Right and Left: Dissent in the debate on university quotas in Carta Capital and Veja magazines

Direita e Esquerda: Os dissensos no debate sobre as cotas universitárias nas revistas Carta Capital e Veja

Derecha e Izquierda: Disidencia en el debate sobre cuotas universitarias en las revistas Carta Capital y Veja

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to identify and understand the social representations of university quotas published in Carta Capital and Veja Brazilian magazines between 2008 and 2017. A total of 199 texts were analyzed, which showed that ideological bias acted as a metasystem to promote dissent in the understanding of the object under investigation. In comparison, Carta Capital's social representations were based on the notion of fairness and social equality, while Veja's texts approached university quotas as a partisan, unfair and non-meritocratic measure. The research was exploratory-descriptive in nature and used analysis supported by the Iramuteq software and the societal approach of the Theory of Social Representations.

Keywords: University quotas. Ideology. Carta Capital. Veja. Social representations

Introduction

Political and ideological polarization has become real in Brazil and other countries. Its growth has been contemporaneous with the strengthening of social networks and the paradigmatic shift experienced by contemporary communication. In this context, traditional media have taken on new roles, but they have not ceased to be part of the communication dynamic (JENKINS; FORD; GREEN, 2015). These media outlets have continued to support the positions of each group, dictating the issues on the agenda and gaining fans and enemies at the same time, in an increasingly conflictive arena. Divergent positions can be seen in debates on a wide range of subjects. However, some issues seem to provoke even more mobilization by the groups, as is the case with university quotas, the focus of this work.

The dualities present in social representations of affirmative action, such as quotas, have already been highlighted in some studies. It is known that attitudes towards affirmative action tend to differ depending on the type of policy at issue, with more positive attitudes towards actions seen as "softer", such as offering free courses for students from public schools, and more opposed to so-called "hard" policies, which promote the redress of inequality in a more incisive way, such as through the reservation of places. In any case, when it comes to university quotas alone, it can be seen that those of the social type tend to be accepted more easily, but the aversion to racial quotas is quite significant (PEIXOTO; SILVA; WOLTER, 2018; MENIN et al., 2008).

In the constitution of this phenomenon, in addition to group interests, authors point to the influence brought by the "myth of racial democracy", strongly present in the Brazilian cultural imagery. This shared belief is based on the idea that there is no racial discrimination in the country, only discrimination based on social class. In other words, comparing with USA's racism, it is believed that in Brazil, black people suffer because they are historically from the most disadvantaged social classes, but not because they are black (FERES et al., 2018; MARTINS, 2018; JOCCOUT, 2008; GUIMARÃES, 2004).

However, understanding of the university quota policy is not unanimous among people in general, nor among media outlets, and ethnic-racial belonging does not seem to be a determining factor in this process. There is evidence that the notion of justice, equality and merit is what interferes in the positive or negative position on affirmative action (SANTOS; SCOPINHO, 2016; MARQUES; SANTOS, 2015). At the base of the social representations of such processes there is ideology, which anchors the attributed meanings, considering beliefs, values and political positioning of subjects or media outlets.

It is based on this scenario of dissent and disputes that the aim of this work is to understand the social representations of university quotas at the Brazilian national level, through the analysis of texts published in two historically divergent media outlets representing distinct political-ideological positions: Carta Capital magazine, which is left-wing, and Veja, which is right-wing.

The Theory of Social Representations and the media: Reflections from the societal approach

The Theory of Social Representations, more specifically its societal approach, was the theoretical-methodological basis chosen for this investigation. According to Moscovici (2017; 2012), social representations refer to a type of common-sense knowledge that is typical of modern society and enables a given group to understand phenomena, based on the construction of a symbolic reality. This process, called anchoring, takes place when the unfamiliar generates insecurity, causing individuals to seek an understanding of what is new from another familiar knowledge.

Social representations can be understood as common sense knowledge for two reasons. Firstly, they are based on individuals' experiences, sociability, cultures and beliefs, not on reified scientific knowledge. Secondly, social representations are the result of shared social and group experiences. In other words, they refer to common knowledge that enables communication among those who share them, making mass communication possible, for example (MOSCOVICI, 2017).

