

Between control and silence: investigations into the representation of incarcerated women in television discourse

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Abstract

Incarcerated women represent about 8% of the Brazilian prison population and even though it is considered low, this is the group in which the incarceration rate rises the most. Using the concept "images of control" by Collins (2019), which problematizes the use of meanings attributed to black women in the maintenance of racist structures, including those linked to the penal apparatus, we aimed to identify how incarcerated women in Brazil are represented from TV Globo's audiovisual productions. In the mapping carried out, we found 63 results in which it was possible to observe the formation of three typified representations, which can function as images of control in the television discourse about this group.

Keywords

Incarcerated women; Images of control; Representation; Television discourse; TV Globo.

Introduction

With the third-largest prison population in the world, in which over 7731 thousand people are deprived of freedom, violence in Brazil is marked in everyday life, permeating material and symbolic dynamics, directly affecting social relations. In the center of this dynamic we observe the media as a space of dispute and production of meanings about violence, imprisonment and its subjects, providing materiality to reinforce or build ideas from its discourses, both about this space of punishment and about the subjects who live in it. For Charaudeau (2013), these are the elements that give the media the ability to participate in the construction of social reality, from power dynamics and structures in which it is inserted, producing the information discourses that move society and its hierarchies.

In this context, present in our daily life as one of the scenarios connected to criminality, a large portion of the population knows about prison and prisoners through media and its information discourse; in other words, through what they read, see, hear and learn about these subjects. We also point out that the Journalism is participating in this dissemination of images and meanings in a legitimized space, present in the homes not only as a transmitter, but also as a mediator and builder of the reality in which we live in (Lippman, 1922, p.73). Thus, whether by the use of discourse through images, texts and sounds that trigger the field of representations, ideas and stereotypes, Journalism participates in an interrelationship with social representations (Moscovici, 2015, p. 45), because at the same time it helps daily in their construction from interactions and contact with the objective world, it uses them to build its discourses.

In a context in which over 90% of prisoners are men and that 64% of prison population is black (this group makes up 53% of Brazilian population), we could conclude that the discourse (and the portrait) on crime and, consequently, the prison system that is built and reproduced in the media from reports, movies, soap operas and TV shows, represent such incarcerated characters as male, black and, frequently, peripheral individuals. However, this way of thinking about representation ends up eclipsing the notion that the existence of a profile predominant of the prison population (poor, black, young and low educated people) does not mean that these characteristics are causes of crime, but rather social profiles that in practice operate as criteria for criminalization (Borges, 2019, p.33). Similarly, although these are the main characters in the reports and portrayal of this system, another group faces different (and diverse) vulnerabilities, and are often invisible in the media discourse: incarcerated women.

According to the National Penitentiary Department (Depen), an agency related to the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, in 2019, among the more than 773 thousand incarcerated in the country, only 8% are women. However, between 2006 and 2014, the female population in prisons increased 567.4% - almost 350% more than the average of male population increase (which was 220% in the same period). In 2019, these numbers grew again, placing Brazil in fourth in the female incarceration ranking, surpassing Thailand (41,119) and trailing only the United States (211,870), China (107,131) and Russia (48,478). Among incarcerated women, half are between 18 and 29 years old and 62% are black.

For Borges (2019), from her reflection on mass incarceration in Brazil, drug trafficking and theft are the majority of infractions in the case of women, having a common scenario: "social vulnerabilities, the need to provide for children and the family, family disruption, domestic-sexual violence and abuse." (Borges, 2019, p.19)

Despite the problem announced by statistics, these individuals are often absent from agendas approaching imprisonment; however, when they appear, they are represented from specific angles that result in profiled representations based on the meanings they activate. For Akotirene (2020), this scenario

¹ Retrieved April 22, 2021 from : <https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2020-02/brasil-tem-mais-de-773-mil-encarcerados-maioria-no-regime-fechado>.

² Retrieved April 22, 2021 from <http://dados.mj.gov.br/dataset/infopen-levantamento-nacional-de-informacoes-penitenciarias>.

highlights the urgency of substantive attention to female prisons. "It is necessary to better understand how such a microcosm of broad violence does not encounter the same media coverage as social episodes of violence against women, nor does it provoke the expressive disapproval by feminists" (Akotirene, 2020, p.16).

