"Live positively": the lessons taught by advertisements of Coca-Cola Company

"Viver positivamente": as lições ensinadas por peças publicitárias da Coca-Cola Company

"Vivir positivamente": analizando las lecciones de los anuncios de Coca-Cola Company

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Abstract This work aims to analyse the advertising campaign of the Coca-Cola Company Brazil, "Live Positively!". From the theoretical perspective of Cultural Studies, Media Studies and post-modern discussions about the consumption of the body and certain lifestyles in the media, we discuss the growing movement of "redemption" of consumption, educationally and culturally constructed as something positive and related to the body and life improvement of the subjects in contemporary times.

Keywords: Cultural Pedagogy; Cultural Studies; Media Studies; Consumption; Body

Resumo Analisa-se a campanha publicitária da Coca-Cola Company Brasil, "Viva positivamente!". A partir dos Estudos Culturais, dos Estudos de Mídia e das discussões pós-modernas acerca do consumo do corpo e de determinados estilos de vida na mídia, discute-se o crescente movimento de "redenção" ou, ainda, de "absolvição" do consumo, construído pedagógica e culturalmente como algo positivo e relacionado à melhora do corpo e da qualidade de vida dos sujeitos na contemporaneidade.

Palavras-chave: Pedagogias Culturais; Estudos Culturais; Estudos de Mídia; Consumo; Corpo

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Resumen Se analiza la publicidad de la Coca-Cola Company en Brasil, "Viva positivamente!". Desde los Estudios Culturales, de los estudios de los medios de comunicación y las discusiones sobre el consumo postmoderna del cuerpo y ciertos estilos de vida en los medios de comunicación, se analiza el creciente movimiento de "redención" o "la absolución" del consumo, educativa y culturalmente construido como algo positivo y relacionados con el cuerpo y mejora de la calidad de vida de los sujetos en la contemporaneidad.

Palabras-clave: Pedagogías Culturales; Estudios Culturales; Estudios de los medios de comunicación; Consumo; Cuerpo

Date of submission: 7/5/2014 Date of acceptance: 10/7/2014

Introduction

The purpose of the present article, which is included in the project "Biofantasies, biomanias, biophorias: media education and the spectacularisation of bio(techno)logy in contemporary times", is to analyse six advertisements of the Coca-Cola Company Brasil campaign, "Viva positivamente!" ["Live positively!"] which were vehiculated in the magazine Veja [the largest newsweekly magazine in Brazil, published by Abril] between 2011 and 2012. On the basis of Cultural Studies, of Media Studies and of post-modern discussions on the consumption of the body and of determined lifestyles in the media, we intend to discuss the increasing movement of "redemption" or, still of "absolution" of consumption which is educationally and culturally constructed as something positive and related to the improvement of the body and of the quality of life of the subjects in contemporary times.

Cultural Studies and Media Studies

According to Johnson (1999), from a post-modern perspective, Cultural Studies (CS), are a kind of "alchemy" which aims at producing useful knowledge – and the term "alchemy" is used because its practitioners can have recourse to any theorisations in order to answer the questions which mobilise them. These studies do not seek "truth" – in this referential framework one speaks about relativised truths – but they rather seek to give visibility to aspects and to not very usual relationships, which are not always shown in more traditional analyses of the domain of Social Sciences (those which are more centred, for example, on economic and macro-structural aspects of society). Besides this, Cultural Studies do not have specific methodologies and they are "engaged studies", which are concerned with the production of knowledge in order to understand the daily world and the power relationships which constitute and cross it (MEYER, 2002).

Cultural Studies and their practitioners demonstrate mistrust and incredulity with respect to the so called "great universal truths" or meta-

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narratives and they demonstrate discredit with regard to the meanings which are considered universalising and transcendental. It is also important to emphasise that Cultural Studies conceive culture as a battle field about the meanings and they understand theory as a field of political intervention (SILVA, 2000). Some authors, who are linked to Cultural Studies, still conceive culture as a process, as a set of practices and activities which imply a high degree of the subjects' participation (HALL, 1997; KELLNER, 2001). In this sense, according to these authors, culture would shape the subjects (and, at the same time, it would be shaped by them) and it evidences and cultivates their potentialities and capacities of speech, action and creativity.

