

## Creating intimacy, receiving visibility: new practices of persuasion in the economy of fame

### Criando intimidade, recebendo visibilidade: novas práticas de persuasão na economia da fama

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**Abstract:** *This article aims to analyze some forms of negotiating intimacy and affection between idols and their admirers, within actions that aim at the promotion of the celebrity. In these dynamics, the celebrity develops a kind of intimacy with its fans that motivates them to participate in real crusades in the social media, which aspire to the production of more media attention for their idol. The discussions presented in this piece are based on the examination of case studies investigating strategies of persuasion adopted by two celebrities: the funk singer Valesca Popozuda and youtuber Kéfera Buchmann.*

**Keywords:** *celebrity; fan; intimacy; visibility.*

**Resumo:** *Este artigo analisa formas de negociação de intimidade e afeto entre ídolos e seus admiradores dentro de ações que visam à promoção da celebridade. Nessas dinâmicas, a celebridade desenvolve um tipo de intimidade com seus fãs que os motiva a participar de verdadeiras cruzadas nas mídias sociais que objetivam a produção de maior atenção midiática para seu ídolo. As discussões apresentadas são baseadas no exame de estudos de caso envolvendo duas*

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*celebridades que adotam esse tipo de estratégia de persuasão: a cantora Valesca Popozuda e a youtuber Kéfera Buchmann.*

**Palavras-chave:** *celebridade; fã; intimidade; visibilidade.*

## Introduction

The idea that celebrities depend on strategies to establish themselves and maintain themselves in evidence is already very consolidated. Rein, Kotler and Stoller (1997), for example, propose different historic stages in the celebrity industry.<sup>4</sup> According to the authors, it is possible to identify relatively artisanal tactics for the production of fame of “common” individuals since pre-industrial periods in the 18th century. Throughout time, however, especially in the 20th century, such actions were sophisticated, creating a real industry that involves many professionals and big media companies. Consultants, photographers, agents, coaches and specialists in public relations are presented as fundamental elements of a dynamic responsible for the construction of careers that, in some cases, are structured in the capacity of an individual to maintain in evidence in the media. Writing at the end of the 90's, Rein, Kotler and Stoller (1997, p. 40) also suggest that the most recent stage of development of this phenomenon would be marked by its geographic de-centralization. In other words, they argue that the celebrity industry no longer solely exists on big urban centers as New York or Los Angeles, but they can equally be found in peripheral cities and regions.

The current popularization of social media websites, however, helped build a new movement of de-centralization of this industry, that occurs through fan participation and other “non-professional” agents that become even more important in the production of fame. Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat, for instance, have enabled a more direct relation between followers and celebrities. The connection between them started to come before the mediation of labels, television networks, news portals or movie studios.

This de-centralization in the relationship between celebrities and their followers allows a bigger autonomy to artists and those aspiring fame in the hard task of raising the capital of visibility (HEINICH, 2012) in a society characterized by an increasing dispute for attention

4 The four stages are: stage of artisanal industry, stage of precocious industrialization, late industrialization and de-centralization.

(STERNHEIMER, 2011). If, traditionally, a soap opera actor would depend on the network to maintain his status and build a relationship with his fans (COELHO, 1999; TURNER, BONNER e MARSHALL, 2000), now he can fulfill these tasks without any type of institutional mediation - he only has to have an active presence on social media.

In Brazil, a significant symptom of this process of de-centralization was the closure, on April 2017, of the news portal about celebrities named Ego, from Grupo Globo. According to a company statement, the end of the website is associated with the expansion of interactional practices between idols and fans on social media (GLOBO EMITE COMUNICADO..., 2017). In this context, websites dedicated to talking about the life of celebrities started reproducing images and information collected directly from the celebrity's profile in platforms as Instagram or Facebook, presenting themselves, often, as mere replicators of content.

Despite these transformations, the simple adhesion of celebrities to media with more open structures is not enough a condition to propel the degree of public exposure of these people. As we've seen in the presented case studies, some celebrities use their profiles in a way of attracting followers that not only are interested by their posts, but also are willing to engage in the propagation and popularization of that profile.

