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comunicação, mídia e consumo

COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação e Práticas de Consumo da ESPM

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

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COMUNICAÇÃO E PRÁTICAS DE CONSUMO

Editorial

This edition of the magazine Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo, the first for the year of 2016, is also the restart of the publication's trajectory. Introducing the new visual design of the cover, a standard adopted from this issue, with color variations of free themes with each new edition. This identity will be preserved, with minor variations in the visual pattern of thematic dossiers - now reserved for special editions, in this new phase of the magazine. This way, we continue the transformation process of the CMC magazine, with continuous improvements aimed at taking it to another level, either in its formal presentation, or in content, regarding the articulated work in the field of communication and consumption.

The novelty in the visual aspect follows the notorious actuality of the articles that make up this issue. The initial discussion on the re-enchantment of the world through consumption is fundamental to the understanding of historical processes and the broader context that match the scope of the CMC magazine. Then we have a panel of advertising and contemporary brands, amongst mobilities and audiovisual performances. The magical, the archetypal and the fictional dialogue in the analysis of video games and the *The Dark Knight* film trilogy. Juvenile cosmopolitanisms, urban and popular cultures complement an exciting set of articles that invite us to think, to renew our interest in exploring the multiple possibilities of addressing the issue of communication and

consumption. Nothing more appropriate for a fresh start, so we can celebrate, after all, the perpetual motion of scientific production.

We wish you all a good read.

Denise Cogo and Vander Casaqui
Editors of the CMC

Sumário

Artigos

Postmodern consumption Rituals:
The re-enchantment present in a life sentence

Rituais pós-modernos de consumo:
O reencantamento presente numa pena perpétua

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Abstract *In this article, we have listed the current consumption practices with the notion of the re-enchantment of the world, as postulated in the reading by Pierucci, the concept of the disenchanted world of Max Weber. For this approach, we have used as a basis the process marked by Maffesoli and Bougnoux, the re-valuation of emotion and the most primitive contacts in postmodern social relations and Bauman's analysis of the "consumer society." Reading about the ritual logic that encompasses both consumption and enchantment, it appears challenging, but at the same time very fruitful, to observe the emergence of a possible re-enchantment of the world via consumption.*

Key-words: *Consumption; Postmodernity; Re-enchantment; Identity*

Resumo *Relacionamos neste artigo as práticas de consumo atuais com a noção de reencantamento do mundo, como postulado na leitura feita por Pierucci, do conceito de mundo desencantado de Max Weber. Tomamos como base para tal aproximação o processo assinalado por Maffesoli e Bougnoux, de revalorização do sentimento e dos contatos mais primitivos nas relações sociais pós-modernas e as análises de Bauman sobre a "sociedade de consumidores". A leitura acerca da lógica ritual que perpassa tanto consumo quanto magia revela-se desafiadora*

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e, ao mesmo tempo, bastante profícua para que se observe a emergência de um possível reencantamento do mundo via consumo.

Palavras-chave: *Consumo; Pós-modernidade; Reencantamento; Identidade*

Audacity and humility. Love and justice. Freedom and limits. Seemingly opposite realities, as a rule, are difficult to combine. Difficult to determine the thread that generates unity, the logic that pervades, which gives meaning. Beyond appearances, however, to escape the distractions of common sense, certain objects surprise us when they reveal the complex nuances and interconnections that constitute them. This proves especially true as we try to understand the consumption habits in postmodern daily lives.

With this complexity as a structural foundation, this article presented us with the challenge of looking at the current consumption practices, from the proximity between two ideas which at first appear to be contradictory: the first, of very positive semantics, which can even be referred to as "happy", and the other, a more critical view, considered by some to be too pessimistic. We are referring to the notion of "re-enchantment of the world," re-reading what was postulated by Max Weber, when he talked about the emergence of a disenchanted world, reflections that will be anchored in contemporary authors such as Michel Maffesoli, Colin Campbell, Antônio Flávio Pierucci and Déborah Pereira.

Secondly, we use the critical bias analysis regarding the so-called "consumer society" proposed by the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman. We understand that analyzing consumption in postmodernity requires a certain reflection on enchantment and imprisonment. Impossible to conjugate? Improbable, perhaps.

We will start with happiness. As Antônio Flávio Pierucci observed, in his exegetical effort to understand the most accurate meaning of the concept of "disenchantment of the world" in the set of Max Weber's work, "in any language of the world, for the idea of enchantment you say gladly, joyfully, in beautiful, breathtaking and fascinating forms" (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.31). The plasticity of this word, which evokes beautiful images and poetic meanings, coupled with other factors such as shortcomings in the translation of the term into Portuguese, in addition to suggesting interpretations for the order of common sense, has, therefore, hampered the understanding of the concept formulated by Weber. As Pierucci shows in said work, for Max Weber, the disenchantment of

the world has nothing to do with melancholy, despair or - when translated into Portuguese with disenchantment - "a mental state of personal disillusionment with the world (modern) or with the directions in which society is moving" (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.34).

But after all, what is the meaning that Max Weber attributed to the concept of disenchantment of the world? As it should be, this is a fundamental question for understanding the possibility of the return of enchantment that is underway today. Pierucci points out that the disenchantment of the world in Weber has two very precise meanings, namely: 1) the disenchantment of the world by religion (through the historical and gradual process of contempt for enchantment as a means of salvation and radical moral norms of religious life), which dates back to Jewish[3] prophecy and finds its highest expression in ascetic[4] Protestantism of Puritanism, which, in many instances, has treated profession as a synonym for vocation, in what might be called the "Protestant distortion" (GUINNESS, 2001, p.102); and 2) the disenchantment of the world by the rationality of science. The two senses are concurrent in Weber's work, although the former has primacy over the latter:

> For Weber the literal meaning of disenchantment of the world as taking away the magic in the search for salvation may even be its strongest and most decisive sense, to the extent that it is nothing more than the other side of the moralization process of religious practice, a typically Western historical-religious process and with serious consequences for human life. (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.146).

On the road leading to modernity, practical-technical rationalization (scientific) allegedly got a lift with the practical and ethical rationalization (religious), in a process Weber called the 'disenchantment of the world'. The abandonment of religious belief as a valid means of explaining reality, certainly took the charm away from the world that conferred

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[3] In his arguments against idolatry and the worship of other gods, considered false by the Jewish monotheistic conception.
[4] Mainly from the withdrawal of the importance given to, by Roman Catholicism, the sacraments as "visible means" to reach the invisible grace of God. Because of this it looses, even more, some of the liturgical-religious enchantment.

him plausibility. However, before this, a rationalization process within its own religious life is what really began to lead the West to modernity. The very 'rationalism of Protestantism', as postulated by Weber (1963, p.248), has already marked the emergence of "rational mastery of the world" from the perspective of the Western rationalization model, with its extensive and fundamental social and cultural processes, but mainly by the interweaving of the "disenchantment and intellectualization of the world" (BRUKAKER 1996, p.642).

Thus, it is correct to think that the notion of disenchantment of the world helps us to understand modernity. For Weber, however, curiously (or not!), Understanding the West has as its starting point this cultural facet called experience with the sacred, or simply, religion. The German sociologist demonstrates categorically the decisive role of religion in being able to analyze human behavior in society: "The magical and religious forces, and the ethical ideas of duty based upon them have, in the past, always been among the most important formative influences on conduct" (Weber, 2004, p.32). Therefore, it is clear that, although religion is not the only source capable of providing answers to social analysis, it undoubtedly has much to contribute. It is therefore essential to keep this in mind when referring to a supposed "re-enchantment of the world", a process that we would be experiencing during the passage from modernity to postmodernity, and what in fact is of interest in this article.

First of all, it is still necessary for our objectives of reflection to clarify that Weber distinguished two forms of relation with the sacred: magic and religion itself. Magic relates to a more primitive stage of religion, animistic nature, in which it would be possible to manipulate the gods and the spirits that populate every part of the world - these being neither good nor bad in their essence - to achieve certain interests. As for Religion, according to the author, is later stage to magic; it is necessarily linked to a doctrinal standard of norms required by one/some God(s) only (or not) as a way of acceptable life for its people, and it can even change the "naturally spontaneous character of secular life in the world" (Weber, 2004,

p.116). Thus, when Weber said that the modern world is disenchanted, he did not mean it in the sense that it lost its religious connections, but that is it has become disenchanted since it lost its magic. Soon, the disenchantment of the world, in its strictest sense, is the passage from magic to religion, a process that, according to Weber, had its maximum expression in the puritanical line of Protestantism:

> Only ascetic Protestantism effectively destroyed magic (...) On the contrary, for popular Asian religions of any kind, the world remained a great enchanted garden: the veneration or coercion of 'spirits', the search for ritualistic salvation, idolatrous, sacramental, continued to be the way to guide you and for you to be ensured in the practice (WEBER *in* PIERUCCI, 2005, p.112).

For the purposes of this article, however, we will focus our attention on the most primitive form of the relationship with the sacred. Magic is strongly attached to tradition, averse to change, full of rituals. Magic is an attempt; it is control, and a strategy to obtain salvation. Magic is irrationality, but there is logic behind its practices. Pierucci explains: "The goods that people seek through magic really fulfill the definition of what are indisputably rational goods: money, food, health, longevity and offspring" (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.75). Magic is above all "irrationality uncommon to everyday life" (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.78), as it is anchored in successive rituals, yet punctual, moments of ecstasy and invocation of supernatural powers out of everyday order.

In contrast to religion, it is not active 24 hours a day. There is a certain time for its embodiment. Magic is extremely pragmatic; it works through liturgies and it is ritualistic in its attempt to manipulate the gods. It is God in the service of man, rightfully so, and it has a defined purpose: to strictly achieve worldly goals. Pierucci makes it clear: "magical interests are entirely of this world (...) nothing there is metaphysical, nothing is for the next world, nothing is for the other side" (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.80). Still, magic is unaware of ethics because it lacks "clarity of the distinction between a technical rule and a normative rule, and lacks a break, a differentiation between utility and duty" (PIERUCCI, 2005,

p. 74). It does not worry, therefore, with a streamlined practice of a life in harmony and consistency with divine ethical principles. The focus of magic, therefore, is objectified in goods, goods that would be able to generate happiness.

At this point, we can conclude hastily that the re-enchantment of the world can mean the simple return to magic. As a kind of "re-sacralizing" - which would simulate an 'eclipse' of the secularization that we will witness. This association, although easy to do, seems wrong to us. The assumption that our society would be making a mere return to a pre-modern stage of development, disregarding all the historical and cultural journey which we are on, consciously or not, immersed and rooted, and which would be impossible to extricate us from, seems biased and even rather naive. Re-enchantment of the world is not this. As Pierucci warns,

> The locus of human existence into which sneaks an effective possibility to re-enchant the world is not a religious sphere, but another cultural sphere, while non-religious and non-rational: the erotic sphere, according to Weber, the 'irrational power of life' - sexual love reigns. (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.221).

Nevertheless, as we will address it later, it is fully possible to realize many similarities between magic and various postmodern behaviors, especially in consumption practices. Magic not strictly in the religious sense, but in a much broader sense, which addresses even this erotic sphere mentioned by Pierucci.

The return of the senses

Let us now try to look at the contemporary scene through a different prism. It is a fact that the proposals of modernity proved insufficient to fully meet the wishes and demands of human beings for affection, intimacy, sense, knowledge, transcendence. On the one hand, religious values based on faith, as well as the beliefs, superstitions, mystical experiences and emotions, lost their place for a reason; On the other hand,

they left a gap to be filled in everyday social life that ethical, technical and scientific rationalism simply did not have the power to fill. Reflecting on the effervescent years of the late 1960s and early 1970s, Colin Campbell speaks of "a marked alienation from the culture of rationality and a decided Anti-Puritanism" (Campbell, 2001, p.12) among young people. Some analysts pointed out a certain longing and a movement of return that many people today begin to endeavor towards primitivism, the irrational, the immaterial, in search of happiness. We mention only two, both French: sociologist Michel Maffesoli and philosopher Daniel Bougnoux.

Counting on methodological devices, language and very different starting points, the two authors have in common the fact that they contrast modernity and postmodernity in analyzes that touch on many points. Both express optimism in achieving a return to the earliest contacts, previously abandoned by modernity.

Analyzing the changes that affect, in contemporary times, human relations and the emergence of new forms of social grouping, Maffesoli concludes that the proposed model for modernity is saturated. Instead, new relationships have been established in what he calls "sociality" (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.79). In his words: "After a period in which distance prevailed, an 'optical period', which might be called, with reference to its etymology, a theoretical period (*theorein*: see), it would be entering a 'tactile' period in which only proxemia matters "(MAFFESOLI 1998, p.46). For the author, we are, therefore, in the process of change. It is not something rationally thought out or planned. It goes through more spontaneous ways, linked to elements that were half asleep with emotion, affection and feeling. Thus, the "mechanical structure" composed of "individuals" with well-defined functions that come together in "contractual groups," all of which are good characteristics of modernity, Maffesoli schematically contrasted a "complex and organic structure," which is drawing on postmodernity, in which "people" are playing roles and congregate in "affection tribes" (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.9).

Daniel Bougnoux seems to follow a similar reasoning, based, however, on the assumptions of Peirce's semiotics. Leaning across the three

categories, in which the signs, that is, indexes, icons and symbols, are divided, Bougnoux (1994) makes a strong link between the sign and the cultural development process of the individual and the social group. For him, "access to the symbolic represses the index: it restrains the senses (sensations) in favor of meaning (the meaning). Man uproots from nature in order to dominate it or fix it"(BOUGNOUX, 1994, p.67). What he suggests is that, in the learning process through which the individual goes in life, in a broad manner, in civilizational development of societies, communication and interaction are becoming increasingly cold and impersonal, becoming artificial through the use of codes, as well as increasingly more abstract (the symbols).

The first contacts with the world, by instinct and emotion - that is, the indexes - which are, by nature, full of vitality, are progressively being drowned out or disciplined in an acculturation process. Therefore, according to Bougnoux, we can say that modernity corresponds to this cold and rational atmosphere, an alleged intellect domain at the expense of everything else. At this point, the author takes a step forward and provides a concrete interpretation key to postmodernity.

It is what Bougnoux calls "aesthetic regression" (Bougnoux 1994, p.67). Individuals have given clear signs of this "missing" of indexical contact. The current forms of social grouping, of religiosity, the link between individuals and the institutions, consumer practices and new media are there to prove it. The same is noticed in the revaluation of the senses and emotions. Just look closely at cinema, advertising and marketing strategies, increasingly directed to the emotional involvement of the consumer, humanizing brands and promoting the exaltation of the image, appearance and aesthetics, in all fields.

As an effect, such approaches seem, at some level, aligned with the notion of re-enchantment of the world. But can we really talk about re-enchantment connected to the revaluation of emotion, the heat, the most primitive contact, touch and affection in human relations? We will return to the theme of magic to outline some possible correlations, but, before that, let us look at a feature that proves to be crucial to understand the logic behind postmodernity: consumption.

Consumption, aesthetics and happiness

We reaffirm that the enchantment of the return process today is not in mere resurgence of religion in its most primitive forms, though, especially in the Brazilian scenario, we can even speak of a mystical-religious effervescence - that is embodied in contemporary religious outbreaks, They suggest a "come back", a "return" of religion, which was named by Kepel (1991) as the "Revenge of God." But we insist: this is not the approach that we propose.

The re-enchantment of the world is linked, rather, to the practical, somewhat utilitarian, irrational, emotional, sensory, community and ritualists that emerge every day. Apparently, it is precisely from these practices that we have sought to extract meaning, identity, transcendence, wholeness, affection, belonging and, in short, happiness. And the fact that draws our attention, a close observation of the present, is the place for the excellence of these practices and the consumer. Déborah Pereira da Silva, a PhD in Communication and Semiotics and holder of a Master's Degree in Religious Sciences from PUC São Paulo, raises the question as follows:

> We have adopted the idea that, through advertising developed by capitalist investments, you re-signify the senses to a life through consumption. Thus, goods and services could become happiness project fragments and slowly enter into the sphere of the meaning of human life, which for centuries had been sustained almost exclusively by the religious universe (PEREIRA, 2008, p.93).

Happiness project. Our search for happiness today is, mandatorily, going towards the scope of consumption. This is what leads Zygmunt Bauman to name our society as a "consumer society", in which "the human bonds tend to be conducted and mediated by the consumer goods markets" (BAUMAN, 2008 p.107,108) a society of "excess and extravagance" (BAUMAN, 2008, p.112). Unlike the tone of enthusiasm that you can feel from Michel Maffesoli, according to whom we would be immersed in an "aesthetic aura" (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.20), in itself a social aggregation factor, omnipresent in post-modern ambiences.

Bauman (2008), in another perspective, criticizes in many aspects, the quality and the results of this process of change and reinterpretation of consumption. This is what we can see, for example, in his analysis of the consumerist culture in which he quotes Maffesoli (Bauman, 2008, p.107-148).

The urgent, and even educational, appeal of advertising, that we are and remain one step ahead of the style trends, can only be realized, according to Bauman, based on the fear we have of falling behind, in return for some sacrifices and adoptions for a lifestyle that requires a good and steady dose of effort. As with consumer society, the sense of belonging is only obtained "by its own metonymic identification of the aspirant with the trends" (Bauman, 2008, p.108); therefore, they must urgently carry their "membership badges" and then live in a constant state of alert in order to know what products and behaviors that are fashionable now, those that are trending, and obviously those that are moving on to be replaced by others (Bauman, 2008, p.108).

In addition to advertising, the markets and consumers themselves, we realize that the iconic figures, the people who choose them as such, membership badges and the groups to which they refer to are also included as constituent parts in this consumerist process. Bauman also highlights a kind of consumption cycle, rather clear, which "begins with the acquisition of badges, gained through the public announcement of possession, which is only considered to be complete when ownership becomes public knowledge" (Bauman, 2008 p.108). Thinking especially about this act of publishing possessions to which he refers, it is worth noting how the Internet, and social networks in particular, play a central role. Would that be the reason many of us are unable to disconnect? Fear, most likely, appears in current consumption practices as one of the forces that drives consumption:

> The reference to "being ahead" suggests a genuine concern to futility of the time the current emblems of "belonging" have before falling out of circulation and are replaced by new ones, and their unsuspecting bearers are at risk of being left out - what if in the plea, mediated by the market, to become a member, translates to the feeling of being rejected, excluded

and neglected, and ultimately reflected in the sharp pain of personal inadequacy. (BAUMAN, 2008, p.109).

If it is through the aesthetic codes that we hold and disclose, that we can say who we are and where we position ourselves in a society that continually renews (faster and faster) its belonging brands, so it is easy to reach the next logical conclusion: to be inattentively satisfied is extremely inadvisable. For the *"Homo consumens"* (Bauman, 2008, p.127), there is a lot of risk in carrying things for too long. We need to be insatiable. We cannot stop to experience the sensations of the act of consuming, even for a brief moment, because they will pass us by. We should feel, although misleadingly, that we have value, that we are well liked, that we represent something to someone. Identity, in the end, is what is at stake. In postmodernity, therefore, our identity will constitute from others, who, for Bauman, especially in virtual spaces, "are reduced to their hard core self-confirmation instrument which is somewhat possible to manipulate" (Bauman 2008: .148). The constant renewal of the acquisition of goods and appropriate diclosure of possession would be responsible, in the consumption cycle, for conveying safety to the individual, which, in contemporary times, it is distinguished as a measure and as an end.

Feel satisfaction, feel belonging, feel irrational, and even in a false way, feeling whole, whole with one another. That is why we need to talk about an "aesthetic paradigm" to define postmodernity (MAFFESOLI, 1998, p.15) or a *"Homo Eroticus"*, the title of the latest work by Michel Maffesoli, in which the author resumes and reinforces the last thirty years of his work. For him, this is the climate of our times: fragile links, which "in their moment, are the object of strong emotional involvement" (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.107). If we dare to take magic, as described by Weber, in the expanded religious sense of this *reconnection* adopted by Maffesoli (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.109), we can see some very suggestive parallels. It is precisely in this instance of reconnection with others, in which religion and eroticism, in a way, merge, we could talk about the re-enchantment of the world through consumption.

Re-enchantment via consumption

It is clear, up to here, how much the habits and consumer goods have acquired new meanings today, which are attached to feelings, sensations, emotions and affection. The direct metonymic relation is also clear in the way we try to build our identity, since "consumer goods are hardly neutral in relation to identity; they tend to come with the label 'identity included'" (BAUMAN, 2008, p.143). Thus, we finally come to what seems to be an important key to the understanding of postmodernity: we experience a re-enchantment of the world via consumption.

First, we must remember that, through endless rituals, the search undertaken by magic was to ultimately obtain happiness. It did not seek to regulate the totality of everyday life, with moral rules that give meaning to existence and reverberate in eternity. Before, its realization was found in specific times, aimed at gains here, now, in this world. If, as argued by Maffesoli and Bougnoux, we witnessed the revaluation of primitive impulses that modernity tried to smother, it is possible to trace points of contact between these consumption practices, observed in postmodernity, and the guiding principles of the magical practices of the past. In support of this final level of our argument, we will use another quite strong image, which is, for many, overly pessimistic, provided by Zygmunt Bauman: "Identity is a life sentence of forced labor" (BAUMAN, 2008, p.142)

We cannot escape the logic that governs the current consumption practices: we constantly need to renew our safety guarantees. The idea is really one of necessity, indispensability. In a context in which habits and consumer goods, in relation to society, define who we are, we simply cannot stop consuming, acquiring and making the ownership of property public a type of perpetual penalty, as Bauman describes. In a time when there is so much talk of freedom, we are, in a sense, trapped, forced or, to use a harsher term, condemned to fulfill a series of forced labor.