The media – and especially advertising – construct a series of meanings about being a man and being a woman, about being successful or unsuccessful and also about the (supposed) necessity to be happy at any cost. Kellner (2001) also affirms that media culture – and the narratives, images and messages it vehiculates – provide

the symbols, the myths and the resources which help to constitute a common culture for the largest part of the individuals in many regions of the world of today. The culture, which is vehiculated by the media, provides the material that creates the identities by means of which the individuals insert themselves into the contemporary techno-capitalist societies and produces a new form of global culture (KELLNER, 2001, p. 9).

According to Kellner (2001), media culture is eminently industrial (organised on the basis of the model of mass production according to conventional formulas, codes and norms) and commercial (its products – films, magazines, newspapers, comic strips, advertisements, etc. – are merchandises which involve the private profit of big transnational corporations). It started to dominate daily life and it serves as an omnipresent background towards which our attention and our activities converge.

The cultural analysis we carried out of the advertisements of the "Viva positivamente!" ["Live positively"] campaign of the Coca-Cola Company followed Hall's (1997) and Amaral's (1997a; 1997b; 1999; 2000), proposals, which do not seek to identify "correct" or "incorrect"

meanings (or still, "truths and lies"), but to understand why determined meanings are privileged to the detriment of others. Thus language is a key-point in this article, because, according to Hall (1997), it functions as a "representation system". This means that it is through language that we give meanings to the things of the world and it is through it that we are produced; it is by means of language that we communicate, exchange ideas, feelings, thoughts, emotions, desires, needs. In the present article, we assume a constructionist perspective of language and of representation: it is not neutral, it is not "simply and purely" a vehicle, it is not a mere reflection of the events which are being processed in the world.

Thwaites, Davis and Mules (1995) emphasise another important point on cultural analyses: according to them, we can learn a lot about the modes of functioning of our societies by means of the examination of the different customs, traditions, structures and institutions and by means of the analysis of the verbal and visual texts they produce. By means of an operation of textualisation – that is by assuming that the many cultural instances are constituted by signs which are chosen and combined in larger groups or patterns – we can perceive the attitudes and beliefs which motivate social actions and the way to think about their effects. "The analysis of culture by means of its texts – and the assumption about culture as a text (which could be read, interpreted, decoded, etc.) are interesting strategies the practitioners of Cultural Studies use" (THWAITES; DAVIS; MULES, 1995, p. 69).

The "Live positively!" campaign

Coca-Cola Brasil has launched about twenty campaigns and slogans since the establishment of the brand in Brazil, in 1942, when the first factory was inaugurated in Rio de Janeiro. The most well known campaigns, namely, were "Coca-Cola é isso aí", [Coca-cola is the right thing"] "Emoção pra valer" [Emotion which is worth it], "Sempre Coca-Cola" [Always Coca-Cola] and "O lado Coca-Cola da vida" [the Cocacola side of life"]. The annual investment in advertising of Coca-Cola Brasil is estimated 2.5 billions reais [plural of real: Brazil's unit of currency] (data of 2011) and until 2014 (the year in which Brazil will host the World Cup)², an investment of 11 billions *reais* in marketing and infrastructure³ is foreseen.

In 2008, Coca-Cola Brasil launched the "Plataforma Viva positivamente" ["Live positively Platform"] which, according to data that were collected from its site, "incorporates all the sustainability actions of the company by establishing ambitious goals for each of its seven pillars: Water, Sustainable Packaging, Energy and Climate, Community, Beverage Benefits, Healthy Life and Workplace". This platform is not only an advertising campaign – it is the exposition of the "principles, values and priority areas for action so that the operation of the organisation be in line with a context of economic and social development, which takes into consideration environmental preservation" (Coca-Cola Brasil, 2013). Besides this, the site of Coca-Cola Brasil affirms that the campaign "Live positively" has diverse advertising materials (site; advertisements which are published in newspapers and magazines of national circulation; outdoors and short advertising films which are vehiculated on channels of the free-to-air television and of the subscription-based television.

