

## O estrato de baixa renda entre a publicidade excludente e a publicidade redentora

### The low-income stratum between exclusionary and redemptive advertising

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**Resumo:** *Entre os anos 2006 e 2012, no Brasil, houve relevantes transformações quanto ao disparo no crescimento econômico associado ao nascimento da suposta nova classe média, cuja participação no mercado de consumo se mostrava inédita. Refletir sobre o conceito de classe social permite discernimento para reconhecer esse estrato de baixa renda ascendente como uma nova classe trabalhadora reconfigurada. Tornou-se fundamental compreender como os indivíduos consumiam mercadorias em busca de inclusão e cidadania. O acesso a bens duráveis era um dos maiores símbolos de ascensão para esse estrato emergente. Este artigo se propõe a analisar a representação do estrato de baixa renda nos discursos publicitários do segmento varejista de móveis e eletrodomésticos, desde antes do boom do consumo – etapa excludente –, até depois – fase redentora.*

**Palavras-chave:** *consumo; nova classe trabalhadora; discurso publicitário.*

**Abstract:** *Between 2006 and 2012, in Brazil, there were relevant changes in terms of the increase in economic growth associated with the birth of the supposed new middle class, whose participation in the consumer market was unprecedented. Reflecting on the concept of social class allows insight to recognize this rising low-income stratum as a new reconfigured working class. It became essential to understand how individuals consumed goods in search of inclusion and citizenship. Access to durable goods was one of the greatest symbols of ascension for this emerging stratum. This article aims to analyze the representation of the low-income stratum in advertising discourses of the Furniture and Appliances retail*

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*segment, from before the consumption boom – excluding stage –, until after – redemptive stage.*

**Keywords:** *consumption; new working class; advertising discourse.*

## Introduction

Brazil has experienced considerable transformations, which had their origin in the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but which have in fact been intensified in recent years – from 2006 to 2012 –, especially in relation to the surge in economic growth associated with the birth of a supposed new middle class, whose participation in the consumer market was heretofore unheard of.

It was an explosion in access to consumption by the individuals that made up an emerging stratum of society. In contemporary society, consuming goes way beyond simply acquiring. It is related to the “right” of being able to belong to the “consumer society”, where symbolic struggles take place that add values to the much desired goods as they translate lifestyles that reflect ideas and ideals of belonging, social inclusion, recognition and the right to happiness – in other words, citizenship (BAUMAN, 2008; TASCHNER, 2009).

Pochmann (2014) declares that, beginning in the 2000's, Brazil had a combination of factors that allowed a certain social mobility, above all, the one which is associated with the base of the pyramid – economic growth, income distribution, expansion in the level of employment with remuneration slightly above minimum wage and a considerable part of the low-income population starting to consume durable goods, such as televisions, refrigerators, computers, among other goods and services that, until then, were intended for higher income families. But, as Pochman (2014) explains, this did not cause the birth of a new social class, much less did it lead to the inclusion of new members in the traditional middle class; only the working class was reconfigured in new consumption bases, which promptly changed the structure of society and families.

To support this reasoning, Souza (2016) states that “the discourse on the ‘new middle class’ is problematic, given that it is irremediably ‘economistic’”. For this sociologist, the economic dimension of the social classes cannot be analyzed separately from other factors, including, for example, social conflicts. The idea that access to consumption is the

passport to social inclusion is a belief that tends to mask social injustices of all kinds, in addition to reproducing the privileges of the dominant classes (SOUZA, 2016).

Souza (2012) explains that this new class of “emerging” Brazilians is composed of 30 million Brazilians that entered the consumer market through their own efforts, with hard work. However, these emerging people do not enjoy any privileges, unlike what is understood about the upper and middle classes in Brazil.

Thus, when we speak of working class here – to the detriment of middle class –, we are referring to these emerging people who ascended socially and began to have access to the consumer market, coming from much less affluent layers of society and with no purchasing power similar to the one that they started to have, as a result of this consumption boom, as cogitated. They are probably, members of the so-called lower C class. In the same way, they are possibly, even some old members of the so-called D class, the most discredited ones, but who, with a lot of hard work, also managed to increase their consumption power. Therefore, they are hard working people who, only then, managed to gain access to the consumer market of durable goods and certain services, and started to go beyond the consumption of the basics.