There are studies analyzing different aspects of the dynamic between celebrities and followers/fans on social media. Baym (2007, 2013), for example, researches about new media practices<sup>5</sup> responsible for the re-organization of frontiers that traditionally maintained fans far from the personal lives of famous musicians, allowing the creation of a friendly and affectionate relationship with them. Marwick and Boyd (2011) also reflect about the recent transformations associated to the relationship between artists and fans, however with emphasis in practices of Twitter of celebrities that seek to create a perception of authenticity and intimacy amongst their followers. Baym and Burnett (2009), in turn, analyze the

5 About the concept of media practices, see Kramp and researchers (2014) and Bräuchler and Postill (2010).

implications of new work relationships resulting from the fans action in the propagation of their favorite bands on social media.

Within this context, the present study proposes to investigate some of the motivations responsible for the creation of practices established between celebrities and followers. More specifically, we seek to analyze logics behind the effort spent by celebrities who try to cultivate a fan base and faithful admirers on social media and, mainly, understand some of the reasons that take these followers to engage in such behavior.

On certain dynamics, it is possible to perceive the arrival of an economy of recognition and visibility between celebrity and fan. In this process, the celebrity develops a type of intimacy with his/her followers, which motivates them to participate of real crusades on social media with the intention of producing a bigger media attention to their idol. Celebrity and follower are, thus, within a circular process, characterized by the mutual production of visibility with different implications for both of them.

In order to reflect about these issues, this study analyzes dynamics involving Valesca Popozuda and Kéfera Buchmann, outstanding celebrities in different fields of the entertainment industry. The choice of this research corpus is due to the active involvement of both in practices that have as objective persuading fans and followers to product visibility capital<sup>6</sup> for them (HEINICH, 2012). Kéfera and Valesca promote initiatives that establish a direct relationship with their followers as a way of motivating and recognizing their effort. Thus, it is possible to see how the dynamics of production of recognition and visibility are articulated in a way of bringing symbolic gains - and material, in case of celebrities - for the parts involved.

### **The process of production of a celebrity**

Frequently, reflections about the construction process of celebrities are usually connected to market strategies of different groups of the

6 Heinich (2012) defines visibility capital as a type of social capital linked to the idea of asymmetry of visibility between famous and “common” people. According to the author, visibility capital can be converted into economic capital.

entertainment industry, either cinema (MORIN, 1989, 1997; DYER, 1998), music (MARSHALL, 1997) or television (CAMPANELLA, 2012; LANGER, 2006; TOLSON, 2015; TURNER, 2004). Even authors that seek to think about the celebrity phenomenon as an evidence of wider transformations occurred in the 18th and 19th century, some connected to their own moral sources of the modern individual (MOLE, 2007), or its performance in certain social contexts (VAN KRIEKEN, 2012) recognize the importance of sectors of the capitalist economy for the consolidation of a generalized interest for the life of these celebrities, seen as not belonging the sphere of the “common”.

Leo Löwenthal was one of the first intellectuals to articulate the popularization of celebrities - or «mass idols” - within a capitalist ideological matrix. Integrated to the Frankfurt School, Löwenthal analyzed the publication of biographies of public figures in variety magazines from 1901 to 1941.<sup>7</sup> Their studies show that the vast majority of biographies published on the first years of the 20th century, three quarters of them were about politicians, businessmen and successful professionals, so called “idols of production” (LÖWENTHAL, 2006). A few decades later, however, the situation drastically changed. Approximately the same proportion of publications, between 67 and 78% of biographies, depending on the magazine analyzed, were about actors, sportsmen and other personalities - mainly from the entertainment industry - that had details of their private lives exposed on interviews. Hobbies, trips and parties were the favorite themes of these biographies of these “idols of consumption”, that replaced the old uplifting narrative that portrayed the professional (and public) stories of the “idols of production” from previous decades. To Löwenthal, this change indicates the crescent valorization of a grammar linked to lifestyle consumption that becomes central in the formation of aspirations and desires of the common individual.