Going along with Borges' (2019) proposal about the need to consider Patriarchy as a structure that determined the different modulations of incarceration for men and women, producing a double invisibility on incarcerated women, we used Collins' (2019) concept of images of control to investigate how the television discourse about this group is built in the most watched broadcaster by Brazilians in the last year (TV Globo). We used content analysis methodology, enabling a qualitative study anchored in statistical parameters that allow the processing of a certain volume of data. For this, we carried out a mapping on the *Globoplay* portal using the keyword "presidiárias (female prisoners)"³, finding 63 varied contents. At this point, we performed the "skimming the text" of the material indicated by Bardin (2011) as a first stage of content analysis. At this moment, our main goal was to get to know the reports and their themes more broadly, understanding which elements were similar/different between them. From this first reading, we came to the creation of four categories that assisted in the classification of audiovisual materialities: (1) genre/format; (2) statement/title; (3) central theme, which may also be understood as a kind of "editing" of that report, or to which informative core it belongs to, and (4) angle, working as a short descriptive summary to point the direction of the discourse produced by the report. Once the categories are defined, we create a table for content classification, adding program, date and duration columns.

In the material exploration, all reports were watched to fill in the table. During this process, we searched for patterns that repeat both in the themes and the angles of reports to "find out the 'cores of meaning' that compose the communication and of which presence or frequency of apparition may mean something else for the analytical purpose chosen" (Bardin, 2011, p.135). From the results, we started again an analysis of angles to understand nuances of meaning that made the contents come closer together, such as a certain characterization of the incarcerated woman or the positive connotation of all initiatives about projects/work in prisons. As a result, we came to identify three thematic groups of representations: (1) the utilitarian perspective of prison population; (2) performance of the feminine in prison and (3) sexuality as a main condition of the female body. Based on this investigation, we believe that discussing the ways of representation and inclusion of this group in the journalistic agenda may collaborate to create spaces for debate and action on the vulnerabilities experienced by these individuals, positioning racism and sexism as structural elements of serious social injustices.

The concept of images of control and its social dynamics

From the contribution of philosopher Serge Moscovici (2015) that expands the definitions of Durkheim (1895) and the notion of collective representations, it was possible to understand the representations inserted in a diversity and variation context, in which its heterogeneities reflect the unequal power distributions in societies. Thus, no longer understood as concepts, but as phenomena (from social psychology), Moscovici (2015) invites us to realize that social representations provide us a specific manner to understand and communicate the meanings of the world. "We know that: representation =

³ The choice of the term was due to its greater accuracy in representing the situation of female incarceration in Brazil, since equivalent terms such as "inmates" offer results often associated to momentary detention contents (such as provisional detention centers), which is not in line with the purpose of this work, which is investigating images of control of women serving time in the prison system. Similarly, the possibility of searching by the term "imprisoned women" shows results of audiovisual productions that are too wide, mostly connected to various arrests, which still do not reflect the experience of incarceration. In addition, the term also triggers other contexts, such as domestic accidents that can be exemplified in the report of Bom dia Paraíba "Mulher cai em buraco, fica presa a 2,5 m de profundidade e é resgatada pelos bombeiros (Woman falls in hole, gets trapped 2,5 m deep and is rescued by firefighters)" (Source: Globoplay)

image/meaning; in other words, representation equates every image to an idea and every idea to an image" (Moscovici, 2015, p.46).

Thus, considering the philosopher contribution useful in proposing a theory that included both psychological and social in understanding elements and dynamics that legitimate, move and maintain hegemonies from a look for the individuals and their relations with the collective, we also point out the studies on the creation of discourses and their forms of power (Foucault et al., 2014, p.35), which allows us to understand how representations also circulate through language devices, which gain even more complex contours from the micro relations of power that distributed in society. However, more than understanding the creation of social representations or understanding the creation of discourses and dynamics that legitimate and/or structure them, we seek to understand in which way they operate in society and how they participate in social disputes, in order to conform and normalize certain behaviors, whether in the scope of oppression or domination. In this context, we highlight the theoretical-methodological and also practical importance (regarding the alternatives for social transformation) black and decolonial feminist studies, capable of offering wider perspectives regarding the condition of groups that were systematically excluded from spaces of power. Using Collins' (2019) concept on images of control applied to black women helps us understand how discourses operate in the maintenance of a generalized ideology of domination, conforming and suggesting social places to be occupied and authorizing the social treatment given to those who occupy them.

For Bueno (2020), Collins' (2019) concept differs from notions of representations and stereotypes of other authors by the way it is manipulated in our society from systems of power articulated by race, class, gender and sexuality. Thus, images of control mask the contradictions of social relations, affecting not only black and non-white women, but also white women. The author further locates the concept of images of control as an analysis tool to understand domination matrices, especially those established within Western, white and Eurocentric cultures.