This discussion does not intend to exhaust the concept of social class, but to clarify the aspects that demonstrate how the practice of calling the new emerging social stratum the “new middle class” is a mistake. As this stratum of a reconfigured new working class is named, it is recognized in it, in addition to the consumption issues, the lifestyles that are reflected in the market and lead in its symbolic desires. These are people from the lower strata of society and from a low-income stratum, without a pejorative tone, who began to feel empowered in the market and, therefore, more like citizens, even if under specific conditions of consumption.

## **The role of advertising as a tool for the capitalist system**

The idea of social ascension, of leaving the poverty zone and entering a supposed “new middle class”, was broadly exalted by advertising, which celebrated with these people each one of their achievements, emphasizing their struggles and efforts, as well as exalting their merits and the better lives that everyone started to enjoy from every one of their acquisitions.

In the same way, with the crisis (2013-2016), advertising certainly adapted to the new context, especially in what corresponded to the public composed of the new working class, which then began to face great difficulty in accessing consumption and, therefore, it started to gradually disappear from the market. However, still it is in its nature and logic that advertising would stimulate consumption. And that’s what it did, but in a more pondered manner, always seeking to reach the “heart of the matter” with regard to the targeted public: their considerable financial difficulty in consuming, but, also, their great refusal of not having access to the consumption of certain goods once again.

Advertising has shaped itself in harmony with the new context of crisis and the disappearance of the emerging euphoric consumers in the market, seeking to reach them in a less “sensationalist” or “spectacularized” way, a bit more rationally, speaking more sensibly about consumption and addressing issues of lower risks, more savings, although still resorting to ideas of opportunities and possibilities.

In addition to that, the focus of advertising also changed, in the sense that companies opted not to offer too many products and durable goods considered more superfluous or not so immediately necessary, goods that sold very well in the heyday of the new working class and to which this public had never thought of having access before, products that provided comfort and well-being. This also became visible in advertising, which began to emphasize the basics more, but not like before. A different world of consumption had been opened up and advertising still had a lot to say to that consumer public, who would not accept the idea of

once again being needy and deprived, of returning to that stage of social exclusion.

### **The advertising discourse under analysis**

At a moment when much is discussed about the emergence and rise of a social class through its power of consumption, as well as about its subsequent disappearance from the market due to issues that refer, mainly, to the economic crisis that Brazil is experiencing, it is very important to analyze how advertising elaborates its discourse and how the individuals in this group are represented, since advertising is intimately related to the capitalist system and to the way in which people compose their identities.

In order to understand that, it is first necessary to understand some theoretical-methodological issues regarding the analysis of a discourse. Therefore, we sought here a development related to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), according to Fairclough (2001), who proposes his three-dimensional model.

As conceived by Fairclough (2001), the three-dimensional conception of discourse brings together three types of discourse analysis to be carried out simultaneously and in an interrelated way: 1) an analysis that considers **discourse as a text** – considering the issues of its production and interpretation, contemplating four items: ‘vocabulary’, ‘grammar’, ‘cohesion’ and ‘textual structure’; 2) another analysis that sees **discourse as a discursive practice** – involving processes of production, distribution and textual consumption, in which aspects such as the “strength” of statements, the “coherence” of texts and “intertextuality” must also be analysed; and, finally, 3) the analysis that considers **discourse as a social practice** – understanding it in terms of power relations, which reproduce, restructure or challenge the existing hegemonies – resorting, for this purpose, to reflections on ideology and concepts such as hegemony (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001).

Here, the field of study was the Brazilian retail sector – the furniture and home appliances sector –, one of those responsible for the growth of

the Brazilian economy that took place from the insertion of millions of consumers in the market, consuming items that represented their entry into a higher social class, to a more dignified life condition, to comfort and well-being, in short, to more expensive products and to which they did not have access, but had fed dreams and desires that they were then able to fulfill (YACCOUB, 2011).

Among the largest companies in the furniture and home appliances segment in Brazil, in terms of annual revenue and administrative transactions, are Casas Bahia, Magazine Luiza and Ricardo Eletro (SBVC, 2017).

Regarding the advertising pieces whose discourses have been analysed, the corpus was cut from the television media. In it was found one of the most complete channels, in terms of textual and visual resources. TV is one of the most watched media by the studied public, who has it as its object of leisure, the conquest of the much-desired home appliance, the embodiment of comfort for the family and the means to stay informed about the opportunities for social insertion (RESEARCH, 2012; C CLASS, 2013).