Adding to the so-called grand theory of Moscovici (2012), Doise (2002; 2014) formulates a theoretical-methodological model known as the societal or non-consensual approach to social representations, which deals with the analysis of the constitution and modulation of social reality between individuals, groups and society. At the core of this thinking is the pursuit of understanding the relationship between different social actors. According to Doise (2022), to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of its social representations it is necessary to analyze why some individuals symbolize it in one way, while others assume different positions, and to understand how such positions are sustained. It is therefore necessary to consider the ideological level that acts in the production of this knowledge (DOISE, 2002).

The systematization of these assumptions is summed up in what Doise (2002) proposed as the paradigm of phases, guided by three hypotheses (ALMEIDA, 2009): 1) the first asserts that different members of a population share ideas and a common cognitive organization, i.e. social representations; 2) the second hypothesis states that the same individuals differ from each other in some aspects by taking different positions in relation to the object or social reality under study – what the author calls "position-taking"; 3) the third points that each different position-taking is supported by collective realities shared by the groups of which these individuals are members; i.e., the differences are anchored in social belonging, according to beliefs, values and ideologies of reference.

Applying the three hypotheses to the object considered in this study, a caveat was made. Doise's (2002; 2014) research was originally conducted by directly investigating the subjects of social representations. In this case, in which the corpus are texts published in the press, it is understood that the media outlets Carta Capital and Veja take on the same role as the subjects of representations, since as producers, senders and sharers of messages, opinions and values they act as representatives of the social groups to which they are addressed and with which they communicate. This source of data was also used by Moscovici (2012) in his seminal work, when he considered the analysis of social representations of psychoanalysis based on journalistic texts.

Thus, media outlets should not be understood as neutral platforms whose sole purpose is to inform or entertain. The notion and concept of impartiality in the sphere of media communication has already been overcome. Within the context of Framing Theory, it is known that their messages, narratives and discourses are carefully chosen and crafted and can take on different biases depending on the ideology and target audience, as well as the interests of the communication groups and their partners (PORTO, 2004; DAFLON; FERES, 2012).

The perception of the field of power enveloped by the media is directly related to the studies of Moscovici (2012; 2017), who recognized this role in the production, reproduction and maintenance of social representations, as well as the influence exerted by ideology throughout this process. From this perspective, it is possible to understand how the same event can be reported in different ways, and also identify what drives these different narratives.

In addition to everyday conversations, Moscovici (2012) distinguishes three types of communicative modalities in the context of the media: diffusion, propagation and propaganda. In the case of diffusion, there is no differentiation between the producers and receivers of the message, i.e. actors in the mainstream press and readers receive information from experts and maintain a distance in their treatment of the issues. Meanwhile, propagation refers to vehicles aimed at producing a general conciliatory standard, which seeks to organize and accommodate divergent elements to make them compatible with values that are central to the various groups involved. Finally, propaganda is part of conflicting social relations that threaten a group's identity. It seeks to use reductive dichotomies, contrasting true and false knowledge, allowing no room for nuance or moderation. In this communication, the sender's worldview and the hegemonic worldview are contrasted (DOISE, 2014).

Method

The corpus of this study consisted of 199 texts published between 2008 and 2017 in Carta Capital and Veja. The choice of these vehicles considered their national relevance (BENETTI; HAGEN, 2010) and their opposing political-ideological positions: Carta Capital is more progressive, approaching a left-wing view and supporting the Workers' Party (PT)[1] in presidential terms; and Veja is a more conservative magazine that defends meritocratic capitalism[2] and opposes PT (CARVALHO, 2017; GONÇALVES, 2013; BENETTI; HAGEN, 2010).

For several years Veja magazine has been the leader in circulation among magazines with national circulation. According to its 2020 Media Kit, validated by the Instituto Verificador de Comunicação (IVC), it has an average of 503,000 copies in circulation considering virtual and print, and presents itself as a vehicle that defends democracy, the market economy and individual freedoms. Carta Capital, for its part, also in its 2020 Media Kit, defined itself as the "main opposition media in Brazil" and as a reference on issues related to politics, economics and human rights. The magazine has an audience of more than 29,000 users per month on its website and a weekly print circulation of 26,500, data validated by Google Analytics and IVC.