In the heart of the elites' memories, hundreds of images of control still persist, which neutralize in their minds the impacts that the maintenance of their economic and social privileges caused in the black population. Images of control are propagated so massively and constantly in the media for a very specific reason: it is comfortable for the white community that there are justifications that remove from them the responsibility to answer for the continuous violence that economic exploitation of black people has meant in the construction of the whiteness' status quo. (Bueno, 2020, p.117)

Objectively, we will address here the images of control that Collins (2019) identifies as a set of meanings destined to African-American women, functioning as an ideological dimension of racism together with Bueno's (2020) analyses regarding the approximations that these images establish in the Brazilian context. By using them, we do not seek to find equivalents in representations of incarcerated women, but in offering a theoretical contribution to think about domination conditions that are imposed through meanings/images built. The first image worked by Collins (2019) would be that of mammy, which represents a normative standard in which black women are naturalized in the condition of caretakers, obedient servants, providing food, love and care to the children of white families to which they were subordinate. For the author, "the mammy image buttresses the ideology of the cult of true womanhood, one in which sexuality and fertility are severed" (Collins, 2019, p.142). For Bueno (2020), in the Brazilian context, the mammy image presents some outlines that relate to a "Brazilian style" enslavement narrative, more cordial and less segregating than the USA's southern experience. However, the objectification of black women remains, which is important for the maintenance of white people in a favorable economic situation in relation to black people.

The black matriarch is also an image of control that figures in North American society, as they

represent the family mothers who are frequently characterized as "bad mothers". For Collins (2019), this image blames mothers who work outside for not being able to "properly supervise" their sons and daughters, contributing to the children's school and social failure. Furthermore, this image projects aggressiveness as a characteristic of black women, making them unfeminine, which could be interpreted (and still is) by the society as a justification for their partners and husbands to abandon them, or refuse to marry; thus, interfering with how black men perceive black masculinity.

"From the dominant group's perspective, the matriarch represented a failed mammy, a negative stigma to be applied to African-American women who dared reject the image of the submissive, hardworking servant" (Collins, 2019, p.145). According to the author, this is an image of control that dialogs directly with an attempt to mask the failures of the American criminal system, since it looks for culprits for the functioning of a racialized criminal machine that deliberately imprisons black and poor people. "In this context, the image of the Black matriarch serves as a powerful symbol for both Black and White women of what can go wrong if White patriarchal power is challenged." (Collins, 2019, p.148)

A third image of control is presented by the author as the welfare mother. In summary, this would be an image of control with a class bias, which according to the author, remains as the updated version of the breeding woman invented during slavery. From the suggestion that black women are better suited to bear children, "this image provided justification for interference in enslaved Africans' reproductive lives" (Collins, 2019, p.150) In this sense, these women would not be able to make decisions on their own life, and are often portrayed as accommodated people, who enjoy the government policies, escaping from work and passing these values for their sons and daughters. From the perspective of this image of control, the welfare mothers are in poverty because of their inability of sexual control and violate a fundamental dogma of white and male ideology, because they are women alone, who lack the authority figure of a man. "Creating the controlling image of the welfare mother and stigmatizing her as the cause of her own poverty and that of African-American communities shifts the angle of vision away from structural sources of poverty and blames the victims themselves." (Collins, 2019, p .152) From the image of the welfare mother, there is also the welfare queens, a variation that classifies women who depend on government aid as people who take advantage of the citizen's hard-earned money and build a "good life" with it. From her, the image of the "black lady" is also derived, who refers to middle-class black professionals who represent a modern and positive version, as black, diligent professionals who work twice as hard as others. However, because they usually compete with men, they become "too assertive", less feminine, and thus would not get the company of a man to marry. In addition, they are often seen as beneficiaries in affirmative actions, as if they occupied places and jobs that should naturally belong to men.

In Bueno's (2020) analysis, both the matriarch and the "welfare mother" figures in Brazilian society, specially from the period of the rise of income distribution policies operated in Lula's and Dilma's government, in which women beneficiaries of social programs, such as Bolsa Família, are often seen as lazy, accommodated women. The author also points out that both images trigger motherhood as a conditioning characteristic, however, the place of motherhood for Brazilian black women has a complex historical dimension, especially because, in the colonial period, the right to form black families was constantly violated. Therefore, analyzing the place of motherhood in images of control that operate over black women needs to consider the outlines that the mother figure represents for black communities.

As the last image of control, Collins (2019) presents us with the jezebel, or hoochie, which would be essential in making the other images of control connecting to try to determine the condition of the black woman. Jezebel would attribute to them the category of sexually aggressive women, so that the frequent attacks from white men would be justified by the behavior of these women, especially at the time of slavery. The hoochie image, on the other hand, would elevate these characteristics to a new level of humiliation, reduced to sensual bodies that serve men sexually. For the author, this image is widely spread

among media products that circulate and are created by African-Americans. "African-American men and women alike routinely do not challenge these and other portrayals of Black women as hoochies within Black popular culture." (Collins, 2019, p.156). For the author, this image is related to the stigmatization suffered by black men, such as the belief regarding their excessive sexual appetite. Bueno (2020) points out that, in the Brazilian context, the image of the mulatto woman is the closest correspondent to jezebel, often portrayed by the media as tireless sex machines. The author also highlights the 1990s version of the soap opera *Xica da Silva* as a relevant example of this image in our daily culture.