Considering the time frame from 2003 to 2016, the corpus of this research was delimited by the order of discourses in three different stages: (a) from 2003 to 2005; (b) from 2006 to 2012; and (c) from 2013 to 2016, found in three advertising films (from 30 to 60 seconds) explained more clearly below:

- Stage 1 – The film *Dia dos Pais – Os tipos de pais (Fathers Day – The types of fathers)*, by Casas Bahia, was selected for the phase prior to the consumption boom, of the excluding discourse;
- Stage 2 – The film *Felicidade Já! (Happiness Now!)*, by Magazine Luiza, was selected for the euphoria phase of consumption of the stratum; and
- Stage 3 – The film *Proibido Perder Venda (Losing Sales is Prohibited)*, by Ricardo Eletro, was selected for the period of economic crisis and recession, which compromised access to consumption.

## The analysis

### Stage 1 – Before the consumption boom – 2003-2005

#### *Film script Os tipos de pais – Casas Bahia – Fathers Day 2004 – 1'*

With soft music in the background, the film begins with a close-up of a newborn child being kissed by a man, who is supposed to be the father and happily holds the baby on his lap, accompanied by his probable wife, the baby's mother. (SPKR. Voice Off of a child: *There are many kinds of fathers: The father that life chose for us.*) / The scene moves to an open environment, in which, below a tree, a father – light-skinned – pushes his daughter – a black child – on a swing. They both have fun. (SPKR. Voice Off: *And there is the father that chose us for life.*) / In another scene, on a park bench, another father plays with his twin girls. (SPKR. Voice OFF: *There is the father who is a father twice, at one time.*) / In another scene, while the father sits at the table with his daughter – a child –, an old man, his father, comes and kisses his face. (SPKR. Voice Off: It goes on with a tone of one who mentions the kinds of fathers: *There is the father who is a son.*) / We see a father helping his daughter with her homework, both sitting at the table at home. (SPKR. Voice Of continues: *There is the teacher father.*) / Passing a soccer ball into the hands of a boy, the father – with black skin – gives his son – also black –, tips about the game, in a locker room. (SPKR. Voice Off continues: *The coach father.*) / At the edge of a pond, a father shows his son the fish he has just caught. At the end, the camera closes on the child's happy face and we see that he is an oriental boy. It is believed that the father is too. (SPKR. Voice Off continues: *And there is the hero father.*) / Sitting on a pier by a lake, a father talks with his son in Brazilian Sign Language. (SPKR. Voice Off continues: *There is the counselor father.*) / In a bathroom, after the bath, a father wipes his two sons. They are happy. (SPKR. Voice Off continues: *And there is even the father who is a mother.*) / When the image focuses on the faces of the three characters, we note a resemblance to the indigenous pattern, in aesthetic terms of



skin color, eyes and hair. (SPKR. Voice Off continues: *And all these types of fathers have one thing in common: total dedication.*) / With the image of this father and his children hugging, the logo of Casas Bahia appears, and their slogan: *Total dedication to you* and the website (signature). / Voice-over changes for the closing. (SPKR. Voice Off: Firm yet smooth masculine voice: *A tribute from Casas Bahia to Father's Day.*)

### **Discourse as text**

The word game with “chose” and “life” stands out, when the text refers to the biological parents – whose children life chooses – and to the adoptive parents – who choose their children for life. Similarly, there are associations of the words used to characterize the types of fathers – “teacher”, “coach”, “hero”, “counselor”, “mother” – with aggregating values that elevate the father figures before the child, always demonstrating how superior they are and how dedicated they are to their children, from the moment they spend time, attention and affection with all of them, performing tasks that even seem to be exclusive to mothers, women. In the latter case, especially, when referring to the mother as one of the strongest features to indicate a father’s high level of dedication, the text makes use of a metaphor, since it makes the analogy of the dedicated father as a mother.

### **Discourse as a discursive practice**

While producing, distributing and consuming, the different actors who were responsible for the tasks of creating the film ended up getting involved in a context that went beyond what is shown in that commercial. When it was proposed to narrate the types of fathers, it was expected that all the existing types would be presented. However, they would not fit in such a short space of time. Not to mention that the film’s intention was to speak only of the good types, examples filled with metaphors and stereotypes which would elevate the figure of the father, representing well what a father dedicated to his children would

be, exactly like the advertiser – Casas Bahia – behaved in front of its clients, with total dedication.