The selected period for this study (2008 to 2017) took into account: the time when the pioneering universities began to adopt the quota policy and the media began to focus on the debate, which was the mid-2000s; the period of discussion and sanction of the Quotas Law, which came into effect in 2012 (Law no. 12,711 of 2012); the final date for universities to fully implement the law and submit proposals for postgraduate programs, 2016 (Normative Ordinance 13 of May 2016); and the incorporation of the reservation of places for people with disabilities (Law no. 13,409 of 2016).

Data was collected in two ways, considering the mechanisms made available by each magazine. Veja used the exclusive digital collection of print magazines, totaling 103 texts found using the keywords "quota" and "quotas". Carta Capital, on the other hand, lacked a searchable digital collection, so the survey was carried out through its online platform, and included content from the printed magazine, the online publication and blogs linked to the magazine. Considering that all this content composed the discourse and narrative of Carta Capital's object of analysis, it was concluded that this limitation would not compromise the study. Using the same keywords, 96 texts were identified in this magazine.

For data analysis, the IRAMUTEQ software was used, which made it possible to conduct classic lexical analysis: counting words considering their roots; specificity analysis, which organized the corpus based on the chosen variable; and similarity analysis, showing connections among highlighted words (CAMARGO; JUSTO, 2013).

Results and discussions

Using the theoretical framework adopted in this research, the results were grouped according to Doise's (2002) propositions: Hypothesis 1: Veja and Carta Capital magazines share common beliefs on university quotas; Hypothesis 2: The magazines take different positions on university quotas; and Hypothesis 3: The positions taken by the magazines are based on the social group they represent and respective ideology.

**Hypothesis 1: Veja and Carta Capital magazines share common beliefs on university quotas**

The collection of documentary data on university quotas between 2008 and 2017 provided a total of 199

1 Left-wing party, which was in office from 2003 to 2016 in Brazil: this is the period in which the quota law was sanctioned and which covers a large part of the time frame of this study.
2 The data on the positioning and identity of Veja magazine also derives from the group of which it was part, the Abril communications conglomerate. It should be noted that this group has been sold in 2019, after the data collection of this research.

texts (Graph 1). Publications over this period were increasing, but peaked between 2012 and 2017. The record number of publications in a single year in Veja magazine came in 2012, with 26 texts on the subject. It should be noted that this was the year in which the Quotas Law was sanctioned, as well as when the STF was consulted on the law's constitutionality[3]. As this was a decisive period for affirmative action in Brazil, it is quite understandable the large volume of news in 2012 – in which Carta Capital reached 18 articles – its second highest number.

Graph 1 – Publications on quotas from 2008 to 2017
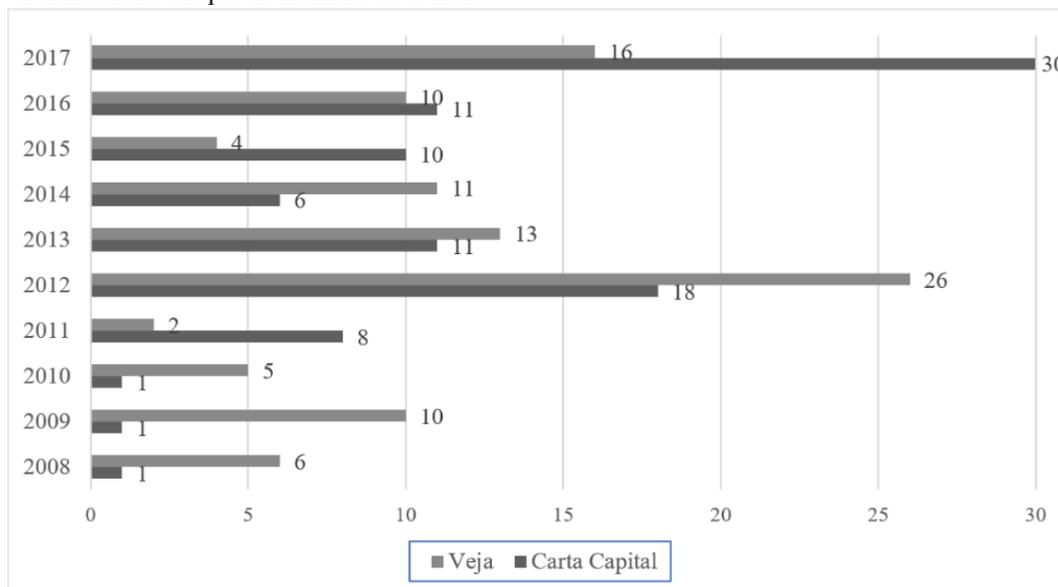
Source: prepared by the authors

