text questions the ideal of maternal love as instinctive and unconditional (Badinter, 2011).

In the same thematic of dismantling romantic discourses on motherhood, we can observe the text "I love my son, but being a mother is difficult" (Revista AzMina, 2017) – an anonymous testimonial from a 21-year-old woman who says "I had so much trouble in motherhood that I think that almost everything that could go wrong, it did". She was forced to have a caesarean section, which would have been "the worst experience" of her life; the baby had difficulties in breastfeeding; she finds out that her husband was dating an ex-girlfriend, and states that: "[...] his 'justification' was that I lived disheveled, in pajamas,

stinking of baby poop and milk, 20 pounds overweight. I didn't recognize myself in the mirror. I still don't recognize myself". The report shifts the maternal experience from the idealized field (where the encounter with the baby is beautiful and angelic) to a realm of reality, where the child arrival provides a mismatch of the woman with her partner, with the world and with herself. This legitimation tool becomes necessary when the constructed agenda goes through a specific cut of female experience, taking into consideration the place of speech. This idea points to the importance of considering that female experience is not unique, but it is crossed by multiple conditions related to age, ethnicity, sexuality, social class etc. It is not a discursive authorization, but it is the principle that each person should be placed in his personal experience to weave a certain narrative.

It is possible to identify a use of testimony in AzMina magazine coupled with the place of speech, especially in the case of articles that authors report their own personal experience. This is the case of the text "Lesbian Maternity" (Rodrigues, 2018), in which the author, Tamy Rodrigues, investigates the choices, the medical treatments and the reality of women couples who intend to have children. Rodrigues builds the story from her place of speech as a lesbian woman, as in the following excerpts:

[...] Does a mother need to be just one?

Despite having a womb in good condition to have a baby, nature has not brought me the possibility of doing this together with the woman I love, with whom I have chosen to share the beauties and mishaps of life.

Like ours, there are many other cases of women not conforming to the limitations of "mother nature." In Brazil, there are at least 32,000 homosexual families formed by two mothers (53.8% of the total), according to 2010 data from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.

[...] And so, between misplaced myths, adoption queues, online partnerships and appeals to new technologies, we are showing how we are and being how we can, in the fight to undo this invisibility that insists on covering our wants. We exist, we resist and we are also maternal. (Rodrigues, 2018)

In affirming herself as part of the group she portrays in her article, the author seems to beckoning to readers a kind of permission to address the issue. Being a lesbian woman as the characters in her story, it is as if she knew better that reality and, in this way, she assumes the conditions to portray it with knowledge and responsibility – and that is a way of legitimating her discourse.

Another article that presents a similar mechanism is "Indigenous Maternity" (Dreher, 2016), but with some peculiarities. This article provides information on indigenous habits and customs regarding childbirth, breastfeeding and caring. For this, the reporter lived with indigenous people of seven ethnic groups. After a long description of indigenous women customs, Dreher introduces a section entitled "Trying to save myself":

It was Friday night and three weeks ago I was trying to interview women on the topic "What do indigenous mothers have to teach us?", when indigenous Tukano Daiara Figueroa, a teacher in Brasilia and an activist of indigenous movements, told me that my article was prejudiced.

Perhaps it would have been truer to say that I was sick of seeing my friends under the pressure of being "good mothers" and I wanted to bring in other forms of motherhood to help in the debate. What other ways? The tribals ones, for example.

[...] Cut the scene. We went back four months in time.

"Maternity as we conceive it today was introduced by European settlers for indigenous and black women, who had other forms of organization on this issue". This phrase was published in the article "I never wanted to have a child", right here in AzMina Magazine. Right the way, I identified myself with this title. When I read that sentence, it not only caught my attention - it resonated in my soul!

[...] My great-grandfather was an Indian from the village, a healer. We lost almost everything he knew - from language to medicine. All that remained was my mother's drained black hair, which I used to wear as a "wig" whenever she carried me fitted to the hip. (Dreher, 2016)

It is interesting to note that Dreher's testimony puts her narratively in the story in three different ways: as a reporter who experiences cultural customs with the indigenous to describe them into the text and that is in conflict with her own investigation process, because she does not want to be prejudiced in the fabricated report; as the woman who reflects about the desire of not being a mother from the indigenous experience of motherhood; and as a great-granddaughter of an indigenous, which gives her elements to think about these women condition in the report besides bringing them closer to her, from the point of view of the domination matrix.

By having indigenous relatives, it is as if Dreher could confirm herself as part of the group described and attest herself certain property to address the issue. While affirming her personal dilemma with motherhood, she justifies the text premise, explains her interest for this subject and gives the reader a possible reason for having "fetishized" indigenous motherhood, as the indigenous Tukano Daiara Figueroa points out in the excerpt included here. In addition, when reporting a concern about not being prejudiced as well as the conversation with the source that pointed her fetishization, she reveals the process of report writing, and confesses that she acted biased throughout the investigation, even if she did not wish to do so. The reporter puts herself in a vulnerable and humane way by presenting these positions, and exposes the challenges of reporting and of combating internal prejudice, which has the potential to establish empathy and identification with her readers. Through the different ways in which she inserts herself as a witness, the reporter legitimizes the constructed discourses and seems to be able to protect herself from possible criticism - when she recognizes the fetishization of indigenous motherhood and reveals the effort to prevent this movement, she naturally protects herself against those who might accuse her of doing so.