These are the “species” of fathers metaphorically displayed as superior characters, references to anyone who would like to know what an ideal father should be like – idealized models in the society of perfection: the teacher father, coach, counselor and even the hero father.

These definitions were powerful, no question about it. And they were coherent, because they portrayed a society that thought this way and was touched by such discourse, worried about covering as many “types” of fathers as possible in that advertising film, in order not to leave anyone out, to reach a larger audience and, of course, to be politically correct, since the script included black, adoptive, oriental, indigenous and deaf-mute fathers. However, among all these, it was not possible to see much of the father who, in fact, represented the low-income population.

A gap is perceived in the advertising discourses and if, through consumption, people were led to build their personalities, identities and social relationships, these individuals of the low-income population saw themselves excluded from the possibilities of interacting with goods and, even more, with society. Those lifestyles shown in the film did not correspond to their realities.

### **Discourse as a social practice**

When the cases of metaphorical and stereotyped discourses are verified and it is stated that, if that took place nowadays, they would not go unnoticed within a more critical and conscious society, we are dealing precisely with preexisting ideologies in society. Perhaps, the film producers would have tried to tone it down, for example, when talking about adoption, for which they used the term “chose” to refer to the father who adopts a child, making use of the more romanticized complement “for life”. If this occurred, it would demonstrate what has been defended about the importance of the necessary awareness in order for the dominant hegemonic discourses not to be simply reproduced, providing more lightness to a theme such as adoption, at least on Fathers

Day. It would have been a smooth and small step, but a step forward, if indeed it existed and was not only a persuasive and seductive resource to make the text more charming. But, even if it were, it would work as a tool of enchantment for some reason. This demonstrates a social change.

The characters in the film, as well as the text, corroborate for the maintenance of a hegemonic order of discourse in which the profile of the country's low-income population was not seriously seen. The purpose of the advertising film is to enchant through a world of fantasies, therefore the concern not to open wide the reality of the consumer public of Casas Bahia on national TV was enormous, because this would disaggregate value to the brand and frighten the population, who would face themselves in a not-so-magical way on TV.

The fact that the low-income population did not see itself represented in this discourse was something debated by researchers of the advertising discourse at that time – when consumers from the most popular, dominated classes saw themselves distanced from the market, limited to basic goods for survival, even so, sparsely.

Thus, there is talk about how the low-income population could be ignored in society, which discursively silenced its existence.

## **Stage 2 – Euphoria of stratum consumption – 2006-2012**

### ***Felicidade Já! (Happiness Now!) film script – Magazine Luiza – 2010 – 1'***

Images show part of what seems to be the central point of a city, where the first movements are seen and the sounds of a nearby demonstration are heard. And this catches the attention of people who are at home or at work, in the buildings around the forked streets from where people are coming on a march and meet at an intersection. The sound fades in and gets louder. When the crowd is seen marching, we can hear the group chanting a slogan: (Happiness now! Happiness now! Happiness now! Happiness now!). And they come holding banners, flags, chanting slogans and calling for those who are watching everything to join them,

who are led by a man who is ahead, speaking into a megaphone, inviting everyone to participate in that action. And the protesters approach with placards and banners where it is written: “Happiness now!”, “Smile now!”, “No more waiting”. (SPKR. Man on megaphone: *No more leaving happiness to next year. It's happiness now!* And he continues in an appealing tone: *No more leaving happiness for the weekend, for after work. No more leaving happiness for later.*). Several images show the crowd shouting “Happiness Now!”, raising banners and placards, calling the people who are watching. From the buildings, we can already see people on the balconies waving flags. In the midst of the crowd, we notice black people, young people, children. The man on the megaphone looks like a salesman from Magazine Luiza, wearing black dress pants and a white button-down shirt with short sleeves. Protesters continue with their slogans. Then, from among the crowd, a man starts a new refrain: *No more waiting, Happiness Now! No more waiting, Happiness Now!*. (SPKR. Man on megaphone: *And at this moment, the Magazine Luiza movement begins for your happiness now.*) Part of these people from the demonstration are actually heading to a Magazine Luiza store, which is waiting for all these customers. As the man talks about the store, many internal scenes are shown, in which we see televisions, refrigerators, micro systems, toys, sofas, shelves, home appliances. (SPKR. Man on megaphone: *Magazine Luiza promises to help you by doing what it does best: promotions, payment conditions and discounts. Always with that smile on our face. It's Happiness Now!*). In the internal scenes a song/jingle begins, in the background, which is already a Magazine Luiza trademark: (... *happy life, happy life, happy life...*). Meanwhile, the protesters continue with their slogans in the street, while the man speaks into the megaphone. Then, an old lady appears on the balcony of a nearby building and asks them to “sing” more quietly. The protesters boo her. (Old lady: *Hey, hey, can't you sing a little lower? Protesters boo her*). One of the protesters, a black woman, turns around and invites her to be happy, which is the proposal of the advertiser's movement and the brand's slogan. (Woman protester: *Come be happy*). Then, Magazine