A little over a decade after the publication of the job of the German sociologist, Daniel Boorstin also publishes an analysis of the celebrity phenomenon, but with a different focus. Instead of examining the

7 Löwenthal analyzed The Saturday Evening Post and Collier magazine.

influence of the cultural industry in the popularization of the “consumption idols”, Boorstin reflects about the growth of celebrities within a perspective of moral decay of society. According to the author, we would be entering an age dominated by pseudo-events in which the image of an individual would be more important than their accomplishments (BOORSTIN, 1992, p. 46). The author defends that contemporary celebrities would be antithesis of the traditional heroes, those admired by their bravery, nobility or for extraordinary accomplishments. Within this thesis, the effort of creating and propagating an image of celebrities is seen as a symptom of a crescent moral decay of modern society, that would be entering a phase of self-illusion.

The contributions of Löwenthal and Boorstin bring important reflections about the transformations that happened on the 20th century, especially referring to the expansion of consumption and the change in the statute of image in the western culture. However, they reflect dichotomic perspective of a world that establish fixed frontiers between “serious” and “uplifting” events and those purely “futile” and “consumerist” events; “genuine” and “fake” experiences. Such vision does not help us think about ambiguities and contradictions existing in the production process of fame.

Van Krieken (2012, p. 5-8), for example, avoids thinking about the celebrity phenomenon through oppositions such as “authentic heroes” and “artificial celebrities”, arguing that famous characters of different times, whether they are noble, politicians or artists, have always needed to communicate their accomplishments the best way possible to become revered. “There cannot be a hero or heroism without a shareable narrative capable of building the heroic”, says Strate (1994, p. 15) according to the same line of Van Krieken. Benjamin Franklin, queen Victoria and even Alexander, the Great, which ordered the impression of his face on coins used on territories occupied by his army in Europe and Asia in the 4th century B. C., spent considerable effort on the task of becoming knowledgeable (BRAUDY, 1986).

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It is undeniable, however, that the expansion of the cultural industry and the mass media helped build an institutionalized system of creation of fame (GAMSON, 1994) that began in the origins of the cinema (MORIN, 1989, 1997; DYER, 1998) and hits an unprecedented level in the end of the 20th century.

Reality shows, which gained popularity in the 90's, are frequently considered the main responsible for the extraordinary expansion of the celebrity market (COLLINS, 2008; GRINDSTAFF and MURRAY, 2015; HOLMES and JERMYN, 2004; TURNER, 2006). In addition to the rapid popularization of this genre, practically omnipresent nowadays, the television market went through significant transformations in the last years. Its deregulation in the 90's in different parts of the world, the relatively recent entering of new channels - due to the raise in demand of a market that, in Brazil alone, grew 4 times the number of subscribers in the last seven years (ESTATÍSTICAS DE TV..., [s. d.]) And the preference of TV producers for factual programs made locally with low relative costs opened space for an expressive number of aspirants to fame. Beyond the traditional highlighted personalities, such as musicians, actors, sportspeople and politicians, the class of "media famous" began to include now former participants of reality shows, models and other individuals without any particular talent, named by Rojek (2001, p. 20-21) as "celetoids", populating the most different television programs about "reality" and daily varieties.

Turner (2004, p. 33-34) suggests that celebrities acquire, in the last decades, a crucial role in the entertainment industry. They would be fundamental for the movement of "vertical integration" of content. According to the author, celebrities have, as a product, the capacity of connecting different media and platforms within a process that has as focus the valorization of an individual personality. Analyzing the binomial art and business, Weinstein (1999, p. 65) presents a similar argument when he says that music labels try to direct the consumer's attention towards the attitudes and lifestyles of the band members, so they can sell

books, posters, T-shirts, DVDs and other products instead of only selling music.