Now that we have exposed the ways in which AzMina magazine narratively articulates testimonies as a form of legitimizing discourse, we can connect these issues to demands for recognition in the next section. Testimony is linked to recognition needs because "the self-designation of the speaking subject is produced in interlocutory situations where the reflexivity is combined with otherness. The speech pronounced by someone is a speech act addressed to someone else" (Ricoeur, 2005, p. 96). From this, it is possible to correlate testimony forms articulated in the reports on maternity in AzMina magazine with the recognition forms proposed by Honneth (1995). For the author, there are three integrative principles that structure recognition: the strong emotional connections, the claim for rights and the social recognition. From these categories, we will correlate the strong emotive links to the communicational contract proposed by the magazine; the granting of rights to the claims for justice presented at the discursive level; and the orientation by values to the plan of contents exposed in testimonies

Testimony and forms of recognition: communication contract, discursive effects and silencing

Among the integrative principles that structure recognition, the emotive, for Honneth (1995) refers to the recognition placed under the aegis of erotic, friendship or family relations. Thus, recognition in emotive bonds must be understood "not only in the restricted sense that the concept has acquired since Romanticism's revaluation of intimate sexual relationships" but "as referring to primary relationships insofar as they (...) are constituted by strong emotional attachments among a small number of people" (Honneth, 1995, p. 95). Since this sphere concerns the constitution of love ties, this analysis would not initially fit the present work.

About this, however, it is possible to make some considerations. Although the relationships analyzed by Honneth (1995) concern the close relationship, there is, in the analyzed texts, a clear attempt by the magazine to approach, via recognition, with a supposed reference public. Based on the examples showed in previous section, it is possible to understand that, by employing sources and reporters' testimony, AzMina magazine ground motherhood discourses, and more: it builds a journalism close to women readers, with

the potential to consolidate itself as a publication that represents them and dialogues with their demands, anxieties and ideologies. Therefore, there is a request for recognition in these testimonies; a request for approval and belonging to a supposed common reference group composed by authors and readers.

As stated by Ricoeur (2005, p. 191), "if the correlation proposed by Honneth between three models of recognition and three of disregard has any heuristic value, it does not seem as though threats to physical integrity". That is because "the normative idea in the model of recognition under the rubric of love (...) seems to be more completely identified by the idea of approbation" since "friends, lovers (...) mutually approve each other's existence". There is in testimony, a request for approval by the magazine destined to the imagined reader.

After all, it is the functionalization of testimony as a truth function that, for Ricoeur (2004), ensures the necessary conditions for the constitution of societal ties. This is because it is only on the assumption of a common world, in the sense of a shared world, that both testimony criticism and reliability are installed. For Ricoeur (2004), witnessing has consistency and meaning because we assume that a person is able to tell the truth: that is, because we trust others cognitive ability and because we believe in speaker moral commitment. This is where lies the moral character of testimony and its status as a sociability bond.

Testimony is understood as a social institution by Ricoeur and as result of the articulation of three moments that can be expressed by the maxims: "I was there", "believe me"; "and if you don't believe me, ask someone else". These three moments highlight testimony as a conjuration between reality assertion and witness self-naming, keeping in itself "on the one side, the assertion of the factual reality of the reported event; on the other, the certification or authentication of the declaration on the basis of its author's experience, what we can call his presumed trustworthiness" (Ricoeur, 2004, p. 163).

Using testimony as a discursive strategy, AzMina magazine appeals to this kind of emotional recognition. In its communicational contract there is a convocational call in which testimony is organized as an instance that legitimizes a certain knowledge about, some kind of authority.

The second type of recognition studied by Honneth concerns the relationships of recognition in law, that is "the fact that we can only come to understand ourselves as the bearers of rights when we know, in turn, what various normative obligations we must keep vis-a-vis others". Thereby, "only once we have taken the perspective of the generalized other, which teaches us to recognize the other members of the community as the bearers of rights, can we also understand ourselves to be legal persons" in the sense that "we can be sure that certain of our claims will be met" (Honneth, 1995, p. 108). In this regard, Ricoeur (2005, p. 199) comments that the normative sphere of rights is correlated with recognition in two aspects: "on the one hand, on the plane of an enumeration of personal rights defined by their content; on the other, on the plane of the attribution of these rights to new categories of individuals or groups".

In this case, there is also a link between the journalistic legitimation strategies by testimony and the demands for recognition placed under the aegis of justice. There are, in testimonies presented, the invitation for visibility of other voices, linked to demands for rights recognition. It is interesting to point out that testimony in Latin is represented by two terms, *superstes* and *testis*. *Supertes* is related to the discourse of individuals or social groups who have survived a trauma or a difficult situation and need to report their experience. *Testis* refers to the testimony of a third party that stands between two parties, willing to judge them (Peres, 2016). The first case is closest to the kind of testimony often employed by journalism. It raises questions related to contemporary ethics, memory and language, but for Peres (2016), it also adds a call to update narrative forms. The author reminds that Walter Benjamin had decreed the narrative art extinction in the modern period with the emergence of romance and journalistic information. However, we can perceive, in the journalism practiced by vehicles such as AzMina magazine, a narrator (a woman narrator) who uses the experience lived by others to account a situation.