For Collins (2019), at the center of the dissemination and legitimization of the meanings built by images of control are institutions such as the media, in its various manifestations of genres and formats. "Schools, the news media, and government agencies constitute important sites for reproducing these controlling images." (Collins, 2019, p. 159). For the author, television, radio, cinema, video CDs and the Internet have instituted new ways of making them circulate, and because they are cultural elements immersed in social relations of society, they imprint with such force the meanings of such images, being reproduced even between the groups that are most oppressed by them.

In this sense, it is from the discussion raised by the author, that helps us understand how systems of power operate in our society that we aim to identify, from the television discourse, if/and which images of control operate on the individuals deprived of freedom, also understanding that this group is often absent from representations and, consequently, from discussions and problematizations about prison reality. In addition, we also seek to understand if such images work as a kind of authorization for this group to only be perceived (both by the society and in media terms) from the characteristics established by these images of control.

What does the TV tell us? Reflections on the television discourse

Present in our society as a source of information, knowledge, education and entertainment, the audiovisual is inserted daily in our lives, whether by the dimension of entertainment, represented by the television and film industry, ads on digital platforms; or even by the scope of education, learning, such as in distance modalities of video lessons, informative videos and even by the dimension of affection, in the statements of family members shared in apps and social media such as whatsapp, twitter, facebook, tiktok and similar.

However, despite the audiovisual variety, TV seems to present itself as the one that provided deep bonds, which although personal, are spread and strengthened collectively. Considering the contributions of Raymond Williams (2016) and Jesus Martín-Barbero (1997), we emphasize that the television surpasses its technological dimension, and does not offer an experience only in the physical place, where its programming is exhibited. On the contrary, its waves are capable of moving other spaces in the home, in the community, in the cities and of achieving integration even in a continental country such as Brazil. Temer (2014), when thinking in Television, highlights the dimension of "technomagic of image in the domestic space", capable of almost becoming a living organism in the dynamics of homes:

The kinetic/colorful and aesthetically seductive content that emerges from the automatic action of turning on the television has something magical about it, as it obliterates the perception that it is dealing with an apparatus whose technical conditions for operation are known by a minority. As a device, the television is a set of points or lines that create images intended to represent something. In most cases, something that is out there, in time and space. (Flusser, 1985 apud Temer, 2014, p.7).

Nonetheless, these representations and meanings are produced by the television's own ordering, which the author points as a world different from the real one, dealing with a "representation with its own rules whose features are determined by subtle relations of dependence and exploitation of technique

with political-business interests" (Temer, 2014, p.165). Thus, for us, it is precisely by overcoming such technological limits, that is, by individually and collectively affecting life in society, that television would be able to cause the feeling of closeness and complete integration with everyday life – and also with the world itself. And it is from the perspective of the cultural dimension of television (Williams, 2016) that we understand that looking at the TV from a critical perspective can provide answers, or at least clues, for understanding our social dynamics, and also for a deeper understanding of our social challenges.

However, in order to understand such affectations, it is certainly necessary to approach the technical aspects of TV, especially those that involve the creation of sounds and images. For Temer (2014), part of the technomagic involving production of images in the television device is accepting images that effectively do not exist, in an "effort to abstract from the four space-time dimensions, so that only two of the four dimensions of the plane are preserved. (Flusser, 1985 apud Temer, 2014, p. 165). Thus, it is because it is able to combine in the same space the representations of reality and also fiction that we understand television as a complex element, which acts directly in our understanding of reality through such representations. And in this movement, our impressions and interpretations about the world, its limits, structures, dynamics and individuals are confirmed and consolidated.

Images of control on incarcerated women

From the reflections based on television as a cultural element, which participated in various forms of social interactions from markers such as everyday life and the possibilities to mediate and build the reality, we propose an investigation from the concept of Collins (2019) to identify if and how images of control may be working to legitimate a pre-formatted discourse regarding incarcerated women. For the analysis, we also consider Akotirene's (2020) notes on the role of institutional sexism in disciplining Brazilian women, especially regarding the maintenance of whiteness as a hegemonic referential. "Sexist efficiency as a hegemonic idea is at the service of the white-bourgeois power and is perfected in the several institutions of knowledge-power, such as schools, police, family, religious organizations, media and justice (Akotirene, 2020, p.56).

For the discussions that this work proposes, it is important to locate this investigation as part of a broader research on the visibility regimes (Brighenti, 2010, p. 39) of incarcerated women in audiovisual journalism. In the research developed, reports from the main news programs (national reach) of open networks (TV Globo, Record and SBT) offering clues that these visibility regimes combine relations of perception/interpretation with power relations. In this sense, the way issues related to female incarceration are represented in reports seem to occupy a peripheral place in geography/ media logic, in order to produce absences and silencing regarding these individuals.