Maffesoli strives to try to describe this postmodern way by relating us to one another, via consumption, using the metaphor of the tribe, which

in itself already evokes many words referring to primitivism: ritual, marriage, aggregation, fight , mysticism, territory. For the author, we have the need to defend a symbolic territory that unites us, awakening in us collective memories, feelings that make us recognize ourselves as members of the tribe. This does not occur through political manifestations. It is the ritual practices of everyday life that spontaneously show who we are and where we came from. If, in postmodernity, sense was replaced by the same sentiment, we now tend to put all our energy in to aesthetics. Aesthetics as a social bond. Very fragile?

In fact, for this to work, a lot of energy must be spent every day by repeated rituals that reaffirm the feeling of being in a group. The concern with the construction (or maintenance) of identity is not limited to clothing. You have to buy, listen, be constantly updated on the scene, go to the same places, circulate in the same spaces. Finally, new consumption patterns are acquired. But it is expensive, not only financially. There is an expense (higher or lower) of energy, emotion and time involved in the process. These are rituals - or "forced labor" in Bauman's language – that, in their repetition, give us the impression of safety (MAFFESOLI 1998, p.25).

Thus, from everyday consumerism, and obviously with the strong encouragement of "consumer goods vendors" (BAUMAN, 2008, p.142), we see certain characteristics being reborn and with force, those related to magical practices as described by Weber. This obligation to repeat - which is observed in the rituals of postmodern consumption - is also seen in the logic that encompasses magic. Not only that, but the motivating factor of rituals seems quite similar. In light of the history of religions and philosophy, systematic theologian Louis Berkhof states that the universality of feeling this guilt in human beings in all cultures is responsible for leading us to religious acts and sacrifices: "There is a widespread feeling that the gods are offended and must be placated in some way" (BERKHOF 1990, p.235). Thus, as in the religious actions of the once-enchanted world described by Weber, today we would be imposing on ourselves the duty to perform, tirelessly, endless rituals to

'be saved'. Salvation, it is worth remembering, that is only connected to items linked to this world: money, food, health, achievement, and love. Pierucci also highlights a commercial exchange attribute present in this magic:

> In the gesture of coercing the spirits with a magic formula, not requesting anything from them, it is assured to get an intervention from them that goes in the direction desired by the customer and charismatically ordered by the Wizard (PIERUCCI, 2005, p.75).

The utilitarian aspect of magic, therefore, is evident, as well as, in our postmodern experiences, others will be reduced to a tool for our self-assertion. It is also highlighted the fact that, when speaking of magic, we're talking about specific moments of our relationship with the sacred, instead of a life entirely dedicated to the observance of rules. In the post-modern consumerism, as Bauman describes, the moment needs to be renewed constantly, because being satisfied does not matter anymore. Neither engaging in lasting causes. The Puritan ethics that helped pro-mote the spirit of capitalism would be giving way to "romantic ethics", which operates and enables the "spirit of consumerism" (CAMPBELL, 2001, p.15). Ethics tends to dissolve itself, although the discourse about it is more fertile than ever. Luiz Felipe Pondé goes as far as to comment on a "faith in ethics" that, according to him, very common nowadays, and argues: "When you do not know what to say, talk about ethics" (PONDÉ, 2012, p.144).

Therefore, the emphasis is on consumerist gains, not necessarily in the conduct of life. As magic has its domain in an essentially polytheistic field, for Maffesoli, the only religion proclaimed in the modern context is giving way to a "polytheism whose outlines are always undefined" (MAFFESOLI, 2001, p.110). For Maffesoli, this polytheism does not mean the actual existence of many gods, but a cluster of elements, most of them aesthetic, whose function is expected to be the reconnecting of each other. It is what Pierucci seems to point out when recalling Weber's term "polytheism of values", with its "disenchanted gods" (PIERUCCI, 2005 p.137, 139).

Because of all that has been said, we believe we are experiencing the re-enchantment of the world through consumption. An approach that is somewhat paradoxical. However, to understand the intricate relationship between the apparent joy evoked by the return of the enchantment and the painful imprisonment contained in the life sentence of consumer rituals defies common sense. A closer look allows us to question, on the one hand, if the re-enchantment of the world is as happy as its semantics (and some enthusiasts) suggest, at the same time leading us to reflect whether the most critical analyses of consumer society, as those of Bauman, could not effectively help us find better ways in which to follow the path in our relations with others.

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Consumption of (im)mobilities and discourse: mobility culture in the advertising of brands [1]

Consumo de (i)mobilidades e discurso: a cultura da mobilidade na publicidade das marcas

Maria Alice de Faria Nogueira[2]

Abstract *This article aims to present the Doctorate research results of the author who investigated the mobility culture (Urry, 2003) as from its discourses and their representations, with special interest in global advertising communication. The hypothesis that there is a (im)mobility consumption taking place when the individual goes in search of objects that support their everyday (im)mobility with certain stability and a lower risk was validated by the interpretation of the advertising discourse of global brands aired in Brazil over three distinct moments: June 1982, June 1998 and June 2014, during the FIFA World Cup. The research methodology was based on Depth Hermeneutics (THOMPSON, 2000) and considered the links between text and context in the formal analysis of 40 print ads.*

Key-words: *Potential mobility; Advertising discourse; Global advertising; Depth hermeneutics; FIFA World Cup*

Resumo *Este artigo tem como objetivo apresentar os resultados da pesquisa de doutorado da autora que investigou a cultura da mobilidade (URRY, 2003) a partir de seus discursos e suas representações, com especial interesse na comunicação publicitária global. A hipótese de que há um consumo de (i)mobilidade sendo feito quando o indivíduo sai em busca de objetos que suportem sua (i)mobilidade cotidiana com certa estabilidade e menor risco foi validada, a partir da interpretação do discurso publicitário de marcas globais veiculado no Brasil em*

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três momentos distintos: junho de 1982, junho de 1998 e junho de 2014, durante o período da Copa do Mundo Fifa. A metodologia da pesquisa foi baseada na hermenêutica de profundidade (THOMPSON, 2000) e considerou as articulações entre texto e contexto na análise formal de 40 anúncios impressos.

Palavras-chave: *Mobilidade em potência; Discurso publicitário; Publicidade global; Hermenêutica de profundidade; Copa do Mundo Fifa*

Introduction: about the Dissertation

In the world today, everything is in motion. People, objects, values, information and images circulate each day more intensely and widely in a fluid social environment, in networks and risks. When mobility becomes a part of everyday life experience and physical, geographical, virtual or imaginative displacements take command of relationships and radically alter the way of life in all spheres - social, cultural, political and economic - this is the moment that a mobility culture (URRY, 2003) imposes itself and involves everyone in new possibilities and experiences, as well as in new constraints, risks and discourses to be studied.

Every day the interweaving of the culture of mobility and the advertising discourse becomes more intense in a commercial and highly globalized business environment, this was the basis that supported the dissertation research and outlined the two basic assumptions of the study:

- The first, that things in the world arrive to the subject despite their immobility, that is, through objects, information and images that circulate globally. In this sense, in contemporary societies the mobility phenomenon gained new contours and is manifested not only by physical displacement, but can also be experienced in a virtual or imaginative way.

- And the second premise, that in spite of its commercial, persuasive and sales character, advertising can also be seen as a cultural asset in the double sense of the term: as a product and producer of the culture that surrounds itself and of which it is part of, when its discourse adopts and/or is adopted by the speech of individuals in their daily lives.

And it was exactly this identification of the social mobility phenomenon, *i.e.*, positively valued motion, with the discourse of advertising that the dissertation brought to light as the subject of research and debate.

In this sense, the dissertation aimed to investigate the culture of mobility from their discourses and their representations, with special interest in global advertising communication. When we consider that all the objects are part of a logical system of mobility and that they themselves

carry the potential of movement that then makes the subject's life more or less (im)mobile, depending on their choices, style and life projects, the dissertation raised the hypothesis that there is consumption of (im) mobility being created when the individual goes in search of objects, starting from their availability (*ready-to-handedness*) and the potential of use in relation to the conditions created by the environment (*affordance*), support their everyday (im)mobility with some stability and lower risk.

To validate the hypothesis, the investigation examined whether, and in which way, the culture of mobility, motility (as an attribute of goods) and partnerships between individuals and objects (hybrids) were discursively represented by the promotion of brands, products and global services regardless of the type of benefit and/or the commercial category of the goods to be disclosed.

The parts were analyzed according to the hermeneutic depth approach, whose main foundation is the understanding that the interpretation of any symbolic form is only possible, according to Thompson (2000), based upon the articulation of its text with the context within which it was produced, broadcasting and reception. Taking into account the interpretation of everyday life and the experience of life in the contemporary social world - by authors related to the areas of History, Sociology, Anthropology, Economics, Political Science, International Relations and Media - the research was done in three different stages that make up the depth hermeneutics: a socio-historical analysis; formal analysis; and the interpretation of symbolic forms.

Technically, for the formal analysis of the ads, the two categories of analysis were considered - physical or geographical mobility and virtual or imaginative mobility - which served as a starting point for the interpretation of symbolic forms, which was based on a comparative analysis of the discourses of advertising communication of global brands.

As *corpus* for the analysis, we used 40 printed pieces: 14 from 1982; 12 from 1998; and 14 from 2014. Of this total, 14 ads are from nine national advertisers and 27 ads from 22 global advertisers; 19 ads of brands, products or services related to physical and geographical mobility and 21 are related to virtual or imaginative mobility.

As a reference for the search and selection of ads, a sporting event that throughout its history has become a powerful means by which brands and their products are globally released was used: FIFA World Cup. Mega events like the World Cup are socio-spatiotemporal *hubs* that change and reorganize the global flow of people, as they have the appeal of to be seen 'live'; and also are robust generators of the overall flow of goods, information and images.

As the research *locus* was Brazil, ads from brands that aired in the country during the period of three FIFA World Cups were selected: in June 1982, in Spain; in June 1998, in France; and in June 2014, in Brazil, covering the period proposed by the research.

The primary print media that served as a source for the research was the magazine *Veja*[3]. Edited by Abril since 1968, already in the 1980s *Veja* was the weekly national magazine with the highest circulation in the market. Today, it sells an average of 1.1 million copies, including subscriptions and sales at newsagents. Because of its publishing history, national circulation and expression as a form of media during the three decades of our research, *Veja* allowed us to make a comparative analysis of advertising brands in 1982, 1998 and 2014.

Based on the understanding that the interpretation of a text is only possible if there is the slightest understanding of the context in which the object of analysis was created, broadcasted and received, the first chapter of the dissertation was about the methodological perspective of depth hermeneutics. After this initial presentation, the work was divided into four chapters that followed the proposal of methodological reference: each chapter focused on a period of investigation (1982, 1998 and 2014) and, based on that, it focused on the issues of mobility culture and advertising discourse, in light of a historical and media context. In each chapter, they were two hermeneutic approach stages presented: a contextual analysis and a formal analysis, based on selected ads from each time period. Lastly, in the final chapter, the last phase focused on

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[3] All ads cited in this article were selected from Veja magazine editions, June 1982; June 1998; and June 2014. Available at: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

the depth hermeneutic approach - the interpretation of symbolic forms - was studied by means of a comparative analysis between the time periods selected for the research.

On the pages to follow, a summary of these results will be presented, whose main point was the interpretation of the discourse of global brands, according to a profound socio historical scene.

Between local and global: theoretical perspective and socio historical analysis

In the 32 year period (1982-2014), a period on which the research is focused, Brazil had eight Presidents of the Republic: beginning with the last ruler of the military regime, one who died before taking office, another who resigned before his *impeachment*, two who were presidents because they were vice-presidents and three who were re-elected: a sociologist, a blue collar worker and a woman (the first to take office), a former guerrilla who fought against the regime of the first president on the list.

Also during this period, the government released seven economic plans and four currency changes. Part of these plans was implemented in the 1980s and the failure of the measures caused these years to be known as, with regard to the economy, the "lost decade." But the same cannot be said about politics: with the redemocratization there was an emergence of a new civil society and the growth of new representative bodies, such as trade unions and political parties.

During these three decades, in the 1990s, the dollar was worth BRL 4 and the Real was worth more than the dollar.[4] Inflation fell from 2,477% per annum (the highest recorded in the country)[5] in 1993 to 6.75%[6] in 2014. From 2003 to 2009, about 20 million Brazilians rose out of pov-

[4] Available at: http://veja.abril.com.br/especiais/veja_40anos/p_170.html. Accessed on: Jan 19, 2015.
[5] Available at: http://veja.abril.com.br/especiais/veja_40anos/p_170.html. Accessed on: Jan 19, 2015.
[6] Available at: http://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/economia/noticia/2014-10/inflacao-acumulada-em-12-meses-e-maior-em-tres-ano. Accessed on: Jan 19, 2015.

erty and ascended to the (new) class C, with increases in income and consumption potential (NERI, 2010; 2012).

The opening of the Brazilian market to global companies, to the detriment of the closed market with a focus on national developmentalism, characteristic of the military period, in conjunction with the improvements in the economy and the stabilization of the currency in the 1990s, has positioned Brazil as an important place for investment. Mainly after the year 2000, Brazil entered the global trade map and consumption has become one of the protagonists of the new emerging economies, the BRICS (VISENTINI, 2013).

There were two Football World Cups won, in 1994 and 2002, making Brazil the only five-time champion in the history of the tournament. During this period, Brazil also hosted the World Cup, in which they were defeated in the semifinals with an unprecedented score of 7 x 1.

And, in 1984, thousands of people took to the streets for direct elections for President of the Republic; in 1992, millions of Brazilians, especially young people, took to the streets for the *impeachment* of President Fernando Collor de Mello. In 2013, in what became known as "June Journeys", a young civil society, disenchanted with their representatives and with no perspective on their life projects (WERNECK VIANNA, 2014)[7], participated in demonstrations across the country protesting the lack of investments in health, education and urban mobility, among other social issues in the face of high expenses for the building of infrastructure for the FIFA World Cup 2014[8]. Some authors (MAIA and ROCHA, 2014; among others) have positioned the June Journeys as one of the social movements that were part of a larger movement, a globalized one that ultimately, when considering it case by case, questioned or even pointed to an economical crisis and the failure of the global capitalism model.

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[7] Available at: http://www.ihu.unisinos.br/entrevistas/521147-a-busca-por-reconhecimento-e-participacao-politica-o-combustivel-das-manifestacoes-entrevista-especial-com-werneck-vianna-. Accessed on: Jan 19, 2015.

[8] Available at: http://esportes.estadao.com.br/noticias/futebol,protestos-arruinam-imagem-do-brasil-e-preocupam-a-fifa,1045721 . Accessed on: Jan 19, 2015.

In brief: in 30 years, Brazil came out of a unique situation - the end of military dictatorship - and the political, economic and social conditions that arose from it, to a certain political, economic and social global alignment.

Permeating all this history there is, as a backdrop, especially in the developed northern hemisphere countries, the growing technological development of a network of complex and interdependent systems in the areas of communication and transport, which - every day more and more - support an intense and extensive movement of people, things, images and information. Globalization, in this case, is presented as the other side of the emergence of a culture of mobility, and both together increase the movement, circulation and the potential displacement of people, things, information and pictures to a fundamental condition for everyday life experiences, constantly *on the move*.

The exacerbation of the practices of mobility and globalization of markets ultimately weaken national borders in its various political, economic and social aspects and, consequently, the individual emerges as the main body of social legitimacy in a fluid, networked and risky environment (KESSELRING, 2008; BECK, 2008, among others). To organize life from a distance and in constant motion, the individual starts searching for social references and core stability, of which objects are an important constitutive part, to support their permanent (im)mobility. The partnership between man and machine, known as "hybrids" (URRY, 2007), empowers the individual when supporting him and providing the potential for movement necessary for the realization of their projects and lifestyles.

From the moment in which mobility is considered to be less by the systems or by technology means and more so by people, their rhythms and individual spatiotemporal conditions, there is a shift in the focus of the analysis of mobility culture, its new possibilities and experiences, as well as their constraints, risks and discourses, of what the actual real movement would be, even if it is virtual, for potential mobility, that is, motility, its potential access, skills and appropriation (KAUFMANN,

2002). This 'migration' of the focus of the analysis strengthens the notion that lifestyles and life projects currently are (re)constructed and experienced largely at a distance based on the relationship between people and objects, translated in hybrids and their *handy* lives.

In this sense, beyond the type of experienced mobility - corporeal travel, virtual travel, imaginative travel or communicative travel (URRY, 2007) - there are the lifestyles and life projects of each individual - *sedentary, re-embbeded, incursive* or *cosmopolitan* (KAUFMANN and MONTULET, 2008) - that will demand different uses and consumption of various objects that potentially serve (im)mobility not only because they take part in mobility systems, but because they carry, in themselves, the potential of movement that will place (or not) the subject in circulation and, in principle, with less risk.

By emphasizing the importance of material culture (APPADURAI, 1986; MILLER, 2013) in the life of the hybrid, the Paradigm of the New Mobility (URRY, 2007, among other authors) highlights the movement of objects. Cause and consequence of globalization, the increase in the movement of objects lifted consumption of global brands to the levels of the individual representative bodies, transforming objects and brands into cultural symbols (ORTIZ, 2003) and even in political actions, as in the case of the *Fiat* campaign '*Come to the Streets*', during the 2013 June Journeys in Brazil.

The culture of mobility in the advertising of brands: formal analysis and interpretation of the discourse

Thus, it is clear that the hypothesis of a consumption of (im)mobility was validated from the time when the presence of mobility culture became clear in the discourses of global brands.

Despite its commercial character, advertising, as an activity that provides visibility to consumption (ROCHA, 1985; McCRACKEN, 2003 and 2012) and as an integral part of the movement of objects, was affected by this propensity to the mobility of the contemporary subject, not only technically but discursively as well, and started to translate into

its text, verbally and nonverbally, the mobility culture in at least three ways: through the object, the means and the discourse itself.

In a mobile, networked and risky scenario in which the subject "appears to float freely" (HALL, 2003), consumption and its social practices are presented as a way to determine, even if only temporarily, a personality and an identity that secures the subject to a life project. In a "loose" environment, not fixed, basically for the passage and circulation of people, goods, money, ideas, images and information, society sought to invent new instances for the integration of people. In contemporary society there is a sense of belonging that escapes the modern rules of social representation in relation to nationality and historical culture, which under discourses pedagogically forged over the nation, integrated the subjects. This escaping the rules allows for the construction, acquisition, possession and use of property, for the configuration of a new identity that has consumption as one of its starting points (NOGUEIRA, 2010, p.48).

However, going a little further into this matter, we can say that in a mobile, networked and risky society, consumption exceeds its condition as identity operator, and then emerges as a practice that supplies a certain stability to a world in constant motion.

According to Urry (2007), Appadurai (1986) and Miller (2013), the material culture empowers humans. In this sense, when purchasing a 'trinket', according to Miller (2013, Chap.2), individuals acquire the necessary potential mobility to escape from the risks of life in movement, as well as to experience some stability in the contemporary fluid social scene. It is precisely in this partnership between the individual and the 'trinket', therefore, in the hybrids, that lies the strength: in each object - tangible or not, even abstract, such as technology, or something belonging to nature, beyond humanity itself - there is a certain potential for use (*affordance*) in relation to the environment, which is available (*ready-to-hand*) to be transformed, or not, into motion. The motivation for the consumer of goods, in this sense, would be the power of mobility or motility, which will be or will not be transformed into movement

by individuals when, and if necessary, based on their lifestyles and life projects.

This was the fundamental reason for the idea of a consumption of (im)mobilities raised as the hypothesis of research for the dissertation in question. With the motility attribute of each object, advertising elevates the movement potential as its main discursive argument. In this respect, advertising does not sell only practical reasons to use the property anymore, as in an industrial society; or no longer sells only the identity or *status* achieved by the acquisition of the property, as in a consumer society (BAUDRILLARD, 1970); but mainly sells motility, that is, potential mobility, necessary for dealing with life in a mobile, networked and risky society, within which the mobility culture makes itself present all the time.

As we can see in the following images, in the first instance, in 1982, mobility was present through objects and technological development which provided the global movement of people, things, information and images. In this sense, the focus was on systems and examples of this affirmation could be seen in the ads for *Monza*[9], *Itaú Global Electronics*[10], *Sharp*, and especially the *Walkman*[11], but also of *Pierre Cardin*, even though it is not a brand of technology products, like the other brands mentioned above, summing up very well the idea of movement by convening the reading public to enter its 'unique universe', through the synesthetic visual appeal of its ad.

As mentioned, technological systems change everyday life by enabling the experience of life at a distance and in many different spheres. In this ad, from 1982, *Itaú* drew attention to this fact, even highlighting that with the customer using the system on a daily basis would better position the bank to provide a service "even more human" in their agencies. The partnership between the bank and the customer would, at that time, have been the beginning of a "proto hybrid", so to speak.