On the other hand, the peak number of publications on quotas in Carta Capital was in 2017, when the magazine dealt with the theme in 30 texts, the highest concentration observed in the entire corpus. In the same year, Veja covered the subject 16 times, its second highest number. The significance of the large volume of publications in the magazines in 2017 seems to stem especially from the implementation of the quotas at USP and Unicamp, two Brazilian education institutions of great relevance, which are not governed by federal law; and by the frauds that generated complaints, penalties and the adoption of verification commissions by some universities.

Similarities were found between 2012 and 2017. Both were decisive for the definition of the university quota policy in Brazil. The press seemed to have been massively present in the debate on quotas in the Brazilian context at moments of decision, just before, during and right after the regulation of quotas. These results corroborated studies that have already shown the commitment of newspapers to discussing the measure and influencing the position of their audiences (FERREIRA, 2019; MARTINS, 2018; LEIBÃO, 2017).

The similarities between the results of Veja and Carta Capital are not limited to the periods of greatest publication. The statistical and specificity analyses made it possible to identify similarities in the most common words in each vehicle, which are: black, university, public, Brazil and racial.

It is noteworthy that, in both magazines, the most frequent word was "black", mentioned 834 times in Carta Capital (0.84% of its corpus), and 295 times in Veja (0.42%). Given these data, it can be seen that regardless of political-ideological positioning and editorial strategies, for both media outlets talking about quotas was referring to black people. This consensus is reinforced by the term "racial" which also appears with high frequency in both vehicles: 357 times in Carta Capital, the fifth most mentioned word in the magazine, and 172 times in Veja, the ninth most frequent word in the periodical.

Less prominently, but with great symbolism, the word "white" was repeated 127 times in Veja, occupying 15th place; and in Carta Capital it appeared 162 times, taking 26th place. These data showed the relevance of racial issues in social representations of quotas, as well as pointed to the idea of an inter-group dispute between blacks and whites over the issue. This understanding is corroborated by the fact that the other groups for whom quotas are intended – indigenous, disabled people, and low-income students[4] – do not appear among the most mentioned words.

These data confirmed the results of other studies. The literature on quotas highlights such discussions in the

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3 STF decision on the constitutionality of the quota law. http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/cms/verNoticiaDetalhe.asp?idConteudo=207003.
4 We did not include the large group of public-school students, as the words "student" and "public" were often mentioned in other contexts, making it impossible to analyze the frequency of such terms in combination.