However, despite the great number of media personalities created daily, few can stabilize in the entertainment industry, and, with that, sustain a long career. In the study made about celebrity production in Australia, Turner, Bonner and Marshall (2000, p. 88) show how some young telenovela actors of that country would depend of a great exposure brought by magazines and variety shows to maintain themselves in evidence. When the show they worked on would finish and the promotional structure that put them in the spotlight would change focus, these actors would experiment great difficulty to maintain the degree of interest of fans. After some time of ostracism, many simply abandoned the artistic career.

With the development of digital technologies and web 2.0, however, new practices were created, bringing change in the construction and maintenance of fame, weakening the control of big mediatic corporations. That way, “common” people could gain notoriety and celebrity status - or web-celebrity status - due to their success on different social media without necessarily going through traditional media. Within this context, youtubers and digital influencers gained notoriety in the “famous world” (KHAMIS, ANG e WELLING, 2016) and the audience began to talk daily with their idols and follow their lives “in real time”.

However, sustaining a big number of followers in the virtual environment is not that simple. Even celebrities with an experienced career would face difficulties, since, in order to maintain the celebrity status on platforms as Instagram, Twitter or Facebook, it is necessary to have an active participation that link strategies capable of attracting followers and fans. In the following cases, Valesca and Kéfera show great capacity of managing their online profiles. Both participate of an economy of sharing visibility with their fans, that are impelled to produce media exposure for them in exchange of a type of public recognition of their efforts.

## Valesca and popofans: “beijinho no ombro” for media invisibility

Very active on social media, with profiles on Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, Valesca Popozuda constantly interacts with her fans - called “popofans”. It is common to see on her profile photos with her admirers, as well as direct references to meetings with them. “Popofans” have an important role in actions to raise Valesca’s projection in and out of social media, propelling, thus, her visibility capital (HEINICH, 2012). When the funk singer participates of television or radio shows, for example, her most devoted followers seem to dedicate a considerable effort in widening the repercussion of those events. Hashtags such as #Valescano-vaquecola<sup>8</sup>, #ValescaNoRaulGil<sup>9</sup>, and #Valescapopozudanoestrelas<sup>10</sup> already were on the trending topics of Twitter Brazil - and in some cases, worldwide. When that occurs, the artist seems to thank the fans, publishing on her profile images of the position reached by the hashtag on the ranking of trending topics.

Aware of the benefits for her career due to the voluntary work of her fans, Valesca shares, with some frequency, moments of intimacy with her admirers. On June 2013, when she released her first song solo, “Beijinho no ombro”, Valesca invited “popofans” to join a promotion in which they should post a video on YouTube singing the full song and a picture on Instagram that made reference to the song. She shared on her Facebook profile detailed instructions of the rules of the competition, stipulating that the winners would be those with the biggest number of views and likes on their posts.<sup>11</sup> The winners would get, in addition to cellphones, the right to spend a whole day with the singer. Thus,

8 Available at: <http://www.instagram.com/p/ttiSrTD3XJ/?taken-by=valescapopozudaoficial>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

9 Available at: <http://www.instagram.com/p/uLV1sSD3fd/?tagged=valescanoraulgil>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

10 Available at: <http://www.instagram.com/p/qW2I5DD3Un/?tagged=valescapopozudanoestrelas>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

11 Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/293341817377806/photos/a.296748000370521.76967.293341817377806/588348727877112/?type=3&theater>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

through this promotion, Valesca motivated them to share her song on social media using videos and images; on the other hand, she would give the opportunity of sharing a little bit of her daily routine.

Also, in the end of 2013, Valesca gave a gift to Gabriel, the fan who called the radio station O dia the most asking for her song “Beijinho no ombro”. The singer took him traveling in retribution of the demonstrations of “dedication” and “love”, materialized in the insistent calls of the fan for different radios pleading them to play her song. As part of her strategies to conquer her followers’ loyalty, Valesca posted a picture with Gabriel on her Instagram profile, creating visibility and esteem to the dedicated fan.<sup>12</sup> The public recognition of the celebrity positively reflected among her followers: generating comments like: “I get entranced to see how well you treat your fans! You are wonderful”. Among the fans, being “recognized” by their idol can bring a high status amongst the fandom (MARWICK e BOYD, 2011), propelling similar acts of active engagement seeking this distinction.