[9] Double page ad posted in the magazine *Veja*, issue 719 of June 16, 1982, p.68-69.
[10] Single page ad shown in *Veja* magazine, issue 718 of June 09, 1982, p.80.
[11] Single page ad shown in *Veja* magazine, issue 718 of June 09, 1982, p.163.

Monza - double-page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 719, on Jun 16, 1982, pp. 68-69.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

Itaú Global Electronic - single page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 718, on Jun 9, 1982, p. 80.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

Sony Walkman - single page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 718, on Jun 9, 1982, p. 163
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

Finally, it is interesting to note the 'location' of the discourse, both textual and visual, used by the advertiser. In this case, Brazil represents the world at the same time as the signature ad made by *Itaú Global Electronics*, which is the only time in all the ads from national or global brands, in the six editions surveyed of 1982, that the word 'global' appears in an ad.

In a second moment, unlike 1982, whose ads suggested mobility in their discourse, but still did not use it to support sales, in 1998 the mobility culture appeared more clearly in the discourse of brands: words like 'movement' and 'globalization' are cited in the text and they add words that evoke potential mobility, such as 'travel', 'freedom', or expressions such as 'round the world'; or, verbs like 'run' in the sense of circulate and 'roll' in the sense of to happen. Such a change in discourse is the result of global, and mainly national, socio-historical context.

As mentioned, in 1998 Brazil was already in another social, political and economic situation in the face of the global market and it made more sense, therefore, that the cultural issues of the mobile, networked and risky society were expressed more often in advertising discourses. Including terms like 'peace of mind' and 'security' have also become part of discursive arguments in commercials.

Around the same time, the notion of mobility started to be used as a selling point, that is, as a product attribute or service that should be taken into account by the target audience when making their consumption decisions. Thus, brands have begun to consider their products or services as objects that could enhance (or not) the propensity of the consuming consumer to (im)mobility when they reinforced in their discourse a partnership between the object and the individual, such as the ads of the *Nokia 6120*[12] or *IBM's*[13].

(In this sense, it has been possible to perceive the presence of the notion of *mooring*, in Urry (2007) and *roots with wings*, in Beck (2008), in the advertising discourse of global brands aired in Brazil. Products or services, as objects, were already thought of in the sense of meeting a

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[12] Single page ad shown in *Veja* magazine, issue 1550 of June 10, 1998, p.10.
[13] Single page ad shown in *Veja* magazine, issue 1550 of June 10, 1998, p.38.

IBM - single page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 1550, on Jun 10, 1998, p. 38.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

Nokia 6120 - single page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 1550, on Jun 10, 1998, p. 10.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

demand for individual potential movement, even if this individual were fixed or in physical displacement. The culture of mobility and the individualization of social, political and economic life had emerged strongly abroad and begun to emerge internally from the participation of Brazil in the global neoliberal economy. A certain 'equalization' in the global and local context was important, also for an 'equalization' of discourse. In 1998, some global companies had used the same campaign in several countries, with minor adjustments, for example, the text being translated into the local language, or sometimes not even that.

In 2014, the focus of the discourse is already all on the individual. As we have seen, the fluid, networked and risky environment of globalized contemporaneity creates new *affordances* and demands new products and/ or services that are *ready-to-hand* for use. In an attempt to organize life at a distance and in constant motion, the individuals search for objects to support their permanent (im)mobility. Every day more and

more, the partnership between the objects and the machine empowers the subject by offering the potential of movement necessary for the realization of their life projects and lifestyles. The best example of this technology is the mobile phone, which from 1998 to 2014 has assumed various roles in the consumer's life, to the point of being considered as a prosthetic (URRY, 2007), as in *Samsung's*[14] ad, in which the cell replaces the heart of the consumer.

Samsung - double page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 2378, on Jun 18, 2014, pp. 46-47.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

In this ad, the culture of mobility imposes itself in the discourse, especially in the nonverbal discourse of the ad, not only by the intrinsic use of the object for virtual or imaginative mobility - it is possible to watch TV, watch the soccer games and cheer for Brazil on the cell phone - as well as by the clear association of technology with the individual - hybrids -, strengthening the notion of the potential of movement - motility - offered by the object to its user.

[14] Double page ad posted in the magazine *Veja*, issue 2378 of June 18, 2014, p.46-47.

Following the same line, the *Brazil Post website*[15] ad also speaks of individual consumption of information, in this case, journalistic, always through the cell phone, a symbolic object of the hybrids' *handy* lifestyle, which, in this case, can be regarded as *transumers,* or consumers in transit. The ad was selected to be the only one, in the six editions researched of 2014, which alluded to the June Journeys in their text.

In the ad, a photo of protesters is used as the background image, and furthermore, the 2013 demonstrations are the subject of the messages sent by *Twitter* users portrayed in the cell phone that make up the image. The exchange of *real time* information, *online* and *on the move* is the subject of this ad that has, in the title, the strengthening of the concept of mobility/circulation of information via digital media and mobile devices: "News generates conversations, conversations generate news." *Brazil Post*, part of the *Huffington Post* group and associated with *Abril Publishing,* signs the piece stating that "the future of journalism has arrived [...] on your *tablet, smartphone* and social networks."

BrasilPost - single page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 2378, on Jun 18, 2014, p. 93.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

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[15]   Single page ad shown in *Veja* magazine, issue 2378 of June 18, 2014, p.93.

According to and emphasized by Urry (2007) in contemporary times, based on the partnership between man and machine, social, work or family life, education and political activity, as is the case in this ad, can be experienced at a distance or even during displacement, which determines new possibilities of life and enjoyment of the subject with their social groups and their objects of consumption. In this sense, the mobility culture is present in the ad, not only discursively, but also through the way that there is consumption and use of information in the organization of life at a distance offered by the object itself and the means of dissemination, the internet.

Thus, from 1982 to 2014, the discursive arguments of the ads migrated from machine technology, expressed, for example in the *Monza* ad, in 1982, to the access to the internet and social networks, as seen in the *Mitsubishi*[16] ad, in 2014; from the technique applied to physical and/or geographical mobility, such as in the revolutionary portable *Walkman*, of 1982, to the technique applied to virtual or imaginative mobility, as in the *TIM*[17] ad, in 2014; from the technology of 'big' systems, such as in the *Itaú Global Strategy* ad from 1982, to the individual's life project and lifestyle, and his *handy* life, as in the previously quoted *Brazil Post*[18] ad of 2014.

However, the biggest discursive changes were verified in the ads for objects related to physical or geographical mobility. Even the car, the greatest symbol of the idea of displacement and freedom in modern Western society, has been marketed based not on its technical attributes of engineering and design, but for the virtual or imaginative potential movement of the individual. This discursive change reinforces the idea that over the past decades there has been a change in consumer motivations and a consumption of (im)mobility is being made from the acquisition of movement potential offered by the objects. Because of this, potential mobility has become discursively presented by the promotion of brands, products and global services regardless of the type of benefit and/or the commercial category of the goods to be disclosed.

[16] Double page ad posted in magazine *Veja*, issue 2382 of June 16, 2014, p.20-21.
[17] Double page ad posted in magazine *Veja*, issue 2379 of June 25, 2014, p.2-3.
[18] Single page ad posted in magazine *Veja*, issue 2378 of June 18, 2014, p.93.

Mitsubishi - double page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 2382, on Jul 16, 2014, pp. 20-21.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

TIM - double page ad published in *Veja* magazine, issue 2379, on Jun 25, 2014, pp. 2-3.
Source: http://veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx.

Final Considerations

The diversity of brands, products or services that use potential mobility as a discursive argument refers to the issue of access, ability, and appropriation of potential by the individual. As stated by Kaufmann and Montulet (2008), mobility is a practice that takes place within a personal dimension, where the pace of life (styles and projects) and the spatio-temporal conditions of the individual are the relevant elements. When dealing with advertising, you can make the criticism that not all products are available for all audiences. In fact, one of the first issues when doing advertising is to know to whom the communication is directed, in other words, who your target audience is. In this sense, for each objective, style and project, there is a product or service targeted to that audience. Possible constraints of access or ability for appropriation of motility marketed by the advertising communication of the brand would not be, therefore, the placement of the advert itself. The problem would be the unequal access and the possibility of appropriation of a dispertion infrastructure and the communication necessary for the transformation of potential into real motion, if necessary. Moreover, for some authors, in the case of Brazil, this inequality would have been one of the reasons of the demonstrations in June 2013.

And to conclude, by confirming the hypothesis that the culture of mobility is present in the advertising communication discourse of global brands conveyed in Brazil since 1982, at least, the dissertation strengthened the premise that advertising can be seen, itself, as a cultural product, worth being studied as so many other symbolic forms and cultural manifestations of the modern-contemporary society. The wealth of content that's behind the persuasive and convincing character of advertising allows the researcher an interesting socio-historical insight, and positions it as a valid means of understanding modern times. But to think of advertising as a memory and heritage it is necessary to suspend prejudices, as stated by Simmel (1999) and Gadamer (1999), and not limit advertising only to the role of global capitalism villain, but to understand it also as part of a larger process that involves the seller,

but also those who buy in different and new (re)configurations of which potential mobility is just one of them.

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A R T I C L E

The mediations of performances: approximation between Adidas and Run DMC from the study of video clips

As mediações das *performances*: aproximações entre Adidas e Run DMC a partir do estudo de videoclipes

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Abstract *The reputation of the sporting goods brand Adidas allowed for its incorporation into the symbolic universe of various urban subcultures around the world. The hip-hop culture and its adherents also inserted themselves into this context in a very peculiar way, linking Adidas to their repertoire of identity symbols. Thus, the main objective of this paper is to analyze the performances of the American rap group Run DMC and Adidas, as well as their communication strategies in the construction and appropriation of cultural values through the symbolic interpretation of gestures and the outfits of the artists using the brand in their videos. Thus, we intend to discuss the contributions of the group and their music videos in the transformation of the German brand into a symbol of ostentation and consumption for an original culture of African American communities.*
Key-words: *Performance; Video clip; Map of mediations*

Resumo *A reputação da marca de produtos esportivos Adidas permitiu sua incorporação ao universo simbólico de diversas subculturas urbanas ao redor do mundo. A cultura* hip-hop *e seus adeptos, também, se inseriram nesse contexto e*

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vincularam, de forma bastante peculiar, a Adidas ao seu repertório de símbolos identitários. Com isto, o principal objetivo deste artigo é analisar as performances *do grupo de* rap *norte-americano Run DMC e da Adidas, bem como as suas estratégias comunicacionais na construção e apropriação de valores culturais através da interpretação simbólica das gestualidades e figurino dos artistas que utilizam a marca em seus videoclipes. Deste modo, pretende-se discutir as contribuições do grupo e de seus videoclipes na transformação da marca alemã em um dos símbolos de ostentação e consumo de uma cultura originária de comunidades negras americanas.*

Palavras-chave: *Performance; Videoclipe; Mapa das mediações*

Adidas: a hip-hop culture element

The brand of sporting goods Adidas, throughout its history, has built a reputation which allowed its incorporation into the symbolic universe of various urban subcultures around the world. The hip-hop culture and its adherents also inserted themselves into this context in a very peculiar way, linking Adidas to their symbolic repertoire. You can observe this phenomenon in various media channels and spaces for interaction and social practices of young artists, fans or hip-hop militants. In rap concerts, b-boy competitions or even the characters graffitied on the walls of various cities as well as in music videos, movies and advertising campaigns that depict the cultural practices of the hip-hop universe, the three stripes are found as one of the elements establishing the brand identity and recognition of all that is expressed through that culture.

The history and success of the brand among the young audience and more specifically among fans of hip-hop culture, however, was largely the responsibility of the American rap group Run DMC. Rappers Run, DMC and DJ Jam Master Jay, achieved success in 1984 and were responsible for bringing rap to the *mainstream*[3] with the release of the *single Rock Box*. With this song, Run DMC sold over a million copies of their debut album and became the first rap group to have a music video on the programming schedule of MTV (*Music Television*) - which at the time refused to show video clips of black artists, with the exception of Michael Jackson (LEAL, 2007, p.74).

Thus, Run DMC became a symbol of hip-hop culture. Besides being the first rap group to appear on the cover of newspapers and Rolling Stone magazine, they were on the top of the music charts several times and remained on the daily programming of MTV with other video clips, despite the initial resistance of the station. As claimed by Orville Hall and Antonio Allen, in the documentary Walk this way (LEAL, 2007), in establishing a unique posture when singing, dressing and gestures,

[3] Mainstream is understood as the dominant cultural circuit in the field of media. A circuit that handles conventions associated with consumption on a large scale, globally, which expands the separation distance between production conditions and recognition of products.

the group also introduced to their rap concerts, a different performance compared to those performed by other rappers until then.

Before Run DMC, the outfits used by rappers in their presentations were extravagant and unusual. However, they translated and gave new meaning to the wishes of the streets when they adopted a new style of behavior that portrayed "a tough guy look" and a peculiar way of crossing their arms as a demonstration of attitude. Through the use of gold chains around their necks, hats and shoes from the Adidas brand, without shoelaces, they contributed to the launch of trends that later became mandatory items in the outfits and the performances of MCs (LEAL, 2007).

It is identified, then, that these rappers led the way in relating to trademarks in a way not yet explored by other genre artists at the time and so significantly introduced it into the hip-hop universe that it became one of the most representative symbols of hip-hop culture (STOUTE, 2011).

This aspect makes us question the relationship between Adidas and Run DMC. How did a brand that initially refused to sponsor the group - claiming it did not want to be linked to what they considered to be a marginal culture - become a symbol of consumption practices of that same group? Despite the idolatry of its members and spontaneous use of the shoe brand, as pointed out by Klein (2002), how did Adidas begin to relate to the rap music genre? We use one of the numerous video clips of the group where the members put Adidas in a prominent position, to analyze their contributions in transforming a German[4] brand into a symbol of ostentation and consumption of the original culture of African American communities.

The challenge of this paper is to analyze the performance of Adidas through the symbolic interpretation of gestures and outfits of the characters in the video clip. Theories argued by the Author when he states, based on scholars of performance studies, that "any human activity can be studied as a performance (…), to the extent that indicates a certain conventionalized action." The gestures and conducts developed

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[4] For clarification, we point out that Adidas, previously registered with the name of Gebruder Dassler, also supported and actively collaborated with the German National Socialism, in the early 1930s. (SMIT, 2007).

by the rappers Run DMC in the video are understood as "objectivities and rhythmic shapes that lend body shape to a speech" (GEBAUER & WULF, 2004). These gestures materialize the construction of meaning and cultural values that can be highlighted through the voices, gestures, camera positions and frames, the look of artists and characters who participate in music videos (GUTMANN, 2013). The interpretive exercise is used here in the video My Adidas (1986), directed by Arthur King.

Methodological trails

As a methodological approach, we use the path traced by Gutmann (2013) to "reflect on the uses of speaking bodies" done by Adidas in the group's music videos "While builders of senses (or in the words of Martin-Barbero, as technicalities of ritualization of senses and values ...)". Thus, our goal is to understand the communication strategies of Adidas in the construction and appropriation of cultural values through the gestures expressed in the performances of artists when using the brand.

The video clip of Run DMC with the brand's presence is seen here as a product that mediates the articulations "between culture, communication and politics that transforms into a logical dialogue of production and consumption, industrial forms and cultural matrices" as per the Map of Mediations proposed by Martin-Barbero (GUTMANN, 2013). Thus, the use of the map contributes to explore the ways in which the production logic of Adidas and industrial formats in the musical field are articulated in the rap genre and are manifested in the performances and gestures of artists in the video clips.

Thinking of the video clip as a media genre from the standpoint of the mediations map allows us to establish some relationships that will contribute to a more objective and useful analysis for the purpose of this work. The video clip cannot be studied as an isolated and independent format because of certain settings imposed by the media, in its relation to culture, the music industry and economic rules (JANOTTI JR, 2003, p. 36 in SOARES, 2005). So, according to Tiago Soares (2005), the music video, as well as the song that originates from it, "is inserted into a

production logic of the record industry and being rooted in this production system, (...) the video is a symptomatic place to identify and discuss the discursive strategies of this product."

This does not mean that we are unaware of the works that delve deeply into aspects related to the field of audiovisual language for the study of music videos (BARRETO, 2013; MACHADO, 2000) - neither that we disagree with them. The focus of this analytical essay is to understand the construction of values starting from the Adidas brand performance in the Run DMC video clip, therefore the elements of audiovisual language are considered taking this cultural problem as prevalent.

The map of mediations then becomes a possible perspective for investigation of this problem, since Martin-Barbero (2009) argues that there is a strong relationship between consumption, culture and daily lives that are intertwined in communication studies. For him, the relationship between Production Logics, Industrial Formats, Reception Skills and Cultural are provided by the mediations of technicality, rituality, sociality and institutions, respectively. In his famous scheme, we can see the existence of two axes by which these mediations are established. A synchronic axis between the Production Logic and Reception Skills, and another, diachronic, between Cultural Matrices and industrial formats.

Picture 1: Reproduction of the Mediations Map.
Source: MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2009, p.16.

The video clip is understood here as an industrial format, instituted as a standard from the 1980s and has enjoyed longevity to the present day[5]. A format that articulates the symbolic relations that permeate the collective imagination, and when relating to the competencies of reception of the viewers, it expresses certain consumption rituals. Rituality, therefore, that manifests reception standards through which the subjects will establish the ways they read, view and interact with this television product. Evidently, the music video format is also related to Production Logic, in order to express technicalities - the so called rule book - that puts order to the industrial format of certain content (political, economic etc.)

Therefore, the video is a place of interaction between the spheres of production and reception, and through it the productive logic of the interests and desires of institutional regimes and their communicable strategies are manifested. In the tensioning process, the sociability and constituent rituals of the identification process emerge. According to the author, production logic corresponds to the corporate structure in its economic, ideological, "productive routines" and "*communication skills*" aspects, that concern their "ability to address/build public, audiences, consumers; especially in regard to its *technological competitiveness*: the use of Technicality, which nowadays the ability to innovate in FI is largely dependent on." (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2009, p. 18, highlighted by the author).

Thus, the analysis of the dimension of the video clip's technical nature may be made from the narrative modes with which it sets up its messages. The editing features, short planes and fragmented narratives may indicate that it is seeking to highlight certain aspects of the message at the expense of other visuals and symbols, of lesser importance. Understanding the technicalities imbricated in Run DMC's video clip is one of the keys to understanding how the mechanisms of perception, recognition and identity of the Adidas brand are engendered by the media

[5] Although narrative patterns in video clips are identified, there is a relative stabilization/destabilization of this format over the explorations within pop culture and expressive vanguards.

text. In this perspective, when dealing with technicality, Ronsini (2010, p 7) says:

> Because of its centrality in the social organization, it runs through the entire circuit, modeling rituality, sociality and institutions, that is to say, it models all the relationships because it is defined as the social status of the technique. Therefore, technicality can be understood in a narrow sense, as a textual, narrative or discursive aspect of the media that functions as a perceptive organizer.

Technicality, when establishing the rules of the narrative game in which the configuration of reading ritualizations and media consumption will be possible, highlights forms of social interaction and the constitution of identification. As for rituals, they start to act as a resource that supports and sustains the symbolic connections that mediate the interactions and reception processes of the members of a particular community.

The performance of Adidas as a strategy of senses ritualization

One of the main features of the performance is the "reiterability". Through it, a certain behavior can be repeated indefinitely without it being made redundant - which authors originally from the linguistic field would indicate as a legacy of the condition of the possibility of performative utterances: repetition. This reiterable dimension of performance was further developed by Schechner (2006) through the restored behavior idea:

> Performances are made up of restored behavior portions, but each performance is different from any other. Firstly, certain parts of the behavior can be combined in an endless number of variations. Secondly, no event can exactly copy another event. Not just by the behavior itself - nuances of mood, tone of voice, body language, and so on, but also the specific occasion and context make each event unique.

Erving Goffman (2012) is clearly the inspiration of many of the works on social performances. His proposition has contributed to the

understanding of performances as an analytical tool of socio-cultural relations, since, for him, the performance is a series of activities in a particular space-time condition facing the continued presence of a number of observers that exercise influence on them. These are the interpretation schemes (key frames, according to Goffman) that individuals use for orientation in social situations.

This definition is essential to approach the concept with the conditions of ritualization that allow the assimilation, the emergence of sensory and cognitive effects - especially in the specific case that we will analyze: the Run DMC video clip and its relationship with Adidas. After all, this is a suitable setting for the staging of certain behaviors that are established between the persona and the musical genre, also between the music genre and branded clothing accessories, and even between the clothing and the persona.

As it is a mediation between the reception skills and industrial formats, rituality implies thinking about the operations through which a certain expression is captured. The communicative condition of a performance implies, therefore, thinking about the corporal existence of a subject to express it and that allows for us to understand how Adidas summons the presence of Run DMC's rappers body and voice. This relationship is not merely established to provoke in the audience aspects related to corporal sensitivity, but also for better enjoyment of the text, its consumption conditions and the reiterability of the spectator's behavior.

Consumption is, in today's society, a central element in the process of construction of identifications and of social performance. In this sense, the position that Adidas now occupies in the symbolic universe of hip-hop is also due to the very performance of Run DMC and therefore it is one of the conditions of existence of the brand's relationship with the members of communities formed by fans, militants and activists in the hip-hop culture. In a parallel to "the theater as a central space of cultural reproduction and exposure of the human body" (Hastrup quoted in Carlson 2011, p. 183), there is an exhibition of bodies and gestures of the Run DMC members alongside Adidas, which favors a particular form of perception and cultural reproduction.