This place also seems to displace the debates and problematizations that could be generated from this visibility, once the capacity of the media and its media products to move meanings and also political participation is recognized. Thus, we emphasize that, although exploratory, our contribution in this article aims to give continuity to this investigation. From this study, we aim to point out ways capable of breaking with the naturalization and inevitability of inequalities provoked by racism, misogyny and ways of oppression caused by the capitalist system on female bodies.

To define the corpus, we started searching the audiovisual content of the most watched broadcaster by Brazilians in the last year (2020), TV Globo. According to the survey conducted by *KantarIbope*⁴, TVGlobo obtained 12.33 points in 2020, ahead of RecordTV and SBT (with 4.35 points and 4.25 respectively). The search was conducted on the broadcaster's audiovisual content platform, *Globoplay*, which makes available free of charge contents related to its open television programming.

⁴ Retrieved April 22, 2021 from <https://www.kantaribopemedia.com/conteudo/dados-rankings/>.

From the keyword "presidiária (female prisoner)", without date restrictions, which resulted in only 63 varied contents (against 636 found from the word "male prisoner", following the same search criteria). The results show contents between the years 2012 and 2020⁵, as shown in the table below.

Table 1: Results of the search "presidiárias (female prisoners)"

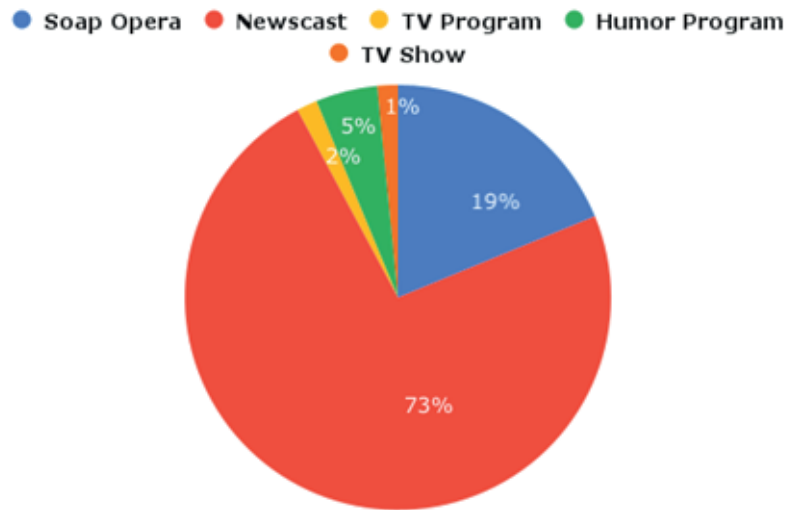
General results	Result per year
News: 47	2012: 4
Soap opera: 12	2013: 7
TV Programs: 1	2014: 12
Humor Program: 3	2015: 8
TV Show: 1	2016: 6
	2017: 3
	2018: 9
	2019: 6
	2020: 4

Source: Prepared by the author (2021).

To understand the results in a broader way, we prepared a table based on the categories listed, connected to the format, type of program, central theme and angle. Such information, especially those focused on the formats and places they occupy in the production of different discourses, was relevant to understand if the apparition of incarcerated women happened in a context of news programs or mostly entertainment/fiction (the consequences of this data are explored further below). From the screening that indicates that 73% of the contents found are news reports, 2 articles were found in which the word *presidiária* (female prisoner) seems to have been used mistakenly, such as typing errors, because the articles deal with *presidiários* (male prisoners), without any relation to incarcerated women.

⁵ The platform Globoplay was launched in 2015 with the purpose of diversifying the offer of audiovisual content in the streaming format, and also marked the beginning of the distribution of Globo's content in 4K. Over the years, contents from previous years have been inserted in the platform, such as soap operas and other successful shows. Likewise, some news reports and other audiovisual content. Retrieved March 12, 2022 from <http://redeglobo.globo.com/novidades/noticia/2015/10/globo-play-programacao-da-globo-ao-vivo-ao-alcance-de-um-play-saiba.html>.

Graph 1 – Percentage of the contents found



Source: Prepared by the author (2021)

The results found indicate that incarcerated women, despite appearing in a number 9 times less than men deprived of freedom, they are frequently represented from specific angles, which are repeated in several contents. This data becomes visible from the perception of repeating patterns in two categories: theme and angle. In the case of contents corresponding to the format of newscast, the themes that most appeared were connected to Work/Project in prisons; while in soap operas, humor programs and TV shows, the themes approached varied between caricatures of women prisoners (ways of speaking, dressing and acting inside the prison) and the dramatization of these behaviors.