Luiza's signature appears on the screen, with the brand and the slogan in the center, followed by the musical reading of the slogan: "Come be happy". Musical signature – slogan: *Come be happy!*

### **Discourse as text**

Many words and expressions were found that demonstrate the atmosphere of empowerment that the low-income population, interpreted by the protesters and customers in the film, searched for, through struggles that could seem merely for the consumption of goods, but were actually for rights and social inclusion, for being able to enjoy, at that moment, the benefits that those products would provide them, that that consumption would offer, for the conquests of goods, lifestyles and symbolic values more fair, egalitarian and happy. Those people were seeking to get rid of the ties of recent earlier times when they had no right to consume, they were not even considered in TV commercials as potential consumers, citizens, and needed to postpone plans and dreams because their financial condition was not enough to make them exist and compose their identities as members of that capitalist society.

That manifestation for happiness demanded an end to those situations. Their moment had arrived. In this way, the spectators could, by watching the movie, feel even more motivated and stimulated to go out in search of everything they always wanted, but could never have. It was Magazine Luiza that was making those achievements possible for everyone, understanding well what "waiting" and "leaving it for later" meant in those people's lives. True social appeals, *Happiness Now!*, *No more waiting* and *Happy life* represented more than just slogans. The "happiness", in several *nuances* and linked to many imperative verbs was, in fact, extensively explored in the text.

### **Discourse as a discursive practice**

Possibly, the producers of this discourse knew that they wanted a film about the idea of the happiness of being able to consume certain products

right now, without having to postpone dreams and plans, being able to pay on time, with the recent payment conditions and credit concessions that, at that moment, were presented to low-income consumers. Many marketing, communication and advertising professionals were being helped by researches that explained the characteristics of this social stratum, what they wanted, how they behaved and what they valued. The government reinforced the idea that a new social class had emerged and that all Brazilians were experiencing an unprecedented period of social and economic transformations that favored a population that was gradually becoming important to different sectors and was being responsible for placing Brazil among the successful emerging countries in the world.

### **Discourse as a social practice**

In an analysis of the film's social and discursive practices, much of what was going on at that moment is perceived, the entire context in which a certain low-income social stratum started to have access to the consumer market in an unprecedented way, due to factors such as the raise in minimum wage, the lower interest rates, granting credit, income transfer by the government and the increase in employment rates.

Everyone in the film clearly demonstrated what part of the dazzled society was feeling: a unique and good sensation of freedom, of achievement and merit, of belonging. No one there, as in the "real life" represented, was fully aware that their insertion into society and the conquest of their citizenship was taking place only due to the "fragile" way of access to consumption, by the increase of income, and not through other criteria in which they continued to be set apart and dominated, as in political and cultural issues and in different social spheres.

That was a manifestation that, in the short term, would be for the search for the right to consumption, but which represented, effectively, the right to citizenship, to belonging. However, the fields of cultural, social and political capital were not considered.

At Magazine Luiza, we would find simple products, but without aesthetic differentials, of even “questionable” quality and not so resistant and durable materials. For the public they were intended for, they were already a luxury. This is especially true because those people had a low cultural capital and, even if they had a higher purchasing power than in the past, they were not able to choose goods with added values legitimized in society as superior.