In addition to individual meetings, Valesca also promotes moments of intimacy with groups of admirers. Meet-ups with friends already happened at shopping malls<sup>13</sup>, before concerts or even during cook-outs. The “popofan barbecue”, at times called “popofan cookout”, performed in different cities of the country<sup>14</sup>, became a tradition. Organized by Valesca herself as a gesture of retribution for the numberless campaigns on social media promoted by her followers, the event offers a singular opportunity for her most dedicated fans to share moments of intimacy with their idol.<sup>15</sup> The “popofan cookout” is celebrated by fans, that feel “special” while maintaining direct contact with the singer, feeling reinforced by the photos shared on the internet in which they pose beside their admired celebrity. Celebrity news websites, in turn, use photos of

12 Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/f2kLwQD3cT/>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

13 Available at: <http://ego.globo.com/famosos/noticia/2012/04/de-roupa-comportada-valesca-popozuda-e-carregada-por-fas.html>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

14 Available at: <http://www.folhavoria.com.br/entretenimento/blogs/na-balada/2015/06/valesca-popozuda-esta-em-vila-velha-fazendo-churrasco-com-fas/>. Accessed in: January 6th, 2017.

15 Available at <http://ego.globo.com/famosos/noticia/2013/04/valesca-popozuda-faz-churrasco-com-fas-amoo-muito-tudo-isso.html>. Accessed in: June, 6th, 2017.

these events, abundantly found on Valesca's profile, to create content celebrating the affectionate relationship shared between idol and fan. With the publication of these photos and news, everyone can propel even more the visibility capital they have; not only the celebrity, but the fans as well.

Through the analysis of the singer action on social media, we perceive that the direct strategies to motivate fans' actions decreased by 2014, year which coincides with the singer's signature with the label Universal Music. In the last years, Valesca keeps creating posts referring to her fans, but she no longer creates promotions offering prizes in exchange of sharing her work. The posts regarding meetings, trips and parties with her fans have also decreased. If, between 2012 and 2013, the posts with "popofans" were frequent, tagging each of their profiles or quoting their names, in the last years, they appear mainly on concert images, followed by the hashtag #popofas.<sup>16</sup> Possibly, working in a more professional advertisement structure offered by the label in which she signed a contract, as well as her new commitments in this new professional moment is the reason for the decrease of engagement of the singer in this kind of dynamics.

### **Much more than 5inco minutos (Five minutes): Kélovers and the culture of promotion**

The youtuber Kéfera Buchmann, creator of the variety channel 5inco Minutos, which has over 10 million followers<sup>17</sup>, also notorious for the strategies adopted to engage with her fans, known as "Kélovers". Her most faithful followers also follow her in other projects, helping her build a career that transcended social media and gained a considerable financial return and visibility over the last few years.

16 Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/p/BRoJ\\_UyLL14/?taken-by=valescapopozudaoficial](https://www.instagram.com/p/BRoJ_UyLL14/?taken-by=valescapopozudaoficial). Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

17 Number of access in June 2017. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/user/5incominutos>. Accessed in: June 6th, 2017.

Just like Valesca, Kéfera retributes the fundamental effort of her fans with live streaming sessions dedicated to her followers, direct interaction on social media, face-to-face meetings, among other actions. We highlight, in this study, the dynamics of the following events involving the Youtuber and the “kélovers”: filming a video celebrating the 8 million subscriber mark on *5inco minutos* on April, 2016; the release, that same year, of the movie *É fada!*, starred by Kéfera; and the Kids Choice Awards, of Nickelodeon, in which the youtuber ran on the category “Favorite Brazilian personality”.<sup>18</sup>