In a third moment of analysis, we carried out a qualitative investigation of the results by watching again the reports, already considering the groupings by categories. Observing the patterns that were established and repeated in thematic and angles, we came to three types of images built.

It is important to point out that our analysis seeks to consider all the contents to perform a reading of images of control that are established. However, it is necessary to highlight the place occupied by (telejournalistic) reports in the definition of these images, as we understand the legitimization of the journalistic field (and the knowledge/power relation) as one of the factors that contribute to the production of effects of truth (Foucault et al., 2014, p.13). From Charaudeau's (2013) perspective, information results from the combination of circumstances in which one speaks, writes or expresses (also involving the identity of the speaker and of the one to whom he/she is addressing, in addition to the relations between them) and the manner in which one speaks. For the author, in this sense, the production of truth effects is related to the media discourse, analyzing, in this case, the information itself as a discourse. For him, what is at stake in this aspect is not the search for a truth per se, but for credibility, or something that determines the "right to speak" of the beings who communicate.

Notes on images of control

By systematizing images of control as an ideological justification that supports and structures racist and sexist domination systems, Collins (2019) unveils their role in the maintenance of black women in a situation of social injustice, and also helps in a broad interpretation of how these elements articulate an objectification strategy and, especially, of a binary thought that articulates the place of the "other" in

society.

Davis (2020), when investigating prisons as a "fate reserved for others", highlights the ideological role of these spaces as an abstract place in which the unwanted are deposited, freeing society from taking responsibility for the problems caused by racism and global capitalism. Thus, in order to understand how racism and sexism are articulated in the images of control that represent Brazilian incarcerated women, we carried out a more detailed analysis of the data found in the mapping from the keyword "presidiária (female prisoners)". The choice of the term, justified in the introduction of this work, aims to direct the analysis contents to a context more related to the female incarceration experience, and not to other forms of imprisonment/penalties.

From the 63 results found, we sought to define categories that could assist in the classification of materials based on Bardin's (2011) parameters, which provided elements

such as exclusivity, completeness, relevance and representativeness in the categorization stage. Thus, as explained above, we came to the creation of categories that allowed us to identify three thematic groups of representations: (1) the utilitarian perspective of prison population; (2) performance of the feminine in prison and (3) sexuality as a main condition of the female body.

The utilitarian perspective

From reports such as: "Máscaras feitas por presidiárias de patos vão ser distribuídas em penitenciárias do Sertão (Masks made by female prisoners of patos will be distributed in prisons of the Backlands)"; "Presidiárias do Amapá usam o trabalho e a leitura para reduzir penas (Female prisoners of Amapá use labor and reading to reduce sentences)"; "Projeto de igreja ensina profissão a presidiárias (Church project teaches profession to female prisoners)"; "Presidiárias superam dificuldades e buscam emprego e estudo em detenções do Ceará (Female prisoners overcome difficulties and seek job and study in detentions in Ceará)"; "Presidiárias ganham oportunidade de mostrar o trabalho desenvolvido na cadeia (Female prisoners gain opportunity to show work developed in prison)"; "Trabalho ajuda na recuperação de presidiárias (Work helps recovery of female prisoners)"; "Presidiárias produzem peças em troca de redução de pena (Female prisoners produce pieces in exchange of reduction of sentence)", among others that indirectly deal with the labor experience as something fundamental to women deprived of freedom, we emphasize the reinforced comprehension by the media discourse that it is through labor that people deprived of freedom could "become useful", as prison is often seen only as an institution that houses undesirable individuals, who no longer collaborate with the social functioning. However, what seems to be revealed in this desire expressed by the population that Brazil's prisoners work in their time in prison, is a desire of punishment. For Foucault (2014), the desire that "the hardest and most dangerous jobs are reserved for prisoners" (Foucault, 2014, p. 281) is a multiple tactic, in order to make the prison population useful through the idea that it would be necessary to discipline them through labor. For the author, the popular newspapers' campaigns against "the comfort of prisons" assists in these dynamics that place labor as a fundamental condition for penalty.