"Identity is a construction that is narrated" says Canclini (2006). With this, the author corroborates the discussion posted in this article, since it explains the media's influence on the construction of the identification process. For him, media has always played a key role in the construction of identity and sense of citizenship. It summons up feelings of sharing "habits and common tastes, ways of speaking and dressing (...)" that identify and distinguish one group of people from another. Thereby, I think, through the dissemination provided by video clips, Run DMC, with their ways of dressing, singing and performing (LEAL, 2007), establish a new sense of recognition, identity and differentiation among fans from New York ghettos and young people from other social groups, and even those from other cultures and nations.

My Adidas: an analytical test

As we have argued since the beginning of this text, the narrative in the Run DMC video clips constitutes a source of dissemination of cultural codes forming the identities of the fans and the supporters of hip-hop culture - therefore, it is a ritualized narrative. From the moment that Run DMC exhibits and boasts its admiration for Adidas in their music videos, they make a transition from the reality experienced by them (*way of life*) to the reality of the image (*image shape*) and it becomes part of the collective imagination of their fans (BRASIL, 2014). The performance of Run DMC is, therefore, this passage between the fictional world and the real world, and when its members are performing, they are simultaneously performing and recreating their own realities. André Brasil delves deeper into this performative relationship arguing that:

> The image forces a coexistence with its representational dimension, a performative dimension: there, *they perform ways of life*. Whether it is in the media, visual arts or cinema, there are more than a few experiments in which images appear not only to represent or symbolize - *not only*, we promptly emphasize - but to invent, produce ways of life, ones that keep a relationship of continuity (in some respects) and discontinuity (in others) with the work. This would allow us to say that the performances that take place there (of authors and characters) are simultaneously in the

real world and in an imaginary world, they are, at the same time, *way of
life* and *image shape*. (BRASIL, 2014, p. 133, highlighted by the author).

In this way, the video *My Adidas* recorded in 1986 by Run DMC
through Arista Records, brings a sequence of scenes that constitute a
brand performance. Adidas, in an explicit and very expressive way, is
linked to the work narrative as a genuine symbolic element of hip-hop
culture through direct association with one of the most influential rap
groups of its time. You can see in various scenes of the video clip, in the
framing, with extreme close-ups and medium shots, Adidas shoes in an
attempt to demonstrate the grandeur and importance of the brand in the
group's performance.

According to Arlindo Machado (2000, p. 180), through its intense
exploration of video graphic effects that make up a language marked
and characterized by experimentation, close-up shots, discontinuity,
clippings, fragmentation and dispersion, the video establishes the main-
tenance "(of the recognizability) of at least one image, that of the singer
or the band" for the commercial purpose of promoting albums and art-
ists, as well as to "expand their means of expression "(BARRETO, 2005,
p. 18). Thus, this "recognizability", presented by Machado, in *My Adi-
das* is not only for the group, but mainly for the brand.

According to Barbara Smit in her book, the story of this music video
begins even before Run DMC was formed. Adidas, in the late 1970's,
sent an Italian named Angelo Anastasio to the United States. His role
was to promote the brand among American celebrities. In the early
1980s, he came across three African American boys break dancing in
the street and they were wearing the brand's shoes and trousers. From
there on, the Italian began supplying Adidas products to the young men
until they formed the group Run DMC (SMIT, 2007).

However, this narrative is in doubt as the journalist Naomi Klein
(2002) states that, initially, Adidas refused to sponsor Run DMC as not
to be bound to a marginal African American aesthetic. According to
her, the brand executives changed their minds after being convinced by
the rappers' producer to watch their show in which thousands of young

people showed their shoes in clamor as a response to the group's performance on stage.

Faced with different versions of the same story, we can conclude that from some point in time, the brand and the group established a relationship of very peculiar symbolic exchanges. On the one hand, Adidas is linked to the symbolic world of hip-hop culture, and on the other, Run DMC acquired a significant symbol of their own identity. The following highlighted scenes show the intensity of this relationship.

Pictures 2 and 3: *My Adidas* video clip scenes.
SOURCE: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

It is interesting to consider that despite the sequences of images that highlight parts of the lyrics, the video clip's narrative has no direct correspondence with the contents of the musical verbal text. The video evokes aesthetic and narrative features in accordance with the typical genre settings of this industrial format. However, depending on the context of the enjoyment of the video and the degree of knowledge of a particular viewer, if they did not know that it is a music video clip, it can be easily perceived as an advertising film for the brand. The music video *My Adidas*, because of this, is an interesting work for the discussion about the notions of genres that evoke and delimit the horizons of expectations and reception rituals, projecting the technicalities imposed by the productive logic of the music industry.

The first scenes of the video clip, pictures 2 and 3, call attention to the priority that is given to the brand, and thus being detrimental even to the presence of the actual performers. The video starts in the form of a typography animation with the image of an Adidas trainer on top of the title of the video clip. Then, the trainer gains a certain projection and occupies about 80% of the screen. It is only after this that Darryl "DMC" McDaniels appears wearing a jacket, pants and shoes of the brand. The two other members of the group appear in the following sequence as shown in Picture 4. This sequence of images shows how the performance of the brand seems to summon the presence of the bodies of members of Run DMC only as a show of ostentation of their own symbolic representations.

In Picture 5, an illustration of an arm wearing a jacket of the brand and wielding a microphone is displayed. At this time, the voice of one of the rappers says a verse that affirms his command, perhaps on the audience or on his own life. In Picture 6, the voice states that the rapper and Adidas are a good team and that the two always go together and rhyme[6]. These images demonstrate the competence required by the performance of "know how to do it" and "know what to say", to the extent

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[6] Original excerpt from the song *My Adidas*: "With mic in hand I cold took command / My Adidas and me both askin P / We make a good team My Adidas and me / We get around together, rhyme forever / And we won't be mad when worn in bad weather".

Picture 4: Darryl "DMC" McDaniels, center, Jason "Jam-Master Jay" Mizell, on the right and Joseph "DJ Run" Simmons, on the left. Source: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

that it is more than simply just using Adidas, that there is a kind of link between the shoes and the rapper and vice versa.

Moreover, these actions evoke the performative realization of the "show making" and "explain show making" from the perspective of Schechner (2006). For this author, show making means "perform: point out, over line, and display making (...)." For this concept, Run DMC displays its making and its competence of knowing how to do it, both the act of singing as well as surviving on the streets, using the brand as an amulet that protects and inspires their performances. The performance of Adidas, summoning the bodies and the voices of the Run DMC members, seems to become a kind of inspirational muse that happens to be responsible for its own reason for existing.

Thus, gestures expressed by Run DMC through its own performance in the video, are the materialization of their conduct and, even more interesting, contribute significantly to the performances developed by the Adidas brand in its relationship with the Rap music genre. Gestures, tone of voice and posture evoke a particular form of ritualization among fans and their idols. They indicate the path to follow of how to approach each other and how both can become members of the same community

Pictures 5 and 6: *My Adidas* video clip scenes.
Source: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

of meanings and values. Thus, Jean Galard helps us to understand how the performance summons values of tastes and senses cultivated by the gestures:

> If it is true that every reaction is shaped by society, our gestures, including the most basic ones, are educated, the art that would be dedicated to them would not contradict the "natural", it would replace a previous art, an implicit aesthetic, barely conscious, which regulates their size and attitude, continence and conveniences that subtends the requirement of contention, if not of restraint (Galard, 2008, p.21).

Pictures 7 and 8: *My Adidas* video clip scenes.
Source: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

Pictures 7 and 8 clearly show the power of gestures performed by Run DMC in relation to their fans. In them, the audience performs a vibrant action that denotes the passion that they have for the brand and the values it evokes when called upon by rappers to showcase their shoes.

Now, pictures 9 and 10 suggest the configuration of an urban setting as a social space to practice the use of Adidas through a naturalized and daily action that evokes not only the viewer to identify with the social environment in which they are inserted, but also with their own

realization of performance of the social role that is established as an expectation horizon to be followed by the subject through brand consumption. (JEDER JANOTI, 2005 in SOARES, 2012).

Pictures 9 and 10: *My Adidas* video clip scenes.
Source: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

Thus, when analyzing some of the scenes of the video clip *My Adidas* you can see a strong process of identification as a group is forged by consumption, and with it, the brand is expressively linked to social practices performed by the young hip hop culture fans that Run DMC

represents. The restored performance of its members to use and bear the brand establishes a ritualization of meanings and sharing of tastes which are intensified and enhanced by the video clip's narrative. The brand, thus, seeks to ensure their popularization incorporating itself to the symbolic codes that identify and differentiate the fans and members of reference groups in hip-hop culture. Pictures 11 and 12 contribute to the perception of the influence exerted by Adidas in performing an urban aesthetic that is manifested through the representation of bodies and voices of rappers.

Pictures 11 and 12: *My Adidas* video clip scenes.
Source: <http://goo.gl/GVYO7s>. Accessed on: 10 Jan 2015.

The analysis effort performed in this text attempts to demonstrate the ways in which the communicative strategies of Adidas, by summoning the presence of Run DMC boasting the consumption of the brand, have been prepared. The use of the Map of Mediations, despite the need to delve deeper into it in future studies, contributed to the understanding of the imposed relations between technicalities and rituals and how these are manifested by the performance of the brand in its interaction with the group and their fans.

Final Considerations

We realized at the end of the analytical test, that the narrative constructed by the video clip *My Adidas* works in two ways, at least. The first mode is one in which the ongoing actions presented by the artists point to gestures, attitudes and even behavior that rap listeners and fans of Hip-Hop culture develop in their daily lives. In this sense, we can interpret the video clip as a performance of taste, as a kind of exercise of the consumption patterns of a community of meanings, sharing different ways of interpreting the world.

The second way, and the one that interests us specifically in this test, is the way in which the brand itself, Adidas, has a relationship with this musical genre and especially with Run DMC, in order to build a trajectory for the brand itself. We understand, therefore, that the way it is inserted (either reaffirming or projecting) into the dialogue with rap shows a performance of the brand, which allows a discussion on how these communication field agents constantly rebuild their production logics[7].

The first operating mode is closer to what we call *ways of life* than the second operating mode, *image shapes* (BRAZIL, 2014). In the first mode of operation, the gestures of life are the ones incorporated in the performance of artists, instilling the physical expressions (and why not staged?) of a daily routine there. In the second operating mode, the

[7] The next step of this research is to compare the performances present in the videoclip *My Adidas*, to Adidas' own advertising campaign developed during the time that the music video was released.

seduction mechanisms of the images are teaching the gestures and expressions, aestheticizing the daily life of those groups. This relationship between the operating modes is interchangeable and interdependent.

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Crossing the borders of the magic circle: immersion, attention, and videogames

Atravessando as bordas do círculo mágico: imersão, atenção e *videogames*

Emmanoel Ferreira[1]
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Abstract *This paper proposes a discussion of the magic circle, an often debated concept in recent years in the context of games in general, especially video games. Through dialogue with the authors of game studies, such as Johan Huizinga, Katie Salen and Eric Zimmerman, as well as cognitive psychology authors that discuss the issue of attention, we argue that the magic circle, instead of separating fiction from reality, as advocated by several authors, functions as a cognitive structure for mediation, whose existence happens in gradual and differentiated ways, according to the operation of immersive and attentional processes between the player and the technological device, in this case the videogame.*

Key-words: *Magic Circle; Immersion; Attention; Videogames*

Resumo *Este trabalho propõe uma discussão sobre o círculo mágico, conceito bastante debatido nos últimos anos no âmbito dos jogos em geral, e em particular dos* videogames. *Através de um diálogo com autores dos* game studies, *como Johan Huizinga e Katie Salen e Eric Zimmerman, assim como com autores da psicologia cognitiva que discutem a questão da atenção, argumentamos que o círculo mágico, ao invés de separar ficção e realidade – conforme defendido por diversos autores – funciona como uma estrutura cognitiva de mediação, cuja existência ocorre de formas diferenciadas e gradativas, de acordo com a operação de*

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processos imersivos e atencionais entre jogador e dispositivo tecnológico, neste caso o videogame.

Palavras-chave: *Círculo Mágico; Imersão; Atenção; Videogames*

Introduction

If we wish to understand the processes of communication and contemporary culture production, we need to recognize that videogames have long abandoned the status of just teenage fun, and appear in the *entire* cultural spectrum. Nick Yee (2014) has various figures to illustrate this argument. Throughout the world, thousands of designers and developers take ownership of videogames for various purposes - their consumption follows the dynamics of mediatization: it is pervasive and is in everything we consume; from the movies we watch at the cinema to the evening news. The era of Zelda and Mario has passed - the era in which it was just childish fun. Currently, we walk toward a panorama in which electronic games can have an important status, similar to what backgammon and chess had during the Enlightenment.

Of course, at that time, even those games, with so much complexity, were confined to the status of unproductive leisure, of subservience to modern man. The question that is present here is, can we, today, perform a purification operation like this? Serious discussions about where videogames become art have been held continuously, and even the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) decided that the first games that were sold *needed* to be preserved.

Nevertheless, we play everywhere: on our mobile phones, on our social network profiles, we joined point programs, we comment on forums, newspapers, and gamefied electronic magazines - transformed into a game, or that holds game elements.

Nevertheless, in Brazil, videogame studies are distributed sparsely in an interdisciplinary spectrum which deprives them of the status they need. Technicist and philosophical approaches differ from each other when the crucial point is that the game be seen as the *hybrid* that is - a product that was born in the midst of teenage fun, but becomes of age and starts - *starts!* – to develop questions about their ethics and aesthetics; to flirt with radically different genres than what came before.

In this sense, the purpose of this article is precisely of an interdisciplinary order: it seeks to develop a model for understanding the idea of

the *magic circle* (SALEN; ZIMMERMAN, 2003; HUIZINGA, 1938) that is linked to the discussions in the field of communication. Above all, we seek this practical-theoretical connection when problematizing cognitive processes that are linked not only to the epistemological issues in the field, but mainly to its *praxis* - processes identified in journalism, advertising, during interaction, and on social networks. The article articulates the discussion about the idea of the magic circle and its connection to the concepts of immersion and attention, pointing to an understanding of the relationship between the individual and the game that enters into dialogue, in an instrumental fashion, with the discussions about the cognitive processes of communication.

Magic Circle

The modern character of the classic works in the field of game studies gives "the game" a necessarily dichotomous tone: Huizinga (1938) and Caillois (1958) do not believe in the possibility of reconciliation between a "not serious" activity and useful life. An adult and responsible human being does not play, except due to a corruption of an activity (CAILLOIS, 1958). But children must do so, because playing is natural for children; it is a feature that it is essential and unavoidable (HUIZINGA, 1938).

It is not uncommon to find this type of discourse in the work of the two aforementioned thinkers, but it is intriguing (and worrying) how this type of idea still exists when addressing in the way the contemporary press treats the spheres of work and leisure activity - *normal life* and *games*. Even if, in its multiple representations (board games, videogames, RPGs), the game is ubiquitous, it still maintains an image of being silly, of belonging to a juvenile world.

For Huizinga (1938) and Caillois (1958), a game is the creation of a so-called "other" place in space-time where the playful activity develops. Huizinga in his *Homo Ludens*, called this para-reality the *magic circle*, especially by emphasizing that the activity developed there would completely ignore the outside world. Sports are a great example of this

occurrence, since they have lines delimiting the field of action in which it the activity takes place; even soccer played on the street, bounded by sidewalk curbs, and where the goal is formed by pre-positioned flip-flops, follows this dynamic.

In 2003, Salen and Zimmerman published their treatise on the development and analysis of the processes that make-up the game - from its analog support, commonly represented by cards and boards, and their digital representations, the electronic games. For this, the authors returned to Huizinga's idea, stating it in a functional manner. So the idea of game as an activity was associated with the *magic circle*, inspired by a passage from *Homo Ludens*, by Huizinga (1938).

Although it is based in one of the classic treatises about the relationship between culture and playful expression, the idea developed by Salen and Zimmerman (2003) suffered considerable criticism over the past ten years. These, however, served more to ignite the discussion about ideas regarding secondary space, framing, or sacred moments, than to deconstruct the Salen and Zimmerman proposal (2003). In this sense, we should consider the idea of transposition between realities supported by Salen and Zimmerman (2003, p. 97) when the authors question the required psychological attitudes of a player when he is about to start a game.

This idea - if applied broadly - can be considered a reference to the already quite outdated understanding of the reality-cyberspace relationship as a dichotomy; a relationship that has been called into question by the cyber-culture theories for some time - and most prominently represented by the idea of the "tethered self " by American psychologist Sherry Turkle (2008). Therefore, we are led to the following question: is it valid to speak about a barrier between realities - or between reality and a game - that needs to be broken?

Maybe there is, if we consider videogames where the narrative essence becomes more perceptive than the rule structure; games that point to the need to deal with particular sensory experiences, which would assume a type of absorption of the player into the game (MURRAY, 1997).

The same can no longer be said when we address other categories of contemporary games such as pervasive games, alternate reality games (ARGs), and MMORPGs, which work to effectively 'blur' the boundaries between 'normal life' and the fictional world.

Thus, the main idea would be to not consider the magic circle as something that necessarily encapsulates the player, suppressing their daily space-time, or projecting them into an alternative zone. In opposition to that rationale, we chose to consider the existence of the magic circle - owned by the game structure - as a *mediating element*, which works to facilitate the player's dialogue between the game and normal life.

This mediation, in turn, may be presented either fluidly, by drawing boundaries which appear blurred in the sense that they cannot be fully identified, allowing fiction and reality to meet, or it can be presented in a more solid manner, actually causing the user/player to experience a sense of displacement, of spatial-temporal suppression, through an immersive process.

Therefore, our proposition is that the magic circle does not effectively separate the 'game world' from everyday reality, but first, it is established as a principle of mediation, as discussed previously by (AUTHOR), helping the player handle different sides of the same universe - not *two universes*. This proposal leads us to a more specific understanding: although we can refer to the game as an object - that is, as a symbolic good that is produced and marketed - you need to consider nuances of interaction between the game and the individual. The formation of space-time, which is inherent to the game as an *activity*, demands the interaction between subject and object.

Hence the proposal by Juul(2008) that the magic circle is formed, not only by the structure of rules, but also by players who are called upon to keep the *world illusion* functioning, in a shared experience contract - the borders of the magic circle, therefore, are negotiated and defined by the players. Therefore, it is formed the moment that the game *object* becomes the game *activity*, thus evoking the presence of the interagent

so that meaning is produced, the magic circle can be understood as a mediation structure since it is not space limiter, or a transport mechanism to another dimension, but rather, the contact point where "normal life" (HUIZINGA, 1938) meets the "other place".

The structure of the game, with its ground rules and codes of conduct, has this quality of explored indulgence in the analogy between consecrated spaces and game spaces. This quality appears exactly the way players explore, they appropriate and adapt to the rules. This adaptation varies, especially according to the essence of the game - in a soccer match between two teams of five, for example, stopping ten players to answer the phone or check the weather is not feasible; in an ARG (Alternate Reality Game), since the relationship with time and space is eminently different from the relationship experienced in a sport like soccer, the indulgences are accepted.

According to what was discussed in relation to the concept of the magic circle, we can see that mediation takes place in two distinct dimensions: the first relates to the game as an *object* - and symbolic good that is built and offered for consumption - and is directed towards the technical principles involved in their creation: its structure of rules and its narrative structure, which are the elements that condense the essence of this dimension; the second dimension relates to the way the game is presented at the time it is played - the game as *activity*; when it acquires players, and thus begins the processes of appropriation and adaptation that are common to the relationship between men and objects. These two dimensions of the game - dimensions that form the understanding of the consecrated place, and therefore, the understanding of the magic circle, will be given greater attention in the next section.

Elements of the Game Logic Composition

The structure of the game takes place in two axes, in which the first (i) will consider its constituent aspects: rules - which make up the game's logic; and fiction - in the figure of narrative worlds, diegesis - supported by those. The second axis (ii) deals with the eminently social aspect

of the game - how the players take ownership and adapt to what is offered by the first axis. The understanding of the game from these two approaches is a direct consequence of the game definition developed by Juul (2005). The author ensures, with his division, a higher quality of differentiation for game studies - studies that may be centered in the system - that treat the *game as an object* - or in relation to society and the world - treating the *game as an activity*. In this discussion, we will examine the first axis, focusing on how the immersion processes experienced by players can take on aspects that are sometimes directed towards the rules, and sometimes toward the narrative.

The game and an object: Rules and Fiction

From the work Juul (2005), an understanding of the game as being composed of rules and fiction is the result of a discussion that dates back to the late 1990s, when Espen Aarseth (1997) published his treatise on the systematic and interactive aspects of certain types of text - cybertexts, for the author - and Janet Murray (1999) published her treatise on the dramatic aspect of the new aspects of the media. The two treaties, although not the only ones defending their respective axes, are the most significant, and therefore the most frequently cited when defending their respective axes: that of ludology, in the case Aarseth's work, and the narratology, for Murray's.