### **Stage 3 – Period of economic crisis and recession – 2013-2016**

#### ***Proibido perder venda (Losing Sales is Prohibited) film script– Ricardo Eletro – 2016 – 30”***

As a poster boy for Ricardo Eletro, TV host Rodrigo Faro appears, in a scenery that simulates a computerized stage, from where he communicates with people who, given the context, are supposed to be the salespeople of the advertising brand, who receive instructions from the host, on behalf of Ricardo, on how the customers should be treated and that losing sales is prohibited. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *This is the moment to defend purchasing power...*) / Throughout the entire film, there is an instrumental background music in tone of action, with moments of revelation and impact, especially following the most incisive gestures by the poster boy and the entry of the brand of the LOSING SALES IS PROHIBITED campaign. The host speaks in an incisive way, with strong gestures, while on the screens behind him, images that correspond to what he informs are shown, such as scenes of Ricardo Nunes himself attending to customers, shaking their hands and hugging them. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *... from each one of our customers. If we were to do the same,...*) / As Rodrigo speaks, looking at his audience, communicating with everyone in a firm and calm way, behind him are shown, on the screens, images of Ricardo Nunes in the shed where products are stored, then solving problems on the telephone and making firm gestures that are similar to the ones that Rodrigo Faro makes when talking to his audience. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *... Ricardo wouldn't have*

*called me. We have to do it better.*) / At this moment, on the screen behind the host, we see the image of a thermometer rising fast, reminding us of the arrival at the limit mentioned by Rodrigo Faro, subtly. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *We must get to the limit.*) / Rodrigo Faro then appears full body on the screen and in a definitive gesture speaks the text that is followed by the brand created by the promotion: a golden coat of arms in which is written LOSING SALES IS PROHIBITED, with a star on top and Ricardo Eletro's brand below. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *We must not lose sales under any circumstances.*) / Rodrigo Faro keeps talking, with the camera closer to him. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *It's up to us to reach the condition...*) / We keep seeing these scenes. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *... And for the price the customer wants.*) At this time, as the host speaks, the scenes behind him start showing Ricardo Eletro employees in the sheds, carrying goods, or salespeople in the stores serving customers and closing sales, tearing up papers to suggest "tearing up prices" and Ricardo Nunes assisting a customer. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *We will respect every penny from our customers.*) / Rodrigo Faro talks with the audience and insists that everyone understands the importance of not losing sales, alerting them about the possibility of them calling Ricardo Nunes to negotiate the price. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *If necessary, call our Price Center. Call Ricardo*) / In a close medium shot and looking at the camera, Rodrigo Faro talks to the spectator. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *Losing sales is prohibited...*) / At this moment, the camera opens the image and, beside the host who turns to the audience again, appears the brand LOSING SALES IS PROHIBITED. RICARDO ELETRO. The brand's website appears on the screen, below the coat of arms. (SPKR. Rodrigo Faro: *... at Ricardo Eletro.*)

### **Discourse as text**

The vocabulary used in this film is a reflection of the discourse of that occasion (2016), the year in which the economic crisis that Brazil was going through reached its peak, along with the year 2015, according to the numerous inflation rates that prove it and to other economic indexes.



It was a moment of recession. Consumption, in general, was compromised, but the lower classes felt this blow strongly and one could no longer speak, as before, of a high purchasing power for these people.

Retail was allied to advertising in order to make up discourses that continued talking to the public about aspirations and victories, about not losing what had been achieved and the many opportunities to consume, at low prices and excellent payment methods.

The word “defend” is not being used in the film by chance, associated with “purchasing power”. This was everything the low-income strata – the majority of that advertiser’s customers – needed to hear. Likewise, we see the term “respect” followed by “every penny” and we understand the strong attempt to demonstrate the effort to collaborate with customers, who were going through hard times and needed to be recognized and respected as hard working people and deserving of their achievements.

In order to individualize the message, we notice expressions such as: “each one of our customers” and “every penny from our customers”, which individualize the discourse, do not generalize and prove that everyone is important.

Other impressive statements and which prove the seriousness of that negotiation on behalf of the customers are: “Losing sales is prohibited”; “do it better”; “get to the limit”; “not lose sales under any circumstance”; “It’s in our hands”; and “Call Ricardo”. These are imperative, firm words that make it clear that the order is to do the best to satisfy the customer.

### **Discourse as a discursive practice**

Because the film’s narrative reflects a scenario that already has discourses in circulation among the society, it is said that it is an interdiscourse, or an intertext manifested by the context, that is, an indirect discursive representation takes place, referring to the situation of economic crisis and recession and everything related to them in 2016.

The producers of the discourse do not just consciously respond. Everyone involved was already imbued with historical, social, cultural,

political, economic facts and symbolic values that led them to compose such filmic narrative.