"Live positively" was a campaign the advertising agency DPZ (Dualib, Petit & Zaragoza Propaganda)⁴ developed and according to its mentors⁵, its purpose is "to stimulate a healthier lifestyle by showing that simple movements of everyday life – such as cycling, having fun, taking care, walking, climbing, sleeping, surmounting oneself and preserving – can make the difference for each individual and for those who live together with him". In the printed media, especially, eight advertisements were vehiculated at a national level and they "convey messages which associate the refreshing beverages, which attend to the diverse consumption occasions, tastes, and lifestyles, to the sensation of well-being". Each

² Available on: http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br>. Access on: 7/9/2013.

³ Available on: http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br>. Access on: 7/9/2013.

⁴ DPZ is a Brazilian company, with agencies in São Paulo, Brasília, Rio de Janeiro and Vitória and it has some associated agencies, which actuate inclusively internationally. The company, which has actuated on the market for about 40 years, has been awarded several prizes and it has produced the Coca-Cola campaign since 2008.

⁵ Available on: http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br/release_detalhe.asp?release=254&Categoria=30. Access on: 7/9/2013.

of the advertisements is dedicated to a product of the company portfolio - and in the present article, as we already mentioned, we will carry out an analysis of the six pieces.

According to Marco Simões, vice-president of Comunicação e Sustentabilidade [Communication and Sustainability] of Coca-Cola Brasil, the campaign invites people to dedicate more attention to their own well-being and to the conservation of the planet.⁶ According to him, "we live in a moment of big changes, in which science already demonstrated what we must do in order to lead a healthy life, at the same time in which we know the risks our world runs from the viewpoint of climate and lifesustenance. And here, as a company, we want to give our contribution in favour of a positive change".

In this article, we seek, in a certain way, to problematise this supposed contribution of Coca-Cola Brasil to a "positive change" of contemporary modes and lifestyles.

The bodies in consumption society

According to Santaella (2004, p. 125), we live a paradox in contemporary times: in Human Sciences, subjectivity is more and more constructed as "decentralised", "unstable and "subversive", at the same time in which the "regulatory practices" of social institutions continue to govern the individuals in a way which is more than ever linked to old characteristics which define him/her as an "I". Hence, according to this author (2004), "as long as, on the one hand, the philosophical and social discourses expose the contradictions and inadequacies of the stable and perfect definitions of the I with all kinds of arguments; on the other hand, the media, in general, frenetically work for the preservation of the 'idea of the I' which gives foundation to the regulatory institutional practices".

In this sense, another question, which moves the author we referred to, is the following: who would win the heart of the incautious with re-

⁶ Available on: http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br/release_detalhe.asp?release=254&categoria=30&chave=prod utos>. Access on: 7 set. 2013.

spect to the idea of the constitution of the "I" in contemporary times? Santaella answers that

certainly, the media, because the images, which they incessantly propagate, confer robustness upon the imaginary which nourishes the mirages of the ego. In order to be aware of this, it is sufficient to be attentive to the popularity of the psy-problematics in the media, to the demands for all kinds of therapy and to the enormous quantity of advisers. It seems that there is no other way for the great majority of human beings than to recognise themselves, to establish a relationship with themselves and with their lives according to the discourses, the images of the media and to the presuppositions on which they rely. But, in the media, that which gives support to the illusions of the "I" are, above all, the pictures of the body, the body reified, fetichised, modelled as an ideal to be achieved in consonance with the fulfilment of the promise of a stainless happiness (SANTAELLA, 2004, p. 125-126).