Some authors see video games as a new form - an expansion - of the traditional narrative. The problem in analyzing the video game exclusively from such an argument is that it is missing a very simple element of key importance in the research process: taking into account that videogames are, after all, games. This existing playful element - whether the presence of the agonistic perspective regarding the simple rules structure, which call for interaction - are features that are not present in other entertainment media - such as film or television. Moreover, the narratives constructed using the computer have crucial differences from their media counterparts: they "tend more toward the more open form of the game (...) than toward an irreversible sequence of events that

marks the more conventionally known narrative experience in literature and cinema "(MACHADO, 2002, p. 2).

The open form that Machado speaks of, refers precisely to the fact that was mentioned earlier: the interaction, the participation, is not an option in the game: without it, the narrative experience does not exist. Unlike film or literature, in videogames, user intervention is "not only desirable, but even required" (MACHADO, 2002). The graphical structure present in the game would just be there to make sure the system worked, and that it could be decoded by the person interacting - with no apparent correlation between any factor of the outside world and the game.

These premises do not exclude the existence of a narrative in a game. They just consider that this element, if present - and it will always be, a greater or lesser role, as pointed out by Juul earlier - is contingent upon the ludologic structure of the game. Thus, according to the author, playing becomes much more important than experiencing the history, or see hits formation - the development or personality - of one or another character. However, one must consider that after describing their gaming sessions, the player will narrate the facts so that their accounts typically take the form of a story.

Although Frasca (1999) proposed an approximation between the theories, the most significant effort to bring these axes together was made by Juul (2005). Moving away from the approach advocated previously, the author harmonizes the objects of study for each of the perspectives - fiction and rules - overlapping them into their existence. Let us now examine more closely the elements that are part of the game as an object: rules and fiction.

Rules

According to Juul (2005, p. 55), it is necessary to assume that, among other features of the game - such as the interaction between players, the competition, or team work - the rules constitute one of the aspects from which draw pleasure upon entry , experiencing a sense of completeness by properly dealing with a challenge they establish.

According to Bernard Suits (1978, p. 34), the games only exist because the rules prevent players from using more efficient means to achieve their goals. The interpretation Juul (2005) makes regarding Suits' statement denotes an application geared toward sports - a high jump competition, for example, won't allow you to use a ladder to jump higher - stressing that this would be a more efficient way; but even partially agreeing with the Suits' application, Juul rejects the interpretation that rules are only limitations - interpretation supported by the work of Salen and Zimmerman (2003). "Rules are 'instruction sets', and following these instructions means doing what the rules require, and nothing else" (SALEN; ZIMMERMAN, 2003, p 122.). For Juul (2005), the rules do specify constraints, but they also help to create specific actions that have meaning within the game world, but that in "normal life" (HUIZINGA, 1938), do not make sense. This is true, for example, in checkmate in a chess game or a captured piece in a game of checkers. Thus, another view of the existence of the rules is that they help to give meaning to the activity - they make sense, giving the game a minimally predictable framework for how to proceed.

Fiction

While every game has rules, often we come across games that, beyond rules, also design a fictional with subordinate controlled characters, scenarios, and actions taken during the game. According to Juul (2005, p. 121), rules and fiction compete for the attention of players - making them complementary, although asymmetrical. The asymmetry pointed out here is regarding the fact that one can speak about rules without addressing the subject of fiction, but although the games - especially videogames, but they are the only ones - are characterized by the potential projection of a world, it is impossible to deal with fiction in games without addressing their rules. Juul (2005, p. 123) points this out when he mentions that, when referring to *incoherent worlds* - worlds in which the narrative does not explain what happens in the game, and the only thing that can that is the rules.

In the next section, we will approach the immersion and attention concepts and some of their features, such as types and levels, linking them to the concept of the magic circle, as proposed in this paper.

Immersion, attention, and videogames

Jennett *et al.* (2008) state that the immersive processes of videogames are different that those occurring in places such as the cinema, or in virtual reality systems. Factors which immersion depends on, such as motivation, empathy, and atmosphere, occur differently in the different media cited here. However, beyond these factors, our argument is that *attention*, a concept that has raised divergent opinions since at least the late 19th century, is one of the key pieces to understand the immersive processes in all these media, especially in videogames. Therefore, the hypothesis of this paper is that the immersive processes in videogames are directly related to certain types of attention by the player, and that these processes (immersion and attention) happen gradually.

Immersion and Attention as Gradual Experiences

Emily Brown and Paul Cairns (2004) define immersion in videogames as an experience that occurs gradually. According to the authors, the player, from the beginning of his interactive experience with the game, will go through various stages, related to immersive levels, until he reaches the maximum level of immersion, which would be the sense of presence. These stages are, according to Brown and Cairns (2004), engagement, engrossment, and total immersion. To move from one stage to another, the player must overcome certain barriers, which "emerge from a combination of human, computerized, and contextual factors" (JENNETT *et al.*, 2008).

The first stage, engagement, represents the lowest level of involvement with the game. The barriers to entry at this level, according to the authors, are access and time investment. Access refers to a player's preferences for a certain type of game. "If they [the players] don't like a

certain style of game, they won't even try to engage (BROWN; CAIRNS, 2004)." The time investment refers to the energy expended, from learning the game until its end, and is directly proportional to the immersion provided by the game.

Overcoming these barriers, the player is already engaged in the game, and to reach the second stage, engrossment, he should overcome the barrier of the *game construction*, which refers to its look, interesting tasks, and the plot. If these characteristics have not been approved by the player, i.e., if he perceives failure in any of these requirements, it is unlikely he will reach the stage of absorption, which already expects greater involvement with the game.

At this stage, according to the authors, the player has already released lots of time, energy, effort, and attention - he will already be "less aware of his surroundings and less aware of himself than before" (BROWN & CAIRNS, 2004). One the barrier of game construction is overcome, with the player absorbed, the next barriers to be overcome for the player to reach full immersion are (i) *empathy* and (ii) *atmosphere*. (i) *Empathy* refers to the feeling of being in the place of the main character, the one controlled by the player himself. (ii) *Atmosphere* refers to the combination of visual elements, sound and plot. According to Brown and Cairns (2004), these elements must be "relevant to the actions and location of the game's characters" because this way, the player will allocate more attention to these elements and, "the more attention invested, the more immersed the player will feel."

Brown and Cairns mention attention as a component of the immersive processes in videogames, present in all these stages in a gradual way. Roger Caillois (1958) in his classic work *Les jeux et les hommes*, had already mentioned the importance of attention in recreational activities. In fact, if such recreational activities include cognitive and sensorimotor processes, as pointed out by Ermi and Mäyrä (2005), attention must be seen as one of its main components, since it is directly related to these processes. In addition to these authors, other videogame researchers confirm a close relationship between attention and immersion, and its

gradual correlation (JENNETT *et al*., 2008). Also, other authors argue that attention is a cognitive process subject to intensity and a gradual scale (MIALET, 1999). Thus, according to this perspective, it is possible to talk about being *more attentive* or *less attentive*.

In the following section we will introduce some definitions and classifications about attention, based on some authors of cognitive psychology, in order to better relate attention to immersion and its types and levels.

Attention: Selective and Limited

One of the first great researchers to systematically address attention was William James. He wrote his first definitions of the subject in his treatise *Principles of Psychology*, in 1890, where he criticized the superficial approach given to attention by authors like Locke and Hume (JAMES, 1890). However, only in the mid-twentieth century did studies of about attention gain more importance, based on an approach undertaken by cognitive psychology (MIALET, 1999).

One of the common denominators of the various definitions of attention lies in the fact that it is a process (or set of processes) that contributes to the selection of some information over other information. This notion is already in the writings of James: for the author, attention means "taking possession through the spirit, in a lively and clear manner, of an object or train of thought, among all those that seem to present themselves simultaneously" (James, 1890, p. 403-404). Jean-Paul Mialet (1999, p. 37), in line with James, says: "It's is attention's selective function, corresponding to a process of sorting through which certain information from the environment or the internal real is analyzed and perceived, while other information is ignored. This sorting activity is the most characteristic aspect of attention." According to Cohen (2006), this selection is a necessity, due to the limits of the human brain to process information.

Another widespread idea among attention studies is that we have a *limited* amount of attention to "spend" (JAMES, 1890; MIALET, 1999; PARASURAMAN, 2000); therefore, attention provides a selection process per se (it is not possible to be aware of everything at the same time). Thus follows another proposition: that attention depends on the intention of the subject, on a choice; it is not, as Locke and Hume assumed, the simple fruit of experience, something given *a priori* (JAMES, 1890; MIALET, 1999, p. 16).

Raja Parasuraman expands the concept of selection and places it as *one* of the components of attention, alongside *surveillance* and *control*. According to the author, the selection is needed due to processing and computing limitations of the human brain. In his words, "Without this selectivity, organisms would be poorly equipped to act consistently in the face of competitive and distracting stimulus sources in the environment" (2000, p. 7). Also according to the author, all these components of care (selection, monitoring and control) are intended to serve "tasks aimed at targets" (PARASURAMAN, 2000), which involves understanding attention as a "tool" at the service of intentionality, an idea that is already quite dear to James, according to which attention allows us to better "perceive, conceive, distinguish, and memorize" (JAMES, 1890).

Types of Attention

Another common denominator is the fact that many authors treat attention as a process that takes place in different ways, thus resulting in different types or forms of attention. Due to the complexity and plurality of performing this taxonomy (MIALET, 1999), and in order to better understand the different forms of attention and their relationship with the immersive processes of videogames, this paper will adopt Parasuraman's suggestion, also shared by other cognitive psychology authors (Cohen, 2006), which understands attention through three key functions: selection, surveillance, and control.

Immersive and Attentional Modalities in Videogames

As stated above, according to Jesper Juul (2005), videogames are basically made up of two components: rules and fiction. During gameplay[3], there will be times when the rules will be acting in the foreground, while fiction (narrative) will be in a state of "suspension"; and times where fiction (narrative) will be acting in the foreground, while the rules component will enter a suspended state. In each of these moments, a specific type of attention - selective or sustained - would be active.

Therefore, based on the statements of other authors (ERMI; MÄYRÄ, 2005; JENNETT *et al.*, 2008), there are at least two types/modalities of immersion during gameplay, which would be directly related to the foreground component during a particular moment of the game - "rules" or "fiction." We will call these types of immersion (i) *operational immersion* and (ii) *narrative immersion*. Furthermore, we believe that these types of immersion are related to the player's attention modes in each of these moments - selective attention and sustained attention, respectively.

Selective Attention

Selective attention is what contributes to the performance of specific tasks within a short period of time. It is when the filtering sensory information from the environment happens, so that only the information relevant to the completion of the task is perceived and processed, thus aiming to achieve an "improvement of the corresponding cognitive efficiency" and an "optimization of information processing" (MIALET, 1999).

We believe that during gameplay, this kind of attention is activated when the rules component is in the foreground; for example, when the player is challenged by an obstacle or challenge to overcome. At this time, his attention is focused on that challenge, therefore reducing the attention to the narrative and the "macro" environment around him

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[3] In the videogame context, gameplay refers to the interactive experience between the player and the game.

- both in the game and in the physical environment where the player himself is located.

Thus, *selective attention* comes into play in order to gather the most important information in order to achieve the objective or overcome the challenge. At this time, the player is involved (immersed) in the game, to resolve the challenge before him. This information may refer to both a sensorimotor "layer" and a cognitive "layer." In the words of Ermi and Mäyrä (2005), "The challenges of gameplay seem to be related to two different domains: sensorimotor skills (...) and cognitive challenges.

Regarding the sensorimotor layer, the information refers to the various elements of the game interface that the player must learn, and also the combination of keys or buttons that the player must press at a given time, to solve the objective/challenge. When for example, in God of War (SCE Studios Santa Monica, 2005), Kratos enters a room and finds himself face to face with a boss, the player is faced with a situation where his selective attention comes into play through his sensorimotor filters: to achieve the most powerful blows, seeking his objective - to defeat the boss efficiently - the player must constantly evaluate his energy level, the energy level of his opponents, the amount of special powers he has available, his location in the virtual game space, etc.; information that is present in the game interface (sensory information). Furthermore, he should be constantly evaluating which combinations and sequences of buttons to press and joystick handles to move (and in which direction) at a given time (motor information).

The cognitive layer refers to information required to solve puzzles or challenges that require greater mental exercise (and less sensory) of the player. Here, this information will serve strategic and logical thinking. When solving a puzzle, all his attention will be directed to this task. His cognitive processes should automatically filter sensorimotor information that is not useful in performing the task.

This way, these two layers of information (sensorimotor and cognitive) include the information selective attention requires, the cognitive operation that comes into play in what we call operational immersion.

Sustained Attention

Sustained attention - or *surveillance* - is what helps maintain the objectives over time. According to Parasuraman (2000, p. 7), this does not occur at the same time as selective attention, and relates to a standby state. We believe that during the gameplay, this type of attention is activated when the fiction component is in the foreground, i.e., when the player (and his character) is following the narrative course of the game by doing things such as exploring the virtual world of the game when no specific element (puzzle or challenge) requires his attention.

During this period, the player has the ability to monitor various sources of information without an efficiency loss (PARASURAMAN, 2000), for example, his environment, which includes landscape details and game objects, dialogues, and even its track sound: elements that contribute to the ambiance and involvement of the player in the game's world, and also to develop its narrative. Sustained attention can only be maintained as long as a critical target doesn't appear (new puzzle or challenge to be overcome), when selective attention will return to the foreground. Furthermore, sustained attention goes back to a state of standby or alert, therefore it is related to surveillance.

In order to maintain the pace of gameplay, the game must be responsible for maintaining the balance between moments of action (puzzles or challenges) and moments of narrative (of waiting) (INCE, 2006). In fact, it is precisely during times of waiting, where sustained attention is more present, that the game can explore immersion through the narrative elements, not excluding sensory appeals (visual and audio), setting up the player to expect the next critical moment, thus leaving him involved in the game flow (INCE, 2006). This way, during a complete gameplay, that is, from when the player starts the game until its end, what you see is a constant alternation between moments of operational immersion and narrative immersion, as well as an alternation between selective and sustained attention. This is what we call alternate types of immersion and attention "gameplay."

Control and the Magic Circle

Here we will address the third component of attention, control, to the concept of the magic circle as a mediating element between the player and the game, as previously suggested. Control, or executive function, is responsible for the distribution of the amount of attention given to each task, performed at any given time, according to their priority (COHEN, 2003).

During gameplay, control is in constant operation, managing the amount of attention paid to the game and to the external elements outside the game. As Juul (2005) stated, the action of playing a game is made by the relationship between the player and the game, and also the relationship between the player and the real world. In fact, the player is located in a physical location outside of the game, and is bombarded by a huge amount of sensory and cognitive stimuli at all times, and should thus avoid these stimuli to stay immersed in the game (BROWN; CAIRNS, 2004).

At the same time, he may have to answer some of these external requests, such as a telephone call, or an invitation from his mother to sit at the dinner table. Here is a central issue for understanding the magic circle as a mediating element: if the player responds to any of these external requests, will he come out of the magic circle and return to his everyday life?

We don't think so. We think that, as a mediating element, the magic circle uses control to direct part of the player's attention to that request, while keeping a portion directed towards the game. In other words, although the player is relating to an external element, he will not leave the magic circle, but will be in a more external position of the immersive scale. Here we return to the idea that immersion and attention are directly and gradually related, and we suggest that both are responsible for the "position" of the player on the gradual scale of the magic circle. Summarizing our proposition, the magic circle through attentional control, manages the relationship between player and game, in a gradual

scale from less immersed and more immersed in the game (and respectively more or less "present" in real life "outside" game).

Concluding Remarks

Our intention with this study was to provide a thorough literature review about the magic circle, which includes not only its classical understanding - especially those offered by Huizinga, Salen and Zimmerman, and Juul; but also to add a broader understanding that harmonizes the classical ideas with some cognitive psychology ideas. Our goal is not to refute the established standards used by videogame studies, or to suggest that they need to be rewritten, but only to offer a different understanding, which seeks to improve the intersection between game studies and the fields of both cyberculture and cognitive psychology.

Thus, we questioned the concept of the magic circle, as defended by several authors, with their "binary" borders (inside-outside the magic circle). We believe that the magic circle would work much more on the cognitive level, giving new meaning to the context in which the player is inserted - the relationship between player and space, time, objects, and the flow of digital information, regarding the game; it does not work as an exclusionary inside-outside dichotomy, but through levels of greater or lesser immersion in the game.

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The success of the vigilante hero archetype: science, technology, and ethics in the "Dark Night" cinema trilogy[1]

O sucesso do arquétipo do herói vigilante: ciência, tecnologia e ética na trilogia cinematográfica "O Cavaleiro das Trevas"

Sílvio Antonio Luiz Anaz[2]

Abstract *Narratives about Batman reveal an imaginary in which the hero archetype is filled by the image of the vigilante, which may be the central element in the identification of the audience with the protagonist. In the film trilogy "The Dark Knight," the vigilante hero's main resources are his use of scientific and technological knowledge, his detective-like (empirical-rational), the development of his physical potential, and his ethical qualities. Supported by Gilbert Durand's anthropology of the imaginary, this article develops a myth-critique of the trilogy and shows how archetypes and myths related to science, technology, and deontological ethics take on a central role in the imaginary of "The Dark Knight" and my contribute to their success.*

Key-words: *Cinema; Imaginary; Cultural identification; Archetype; Myth-critique*

Resumo *As narrativas sobre Batman revelam um imaginário no qual o arquétipo do herói é preenchido pela imagem do "vigilante", que pode ser o elemento central na identificação da audiência com o protagonista. Na trilogia cinematográfica O Cavaleiro das Trevas, os principais recursos desse herói vigilante são*

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o uso do conhecimento científico e tecnológico, a atitude detetivesca (empírico--racional), o desenvolvimento do seu potencial físico e suas qualidades éticas. Apoiado na antropologia do imaginário de Gilbert Durand, este artigo desenvolve uma mitocrítica da trilogia e mostra como arquétipos e mitos relacionados à ciência, à tecnologia e a uma ética deontológica assumem um papel central no imaginário de O Cavaleiro das Trevas e podem contribuir para o seu sucesso.

Palavras-chave: *Cinema; Imaginário; Identificação cultural; Arquétipo; Mitocrítica*

The Batman monomyth

Batman is, among contemporary fictional heroes, probably the most human. Unlike many others, whose powers come from being aliens (Superman) or the result of a scientific accident (Spiderman), or a genetic mutation (X-Men), Batman's powers are the results of his own virtues, such as his physical and intellectual efforts, his use of science and technology, and the economic power he has to finance his activities.

Since its creation in the nineteen-thirties, up until the conclusion of the film trilogy of "The Dark Knight" in 2012, the narratives about Batman - in comics, graphic novels, television series, cinema films, and videogames - made his one of the most successful heroes in terms of popularity and sales. His adventures formed a powerful imaginary, a framework of images, symbols, myths, stereotypes, and archetypes that went beyond the narratives themselves, and became present in contemporary life, creating intertextualities that went beyond the immediate meaning of these symbolic elements.

The Dark Knight trilogy - *Batman Begins* (2005), *The Dark Knight* (2008), and *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012) - written and directed by Christopher Nolan, presents the hero during three moments of his trajectory: his origin, his peak, and his rebirth. The narrative structure is characterized as a "monomyth" (Campbell), telling the story of the classic hero's journey, revealing a Batman who is violent, distressed, and living on the edge of sanity but who, despite all this, is a virtuous character.

This paper seeks to analyze the main elements of the imaginary built and shared by the trilogy, and to use Durand's myth-criticism to identify the dominant archetypes and myths of this imaginary. Archetypes and myths that, according to this hypothesis, may have fundamentally contributed to the success of the series (the three films were among the top ten global in box office numbers in their respective years of release).

Imaginary as an anthropological path and "social cement"

Michel Maffesoli (2001, p. 76) considers the imaginary as a "social cement" that binds the individual to the collective. In contemporary

society, film production, especially one that achieves great popular success (mainstream), is one of the phenomena that contributes to "the essential cement of all societal life" (ibid, p. 51). It is in the realm of imaginaries that are built, reproduced, and shared by successful films that a significant portion of individuals establish their identification processes with characters, trajectories, worldviews, behaviors, lifestyles, and aesthetic standards.

The universe of the superheroes - that appear and develop in the comic book stories, as an update of the hero archetype, especially in American society under the effects of the Great Depression of the 1920s and 1930s, and the Second World War - has been a source of imaginaries that permeates generations in different cultures and languages, in comic books and video games. Since the beginning of the 21st century, these imaginaries have been updated and gain communicational strength as superheroes become a major theme, and a source of success of the film industry. The superhero films from 2001 to 2013, according to Box Office Mojo, were among the biggest worldwide box office successes. *Spider-Man* (2002), *Spider-Man 3* (2007), *The Dark Knight* (2008) and The Avengers (2012), for example, obtained the largest global box office numbers the years they were released.

But how are these imaginaries, which are largely unrealistic, capable of seducing an audience?

One way to understand this phenomenon is to analyze it from the perspective of how the imaginary functions, according to the ideas of Gilbert Durand (1921-2012). This French thinker sees the imaginary as the result of imaginative attitudes produced by humans in an "anthropological trajectory," which links the individual's biological characteristics to culture and vice versa. It is during the anthropological trajectory that the symbolic elements, such as archetypes, images, symbols, stereotypes, and myths are produced. These symbolic elements arise from the interaction of basic human bio-psychological characteristics (dominant postural, digestive, and copulative reflexes, and psychological schemes and structures derived from these reflexes) with elements from the natural and social environment. Along this two-way street, each dominant

reflection is connected to specific schemes and structures, which result in archetypal symbols and images.