Table 2 – Cutout of the complete table of contents collection

Format	Program	Title	Theme	Angle	Date	Duration
Newscast	Bom dia Amazônia	No Amapá, presidiárias participam de processos de capacitação (In Amapá, female prisoners participate in training processes)	Project Labor in prison	The report's focus is the initiative between Senai Amapá and other institution to offer professional courses for female prisoners. The report highlights that they are receiving training for insertion in the job market.	09/02/21	2 min
Newscast	JA 1st edition	Projeto de igreja ensina profissão a presidiárias	Project Labor in prison	Since the title of the report, the reporter focuses on the fact that the project (connected to the Catholic Church) aims to teach profession to women, and also offers benefits such as reduction of sentence. The speech of women and the prison board heard in the report emphasizes the possibility of achieving income through labor.	08/22/2016	2 min
Newscast	ESTV 1st Edition	Presidiárias ganham concurso nacional de redação da defensoria pública da União, no ES (Female prisoners win national writing contest of the Government's Public Defender's Office, in ES)	Project Labor in prison	Two prisoners received the first and second place in the contest in the city of Cachoeiro, ES. The report shows one of the winners reading the winning essay and emphasizes the importance of school in spaces such as the penitentiary.	11/28/2019	5 min
Newscast	Bom dia Paraíba	Presidiária que cumpria pena em casa é morta a tiros (Female prisoner serving time at home is shot to death)	Violence and crime	The report gives details of the death of a 20-year-old girl, who was murdered outside her home, in Mandacaru. Because she was serving time at home, she was wearing an electronic anklet and had been out of prison for 20 days.	12/06/2016	2 min
Newscast	JPB1	Presidiária que cumpria pena em casa é morta a tiros	Violence and crime	Reporters give updates on the case aired on Bom dia Paraíba	12/06/2016	2 min

Newscast	Bom dia Pará	Presidiárias ganham oportunidade de mostrar o trabalho desenvolvido na cadeia (Female prisoners gain the opportunity to show work developed in prison)	Labor in prison	The report follows the fair that sells products made by women in prison. The women in semi-open regime are responsible for the sales of the products, and the report focuses on the opportunity for entrepreneurship from the statement of André Cunha, superintendent of the penitentiary system of Belém do Pará.	02/10/2014	2 min
Newscast	CETV 1st edition	Presidiárias superam dificuldades e buscam emprego e estudo em detenções do Ceará (Prisoners overcome difficulties and seek employment and study in Ceará detentions)	Labor in prison	The report is part of a series of Ceará TV first edition, which shows reports on female prisoners of the state. The focus is to show activities connected to professionalization that are offered in the penitentiaries. The activities are related to handicraft, baking, informatics, reading and music. In the report, data is shown proving a drop in criminal residence when these activities are present.	20/05/14	6 min

Source: Prepared by the author (2021).

It should also be noted that a considerable part of incarcerated women who appear in these reports are black and mixed-race, offering reflections based on the images of *mammies* as disciplined servant workers, and, therefore, formatted in a social condition that is expected from them. Establishing a dialogue with Bueno's (2020) analysis on images of control in the Brazilian context, we also point out the presence of the element of objectification of black women from the identification of their bodies as "labor tools", identified by the author. In this sense, despite the fact that the activities carried out in prisons enable the completion of a less painful sentence for some, the media contents and especially journalistic stories that endorse labor as the main (or only) way to transform the prison population ends up reinforcing a utilitarian perspective of this population, presenting it as an image of control. In practice, this image reveals a strange harmony between the world behind bars and the one outside them, almost as if we were presented to a typical solution of capitalism: labor as the savior and main motivating factor for individual experiences.

Image 1 – Report on training processes



Source: Globoplay (2022).

Image 2 – Report Presidiárias superaram dificuldades e buscam emprego e estudo em detenções do Ceará



Source: Globoplay (2022).

The female performance in prison

By reflecting on the images of control that direct domination mechanisms toward African-American women, Collins (2019) points out that, despite social transformations over the years, a hegemonic understanding was consolidated around the experience of "being a woman". According to the cult of true womanhood, associated with the traditional ideal of family, "real" women had four fundamental virtues: mercy, purity, submission and domesticity. White women from wealthy classes and emerging middle-classes were encouraged to aspire to these virtues (Collins, 2019, p.40). From the advance of some rights and renegotiations of meaning made from these pre-established values, especially by the participation and political mobilization of social movements, especially the feminist ones, which ended up reaching part of the media products and advertising, we observe how the features attributed to the individuals that work to legitimize them as women still remain marked. Akotirene (2020), in her analysis on institutional racism and sexism in female penitentiaries, affirms that the identity profile built on women confers a fundamental role of this group as a "scapegoat" of Brazilian drug trafficking " as they are built in the social imaginary as passive, harmless, fragile, motherly, serving as a shield for the "criminal system" (Akotirene, 2020, p.19).

As an example of this image of control that defines the womanhood in Brazil, we observe the permanence of vanity and motherhood as an affirmation of the feminine, in addition to female rivalry as elements often used in discourses about incarcerated women. In the case of the report "Detentas postam

fotos sensuais na internet de dentro de presídio feminino (Female prisoners post sexy pictures on the Internet from inside the women's prison)", the angle highlights the sensual poses, instead of bringing elements connected to the existence of cell phones or photographic cameras in the prison (which is prohibited). From these elements, we understand that it is not only about reporting the breaking of prison rules (after all, there are reports of seized cell phones in men's cells in several reports on the web), what really seems to provoke a condition of visibility is the moral aspect involved in the photographs.