Beyond being a youtuber and best-selling author, Kéfera has a jewelry collection<sup>19</sup>, a cosmetic collection<sup>20</sup>, a clothing collection<sup>21</sup> as well as food<sup>22</sup> and other products, in addition of having worked as a theater and movie actress, activity considered as her biggest vocation. In order to maximize her projects’ exposure, the youtuber usually calls her fans so they can help her reach goals she considers important. An example of that are the marks linked to the number of followers of her channel on YouTube. Each time *5ive Minutos* approaches a new million subscriber mark, the celebrity recruits fans and followers, through their online public profiles, so they can help bring more subscribers in, accelerating, thus, the extrapolation of the mark. Kéfera’s call usually spread quickly, generating retweets multiplying like a snowball effect.<sup>23</sup>

When she reaches her goals, the actress and youtuber usually celebrates in private parties or through celebratory videos posted on her channel, thanking the support and engagement of her fans. However,

18 Kéfera competed for the award with snapchatther ThaynaraOG and youtuber Luba, who won the award. Available at: <http://kca.mundonick.com.br/video/kca-personalidade-brasileira/pj8c64>. Accessed in: June 5th, 2017.

19 Available at: <http://www.keferaonline.com/2016/02/kefera-lanca-linha-de-joias-junto-com.html>. Accessed in: June 21st, 2017.

20 Available at: <https://studio35cosmeticos.lojaintegrada.com.br/batom-liquido-matteme-studio-35-by-kefera-buchmann>. Accessed in: June 21st, 2017.

21 Available at: <http://roupas.mercadolivre.com.br/calçados-roupas/camisetas-dos-5inco-minutos-da-kefera>. Accessed in: June 21st, 2017.

22 Available at: <https://twitter.com/keferaon/status/691807696908128256>. Accessed in: June 21st, 2017.

23 To get more subscriptions on *5inco Minutos*, fans do campaigns on social media websites, as we can see in this post. Available at: <https://twitter.com/hashtag/SeInscrevaNo5incoMinutos?s=rc=hash>. Accessed in: July 5th, 2017.

when she reached the mark of eight million subscribers on 5inco minutos, Kéfera retributed the work of her followers by opening a space for a more close and personal contact with them. The youtuber informed on Twitter that she would be online on a chat platform<sup>24</sup> and she would talk live and in video with her fans through a search engine of the social network itself.<sup>25</sup>

In that occasion, Kéfera created a hashtag<sup>26</sup>, #5INCOMINUTOS8MILHOES, and began talking with people who were live at that moment. In the short exchanges, her followers were surprised by the uncommon attitude of the youtuber. During the informal chat, fans professed their love to Kéfera, told stories of personal overcoming involving contents produced by her and reinforced promises of fidelity. This type of dynamic, in which fans help the youtuber reach visibility and, in exchange, receive some type of special access to her intimacy, repeated in numberless occasions. These practices seem to indicate the existence of a process of rationalization of affections that mix the public and the private sphere (ILLOUZ, 2012) which is marked by Kéfera's aspiration to professional accomplishment.

As a last example, it is possible to mention the youtuber's indication as finalist of the Kids Choice Awards on the category "Favorite Brazilian personality 2017", promoted by Nickelodeon. When they announced the award, Kéfera began a campaign with her fans asking emphatically for them to vote on Nickelodeon's website and sharing hashtags of her indication to the award on social media websites, so that she could get a bigger number of mentions and popular votes. That same week, the youtuber posted a video on her channel not only explaining the rules of the competition, but also announcing that, if she won the competition,

24 No site omegle.com é possível conversar por meio de transmissão de vídeo simultânea com outros usuários on-line através da busca de hashtags ou termos que estejam sendo compartilhados no momento.

25 O vídeo de comemoração dos oito milhões de inscritos. Disponível em: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E\\_icNE825hw](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_icNE825hw). Acesso em: 1 maio 2017.

26 Postagens da youtuber informando sua ação e convidando seus fãs a participarem. Disponível em: <https://twitter.com/Kefera/status/716785910931726337> e <https://twitter.com/Kefera/status/716803984057626624>. Accessed in: July 5th, 2017.

she would throw a party for her fandom: “kélovers party”.<sup>27</sup> The party announcement had the objective of motivating her fans to work harder to vote to achieve her goal.