The schemes and structures were grouped and classified by Durand (2002) in two image regimes: daytime and nighttime. In the daytime, the heroic structures exist that are related to the postural gesture and are governed oppositional logic (antithesis), ascension, virility, separation, and polemics, representing the "victory" over death and time - essential human anxieties. In the nighttime regime, there are mythical structures, derived from the digestive gesture, and synthetic structures, derived from the copulative gesture, that seek to build harmony and unity (fusion), governed by the logic of intimate plunge, stillness, joy, warmth , the cyclical, and the progression of time. These structures represent the nighttime "euphemization" and the reversal of the symbolic meanings of death and time.

The imaginary is a "product of biopsychic imperatives through the summoning of the mean" (DURAND, 2002, p. 41), and is thus composed by a set of images, symbols, myths, archetypes, and stereotypes (degradation of archetypes) and the connection of those elements to each other.

In this conception, the role of the archetype in the processes of identifying the individual with the collective imagination is highlighted. Based on the Jungian hypothesis of the archetype as a "primordial image," that is universal and ahistorical, the Durandian perspective sees the processes to update and substantiate the archetypes as the basis for myth development. Thus, it is through the completion made by a particular culture, at a particular historical moment of the archetypal matrices, that the mythological narratives develop - narratives understood as a result of rationalization of the archetypes and the combination of images and symbols - which make up a specific imaginary.

The substantial hero archetype (related to epithetic archetypes of light, tall and pure), have been completed and updated by different myths over time, like Hercules, among the ancient Greeks, Momotaro, among the 17th century Japanese, and Superman, throughout the world since the 20th century. Durand (2004) believes that the founding

myths - such as the Greek Dionysus and Apollo - are always circulating in societies under their influence, with the predominance of some in the cultural production at certain times - as with the Promethean myth, that reigns during the Enlightenment and at the height of scientific rationalism:

> For example, the from the late 18th century to the middle of the 19th century, the legacy of the Enlightenment, the shock of the French Revolution, put in the foreground among all authors, from Maistre to Marx - as R. Trousson showed - the use of myth of Prometheus, the angry and blasphemous Titan who steals the divine fire to offer it to humanity (DURAND, 2004, p. 12).

From the development of the idea of "emotional community '(Max Weber) to explain the phenomenon of urban tribes in contemporary times, Maffesoli (2010, pp. 35-66) sees the collective imaginary as an atmosphere or, adopting the idea of Walter Benjamin, as an "aura". More specifically, the imaginary is the vector for what is emotionally common to a group, the vector for a shared ethos, where the aesthetic (the feeling in common) builds an ethical relationship (the collective bond) and from there, customs are established (common uses that enable a group to recognize themselves as they are). Thus, different imaginaries permeate society - especially through the archetypes and their dominant myths.

The imagery is, in this case, a field in which creators and audience share worldviews, adhering fluidly to a certain ethos.

Thus, the Batman narratives can bring archetypes and myths with the potential to establish the identification of the audience with the imaginary that emerges from them, and their success can express the penetration rate and reach of their imagination in the sociocultural context.

Based on Durand's methodological proposal to make a critique of cultural products by analyzing their myths - the myth-critique - we will attempt to identify some of the main archetypal matrices and some of the dominant myths in the film trilogy "The Dark Knight" (there is no intention in this article to provide an exhaustive analysis that point all the archetypes and myths present in the trilogy).

Myth-critique of "The dark Knight" Trilogy

The myth-critique proposed by Durand (1985, p. 252) focuses on the symbolic forms, specifically the myths:

> The myth-critique addresses the being itself of the "work" in the confrontation between the mythical universe, that shaped taste or the understanding of the reader, and the mythical universe that emerges from reading this particular work. In is at this junction, between what is read and the reader, that the gravitational center is located for this method that you attempts respect the contributions of the different approaches that demarcate the trihedron of critical knowledge (ibid, ibidem).

Based on archetypes - and the archetypes can be identified only through the effects they produce (Shelburne, 1988, p. 37) - myth-critique, as a methodology for the scientific study of the imaginary, has power to make an analysis of the communicational and cultural processes that overcomes any considerations focused on the intentions of the creators, the oblique reading of the audience, or the strict socioeconomic and materialistic determinism, that are all so very questionable. The myth--critique is thus a method to identify the aesthetic and ethical content that is potentially shared in the collective imaginary.

Barros (2009, p. 6) explains that myth-critique aims to verify themes or obsessive metaphors present in cultural works in general. Its importance is in collaborating to understand a work when:

> The myth, is somehow the matrix "model" of an entire discourse, structured by patterns and fundamental archetypes of the *sapiens sapiens* psyche, our own. It is, therefore, necessary to research which myth or myths, that are more or less explicit (or latent!) encourages the expression of a second, non-mythical "language." Why? Because a work, and author, or an epoch - or at least a "moment" within an epoch - is obsessed (Ch. Mauron), either explicitly or implicitly, for one (or more) myth that, in paradigmatic fashion, becomes aware of its aspirations, desires, doubts, and fears... (Durand, 2002, p.131).

For Iranzo (2001, p. 7), "the myth-critique is done analyzing the archetypal dimensions of the object or cultural product, identifying their

minimum units, "mythemes", and comparing them with an ideal version of the myth to which they are related."

The first step to apply myth-critique the "The Dark Knight" trilogy is to map themes, motifs, and the most recurrent archetypes ("obsessive") in the trilogy's films. This mapping reveals the most redundant elements identified and their convergence (Table 1), according to their functions in the narrative, to one of the images regimes established by Durand:

Daytime Regime	Nighttime Regime
Vigilante Hero (function: ascension - defeat evil and be victorious. Exp: Batman, Commissioner Gordon, Robin)	**Dark City** (function: coziness - create a gloomy landscape of decadence and corruption - Gotham City - as an appropriate "home" for the actions of the heroes and villains)
Villain (function: opposition - defeat the hero and conquer Gotham City, imposing the reign of fear or destroying the city. Exp: The Joker, Ra's Al Ghul, Bane, Miranda Tate/Talia Al Ghul)	**Fraternity** (function: unity - house and protect the members of a secret organization or not - League of Shadows, Mafia, Police)
Murdered Parents (function: separation - feed and sustain the orphan sensation (unprotected) of the hero and his desire for vengeance and crime fighting - Thomas and Martha Wayne)	**Friend / Ally** (function: unity - support heroes and villains. Exp: Rachel Dawes)
Vengeance (function: ascension/opposition - avenge parent's death by crime fighting)	**Refuge** (function: coziness - place where heroes and villains hide and prepare their activities. Exp: Bat Cave, League of Shadows hideaway in the Himalayas)
Courage vs fear (function: ascension/opposition - overcome and use fear is a key element in the construction of the hero's courage and his actions against the criminals)	**Chaos** (function: mix/fuse - disorganize the world, confuse the hero. Exp: The Joker, Scarecrow, Bane, Miranda Tate/Talia Al Ghul)
Material Wealth (function: ascension - make the hero powerful and support his double life as an entrepreneur, playboy, and philanthropist)	**Bat** (function: unity - nocturnal creature that, at first, scares the hero, and then becomes his inspiration, becoming his main symbol: bat-man)

Daytime Regime	Nighttime Regime
Detective (function: opposition/ascension - use of scientific methods (empirical-rational) to solve cases and reach the truth. Exp: Batman, Robin, Commissioner Gordon)	**Loved one** (function: unity/coziness - one of the main rewards for the hero's journey and sometimes, the motif of the adventure. Exp: Rachel Dawes; Selina Kyle, Miranda Tate/ Talia Al Ghul)
Double (function: division - show the ego divisions into heroes and villains. Exp: Bruce Wayne/Batman, Harvey Dent/Two Face, Selina Kyle/Cat Woman, Jonathan Crane/Scarecrow, Miranda Tate/Talia Al Ghul)	
Weapon and technological equipment (function: ascension - used to defeat enemies and death. Exp: Batmobile, electrical discharge weapon, boomerang, cape with memory)	
Wiseman / Master (function: separation/hierarchy - to be the mentors of the heroes and villains. Exp: Ra's Al Ghul, Alfred Pennyworth, Lucius Fox)	
Mental institution (function: separation/division - maintain sane people far from society - Arkham Asylum)	
Corporation (function: ascension - Wayne Enterprise is the source of funds - financial, scientific knowledge, and technology - for the ascension of the hero and the villains)	

Table 1: The most redundant themes, motifs, and archetypal images in "The Dark Knight" Trilogy
Source: Sílvio Anaz, 2015

Table 1 shows that "The Dark Knight" trilogy has a predominant presence of symbolic elements that converge toward the heroic structures of daytime image regime. The films have a belligerent tone, based on disputes between opposite poles (hero vs villain, mentor vs follower), the use of high-tech weapons to defeat and eliminate enemies, divisions and

separations (sane/insane behavior, social/secret personality), and especially in the rise of the hero.

Although the trilogy is predominantly "daytime", it is deeply steeped in "night" images, with gloomy backgrounds of Gotham City that serve as a "home" for heroes and villains, the symbolism of the bat that merges with the protagonist's, and internal plunges into the hidden feelings of the hero. This plunge into the intimacy of the protagonist, revealing his struggle against fear, guilt, and doubt, also shows the thin line between "virtuous" and "vicious", which are exposed in ethical issues generated during the hero's journey.

The focus of the trilogy is in Batman's path to salvation - the salvation of Gotham City and also of himself - and this journey, science, technology and ethics play a central role in the imaginary constructed by the movies. From this perspective, the combination of the most often recurring motifs, themes and archetypes that were mapped (Table 1) provides some of the major mythemes of the trilogy (Table 2):

Mytheme	Narrative function
Scientific and technological hero (result of the combination of the roles of Vigilante here, Fear, Material Wealth, Detective, Weapo, and Technological Equipment, Wiseman/Master, Corporation)	Batman, as a hero who makes extensive use of high technology and scientific methods and knowledge, who uses the inductive-deductive rational methods to investigate cases, and who dedicated himself for years to training and physical and mental preparation, including learning tricks such as "invisibility".
Technology and a curse and salvation (result of combinations of the functions of vigilante hero, Villain, Fear, Material wealth, Double, Weapon, and technological equipment, Wiseman/Master, Mental Institution, Corporation, Fraternity, Beloved person)	High-tech equipment is an obsession in the movies and is used for both positive and negative purposes, depending on who is handling it. In "Batman Begins" and "The Dark Knight Rises," high-tech equipment - a microwave transmitter used to vaporize the enemy's water reservoirs, and a nuclear reactor - both stolen from Wayne Enterprises, are used to threaten Gotham City by the League of Shadows. On the other hand, the effective fight against these threats is also possible thanks to high-tech features such as the Batmobile, the Batpod, and other equipment.

Mytheme	Narrative function
The logical, order, and justice, as opposed to the emotional chaos and injustice (result of the combination of the roles of Vigilante hero, Fear, Material Wealth, Detective, Weapon, and Technological Equipment, Wiseman/Master, Corporation, Dark city, Fraternity	One of the most frequent disputes in the Nolan trilogy is between order (Batman and official institutions) and chaos (League of Shadows, The Joker). One of the most iconic of these is between Batman and the Joker in "The Dark Knight." Batman's logical and rational methods, which converge toward the daytime image regime, are put to the test when the Joker tests the hero with extreme choices: in one, he must decide whether to save a hero of Gotham (Harvey Dent), in a predominantly rational decision (especially from a utilitarian point of view), or if he saves his beloved (Rachel Dawes), an emotional decision.

Table 2: Main mythemes in "The Dark Knight" Trilogy
Source: Silvio Anaz, 2015

These mythemes remind us of founding myths that govern important aspects of the contemporary imaginary.

A scientific, technological, deontological, and vigilante hero

The power and the functions performed by mythemes for the scientific hero and role of technology in the imaginary of the "The Dark Knight" trilogy may be ultimately related to the fact that part of modern science and the Enlightenment philosophies are the result of imaginative attitudes derived from the heroic structures of the imaginary (daytime regime). The ascension and separation schemes have been dominant, at least since the 19th century, when positivist thought establishes a major influence upon science and technology, with the (idealistic and autistic) ideas of progress, control, and the dominion over nature by man.

As Durand said so well, the Promethean myth is paradoxically what guides the positivist philosophy:

> Auguste Comte, as Saint-Simon before him in *Industrial Religion*, wants to overcome and destroy the obscurantism of myth, but through another myth, another theology that is not new [...] Therefore, there is a kind of

causal «inversion», because to fight obscurantism the age of myths and «theological» images, we emphasize a progressive mythology where the myth of Prometheus triumphs, and especially where we glimpse the «to-morrows that sing» of the final kingdom of the Holy Spirit (Durand, 2004 pp . 10-11).

In the "The Dark Knight" trilogy, the main mythemes point to a positivist update the Promethean myth - the son of the Titans who deceived the gods in favor of men to steal the fire and the arts from the immortals and offer them to mortals to "illuminate" their lives, resulting in knowledge, progress, and technological advancement for humanity.

The mythemes show that scientific knowledge and what it generates (technology, tricks, methods) are the hero's great allies. But they are also one of their greatest enemies, after all, the technology appears as not only as salvation, but also a curse. It is through technology that Batman's enemies wish to destroy his "home" - Gotham City - and Batman himself.

In this regard, mythemes also refer to the Faust myth, which was an update of various myths, including the Prometheus myth and others like Daedalus and Icarus, myths expressing the risks of the immoderation (hubris) of man in relation to knowledge and technology. The mythological story of Faust reveals the covenant made by a certain Doctor Faust with Mephistopheles who, in exchange for the doctor's soul, would give him access to knowledge that was superior to that of his time. The Faustian myth represents the modern man who, taken over by hybris, tries to overcome God and give meaning to life by deciphering the mysteries of the world through science, and controlling nature through technology. In the modern world, "the Faustian myth becomes a 'living myth', a story that provides a model for human behavior" (Heise, 2001).

Rather than questioning the ethics of those who manipulate technology, in the trilogy, these mythemes reveal the double face of science and technology - remembering that the "double" is one of the archetypes most commonly present in the Batman myth. It refers, therefore, the distinction which the German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) made about the relationship that humans have established with technology, especially in modern times. At the "Serenity" conference, presented

in 1955, Heidegger develops the idea that technology can imprison as well as free a man, essentially depending on how it is designed, whether only as a "calculative thinking" - which sees the world as an object shaped by the calculations and predictions, and that shows a design so efficient that it runs the risk of remaining there - or does it include a meditative reflection about it. For Heidegger, this latter kind of thinking thinks about the essence of technology and the human being, and prevents man from becoming a prisoner of the technological virtuous and vicious cycle.

One aspect of the Nolan trilogy is that the technologies seem similar to human reality, as Heidegger has shown, thought predominantly using "calculative thinking" that makes heroes, villains, and the people of Gotham hostages of technical objects, especially high-tech weapons. In this sense, the calculative thinking described by Heidegger is an "autistic" way of thinking, which is consistently related to the daytime image regime that dominates the hero's journey in Batman.

Thus, the "heroic" role of science and technology in the imaginary constructed by "The Dark Knight" film series, contributes to the construction of the protagonist hero's qualities.

Among the qualities of this Promethean hero who emerges from the imaginary of Nolan's trilogy, his ethics stands out.

Batman is a "vigilante", a type of hero who does not believe in the ability and honesty of the authorities and institutions (police, government, judges) and fights against crime in accordance with his own rules and beliefs.

The vigilante, like all archetypes, carries complex and paradoxical qualities. For Gary Hoppenstand (1992, p. 51), the personification of the vigilante is an individual who renounces the bureaucratic mechanisms of the legal system to achieve "justice" with their own hands, since they are disillusioned with the inefficiency of the system, becoming judge, jury and executioner. He challenges the law in order to uphold the ideals of the law. This paradox is not seen as contradictory by the vigilante, because he perceives it as the only viable means to protect the interests of society. Hoppenstand understand this as the "positive" definition of the vigilante.

But there is also a "negative" conception, which is when the vigilante is seen as a member of a group that abuses the law to practice acts of vengeance, without worrying morally if they are righteous or not. This kind of embodiment of the vigilante is, according Hoppenstand, part of the mentality of local mafias and often is the worst type of violence in a real or fictional context. Hoppenstand see the vigilante hero as one of the most powerful archetypes of American culture.

In the "The Dark Knight" trilogy, Batman's trajectory shows that he falls predominantly in the "positive" definition of the vigilante, and even adds virtuous values to it, since he abdicates the role of judge, jury and executioner, in most cases. He's a vigilante who acts predominantly according to a set of deontological ethics (in the Kantian sense), like most superheroes. A humanist ethic in which the moral judgment of an act is confined to the act itself, and not necessarily the consequences - for deontologist the ends never justify the means. Thus, refraining from murder is a categorical imperative. In the trilogy, Batman does not kill, except in self-defense (his or Gotham's), even though (from a utilitarian viewpoint) killing the Joker means the prevention of the death of several people - we must remember that the Joker updates the Dionysus myth, a myth that means the "need to take into consideration all that, in fact, is contrary to this order [cosmological], different, or even opposite ... chance, confusion, contingency, the dilacerations, and other imperfections of the human world "(FERRY, 2012, p. 413). The dispute between Batman and the Joker ultimately recovers the dispute between the Apollonian-Promethean and the Dionysian, which exerts great influence upon Western culture.

But there is at least one "negative" aspect of this vigilante archetype in Nolan's Batman: Vengeance. It is vengeance that feeds the initial vigilante character in the hero, a feeling that Bruce Wayne nurtures since childhood, when he saw his parents being murdered. Heir to an immense fortune that will finance the existence of Batman, he promises to avenge the death of parents by fighting criminals in his city. In "Batman Begins" (2005), which shows how the young Wayne transforms into Batman in adulthood, the archetype of hero as vigilante is fulfilled,

in its depth and complexity, as different facets of positive and negative aspects of this archetype are revealed, as per Hoppenstand's definition.

The archetype of the vigilante is exercised not only Batman, but also the character Ra's Al Ghul, the leader of the League of Shadows, an organization that prepares Bruce Wayne to become a vigilante, and also by the Carmine Falcone character, the head mobster in Gotham.

Throughout the trilogy, the apparent dichotomy between "positive" and "negative" aspects of the vigilante archetype is diluted, notably by revealing the ethical intentions that underlie the actions of those who are considered heroes and those who are considered villains. In "Batman Begins", the character responsible for preparing Wayne to become a vigilante, Ra's Al Ghul believes that the fight against crime justifies the destruction of an entire city (Gotham) - which he considers irredeemably condemned by corruption that already infected all its citizens. But, as pointed out by Mark White (2008, p. 34), superheroes are usually not utilitarian. They do not cross the ethical boundary that accepts death of a few to save many. In opposition to this utilitarianism of Al Ghul - who sees in the annihilation of Gotham the only way to stop a criminal outpost - Batman has a Kantian deontological point of view, where the right (the categorical imperative "do not kill," unless in self-defense), takes precedence over what might be "good" (kill a few to save many).

Nolan updates the archetype of the hero with the face of the vigilante, but as paradoxical as it may seem, as a humanist vigilant. After all, the Promethean myth present in the appreciation of scientific knowledge and technology in Batman is, more than anything else, an appreciation of human being's search for salvation, understood as the good and righteous life - based on freedom and happiness. The deontological ethics of the hero is, in this sense, an affirmation of this humanism.

Concluding Remarks

The myth-critique of the "The Dark Knight" trilogy developed here, although not exhaustive, used some of the main mythemes and their functions to point out the strength in aspects of the Promethean myth

(including its updates and antitheses, such as the Faust and Dionysius myths) in the imaginary guidance that emerges from the narratives about Batman, developed in the work of Christopher Nolan.

Analyzed under the Durandian perspective, it was possible to find indications in the films that the strength of the Promethean myth in modern society - with its daytime and heroic characteristics - is manifested in the imaginary of the trilogy in at least two of the three main mythemes of the narrative: "scientific and technological hero" and "technology and curse and salvation."

Moreover, the theme of "the logical, order, and justice, as opposed to the emotional, chaos, and injustice", in conjunction with others, reveals that the hero archetype in Batman is filled with images of a vigilante, scientific, technological, and ethical hero.

The power of the Promethean myth and the vigilante hero archetype, with these characteristics, play an essential role in the construction of an imaginary that is shared with the audience through Nolan's work. After all, the elements of the myths of Prometheus, Faust, and Dionysus, and the vigilante hero, also make up some of the main matrices that stimulate the contemporary imagination. Among other factors, is perhaps this alignment of the mythical set - rationalization of predominantly daytime archetypes and schemes - between the imaginary constructed by the film series, and the dominant myths in society that can act as a vector of the audience seduction process and the success of trilogy "The Dark Knight."