In this context, we also observe the same markers of meaning that produce the images of jezebel, matriarchs and welfare women, from a simplification in the prison life, which suggest that life of incarceration, for women, remains "easy" with the same frivolities attributed to them outside there. Stories such as: "Presidiária pula muro de presídio e foge com roupa de outra presidiária (Female prisoner jumps prison wall with another prisoner's clothes)"; "Detentas postam fotos sensuais na internet de dentro de presídio feminino" (Female prisoners post sexy photos on the internet from inside a women's prison); "Presidiária é solta em Joinville para poder cuidar da filha (Female prisoner is released in Joinville to take care of daughter)"; "Presidiárias ficam irritadas com suposta suspensão de visitas (Female prisoners are angry with alleged suspension of visits)"; "Mães presidiárias relatam história vivida longe dos filhos (Mothers in prison tell story lived away from their children)"; work as images of control that mark the experience of being a woman in prison. Despite the fact that the prison population includes the most diverse individuals regarding sexuality and gender identity attributes, they continue to obtain legitimacy from a performance of femininity in the socially legitimized molds, including from a misogynistic and sexist angle.

Image 3 – Report "Female prisoners post sexy pictures on the Internet from inside the women's prison"



Source: Globoplay (2022).

Image 4 - Project provides coexistence between prisoners and their children



Source: Globoplay (2022).

The woman in prison as a character

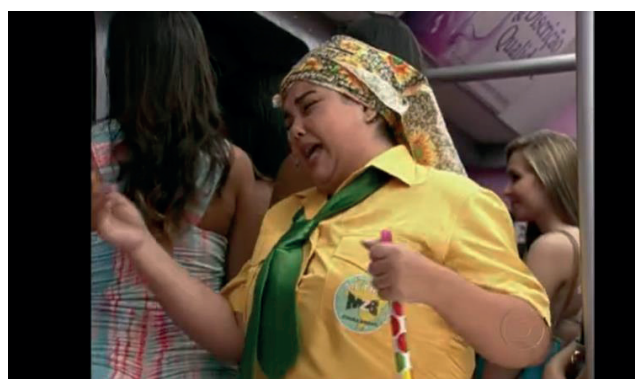
In the 17 results found in which the contents were not journalistic reports or stories, it was possible to identify a certain "caricature" of the woman in prison, reducing the experience of incarceration to situations connected to domestic life, aesthetic elements or the lack of them, in addition to the triggering of stereotyped meanings on the characteristics of these women. In contents such as "Sandra Helena misses her times of glamor"; "Remember Claudia Raia's look as a female prisoner in TV"; "Cellmate says female prisoners are interested in Vitória"; among others that indirectly address the theme, we realized that female figures are often treated as those who only care for vanity or sexuality, reproducing values that often work as ways to limit the experiences of being a woman in society. The article "Ofélia confunde Paraíba com RS e acusa Lucicleide de ser ex-presidiária (Ofélia confuses Paraíba with RS and accuses Lucicleide of being an ex-convict)" draws attention in a particular manner for also triggering stereotypes related to the place of birth of individuals, in this case, between the state of Paraíba and Rio Grande do Sul and the condition of ex-convict, marked negatively in Brazilian society.

Image 4 – Content "Claudia Raia as a prisoner on TV"



Source: Globoplay (2011).

Image 4 – Ofélia confuses Paraíba with RS and accuses Lucicleide of being an ex-convict



Source: Globoplay (2011).

Final remarks

From the proposal of identifying which images of control are directed to women deprived of freedom, we realize that most of the time, they work as conditions of visibility. In this sense, we understand that images of control are especially determinant in the maintenance of power structures precisely because

they establish and authorize certain forms of treatment by society. Therefore, we understand that the television discourses that use images of control from the utilitarian perspective, of the performance of the feminine as a condition of visibility and prisoner woman as a character, sometimes do not collaborate for the structural challenges that these individuals face in the environment of deprivation of freedom: such as the lack of psychological care aimed at the female health, parental abandonment, sexually transmitted diseases, in addition of facilities and working conditions compatible with their needs (lactating women, for example). If these women occupy, today, the group that leads the incarceration rate in the country, why are the conditions related to this criminal context not explored in the contents? Also, how can dramatization (present in humorous content, especially) directed at a vexatious place contribute to overcoming the challenges faced by these women? Thus, this paper seeks to contribute to unraveling the consequences of patriarchy as a power structure that modulates not only penalties, but spaces of media visibility. With this, our goal is to stimulate debate toward a journalistic practice that is more committed to representative needs and vulnerabilities. Moreover, we reinforce that through the images of control disseminated in the media, as journalists and communication professionals, we often end up acting in the maintenance of the power structure that determines the places that each character occupies in our social organization.

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