Thus, it is possible to observe that testimony, in AzMina magazine, is an instance that, in terms of discursive effects, articulates demands for justice linked to demands for plurality of voices supported

in the place of speech. This plurality of voices, however, is sustained in a very specific aspect in order to control speech visibilities in a specific discursive axis, as we shall discuss below on the solidarity articulated thematically in these testimonies.

The third axis, that of solidarity, concerns the fact that, "human subjects always need - over and above the experience of affectionate care and legal recognition - a form of social esteem that allows them to relate positively to their concrete traits and abilities". So, in modern societies, "social relations of symmetrical esteem between individualized (and autonomous) subjects represent a prerequisite for solidarity". In this sense, "to esteem one another symmetrically means to view one another in light of values that allow the abilities and traits of the other to appear significant for shared praxis" (Honneth, 1995, p. 129). This level of analysis "functions to sum up all the modes of mutual recognition that exceed the mere recognition of the equality of rights among free subjects" (Ricoeur, 2005, p. 202).

In this aspect, we can recognize that there is, in presented testimonies, a discursive basis that crosses them, so that it is not any testimony that is validated or acknowledged via solidarity by AzMina magazine. In terms of content, reports seem to have the function of denouncing a supposed normatization that foresees that women should give birth to their children through an event totally free of medical interventions, an ideal that is related to naturalistic feminism (Badinter, 2011), in the defense of natural processes such as natural childbirth and breastfeeding. In this regard, Badinter (2011, p. 86) points the obligation to submit to breastfeeding as a new source of pressure for women that arose with the emergence of naturalistic feminism and that is at the heart of a supposed "maternal revolution". It is also possible to observe some testimonies linked to approaches of "ecological motherhood" (Badinter, 2011, p. 86), a feminist current that questions social and industrial impositions but as well impose other normativities.

In testimonies analyzed here, we were able to identify problematizations on medical and state power imposed to woman's body, especially when addressing themes such as birth, contraception tools and forms of child creation. In addition, these texts provide a series of testimonials and accounts of women's experience of motherhood, which may suggest a greater focus on motherhood as plural experiences as well as a more humane and individual portrait of being a mother than we normally see in conventional female media. However, while these texts signal a deviation from the institutionally imposed norms about being a mother, we can also identify the drawing of a new set of norms imposed to magazine readers. In testimonies published by AzMina, we noticed norms that are crossed by naturalistic feminism discourse, which advocates that women should adopt biological and natural processes for raising their children, such as natural childbirth and breastfeeding. By refusing certain imposed norms about being a mother, AzMina magazine encourages women to adopt another set of norms - more aligned with natural processes and less interventionist.

Thus, in the request for public recognition of other maternal performativities presupposed in these testimonies, also operates the application of a new set of normativities and the silencing of other discourses. We did not find, in studied texts, reports on women who wished cesarean section, for example, or who opted for another way of nourishing their babies than breastfeeding simply because they wanted to. For example, the article "Cesarean Industry Increases Obstetric Violence in Brazil" (Rocha, 2016) reports a survey that states that 61.5% of cesarean sections was made by medical suggestion - and although the study suggests that in 38.5% of cases woman would have chosen the surgical route, an expressive fact that should be considered, the text does not give any space to these characters.

In terms of solidarity, therefore, it is possible to observe that testimony is based on a discursive field that gives visibility and validation to certain voices, while silencing others, revealing important aspects of recognition policies in alternative journalism practiced by AzMina magazine.

Final considerations

AzMina magazine editorial project has the proposal of recovering testimony and place of speech as fundamental strategies in the search for recognition of other forms of subjectivization in feminist political struggles and their strategies to give visibility to certain demands. More than a narrative politics, however, the articulation between the dimensions of recognition linked to emotional connections, the adjudication of rights and the orientation towards values in these testimonies show that there is a common discursive axis that articulates these demands for listening in maternity, that validate certain types of feminism over others (notably naturalistic and ecological feminisms). It is the experience of texts authors or characters that defends the feminisms mentioned here. There is a silencing of testimonies that are dissonant from this articulating axis, so that the legitimate testimony is the one that belongs to this central axis. It is implied that because the text author or character has experienced her maternal decisions in the light of a particular feminist strand, she has the authority to bring out this particular way of living motherhood, and this is how such feminist currents are legitimized in the analyzed texts. Although magazine articulates, in its editorial project, the recognition of plural forms of motherhood performativities and subjectivities, the magazine itself operates this recognition within specific normative patterns from the discursive use of testimony. Thus, in our analysis, we were able to unveil the discourses constructed by AzMina magazine on motherhood and reflect about the senses of the silences that it promotes. We could also recognize the discursive formations mediated by the publication and some feminist strands that echo from it in published texts.

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