press, academia and common sense, circulate around racial quotas (FERREIRA, 2019; SUTTANA; LUTZ, 2017; PEIXOTO; SILVA; WOLTER, 2018). In Brazil, the social representations of university quotas are mainly based on the idea of racial quotas, be it due to racism, different notions of justice and merit, belief or disbelief in racial democracy, interest or not in maintaining the status quo or even ideology.
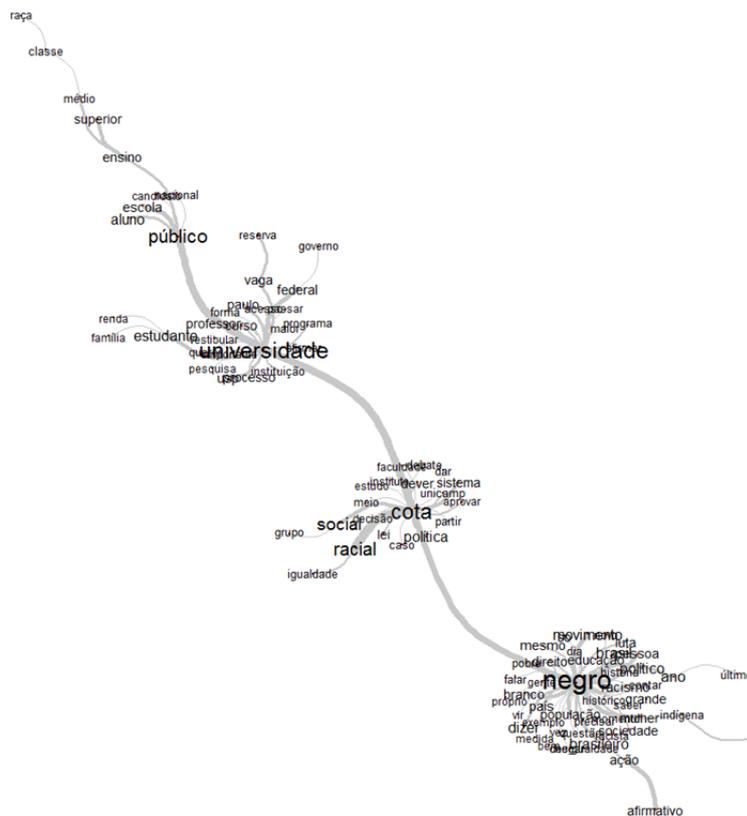
This can be interpreted from some perspectives. The first is anchored in the historical thesis that there is no racial discrimination in Brazil. Because it is a "mixed" people, racism would not be practiced in the country and the different peoples would live together in harmony, without prejudice or discrimination (JACCOUD, 2008). The idea that the problem of inequality in Brazil is caused only by social class and not by race (FERES et al., 2018; MARTINS, 2018; JOCCOUT, 2008; GUIMARÃES, 2004) would be a second perspective for understanding why the debate on quotas has turned to racial quotas. The prevailing reasoning is: if discrimination and racial inequality do not exist, then racial quotas are not necessary or fair.

On the other hand, in opposition to this thinking, there is a third perspective. Organized groups – especially the Black Movement – participate in and encourage the debate on racial quotas as a way of deconstructing these outdated theses and making racial discrimination visible in Brazil (FERES et al., 2018; MARTINS, 2018). Guimarães (2004) stated that, in the course of struggle throughout history, from the 1970s onwards, racial democracy for black people would no longer suffice as an ideal or inspiration. Since then, with the re-democratization of the country and the expansion of egalitarian ideas, the contemporary struggle of the black movement has had citizenship and human rights as its main motto; a context in which the mobilization for access to quality public education and the defense of quotas is even more understandable.

This is how the dispute of ideas and ideologies between the group that is against racial quotas and the group that is mobilizing in favor of them is drawn up, representing: 1) the very dispute of maintaining privileges, based on the idea of racial democracy and meritocracy; and 2) the group that seeks to change the country's trajectory, towards reducing inequalities and recognizing racism as a promoter of them. But regardless of the discourse and the ideal of mobilization, talking about university quotas is definitely about black people.

Another analysis used to process the data was the similarity technique, which identifies co-occurrences among lexicons, considering the degree of connection between them (CAMARGO; JUSTO, 2013). Based on the images generated by the IRAMUTEQ program, it is possible to see the content shared by the magazines (Figures 1 and 2), with the organizing nuclei around the terms "black", "quota", "university" and "public" being visible.

Figure 1: Similarity analysis of Carta Capital magazine

Source: prepared by the authors

Figure 2: Similarity analysis of Veja magazine

Source: prepared by the authors

These results show important similarities between the two outlets in terms of the content of social representations of university quotas. The images show the shared nature of the phenomenon for the two magazines with different ideological positions, confirming the first hypothesis proposed by Doise (2002). However, as will be seen in the sequence, although the content of the representations is the same, the meaning they take on in each magazine is different.