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Youth media consumption in cosmopolitan experiences: between global entertainment and local practices

Consumo midiático juvenil em experiências cosmopolitas: entre o entretenimento global e as práticas locais

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Abstract *This article presents as a proposal to discuss the connection between youth media consumption and cosmopolitan experiences. It is a constituent part of the research project "Youth Cosmopolitanisms. Brazilian Project. Step 1: Conceptions and cosmopolitan practices among Brazilian university students," hosted by ESPM-SP, linked to the international project "Cosmopolitanism Culture of Young people." The emphasized clipping is anchored on a reflective base about (1) the media consumption and the reality of global entertainment; and (2) the possibilities of cosmopolitan experiences through local practices. Analyzing the narratives of young university students in São Paulo, we see the formation of primarily aesthetic cosmopolitan experiences, which might be called amateur, as a path to a reflective process of otherness.*

Key-words: *Media consumption; Cosmopolitanism; Entertainment; Global; Local*

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Resumo *Este artigo apresenta como proposta a discussão sobre a conexão entre consumo midiático juvenil e experiências cosmopolitas. Trata-se de parte constituinte do projeto de pesquisa Cosmopolitismos juvenis. Projeto Brasil. Etapa 1: Concepções e práticas cosmopolitas em jovens universitários brasileiros, sediado pela ESPM-SP, vinculado ao projeto internacional Cosmopolitismo Cultural dos Jovens. O recorte enfatizado está ancorado em uma base reflexiva sobre (1) o consumo midiático e a realidade do entretenimento global; e (2) as possibilidades de experiências cosmopolitas por meio das práticas locais. Analisando as narrativas de jovens universitários de São Paulo, verificamos a formação de experiências cosmopolitas prioritariamente estéticas, que poderiam ser denominadas de amadoras, como caminho para um processo reflexivo de alteridade.*

Palavras-chave: *Consumo midiático; Cosmopolitismo; Entretenimento; Global; Local*

Introduction

This article aims to present the connection between youth media consumption and cosmopolitan experiences. It is a constituent part of the research project *"Youth Cosmopolitanisms. Brazilian Project. Step 1: Conceptions and cosmopolitan practices among Brazilian university students,"* hosted by ESPM-SP.

The proposed discussion of our project is part of an international research project, called "Cosmopolitanism Culture of Young people", which aims to develop a comparative study between France, Canada, Australia and Brazil. It is led by the Department of Forecast Research and Statistics of the Ministry of Culture and Communication of France and GEMASS (Groupe d´Etude des Méthodes de l´Analyse Sociologique de la Sorbonne)/CNRS, University of Paris 4.

The initial project started from the observation of two interdependent phenomena: 1) the increasing internationalization of production and cultural consumption, especially among young people; and 2) the effervescence of productions and local artistic receptions, a phenomenon that some cultural sociologists have called "indigenization" of cultural practices (APPADURAI, 1994). The tension between these two movements results in the discussion of the global culture and its various localization processes.

From this cultural perspective of globalization, we propose the discussion about the media consumption of youth. The discussion arises from issues that develop from either global entertainment, in *blockbusters* and musical *hits* present in different parts of the world, as well as from local participation, individuals exercising citizenship and engaging in social movements, within the context of media consumption and cosmopolitan experiences. One of the examples that we can use to illustrate this point is the series of American films "Hunger Games", launched in 2012, and a box office hit around the world. Just as the series of books and licensed products related to the characters of the plot began to be consumed on a large global scale, in different formats and media, one of the story's symbols, a gesture used by the protagonist heroine in protest against the

power of the Capitol, was also used by young people in demonstrations in the streets of Thailand's capital in 2014, against the local government. Could the use of this global entertainment symbol, in the form of local participation, be a possibility of a cosmopolitan experience?

To answer this question, we start with the entertainment market problematization, with entertainment consumer dynamics that are central to the contemporary reality of consumption cultures. We look at how media consumption, inserted in entertainment logic, forms important mediations in the configuration of cultural habits that move between globalizing experiences, unifying and hegemonic, and its reappropriation processes in local experiences. In this light, we also examined how it is equally possible for local participation to occur in the processes of construction of public spaces and citizenship exercises. This practice can relate to global fluxes, enabling individuals to experience what it would consider to be global citizenship. Thus, our discussion raises the question of how cultural consumption leaves gaps for young people to build representations of themselves and others, inserted into 'glocal' contexts - of both global and local formation without hierarchical determination between fluxes (ROBERTSON, 1992).

Our discussion is embedded in the contemporary context, where there is an indiscriminate increase of technology and media consumption modes that require different ways to see, hear, and talk to the world, platforms and formats with new arrangements which constitute the everyday experiences of the young subjects in our investigation. The amount of technological support in conjunction with a historical subject who recognizes media codes leave marks of other forms of significant disputes that feed back into the centrality of the sensationalization of everyday life, according to Guy Debord (2006). Analyzing Debord's concept of spectacle, Kellner (2003) inserts it in the media culture as a daily form of social interaction:

> Experience and everyday life are thus shaped and mediated by the spectacles of media culture and the consumer society. (...) Capitalist society separates workers from the products of their labor, art from life, and

consumption from human needs and self-directing activity, as individuals inertly observe the spectacles of social life from within the privacy of their homes (KELLNER, 2003, p. 2-3).

Since the everyday experiences are shaped and mediated by media shows, to stimulate consumer experiences of the contemporary global market, we realize that entertainment languages are used, according to the logic of *mass media entertainment industry* (CASTRO, 2013).

In this context, we intend to discuss how young people construct representations of themselves and their relationships with the world, through the consumption of cultural goods, being globalized or localized. We seek evidence to demonstrate whether they develop an aesthetic posture that can be considered as a process of building a way of looking at each other. In other words, we aim to understand the aesthetic cosmopolitanism, analyzing cultural consumption (music, TV, movies, series, newspapers / magazines, comic books, video games, blogs/sites, social networks), and experiences with global culture through which young people build their criteria of judgment, knowledge and imagination of each other.

For this, first we developed a discussion about media consumption and the global entertainment reality, followed by reflections on the possibilities of cosmopolitan experiences in relation to the aesthetic dimension. So we then analyzed university student's narratives from São Paulo, in order to understand their everyday experiences, their media consumption, which refer both to entertainment elements and the interest in other cultures and contact with Others.

Media Consumption and Entertainment

Authors such as Gilles Lipovetsky and Jean Serroy (2009), Nilda Jacks and Ana Carolina Escosteguy (2005), have analyzed the transformations of media consumption, correlating three perspectives of new behavioral assemblages: the advancement of production technologies and the growth of new media platforms; reflective knowledge of the historical subject; and the multiple and decentralized modes that content is spread.

Considering the necessary differences between the points of view of their authors, there is a confluence of research for what Lipovetsky and Serroy (2009) named as the era of "excess of screens", questioning what Fredric Jameson (1996) pointed out as a "cultural turn" from 1960. In other words, the emergence of new capital configurations linked to the aesthetization processes of everyday life as "cultural dominant."

The discussion on media consumption is related to cultural studies, which transcend the research of means, and so heading to the context of the production, circulation and consumption circuit of media culture, and the influence the media can have on people or cultures remains relative (JACKS & ESCOSTEGUY, 2005). After the technological development, especially of digital devices, the study of media consumption seeks to understand the relationships of the subjects with the different means of technology simultaneously used by a process of media convergence. Through digital media, contemporary young people produce and consume culture and entertainment, as a result of both the familiarity they have with different technologies and the access they have to different devices. In this way, the research "Youth and cultural consumption in convergence times" (JACKS, 2010) seeks to relate the constituent elements of youth identities in construction in the cultural processes and practices through media consumption.

The increasing availability of both production modes and media devices for consumption assumes different appropriation of platforms and narrative formats (genres), creating new constitutional arrangements of daily and youthful experiences in the contemporary scene. Together with this multiplicity in techniques, there is a historical subject recognizer of codes, modes of production, genre and narratives. It leaves evidence of other forms of disputes for significance, which occur mainly by access to participation in non-material networks that provide information and entertainment, in a process that Néstor Canclini (2009) calls the dematerialization of culture by digital networks.

The experience of this subject may also refer, through media hybridism, to this hybridism present in cultural consumption. In the case

of young people, as shown by Canclini (2008), they acquire through screens a combination of knowledge and entertainment, and through this connectivity process there is priority in the stimulation from leisure and entertainment.

Given the centrality of entertainment through media consumption, interactive advertising processes (COVALESKI, 2010) establish a focus on the relationship with youth cultural consumption. Therefore, through the spotlight achieved in the global market, one can verify the advertising strategies of persuasion and entertainment, embedded in the cultural products in evidence. Interactivity, sharing and access result in global cultural fluxes that are consumed and multiplied at an increasing speed. These fluxes are technically appropriated by the entertainment industry in order to attract consumers looking to expand their entertainment experiences to various types of media. Entertainment enables both aesthetic enjoyment and intellectual distraction, eventually generating the cultural repertoire formation for these young people, as well as a consistent and growing demand for leisure options. An example of this phenomenon is the product line created from the Harry Potter books, which ranges from the huge global impact of the movies, the theme parks, experiencing the scenarios of the streets and stores, virtual games, interaction with interfaces of the stories and many others.

Global entertainment and their media products have thus become a globally popular form of culture (Mirrlees, 2013), resulting not only from transnational forces of media consumption, but also production, distribution, financing, encoding, decoding, and the use of the culture surrounding it. These forces concentrate on what is called the *mainstream.*

Frédéric Martel (2012) shows how the American entertainment industry, aimed at the general public, dominant and popular, shapes the mainstream culture. In his study, he shows that there are multiple reasons for this American domination, which would be based on the fact that the "American system for content production is a complex model, the product of history, vast territory and immigration from all countries,

all languages and all cultures" (p. 448). Such a culture can have a positive connotation, in the sense of a culture that can be shared by all, or a negative one, in the sense of a hegemonic and dominant culture.

Acceptance of the proposals made by the global entertainment industry by different local realities can either suggest that the products, even looking exotic, attract the interest of local public, or show a consumption process of hegemonic cultural codes, with little adaptation or resistance. By consuming media products from other cultures, individuals could increase their openness to other cultures, and increasingly accept more foreign products. Alternatively, individuals could also resist the cultural products of other cultures, simply because they cannot relate to them, or because they prefer to value their local codes.

In this perspective, we question: would this be a way to establish a mass cultural consumption relationship, using the global market logic, resulting in standardized global cultural consumption? Would the interaction or appropriation of consumers in this process, by incorporating their comments, content and meaning, result in a local and/or individual participation in the global entertainment market fluxes? Such questions lead us to the everyday aesthetic experiences of subjects within a cosmopolitan conception of the global society.

The concept of cosmopolitanism linked to the aesthetic experience

The course of studies about cosmopolitanism in sociology has followed an interval stretching from Georg Simmel (1971) to Ulrich Beck (2006). A first hypothesis suggests that this pathway may be conceived as the passage from cosmopolitanism sociology to sociological cosmopolitanism. In turn, there is another hypothesis which states that, because of the plurality of theoretical anchors that mark the studies on the subject, cosmopolitanism in sociology refers to several routes. The strategy defined for mediations between the studies being considered is guided by an inherent analysis, by having as a systematic element the internal aspects of each formulation.

We present here a concept of cosmopolitanism linked to the aesthetic experience so that we can start the discussion of media consumption in contemporary cultural contexts. This link is based on the work of Skrbis and Woodward (2013), advocating the need to continue to look at the manifestations and the possibility of cosmopolitanism in ordinary encounters in the everyday life of people, and Cicchelli and Octobre (2013) who claim that it is necessary to employ the concept of cosmopolitanism in relation to ordinary situations, such as everyday cultural consumption.

The nature of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and aesthetics would not be established in organized knowledge, but initially in an accumulation of moments resulting from meetings and shared experiences, sometimes as ephemeral as well as partial and organized as representations. The connection with otherness would, in the first instance, be aesthetic (CICCHELLI and OCTOBRE, 2015): like in Facebook, the person "likes" (or not), comments (or not), shares (or not), ranging from the latest music video released by a celebrity like Beyonce, to the impact of the killings carried out in Paris at the Bataclan in November 2015, marking either one, or even both events on their personal media time lines.

This relationship of cosmopolitanism is often reduced to cultural/ global entertainment industries and their consumerist suggestions. As in the case of tourism and leisure, where familiarity with the cultures around the world is seen as "superficial and cosmetic" (SASSATELLI, 2012, p. 235). The aesthetic and cultural dimension of cosmopolitanism would be blamed for keeping the Other as an exotic relationship, reducing the connection with otherness to the consumption of goods and products in standardized urban settings (in anxiety situations of consuming in an ephemeral nature). It is not about looking for a hierarchy between the cosmopolitanism dimensions, as if there were a superior or inferior one, or that one is more authentic and the other more superficial. There is the possibility of intersections of experiences and meetings in the different dimensions of cosmopolitanism.

Living in a globalized world does not necessarily imply the adoption of a cosmopolitan perception of the world or the defense of the realization of their aspirations (ethical, political, cultural, etc.). However, most people are able to develop an aesthetic cosmopolitanism, rejecting the idea of a single definition for cosmopolitanism. In academic literature, the cosmopolitan is defined as a highly mobile subject, curious, open and reflective, which delights in and wants to consume difference, especially in international mobility, experience other countries or other forms of transnational social relations (HANNERZ 1990; URRY, 1995). We employ the concept of aesthetic cosmopolitanism to analyze the inclusion of the subject in the globalization phenomenon as a transnational cultural process that does not erase local cultures and that transmutes the sense of national cultural uniqueness. In this perspective, the subject has an aesthetic feeling that, thanks to cultural hybridization of elements from different horizons, was emancipated from a frame previously, locally and rigidly oriented.

Mechanical globalization of cultural consumption, linked to the increasing circulation of cultural content from different continents, gave birth to aesthetic cosmopolitanism, defined on the one hand, by a strong attraction and curiosity about cultural practices and exotic products from different places with localized, authentic or re-invented references and, on the other hand, by its hybridization with national cultural forms or with localized individual appropriations.

This leads to the need to analyze the individual and social morphology of this cosmopolitan aestheticism: individual in their mobilization, it is built on the unique social folds of experiences, shared emotions and imagery, and can be defined as "a cultural disposition involving an aesthetic and intellectual stance of openness to people, places and experiences of different cultures, especially those of different nations, or a taste for the wider margins of cultural experience" (CICCHELLI, OCTOBRE & RIEGEL, 2016, p. 57). On a theoretical level, it implies a focus on feelings, as well as connections, as a central element of pluralistic and multicultural imagery within and between groups or

communities, since they can both try to preserve their cultures, customs and identities, as well as being encompassed in a mosaic of hybridized cultures. It also implies to make the distinction between the objective knowledge of an individual in relation to others, based on the opening of receiving structures, representations and affects.

Thus, contemporary aesthetic has become cosmopolitan: a) by the individual recognizing the differences between their aesthetic vernacular codes and those of foreign cultural products consumed; b) by comparing the codes without a required hierarchy on a value scale; c) by the development of skills in handling these different aesthetic codes through a familiarization process; and d) the development of an intent in regard to the discovery of the culture from which the product emerged.

For the study of possibilities of aesthetic cosmopolitan gatherings of young people, through experiences, emotions and/or imaginary experiences in their daily lives, we developed the analysis of cultural consumption of university students in São Paulo, focusing on its media aspects.

Media consumption of university students in São Paulo

In the methodological approach defined for the project *"Youth Cosmopolitanisms. Brazilian Project. Step 1: Conceptions and cosmopolitan practices among Brazilian university students"*, two steps were developed, the first qualitative, performed by individual interviews; and then quantitative, by means of questionnaires. For this step, we will detail the narratives from the interviews. The defined script for the semi-structured interview explored issues on Cultural Consumption and Global Culture.

Young people selected for the initial stage of the research project are university students, for their possibilities of education and approach to global issues of this audience, and for the outlined criteria for the beginning of the survey in France, a factor that allows for a comparative analysis between the two contexts. The participants chosen in the two countries were young people between 18 and 24 years old. In São Paulo,

students from higher education institutions of three different sectors were selected: public, private non-profit and private for-profit. In total, there were 40 interviews held during the months of February and March 2015.

Analyzing the questions on cultural consumption, what mainly stands out is the consumption of music, social networks, and websites/ blogs. In relation to time however, it indicates a very high priority for use on social networks, which are practically used on a continuous basis and protrude in relation to the other means of cultural consumption in general. This concentration shows the priority of the digital media consumer, as well as the socialization relationships of young people through social networks. We noticed in conversations with young people that the time between waking up and connecting to social networks is very short and represents their first and main way to make contact with information and entertainment for them. Just as cultural consumption focuses on digital products, we found that most hardware used for different cultural products (music, literature, movies, etc.) among students of São Paulo are personal computers and smartphones There is also television consumption, but mainly from private connections, including internet access.

The consumption of different cultural products is mainly of domestic origin, but there also is consumption of foreign origin products, mainly from the United States. This relationship with the American culture can be explained both by the fact that the products from that country dominate global culture - in the mainstream perspective of the culture industry - as well as the youth's knowledge of the English language. Starting with media consumption, mainly from North America, we seek the possibility of reflexivity of young people with other cultures, which could develop a cosmopolitan stance in them.

To study this cosmopolitan attitude, we analyze the narratives of these young people in São Paulo, in relation to the aesthetic dimension of media consumption. About the debate on the application of aesthetic cosmopolitanism, we emphasize that there is no guarantee that the expansion of cultural horizons, the development of abilities and cultural

skills and hermeneutical skills will necessarily translate into the emergence of a sense of responsibility to the world. However, the introduction of the aesthetic dimension marks a major change in the way that you can consider cosmopolitanism as a lifestyle related to consumption. The issue of global citizenship does not just revolve around the political participation and civic engagement, but also around cosmopolitan tastes, styles and consumption patterns (GERMANN Molz 2011, p. 37). So for Nikos Papastergiadis, aesthetic and cultural cosmopolitanism is fundamental because it is based on the individual and collective capacity to build an image of the world (2012, p. 94), with art being less of a way of representing the truth of the world, but another tool for you to imagine its reality.

The configurations personified by young people in their everyday experiences show varying degrees of reflexivity. Cosmopolitanism from consumption can be disconnected from reflexivity and open the way for otherness awareness. In other cases, this reflexivity is much more present and committed to critical insight, possibly for itself and for culture, in the form of explicit comparison, which can feed the production of stereotypes and comparison tools.

We can illustrate the production of stereotypes in Angelica's narrative, 20 years old, who claims that consumption of movies and information is globalized, mainly in English and from a North American origin. For the student, to be connected to the world is to have a connection with the leading global media and *mainstream* culture. Similarly, Oliver, 21years old, says that he only consumes American cultural products, which are part of the *mainstream* culture, and says that he does it for fun and to feel as part of the world when sharing the same tastes and practices that millions of people also experience around the world.

The production of comparison tools can be found in Fabio's narrative, 21, for whom the consumption of music and television comes down to content from other countries, mainly the United States and England. He believes that he should feel more connected to other cultures, and does it mainly by media consumption, through this interaction he seeks possibilities of learning and fun.

In a counterpoint to the mainstream consumer and the search to produce comparisons, we have it exemplified in Bibiana's narrative, 22 years old, which shows a critical perspective to the cultural mainstream products. She declares that she does not consume cinema in the sense of big American successful box office hit movies, although she frequents movie theaters regularly, on average, 3 times per week. For her, cinema represents the world, and world brings together the cultures, peoples and distant and foreign languages to Brazilian culture. She cites contemporary European cinema, Indian cinema, Asian and Oriental, as examples that attract her.

It is in these forms of comparison of cultural products with emotions, identified feelings and knowledge that remains that the consumption of mixed domestic and foreign products results in the figure of the amateur cosmopolitan (CICCHELLI, OCTOBRE and RIEGEL, 2016). This figure is different from other amateurisms because it deals with transient and reversible commitments in cultural repertoires that are not strictly defined by education, as suggested by the model of Bourdieu (1984). In addition, this amateurism is closely linked to the growing importance of horizontal generational socialization among peers in the digital environment, so that this amateurism also serves as a resource for self construction of these young people.

We noticed the figure of the amateur cosmopolitan in Rafael's narrative, 22 years old, when he cites that film and television are completely out of his arch of cultural consumption, focusing on his taste and preference in music and video games, as his own culture and entertainment channels, where he has the possibility to exchange information, get referrals from other sites, and meet with peers from other countries and cultures. Rafael does fall into the segment of consumption of series, not systematically, but occasionally from the moment he finds a series on the Internet and enjoys the sample displayed. He proves to be an avid consumer of cultural products for his entertainment, which have the possibility of exchanging and building, and therefore has the predilection for digital consumption, which gives you freedom of interaction.

So, in this amateurism, the question is not to measure the current level of knowledge about other cultures, but the degree of perceived closeness - or distance - with otherness in a massive flux of cultural context. As in the case of Bibiana, who believes that American cinema is not interesting, while enjoying films from other countries, precisely because they have a different cultural perspective, however fictional the film is, it greatly potentializes her interest in consumption. In the case of Rafael, he demonstrates deep understanding both of what happens in American contemporary music scene, as well as in the gaming world, and considers both important forms of entertainment consumption and contact with American culture.

Finally, in the case of Issaka, 24 years old, who was born in Niger living in Brazil for eight years, curiosity is a determining factor. He has lived in different countries and speaks different languages. His mobility and his experiences allow him to build maps, taking care of the places he wants to visit and to temporarily share the local life. He defines himself as a traveler, but wants to immerse himself in the places to experience them, "I like to know a bit of the history (of these places), to plan a bit, to get to know them beforehand (to) not be surprised." In affinities with other young people living in the places he has visited and lived in, he builds a shared emotions relationship.