"Buy" and "live positively" are the two appeals that Coca-Cola Brasil addresses to the contemporary subjects – and these appeals translate themselves into the construction of a positively healthy body (which overcomes itself, which walks, which cycles, which enjoys life) and into the institution of positive thoughts and attitudes (in cultural, social, environmental terms, etc.) via consumption. It is also important to consider the popularity that the psychological mantra of "positive thinking" has acquired in contemporary culture – given the emergence of best-sellers of self-help literature, such as *The Secret* (by Rhonda Byrne) and his predecessors, *The Power of Positive Thinking*, written by Norman Vincent Peale and *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success*, by the Indian Deepak Chopra.

Bauman (2008; 2010) emphasises that consumption is apparently a trivial activity: by only considering our basic needs, it is a condition, a permanent need for the human beings' survival. But consumption has visibly played many other roles in post-modernity: today people consume much more than goods and services; they consume ideas, attitudes, social status, lifestyles, affections, determined types of body, freedom, well-being, etc. Canclini (2006, p. 60) proposes a broader definition of consumption: "the set of socio-cultural processes in which the appro-

priation and the uses of the products are accomplished". According to this author, "this characterisation helps to see the acts through which we consume as something which is more than mere taste exercises, whims and thoughtless purchases, according to the moralist judgments or individual attitudes, like the way in which they are being exploited by market researches" (CANCLINI, 2006, p. 60). In Canclini's understanding, to consume is not necessarily an individual and isolated act, but something which belongs to the political ordering of each society - "it is a process in which desires transform themselves into demands and into socially regulated acts" (2006, p. 65)

On the other hand, Kellner (2001, p. 11) affirms that consumption culture "provides a dazzling set of goods and services which induce the individuals to participate in a system of commercial gratification". According to him (2001), media culture and consumption culture go together and generate thoughts and behaviours which are adjusted to the values, to the institutions, to the beliefs and to the practices that are in force in a given society.

The dictatorship of "positive thinking"

Miller, Sherman and Christensen (2010) affirm that, in the past years, the researchers paid more attention to the construction of the so called "positive psychology" and its possible consequences for the population's health, mainly with respect to morbidity, to mortality and to the subjects' adaptation to illness and to other forms of adversity. There have been many studies which demonstrate that a positive attitude towards life and this positive attitude would frequently be associated with questions which involve "control and self-control", "self-dominance", "personal improvement", "personal growth", "pardon", "gratitude", "hope", "optimism" and "spirituality", among others - would lead to the overcoming of adversities and illnesses (cancer, cardiovascular diseases, depression, etc.). These studies have considerably increased and have become very popular in the United States, but they have also been the object of many controversies.

Aspinwall and Tedeschi (2010) affirm that the apparent "explosion" of the research on "positive psychology" includes multiple theoretical fields, which have the focus on what they call "positive human functioning", in common". According to these authors, Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) coined the term and organised the field of "positive psychology" around three topics ("positive experiences", "positive personalities" and "positive institutions and communities"), but "for a long time, psychologists have been concerned in understanding how people respond to adversity (measured by means of concepts such as adaptation, resilience, prosperity and growth), and if the personal, social and development-linked particular personal factors can protect physical and mental in the long term" (2010, p. 5).

Coyne, Tennen and Ranchor's (2010) work as well as that of Aspinwall and Tedeschi (2010) demonstrate concerns about the dangers of popular versions (or still "popular in a negative way) of positive psychology, with its apparently implacable emphasis on the imposition of optimism, of individual happiness and of personal growth, regardless of the circumstances. The first authors we cited affirm that the problem, "is that the public in general can turn to believe that they can vanquish cancer only by thinking positively and if somebody does not respond well to a treatment, this person is not thinking 'positively enough', may not be laughing enough or may not be spiritualised enough" (COYNE, TENNEN and RANCHOR, 2010, p. 36). It is also important to consider that Aspinwall and Tedeschi (2010) as well as Coyne, Tennen and Ranchor (2010) condemn the so called "sugary terrorism" (the allegation that a person is not able to cope well with life because he/she always faces it in a negative way), the frequent culpabilisation of the victim and the promotion of mediatic versions of "the psychology of positive thinking" that is only directed towards profit. In the United States, self-help books and sites of "life coaching" (involving positive psychology) provide tips and techniques, which say, promote, the subjects' happiness. In Brazil, for example, the Instituto Brasileiro de Coaching (IBC) [Brazilian Coaching Institute] offers the "Professional & Self Coaching", which