Hypothesis 2: The magazines take different positions on university quotas

After showing the common elements in the social representations of university quotas for Veja and Carta Capital, the lack of consensus between them (DOISE, 2002) was identified. Specificity analysis was used to achieve this, which allowed to observe significant differences in the frequency of words present in each corpus. The results, considering $p<0.05$ and Degrees of Freedom (DF) =1, are presented in Table 1.

In an initial analysis, it can be seen that Carta Capital approached the issue from an aspect closer to engagement, mobilization, an organized struggle ("movement", "struggle", "student", "collective" and "manifestation") for equality ("social", "equality", "black", "woman"" and "indigenous") and at the student level ("student [as noun]", "student [as adjective]", "Unicamp", "USP" and "postgraduate"). Veja magazine, on the other hand, dealt with quotas from a more legal, political and partisan perspective ("court", "voter"; "PT" and "Lula"), and took the United States as a reference and model for the Brazilian case ("American" and "United States"). The latter results corroborated studies that have analyzed not only Veja magazine, but also other vehicles comprising the "traditional Brazilian press" (FERREIRA, 2019; MARTINS, 2018; LEIBÃO, 2017; SUTTANA; LUTZ, 2017).

The differences detected in the content of Veja and Carta Capital once again prove Doise's ideas (2002). In other words, on the "surface" it is possible to access what is common in the social representation of quotas for the two magazines (Hypothesis 1). However, in the "deeper layers" the contour, the meaning, the position that each vehicle

takes on the subject is observed (Hypothesis 2). The search to understand what makes these differences possible, i.e. what they are anchored in, is discussed below in the analysis of hypothesis 3.

Table 1: Comparison of word frequency[5]

The most frequent words in Carta Capital	X^2	The most frequent words in Veja	X^2
Black	25.14	Sir (frequent term in interviews)	12.64
Women	16.37	American	12.35
Movement	15.88	Court (STF and US court)	12.01
Struggle	15.53	United States	11.99
Unicamp	14.91	Voter	9.48
Students (noun)	14.7	Indian	9.38
USP	9.26	Scalia (Justice of the US Court)	9
Social	8.99	Best	8.83
Students (adjective)	8.95	Good	8.14
Indigenous	8.51	PT	7.9
Equality	8.09	Give	7.61
Program	7.43	Problem	7.11
Postgraduate	7.07	Me	6.21
Collective	6.55	Leave	6.11
Manifestation	6.45	Lula	6.09

Source: prepared by the authors

Hypothesis 3: The positions taken by the magazines are based on the social group they represent and respective ideology

The analysis of the main excerpts representing the content of each of the magazines, selected with the help of IRAMUTEQ, permitted to advance the understanding of the different positions taken by Veja and Carta Capital. In the context of Doise's Third Hypothesis (2002), these data allow answering the main question of this study: Why does each magazine represent quotas differently?

Some of the most illustrative excerpts from Carta Capital's content follow:

- In São Paulo, on July 25, 2014, the International Day of Black, Latin American and Afro-Caribbean Women, and the National Day of Teresa de Benguela, black women from different segments of society came together and held the official launch of the 2015 black women's march (score: 324);
- Despite the adoption of the Sisu racial quota system by Law School of USP, the other schools of the institution did not adopt the same program and continue with a differentiated social inclusion action through a bonus system named Inclusp – USP's Social Inclusion Program (score: 320);
- On May 30, the Brazilian black movement won a historic victory with the adoption of racial and social quotas in the undergraduate admission system at the University of Campinas (Unicamp) (score: 289).