During the voting period, Kéfera performed many challenges and pranks with her followers on Twitter as a way of propelling her visibility on social media and getting more votes. As one of the forms of counting votes were through posting or (reposting) the hashtags #KCAPersonal-idaddeBR #Kefera, the youtuber proposed, on different occasions, the exchange of retweets for phone calls for her most dedicated fans.<sup>28</sup> In other words, these followers that would publish the hashtag giving votes to Kéfera would have the opportunity of being chosen to establish an exclusive contact with her through phone. The response was astonishing. In addition to publishing thousands of hashtags, as requested by the celebrity, many followers pleaded through Twitter for a direct contact with Kéfera, even openly publishing their cellphone numbers, even without her asking.

It is not difficult to see the fascination that celebrities like Kéfera and Valesca have over their fans and how it can be used in a productive way by the own celebrity to leverage their careers. Even without winning the prize, Kéfera’s strategies of persuasion, based on a type of recognition and intimacy in exchange of their work of raising visibility for her on social media was a major success. In this sense, as Baym and Burnett (2009) reinforced while analyzing the relationship between bands and fans, it is necessary to look at this perspective in a dialective way: fans are not exploited but are also not the heroes of the new culture of convergence.

27 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yji5Oi0Kobs&t=430s>. Accessed in: March 16th, 2017.

28 Examples of posts of Kéfera inviting fans for calls in exchange of retweets. Available at: <https://twitter.com/Kefera/status/828871523683467264> and <https://twitter.com/Kefera/status/838179338377887745>. Accessed in: July 7th, 2017.

## Final considerations

It is not the scope of this article to discuss what Valesca and Kéfera represent to their fans, not even making any type of moral judgement over the practices both of them use to convince their followers to help them in the accumulation of visibility capital (HEINICH, 2012). The possibility of access to some form of intimacy or obtaining recognition by celebrities is a naturalized value on today's media society, which transcends the culture of celebrity in particular. In other words, fans also gain a symbolic profit with those dynamics.

Certainly, the idea that the media has a dispersed type of power structured on the myth that represents a bridge for the "social center" is a valuable contribution for this debate (COULDRY, 2012). According to that perspective, what is linked to the categories of the world of media, such as "live", "reality", "media personality", is considered more relevant than what is not. In other words, media is seen as a hierarchic force that divides the world; it incorporates the social. Belonging to this world, even if through a brief contact with a celebrity, is valued by a significant part of the society.

At the same time, personal and professional relationships nowadays are increasingly more crossed by affection; a type of affection that, according to Illouz (2012), is rationalized and commodified. Within this context, we argue that the possibility of closeness between idols and fans has become increasingly bigger, especially in the last decade. In many cases, such proximity is crossed by a rationalized administration of affections inserted in a logic of creation of forms of capital economically convertible linked to the industry of entertainment. In this sense, Turke (2014) calls attention to the crescent importance of the fan as a labor force within a "gift economy".

According to Morin (1989, 1997), in the 20th century, the mass culture reinforced the divine character of big stars, while at the same trying to humanize them through showing their private lives. Thus, magazine covers brought news of the daily lives of the neo-Olympians seeking to enable an identification of the audience with those who seem so out of

reach. In the current context of social media, however, we observe a new configuration in which the approximation of celebrities with fans is not necessarily mediated by the action of professionals in the entertainment industry. If, in the past, there wasn't a concrete expectation, for the fan, of a direct contact with movie stars, rock stars or even telenovela stars, currently, there is almost a demand for this type of access, indicated by the considerable growth of web-celebrities (KHAMIS, ANG and WELLING, 2016; SENFT, 2012). At the same time, the possibility of establishing this type of affectionate relationship opens new opportunities for the celebrity to widen her visibility capital and so that the fans gain some type of "recognition" linked to the media world.

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