goes beyond the basic Coaching proposition, because it actuates at the deepest levels of our behavioural structure in order to awaken the better person we can be. The methodology was developed on the basis of the integration of the main models of human development: Behavioural Coaching, Integral Coaching, Ontological Coaching, The Inner Game, NLP - Neuro Linguistic Programming, Neurosciences and Positive Psychology. When we are centred on whom we really are, we live more deeply connected with ourselves and with the others. To meet again and to support this connection is the essential element to cure our world, to achieve success, to lever results and to adjust behaviours.⁷

It is important to consider that we are not defending "positive psychology" here; neither do we affirm, in this article, that the media (always they!) would distort Science, Psychology or what ever may be – which is to say that some of the marketing strategies of the Coca-Cola Company strangely involve some elements of the "positive thinking" movement and of self-help which are associated with the consumption of its products. Hence we could ask: since when? How does this occur? With which objectives? Which are the possible consequences of this?

Some results

All the advertisements we examined have, in principle, the same basic configuration – on a white background, a sort of window, in the form of a bottle, is opened, in which all the actions are being performed. The so called "Find your formula to live positively", always positioned in the superior left field, appears together with the words "to walk, "to cycle", "to overcome yourself", "to have fun" and "to preserve". These are actu-

⁷ A person, who submits himself/herself to the Coaching process would finally develop (supposedly!) the following abilities: a) becomes more productive; b) consistently achieves a higher performance in all he/she does; c) increases his/her confidence and ability; d) learns more and overcomes the obstacles in order to learn better; e) clarifies what he/she wants and what he/she can give in his/her relationships; f) his/her relationships improve; g) his/her life becomes more well balanced; h) acquires more flexibility; i) receives intellectual stimulus by discussing important ideas; j) becomes more creative; l) transforms himself/herself into the person he/she wants to be; m) becomes a model for the others; n) has a more accomplished and happier life; o) acquires clarity about objectives and values; p) improves his/her panorama in short, medium and long-terms; q) makes better decisions; r) provides the potential for progressing in his/her work and for getting better life perspectives; s) achieves level of excellence in the best person he/she can be. Source: he/she can be. Source: http://www.ibccoaching.com.br/coaching_professional_self.php. Access on: 7/9/2013.

ally the answers, – the solutions Coca-Cola Brasil proposes so that we can succeed in living a positive life. There is a sort of invitation to the subjects to share attitudes and ways of being and of living positively – and the consumption of the Coca-Cola products would provide (or better, would intend to provide) such positivity.

The first "positive attitude" we will examine here is "to cycle". The advertisement in question presents a window in the form of the isotonic i9, "light beverage which maintains fitness in a healthy way".⁸ In the window, we see a man who is wearing a suit and tie; he is smiling, cycling with open arms. The picture evokes satisfaction, movement and freedom – although his clothes, in a first moment, do not apparently combine with the action of "cycling". The message, which is inserted in the inferior corner on the right of the advertisement, says the following:

To go to work cycling can be a healthy and entertaining way to escape from traffic. Besides this, cycling burns calories and does not pollute the environment. To live well can be as easy as to cycle and as tasty as i9; which quenches your thirst and helps you to maintain fitness for the whole day.

Coca-Cola Brasil is $i9^{\$}$ and another 150 products. Coca-Cola Brasil. Live positively!