Next, the most representative excerpts from the content of Veja magazine follow:

- The racial quota system was quickly introduced into Brazilian universities, benefiting from an environment that has always known how to welcome the most regressive ideas such as the gangsterism of PT and Getulio Varga's state parasitism. Brazil has taken refuge in the past. Brazil is the quilombo of the world (score: 196);
- A model similar to what we would like to see in health and education, in which the poorest receive

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5 Due to the considerable number of words with significantly different frequencies, it was decided to present the fifteen words with the highest chi-square in Table 1.

financial aid, a voucher, and can choose the school they want for their children, the hospital that best serves them (score: 190);

- But isn't there racism in the United States? There is, and it is strong even with the presence of black Barack Obama in the White House. What doesn't exist in the US and shouldn't exist in Brazil is the state-sponsored intensification of hatred and racial divisions. As sociologist Simon Schwanzinan warns: What should be a rational discussion about the education system in Brazil has become a passionate and ideological debate (score: 185).

The results for Carta Capital show a discourse more focused on minorities and social justice, equality and the defense of quotas. This framing is close to: 1) mobilizations for citizenship and human rights, in affinity with the struggle of black people (GUIMARÃES, 2004); 2) a left-wing political-ideological vision, which seeks to promote equality and social transformation through the visibility of active minorities (MOSCOVICI, 2011; CABECINHAS; ÉVORA, 2008; BOBBIO, 1995); and 3) which understands racism as a political agenda (GUIMARÃES, 2004).

Hence, the active role of ideology in the constitution of social representations of the phenomenon for a particular group (CABECINHAS, 2009) – represented here by Carta Capital – is revealed. It is possible to observe how the metasystem reorganizes and promotes position-taking (DOISE, 2014), causing the discourse to move away from the status quo narrative and take on contours related to the magazine's values and editorial beliefs – a left-wing political vision.

The anchoring process (MOSCOVICI, 2012) is also made explicit. It is possible to identify that Carta Capital's understanding of quotas is supported by similar and previous measures that have some relation to quotas, such as USP's Social Inclusion Program and Sisu. However, what really deserves to be highlighted is the process of objectification. By referring to the Black Movement, Black Consciousness Center at Unicamp and the Women's March, the magazine concretized and objectified its entire discourse and bias towards minority groups.

Thus, even if talking about quotas meant referring to black people for Carta Capital, this speech needed to include struggles, inequalities and racism. For the magazine, university quotas mean the search for equality, the guarantee of social justice and the regaining of a space historically denied to black people. However, the narrative that a priori presents itself as totally pro-quota and socially counter-hegemonic also deserves attention. It should be noted that Carta Capital is also positioning itself by choosing the social minorities it will highlight. In this vein, the quota policy is aimed at black and brown people, although it is also aimed at indigenous people, lower class students, students from public schools and, more recently, students with disabilities. These groups were not mentioned in any significant way in these texts. Therefore, it is understood that the social outlook and the struggles publicized by the magazine are selective and cover part of the quota holders and part of the minorities in Brazil. This selection is not innocent. It must be understood as a form of position-taking, stemming from the interests and political-ideological vision of the vehicle.

Moving on to the analysis of the words and texts featured in Veja magazine, it was identified that the values, beliefs and ideologies that anchor the representations of this periodical are quite different and are expressed in the results. Here, the framing is not based on the explicit defense of a group, but on a doctrinal principle that takes the United States as an example and the Workers' Party and its welfare policies as an opposition. Quotas are seen as a problematic, unjust, partisan action that hurts the principle of isonomy, merit, free competition and goes against the ideal model of society based on the US standard. It can also be seen that the metasystem harbored a conservative view of society that conceives inequality from the perspective of class (and not race) and, albeit implicitly, supports the maintenance of an hegemonic group in the name of quality, efficiency and justice. This last characteristic also received the notion of an institution, being objectified by the Brazilian or US Supreme Court. The court is used as a power that can suspend quotas, recognizing their discriminatory and unfair nature, in the magazine's own view.

For Veja, if talking about quotas meant referring to black people, the ideological analysis allowed to observe that this was done by denouncing the "injustice" of this policy and the inequality it promotes by benefiting this group. Veja's belief system encompassed a more right-wing and conservative political-partisan vision, guiding its stance towards a very different view from that expressed by Carta Capital. As a result of this dynamic of oppositions, we arrive at the verification of Doise's third Hypothesis (2002).