When the text speaks of the fight for “every penny”, it already makes itself coherent and its audience is anticipated, since those who experience this situation of needing to be respected, recognized and to have every penny in their pockets valued are the members of the less affluent classes of society, the most needy population that suffered and felt that crisis and was being forced to return to a condition of anonymity before the world.

### **Discourse as a social practice**

It was necessary to keep the low-income stratum close to the market, believing that the ladder was doing everything possible to ensure their purchasing power and their citizenship, which they had obtained with sacrifice. In a sense, this stratum of the population could no longer be the same as when it was limited to the consumption of the basics. Their habitus had already been influenced, even if not profoundly and not at the origin (BOURDIEU, 2011).

And those people were not the subjected ones; they were socially active and demanded to stay in the race against social inequalities. They could not get lost in that crisis, nor could the citizenship they had obtained through consumption.

In the film, we see the advertiser’s effort to satisfy the customers, individualizing them and proving to them that their difficulties are considered and their money respected. Everything that could be done, that the establishment would do, so that the customer would not leave without buying.

### **Results and discussions**

From the film selected for Stage 1, it was verified that the advertising almost never resorted to black characters in discourses to the country’s low-income population. If the intention of these TV commercials was to

get closer to their customers and potential customers, who were part of the low-income population, the way in which the advertising discourses were elaborated showed a lack of representativeness, especially concerning their image, which was not seen in those narratives, in addition to the appeals directed towards them in tones of a lesson to be learned and apprehended: “consume our products and consume our discourses, because these are the models accepted and legitimized in society”.

The advertising discourses were produced to be consumed by this strata of society through aspirational stimuli, desires and behaviors which were imposed on them to be internalized, exactly like a symbolic violence (BOURDIEU, 2004).

About the film in Stage 2, it was found that advertising was communicating with its target audience for the first time and in a way that placed it in a prominent position. In fact, the entire capitalist system, aided by governmental and private measures, was favoring this change, making entrepreneurs begin to see the low-income population, which had emerged in society and would be part of a pseudo-new Brazilian middle class, which would have an unprecedented purchasing power that would be responsible for significant economic advances across the country.

That was the moment to praise those people who were including themselves in the consumer society, recognizing how important they were for the profits and expanding the knowledge about the profile of the country’s new low-income stratum.

Concerned with reaching, persuading and seducing the new working class, the advertising discourses became more popular and more coherent with the lifestyles of the target audience. Everything seemed more plausible when one took into account that it was necessary to make the target audience of those discourses feel represented in the filmic narratives.

In the analysis of Stage 3 (from 2013 to 2016), advertising sought not to focus on the crisis, of course, because it was the negative side

of that context of blocking access to consumption seen in the previous stage. The attention was focused on people – the low-income stratum –, showing, more and more, that they were the center of all attention, deserved recognition for being fighters and hard working people and wanted to be respected and understood in their tough realities of many efforts.

The discourses continued to talk about consumer desires, but in a more thoughtful way. There was born an advertising challenged to deal with its public, which had been empowered in the previous stage and that, at that moment of crisis, was having to understand the value of its money and the difficulties people faced.

### **Final considerations**

In fact, there is a new advertising discourse in practice, which recognizes the more empowered consumer, in a position to make more conscious choices, even if he/she seeks the realization of dreams and a more pleasant lifestyle.

The moment of economic crisis and recession forced advertising to communicate with the target audience in a more attentive way, demonstrating concern for them, who cannot be ignored, excluded from society.

If the new working class needs recognition for its efforts and comprehension of its difficulties during the economic crisis, the market, through advertising, transmits the message that there is a friend worried about ensuring its achievements and the fulfillment of consumer desires.

If consumption is the door to happiness – the salvation –, the advertising discourse has a “redemptive tone”. Thus, advertising goes from excluding to redeeming, after a period of boom in consumption, which is crucial for the awakening and empowerment of a social stratum.

It is a fact that these analyses, for reasons of time and delimitation of the research, occurred within the universe of the furniture and home appliances retail segment, which has a particular way of communicating with its target audience, through predominantly descriptive discourses

and focusing on prices and payment conditions for goods. However, there were many other retail and service segments that experienced considerable changes with the phenomenon of the unprecedented access of the low-income stratum to the consumer market, between 2006 and 2012, in the same way that, in the previous stage, the advertising discourses did not represent it.

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