Here the "recipe" to live well, in a healthy, environmentally-friendly and positive way is shown as being "easy" and "tasty" like the product in question (and its more than 150 co-brother products). The text invites the consumer to lose weight (to burn calories), to move and not to pollute the environment, thus maintaining fitness and well-being.

Another "positive attitude" Coca-Cola Brasil is "walking". Now the advertisement presents a window in the shape of the bottle of the mineral water Crystal and shows a girl and a boy with oriental features, walk-

⁸ Available on: http://www.cocacolabrasil.com.br/conteudos.asp?item=3&secao=36&conteudo=147. Access on: 7/9/2013.

ing arm in arm in the middle of a street with cobble-stones, as if they were brother and sister, mother and son or just good friends:

You succeed in walking some 300 meters a day, don't you? It is just to leave your car far away or even to walk to the baker's shop round the corner. It seems to be almost nothing, but at the end of the year, this makes more than 100 kilometers. There is not only one formula to be healthy; there is your way to live positively. To live well can be easy like a walk and refreshing like icy water. Even more when it comes from optimum wells and when it is crystalline. Coca-Cola Brasil is Crystal® and another 150 products. Coca-Cola Brasil. Live positively!

In all the advertisements we analysed, we can verify the presence of a certain multiculturalist discourse and a sort of celebrating (and positive) appeal to diversity. The "problem", so to say, of the recourse to the celebration discourse of diversity is that it collaborates to the maintenance and "naturalisation of the force relationships which are implied in the production of the differences at the moment in which it considers that to be equal or to be different belongs to the natural order of things" (SIL-VEIRA, BONIN and RIPOLL, 2010). According to these authors, "in such perspective, there are multiple ways of being and of living which are presumably natural and, given the diversity of societies, we would have to learn to relativise certain concepts in order to be tolerant with regard to differences" (2010, p. 101). And more than that:

Hence everything happens as if difference were the subjects' own characteristic and not the effect of power and classification relationships we invent and which produce hierarchisation, which puts into disadvantage those who we consider different on the basis of cultural norms, values and symbols of the identity in which we position ourselves. In contemporary times, as a general tendency, the multicultural discourses produce the positivation of differences taken as essential, self-referential, as a value of their own. Neither does this understanding problematise the cultural and "LIVE POSITIVELY": THE LESSONS TAUGHT BY ADVERTISEMENTS OF COCA-COLA CO.

discursive conditions on the basis of which differences are produced and recognised as such (SILVEIRA, BONIN and RIPOLL, 2010, p. 101).

Another mark of this "plural" view of the company is the declaration that "there is not only one formula to be healthy; there is your way of living positively". Hence another "positive tip" to live positively is, besides walking, to drink water (natural, without formulas) and to live together with the differences and to tolerate them.

In the following advertisement, the "life coaching" of Coca-Cola Brasil presents a black girl, very thin, she is wearing special clothes to practice physical activities; she has headphones and is running "in" the packaging of the isotonic Powerade, with the word "surpass yourself" and the following text:

Physical activity is a constant overcoming. From overcoming laziness to succeeding in improving your results and conquering your objectives. To live well is as important as practicing activities and as tasty as Powerade, which restores the loss of liquid, mineral salts and carbohydrates. And it helps you to achieve your best performance in prolonged physical activities.

Coca-Cola Brasil is Powerade® and another 150 products. Coca-Cola Brasil. Live positively!

According to Kellner (2001), there is a culture which is vehiculated by the media the pictures, sounds and spectacles of which, "help to weave the web of daily life and it dominates the time of leisure and shapes political opinions and social behaviours". According to this author, "the radio, the television, the cinema and the other products of the cultural industry provide the models of that which signifies to be a man or a woman, successful or unsuccessful, powerful or powerless", given the fact that media culture would also provide "the material with which many people construct their sense of class, of ethnicity and race, of nationality, of sexuality, of 'we' and 'they'" (2001, p. 9). Thus, according to Kellner, this

mediatic culture (constructed by means of pictures and sounds) would shape a prevailing worldview and define what is considered good or bad, positive or negative, moral or immoral.