The data and interpretations discussed above coincide with research by Santos and Scopinho (2016), Peixoto, Silva and Wolter (2018) and Martins (2018), who also identified a non-consensual scenario in the representations of university quotas, both in direct investigations of people and in analyses of media materials. Also, in line with the literature, the findings of this study reaffirmed the importance of the notions of justice, merit and equality in understanding the reservation of places for different social groups (SANTOS; SCOPINHO, 2016; MARQUES; SANTOS, 2015).

Final Considerations

The analysis of the contents of Carta Capital and Veja made it possible to confirm similarities and differences between them in terms of social representations, corroborating Doise's three hypotheses (Chart 1):

Chart 1: Doise's three hypotheses in the Carta Capital and Veja texts

Hypotheses	Main results	
	Carta Capital	Revista Veja
1: Common beliefs	To talk about quotas is to talk about: black people, racial quotas, group disputes, universities.	
2: Dissent positions	In favor of quotas. Policy seen as necessary to guarantee social equality.	Against quotas. Policy seen as unfair, partisan and likely to damage federal universities.
3: Ideologies behind social representations	Left-wing ideology; equity; democratization of education; changing the current social structure.	Right-wing ideology; racial democracy, meritocracy and conservation of the status quo.

Source: prepared by the authors

As a similarity, the two magazines seem to fall under the classification of propaganda proposed by Moscovici (2012). This is because, despite being located in the journalistic modality which, in theory, follows a language close to impartiality and distance – and would be classified as diffusion (MOSCOVICI, 2012) – in practice, the magazines had as their main texts the opinionative ones, which made positions more explicit, deviating from the journalistic standard and giving the floor to columnists, collaborators, interviewees and readers

This textual predominance, also verified in previous studies (MARTINS, 2018; FERREIRA, 2019), tended to make conflictive social relations explicit, the defense of a specific group and the concrete taking of a position, without room for nuance and debate. This dichotomy brought out or reinforced the right versus left worldview, of minorities versus the hegemonic group, exemplifying Moscovici's propositions (DOISE, 2014), and demonstrating Doise's ideological hypothesis (2002).

The analysis of the most frequent words, as well as the representative text segments of the data corpora and of each class, also contributed to the analysis of the phenomenon. In terms of shared representations, it was identified that for both vehicles: the notion of quotas is based on the ideas of racial quotas; of dispute and competition between blacks and whites; of a sense of justice; and on the idea of access to higher education. On the other hand, in the general data, there is a predominance of dissent and different metasystems that organize the positions taken, strongly demarcated by an ideological bias

While for Carta Capital, quotas originate from the struggles and mobilizations of some minorities aimed at overcoming Brazil's historical social and racial inequalities, and based on the notion that positive discrimination will guarantee the rights of all; for Veja, university quotas refer to an unfair party-political measure that advocates prejudice by discriminating against different groups and that usurps the merit and quality of teaching at federal universities. This diversity extends to the spectrum of opposition between positions, and once again questions the idea of the impartiality of communication vehicles, including journalistic vehicles, and reinforces the Theory of Framing.

In addition, it was possible to observe the valorization of the hegemonic social standard by Veja magazine and the visibility given to minorities by Carta Capital – however, not to all minorities, only some perceived by it as representatives of the whole or as deserving prominence. This difference demarcates the participation of the press in the public debate, albeit in a partial way, and reinforces its importance in both maintaining and constructing social practices and representations (CABECINHAS; ÉVORA, 2008).

Finally, a dimension that sums up the analysis of the social representations under study is the dialectical relationship, the "struggle of opposites" (KONDER, 2004). The field of dispute is constructed by both vehicles which, in a way, constitute a single unit and form a polarization of ideology. They are two hegemonies, one at each end. As a consequence of this dynamic of little dialogue and counterpoints, progress and beneficial constructions for politics are limited. This does not mean that time has not brought about changes in positions. Superficial analyses point to different narratives over the years, especially in Veja magazine. This perspective reveals a point that deserves attention and is also a suggested analysis for future research.

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