In this sense the picture of the black girl together with the term/ exhortation "overcoming" can present multiple significations in the media and consumption culture: she could be an athlete who is training in order to surpass her limits in racing; she could be a woman who just practices exercises every day, overcoming laziness and maintaining exemplary physical shape. It could also be read as the positive overcoming of prejudices (sexual, of gender, ethnicity) or reverse (and with perseverance), it could still be read in another way: precisely because it is a woman (and a black woman), the challenge of overcoming would culturally weigh on her (or still that of the eternal quest of a better performance).

The next advertisement shows a young white man, who seems to have come from the beach or a swimming-pool - since he does not wear a shirt, he is listening to music with a radiant smile on his face; he is drying himself with a towel on his shoulders. He is framed by the "famous" Coca-Cola bottle – and he actually seems to be the very incarnation of Coca-Cola:

When you do what you enjoy, listen to music, play football, chat with your friends, life is more fun. To live well can be contagious like a smile. And refreshing like Coca-Cola on ice, which has inspired moments of happiness in the life of millions of people in the whole world for 125 years.

Coca-Cola Brasil is Coca-Cola® and another 150 products. Coca-Cola Brasil. Live positively!

In the next advertisement, the positive action is to "preserve": preserve the environment in order to enjoy life, to preserve the water in order to enjoy moments of relaxation near nature and near whom you love. The window in the shape of a tin of guaraná [a fruit that only grows in

the Amazon region], shows a scene in which two men appear, an older one and a younger one (quite probably, father and son), having fun in a waterfall. The text of the advertisement in the inferior corner on the right says what follows:

There are many ways to be healthy and to live positively. For example, Coca-Cola Brasil chose to reduce consumption, to preserve and protect our water wells. There are diverse programmes, which go from the protection of the Amazon and the Mata Atlântica [forest which runs along the coast of Brazil] to the permanent reduction of water consumption in our factories. To give back 100% of the treated water to the environment is a commitment as remarkable as the taste of Guaraná Kuat. It is as essential as the unforgettable moments of our life.

Coca-Cola Brasil is Guaraná Kuat® and another 150 products. Coca-Cola Brasil. Live positively!

Coca-Cola seems to delegate some responsibilities to the consumer (and to itself) – and, in this sense, they would all supposedly act in an aware, positive and environment-friendly way, aiming at the development of a sustainable society (supposedly and *truly*) sustainable. Besides this, the company guarantees, in an ambiguous and contradictory way, that one of its commitments is the reduction of consumption – not of Guaraná Kuat or of any other of the more than 150 products of Coca-Cola Brasil, but of water in the factories.

Here it is important to stress an idea of Alan Petersen (2011) on the contemporary means of communication and on the ways in which they would practice the "expectation policies". This author affirms that the reports of Science and Technology – with their discoveries, which eventually will serve to save the whole humanity – construct expectations for the audiences and these expectations (relative to almost always future benefits) constitute themselves as the motive force of technological inno-

vation. But the most interesting is the fact that Petersen (2011) shows the construction of expectations as something vital to human beings and as a practice which is disseminated in the social texture by means of other practices (called "reiterative", since expectations use not to sustain themselves for a very long time). Expectations (to love more, to live longer and better, to have more time, to have a healthy body, to do what you like, to lead a peaceful and quiet life, to have a better world, to have goods so that you lead a comfortable life, etc.) are sustained and maintained every day by the media by means of diverse practices which include a range of activities of the engagement of the audiences, but there would be few studies on the place where these expectations appear, how they would be maintained and to whom they would really profit.

Anyway, we do not intend here to carry out the analyses in an exhaustive way – they are permanently going on, since, every week, new advertisements are launched in the biggest Brazilian magazines (in terms of circulation), new videos and short films. This was actually an exercise to think about the "lessons", teaching and conducts which are being emphasised with regard to the body and to life in a broader way by means of the advertisements of a powerful multinational enterprise.

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