Then, our reflection from the narrative of these young people comes to light: their willingness to exchange with each other without being present, with intense use of digital media. The framework that emerges is that of young people, subjects in connection, who make the network an environment of possibilities of what they want to experiment. As cartographers, they use their social networks and other environments to build a different type of map, one of affinities that enable recognition of others. Their findings seem to search for confirmation of what they investigated on the network; on-site, as the browsers that they are, they seek physical contact/location for the construction of their investigative narratives. What are they looking for? Maybe more about themselves, perhaps more about the world that surrounds them and they use the other as another mirror, facing a world of diverse appearances and reflections.

Final considerations

The relations of cultural media consumption studied follow the logic of the global market, particularly in digital media, focusing on institutions and US brands. However, the consumption in these means is not standardized, since there are possibilities of incorporating comments, content and meaning from local signs, which leads us to observe that there are both massive standards for consumption, as well as alternative and unique ones, as we have seen in the profiles reported herein from the interviews. So that while some of the young people surveyed consume the American standard of hegemonic cultural products, there are others who refuse to consume this model.

This clear rejection of the American cultural product was not perceived with the same intensity in relation to the production from any other country. The national production of less significant countries in the volume of cultural products is not as well known as to establish a pattern of denial. Thus, this relationship focuses on aspects of American culture, and their *mainstream* media products. The refusal of North American production in a given genre of cultural production, such as cinema, for example, does not mean, however, a distancing in relationtionships with products originating from that country, mainly if we evaluate the digital cultural consumption and its main media.

Cinema, music, comic books, books, television programs and other cultural products are forms of contact with global culture, as from their local production realities. Standards, especially with regard to cultural consumption and in particular the consumption that occurs from media support, are specific drivers, for it is in the standardization of the audience and the content that the cultural industry concentrates its production of cultural consumer goods. Faced with the global standard, there are, however, different forms of local consumption, which can develop different reflective attitudes and forms of participation.

The proposed discussion of media consumption by university students from São Paulo (a global city, perhaps cosmopolitan), from a cultural perspective, reveals that there is both presence and use of

global products for entertainment, but this does not necessarily mean that this aesthetic experience is transformed in local reflexivity. Thus, we consider that these young people would be what we call amateur cosmopolitans. It is important to note that these young people have a specific profile in relation to the overall picture of the population of São Paulo and Brazil, for they also represent a socioeconomic minority that seeks their university education. Thus, the research project also seeks to amplify, in its next research steps, to other young people profiles, and also compared to other cities.

The media consumption of cultural products, notably the global *mainstream* ones, could be a way of developing multiple reflexivities in young people. Moreover, interests and affinities for other cultures, for their differences and challenges, also mark an intention to look to the Other. Through reflexivity, it would be possible to build a cosmopolitan attitude, a perspective with foreign interpretations, a step forward in relation to otherness. These are the questions that remain unanswered on our research of cultural consumption experiences of young Brazilians.

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"You deface my city, I deface you": the practice of defacing political posters[1]

"Você suja minha cidade, eu sujo sua cara": práticas de escrita urbana sobre a propaganda eleitoral

Laura Guimarães Corrêa[2]
Tiago Barcelos Pereira Salgado[3]

Abstract *This study discusses the practice of everyday people defacing political material. We analyzed photographic records of these counterpropaganda interventions in the form of text and/or images published on the Facebook profile "Sujo sua cara" (I deface you) and the reconstructed meaning in the new discourse produced. Observing the posters and meaning shared in these visual interactions invites reflection on the non-partisan nature of the phenomenon and (dis)belief in political propaganda, representative democracy, and the political class in general.*

Key-words: *Discourse analysis; Belief; Visual communication; Urban interventions; Propaganda*

Resumo *Discutimos algumas práticas de escrita urbana realizadas por sujeitos comuns sobre peças de propaganda eleitoral. Analisamos registros fotográficos dessas intervenções de contrapropaganda, sob a forma de texto e/ou de imagem,*

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publicados no perfil "Sujo sua cara" no Facebook e a reconstrução de sentido nos novos discursos produzidos. A observação das peças e dos sentidos compartilhados nessas interações visuais suscita reflexões sobre o caráter apartidário do fenômeno e sobre a (des)crença na propaganda eleitoral, na democracia representativa e na classe política de modo geral.

Palavras-chave: *Análise do discurso; Crença; Comunicação visual; Intervenções urbanas; Propaganda*

Introduction

During election periods, an astounding amount of political material accumulates on the streets. From flyers containing the faces and numbers of candidates running for public office to easels left on sidewalks, a plethora of verbal and visual discourse is scattered around cities in different shapes, formats and colors. This material placed on surfaces and in spaces with constant pedestrian and commuter traffic infringes on large cities in different ways, often breaking the law.

A phenomenon related to this electoral material caught our attention. In 2010, a group of three inhabitants of Porto Alegre in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS), outraged by the indiscriminate and often illegal use of campaign material, decided to deface illegal posters and easels in the city displaying the images of candidates. Their justification for scribbling moustaches, horns and other images on the material, aimed at subverting the official discourse imposed on passersby, is based on the fact that it hampers the circulation of the public.

The intervention, called "*Sujo sua cara*" (I deface you) was a response to the annoyance caused by the material illegally displayed on the streets. Intended as "payback" for candidates aspiring to public office who indiscriminately plaster their image across cities, the group approached *Tumblr*[4] to lend greater online visibility to action carried out/collected by their followers in an attempt to gain sympathizers. On the first day the website went live, 20 pictures of defaced easels were published. On August 18, 2012, the Facebook page "*Sujo a sua cara*"[5] (I deface you) was launched, featuring news, claims and pictures of political material defaced by people in different Brazilian cities.

As reported by Chapola (2012), the leaders of the "I deface you" movement have stated that, more than simply defacing the material on display, the goal was to secure a significant reduction in the amount of political propaganda on the streets. Given the scenario previously described, this statement leads us to question the beliefs of individuals

[4] Available at: <http://sujosuacara.tumblr.com/>. Accessed on Jan 21, 2014.
[5] Available at: https://www.facebook.com/sujosuacara. Accessed on Jan 21, 2014.

within the political systems, politicians and, more precisely, the belief in electoral political discourse. This possible disbelief can trigger actions aimed at causing destabilization and tension in interactions between official political discourse, which includes propaganda, and the subjects it addresses.

In this respect, we aim to reflect on the collaborative practices and manifestations involving the defacing of electoral material and dissemination of these interventions, referring to so-called culture jamming. We feel it is important to address photographic images of the face as a means of manifesting hegemonic discourse based on their performative power of persuasion, as well as the meaning of their subversion. We propose a review of propagandist advertising and political discourse as forms of persuasion and belief, in addition to analyzing 18 images from the "*Sujo sua cara*" Facebook profile, in an attempt to understand other possible meanings attributed to contemporary politics and politicians.

Propagandist political discourse

This section addresses what we call *propagandist political discourse*. First, it is important to understand that *advertising* and *politics*, according to linguist and author Charaudeau (2010), are characterized as genres of propagandist discourse. In this respect, our interest lies in understanding the discursive dimension of politics, specifically in terms of propaganda. As proposed by the linguist, the discursive operation of propaganda materializes through these genres, which vary according to: a) the legitimacy of the speaking subject; b) the nature of the object of the speech (or quest) that constitutes the belief system; c) the place attributed to the subject influenced.

The first point made by Charaudeau (2010) refers to the legitimacy of the speaking subjects, that is, who or what they speak for. In this respect, the political class should represent the electorate, and speak for it. In these case of these representatives, legitimacy lies in the fact they were chosen by citizens in a democratic electoral system, despite the criticism this system might receive because of how it operates, is financed, and

put into practice. However, legitimacy is not enough, because as the linguist points out, it does not guarantee satisfaction. As such, credibility is also needed to attract the attention of interlocutors through discursive strategies.

We understand discourse as a system that enables both the production of a set of texts and the set itself, as proposed by Maingueneau (2005). Making discourse credible and constructing a subject worthy of being heard or read, as well as worthy of speaking, requires considering audience being addressed. When speaking to audiences or circulating propagandist political discourse through different media, such as easel-based political campaigns, it is important to consider that stating something creates a description of the world that one intends to suggest or impose on others. The *principle of alterity* (otherness) is present in interactional and dialogical processes, since there is no *I* in *you*. Speech is always directed at somebody.

Although Charaudeau (2010) does not explain what situations and circumstances he takes into account when considering propagandist discourse, we feel that these go beyond face-to-face interactions in situations involving politicians addressing an audience. It is our understanding that infocommunications acts as a mediator among several interlocutors, positioning different discursive instances that it also participates in. Based on this perspective, it is important to underscore that model presented by Charaudeau (2010) extends to the understanding and analysis of images.

As such, political material creates a relationship between the electorate and those running for political office, seeking to negotiate meanings that involve and constitute *official discourse*. The proposal presented here is similar to the *mainstream discourse* discussed by Atem (2009), referring to cohesive, coherent and self-congratulatory discourse on the current status quo, namely capitalist and consumerist society.

We believe that the discourse embodied by advertising and political material becomes official in that less care is taken about what is said (enunciated) than how it is said (enunciation), and that what is said operates based on its effectiveness, its *performative persuasive power*. Thus,

seducing and winning over the audience necessarily involves speaking with the intention of doing, speech that operates as a slogan, as an order and regiment to be aspired to and followed. However, in the material analyzed here, ordinary subjects confront *official discourse* through different interventions that cause tension and call the veracity and authority of speech into question (AUSTIN, 1990), whether attributed or imposed.

Electoral propaganda is an attempt to establish a system that regulates how citizens should behave, though not limited exclusively to this. Given this purpose, propagandist political discourse appeals to rational and persuasive arguments to try and convince the electorate to vote for certain people rather than others, fully believing in the representative system. In this regard, we note that this effort to convince is a combination between politics and politicians, guided by the *incitement to do* something with the ultimate purpose of a collective instance (you, us, them), as part of a propagation device.

As previously mentioned, propagandist political discourse is exercised through belief. We believe in what is said (enunciated), although not entirely, because we are told what we want to hear when something is promised. The almost messiah-like speeches and images of candidates espouse a future based on public administration that will benefit the city, state or country, providing for the well-being of citizens.

The proliferation of faces and reinterpretation of propaganda

The faces of men and women running for public office inundate urban areas in the weeks prior to elections. Whether known or not, these faces vie for the attention of pedestrians and motorists on the streets in a dispute for visibility. With the prohibition of using different surfaces as supports for campaign material, easels have become the primary form advertising candidates.

Limited by the space and time of a poster or a few seconds on television, propagandist political discourse relies on the image of the candidate

as a resource of appeal and identification. The face depicted emerges in the foreground with the strategic function of: inviting the public to visually interact with the images. On easels, posters and flyers distributed on the street, the eyes, smile, colors and all the significant elements of the material are put together in such a way as to attract the attention of passersby. Other elements (such as the name, candidate number, political party and slogan) are less important than the face in the visual hierarchy of printed material. According to Agamben (2000, p. 97, our own translation), "[...] the face is not something that transcends the visage: it is the exposition of the visage in all its nudity, it is a victory over character – it is word". Thus, the photographed face, printed and naked, is exposed in the street not only to view, but to the action of groups and individuals.

In all the electoral campaign material analyzed for this article, the images (unaltered originals) of candidates were exclusively photographic, with little variation in layout. For instance, none of the candidates are depicted using other forms of iconography, such as drawings, caricatures or painted portraits. It seems there is a desire for plausibility, to make the person depicted correspond to 'reality', despite the use of makeup and airbrushing. It is as if the believable icon corresponds to an ideal of spontaneity and even honesty.

In *Fotogenia eleitoral* (Photography and Electoral Appeal), Barthes (2006, p. 162) identifies the communicational dimension of electoral images: "[...] the effigy of a candidate establishes a personal link between him and the voters; the candidate does not only offer a program for judgment, he suggests a physical climate, a set of daily choices expressed in a morphology, a way of dressing, a posture." The author continues with a sharp analysis of the possible meanings of electoral photographs: A full-face photograph underlines the realistic outlook of the candidate [...]. Everything there expresses penetration, gravity, frankness: the future deputy is looking squarely at the enemy, the obstacle, the 'problem'. (BARTHES, 2006, p. 164).

Benjamin Picado (2009) revisits Barthes' idea of political photographs as a strategy that goes beyond defending reflection on "assimilating the

politician's face", considering the political portrait as a conversational genre since it encourages reciprocal eye contact and direct interaction between the candidate and the voter. The researcher also states that the candidate's look functions as a kind of *vocation*, an element that appeals to participation and the establishment of conversation. As such, the image should be a balance between seriousness and establishing empathy through interaction. In the "I deface you" phenomenon, this interactive contract is broken since the propaganda material, particularly the photograph of the face, gains additional destabilizing elements and, therefore, new meaning.

The "I deface you" initiative can be considered culture jamming, that is, an anti-propaganda and anti-advertising tactic aimed at disrupting the official discourse. As a form of subversion, jammers alter the official versions of material circulated by corporations or governments. According to Nomai (2011), by introducing their own version these activists, whose primary target is excessive consumerism, call into question the values and ideals presented by mainstream discourse. The goal of these subversive acts, which involve parody, criticism and humor, is to change people's thinking and behavior when faced with the imperatives implicit in mainstream discourse and consumption, and produce statements that confront what is advertised.

As such, we consider that propagandist political discourse is also criticized and questioned by jamming practices. The destabilization of official discourse occurs by distorting the "original message" and through the possibility of operating in urban spaces in a dialogue-based and polyphonic relationship.

As argued by Diniz (2008), culture jamming is a form of activism that uses resources and methods in a counter-hegemonic reaction to the media domination of brands. It is a tactical initiative aimed at combatting the dominance of advertising and propaganda-like messages considered invasive by those who see and hear them, and official by those who produce and finance them. The author emphasizes the fact that the internet is used as an ally in jamming, which is evident in the "I

deface you" phenomenon. In this regard, social media is used to invite people to express their outrage against official discourse. Followers are encouraged to photograph the results and post them online, as seen in the notice posted on *Tumblr:*

> From now on, any candidate with an easel on the street is also a candidate for a moustache, horns, a unibrow, scar and toothless smile. Let's be fair: if you can deface my city, I can deface you. Want to participate? Send your contribution to sujosuacara@gmail.com. (TUMBLR, 2014).

"I deface you"

The specific analysis of defaced political material used in the present study is part of a broader investigation denominated "The city and its brands: writing practices on the official speech", financed by Fapemig and dedicated to analyzing defacing interventions on advertising, propaganda and signs in four Brazilian capitals. The discovery of the intriguing "I deface you" profiles on Facebook and Tumblr in 2012 raised the possibility of analyzing a seasonal theme: the practice of defacing political propaganda.

Figure 1. One of the groups of images produced in the appropriation and organization process
Source: Research data / Prepared by the authors

Based on a universe of around 300 images of defaced posters and ea-
sels on the "I deface you" profile, photographs were selected according
to criteria on technical quality, legibility, and representativeness. In or-
der to better visualize these interventions, the pre-selected images were
printed, cut out and arranged on a surface for analysis. This provided
an empirical overview in order to test the construction of groups for
analysis (FIG. 1). This methodological procedure enabled classification
possibilities, grouping and empirical analysis to be tried and assessed[6].
Finally, 18 images were grouped and analyzed based on regularities
and similarities in the type of interference and the issues that they raise,
which are presented below.

Figure 2. Defaced political propaganda material – 2012
Source: "I deface you" Facebook profile, 2014

All the interventions shown in Figure 2 were carried out on cam-
paign material for the same candidate, with the same original layout and

[6] Some of the methodological procedures cited for empirical assessment are similar to those
applied in previous studies, described in the article. Check: Corrêa (2011) and Corrêa (2013).

likely by the same people. The images were published on the Facebook page and identified as contributions to the "goat crew" (*turma do bode*). Common characteristics include: completely or partially covering the candidate's face and covering/changing the name, playing with the semantics of the words and image. This interference eradicates the easel's informative and propaganda-based functions and makes a joke using art and media culture references. Three of the interventions are based on television and film personalities, and one displays the name and visual references of a surrealist artist. On all of the easels, only the face has been altered, while the candidate remains formal and respectably dressed in a suit and tie, reinforcing its strangeness and the derisive and humorous effect created by changing the material. It gives the impression that Animal the muppet, Hannibal the cannibal, an avatar, and Magritte's the son of man could run for public office.

Figure 3. Defaced political propaganda material – 2012
Source: "I deface you" Facebook profile, 2014

Figure 3 shows other images collected on the same website under a similar theme: references to groups, songs and popular singers, as well as well-known artists and their work. The tools used for interventions in this group varied from paint and paintbrush, spray paint, stenciling, pens and similar items. The range of techniques, materials and skills visible in this group of defaced material shows it was carried out by different people, altering not only the image, but the names and candidate numbers too. The straight and serious sans serif font of the easels and posters is overlaid with a handwritten caricature-like font, revealing both a desire for proximity with the reference (such as The Beatles) and divestment in the sprayed lines.

Figure 4. Defaced political propaganda material – 2012
Source: "I deface you" Facebook profile, 2014

A common form of defacing candidates' easels is the suggestion of changing their gender (FIG. 4). Pictures of male candidates are adorned with elements and accessories typically identified with women, such as long hair, makeup and jewelry. while women's photographs are given moustaches and beards to make them look male. Other interventions related to the gender of candidates can also be observed. Vulgar references to the female gender and transgenderism are visible in the text and images added to the photographs, with negative connotations intended to insult. This interference criticizes the political class while at the same time reinforcing entrenched gender stereotypes and prejudices based on heteronormativity.

Figure 5. Defaced political propaganda material – 2012
Source: "I deface you" Facebook profile, 2014

One of the most common references in the interventions is the idea that it is common knowledge that all politicians are corrupt. A number of the messages and pictures suggest that candidates' main interest and actions involve accumulating and appropriating public funds. Words such as "thief" (*ladrão*) and drawings of horns are the most forms of defacing electoral material (FIG. 5).

The organizers of the internet accounts make the non-partisan nature of the defacing practices clear: the criterion used to deface the easel is not the party or candidate in question, but its alleged illegal placement in the urban space. For example, many of the easels are defaced with the word VOID (*nulo*) partially or completely covering the candidate's name and/or number. This interference negates the intended functional and informative nature of this communication product, turning the propaganda into a joke and a form of protest.

Double (dis)belief: in propaganda and politics

The urban setting is understood here as an arena for discursive negotiation and conflicts between interacting individuals. It is important to underscore the intentional nature of the communication which, as opposed to a unilateral process, is characterized by the exchange of dialogue, whether synchronic or diachronic, verbal or visual, face-to-face or not. The emphasis on the relationship between the different agents in discourse is also reflected in the work of Eliseo Verón. According to the author, enunciation – manners of speaking – determines the

contract of interpretation, which connects the agents and "creates a link between the support and its reader" (VERÓN, 2005, p. 219), or *contract of communication* (CHARAUDEAU, 2007). This connection is based on expectations of the discursive exchange, the suggestion of place to a recipient, triggered by this contract.

In the case of propagandist political discourse, the recipient is the citizen/voter who believes there is one or more person(s) to whom they can confer the power to represent them. The basis of this contract is the belief in representative democracy as a legitimate political system. However, propagandist discourse is also primarily based on its performative dimension.

In a contemporary discussion of the phenomena involved in belief, Žižek (2004) critically analyzes what he calls "decaffeinated belief": belief without involvement, risk or commitment. It represents adherence to ways of living and thinking based on moderation and regulation, a type of restrained hedonism. Western subjects can adhere to religions, behaviors and products without the need for truth or an "active ingredient".

Establishing a connection between Žižek's (2004) idea of decaffeinated belief and the logic of advertising, Rocha (2007) argues that belief in advertising is not based on truth, but rather sharing. It appears that disbelief in the product is based on the premise that advertisers are only interested in profit (whether by selling a product/service or achieving the power, salary and benefits of public office). Disbelief in the legitimacy of the product is compensated by the shared belief in consumption as a path to happiness and ownership.

In the case of political advertising, there must be a shared belief in the population's well-being, which would result from the functioning of the electoral system as a whole. The representative system assumes that the votes will delegate power to the political class in a relationship of trust. If this does not occur, the *performative persuasive power* of the discourse is weakened, that is, it becomes ineffective.

Brazilian voters have witnessed centuries of accusations and evidence of embezzlement of public funds in different political sectors and

parties. In this respect, disbelief in each individual candidate combines with a certain distrust of the political class as a whole. The tendency to believe in the general and indiscriminate dishonesty of the class and political practices points to the increasing negative values attributed not to an individual, but to anyone involved in Brazilian politics. The interventions express the feeling of a broken promise, of breaking the *contract of communication* established between candidates and voters. When this interaction is discredited, the public can react by ignoring or even destabilizing the devices and symbols involved in the symbolic exchange relationship, as in the "I deface you" phenomenon.

The respectability of those asking for votes is questioned by these derisive manifestations. The name given to the movement evokes a type of "voodoo" effect, as if the marks on the picture were an attack on the person themself. Although the material is a series of printed photographs, there is no doubt that its defacement also sullies the candidate's rehearsed pose and measured smile.

In this regard, it is important to underscore the name given to the account that collects and publishes photographic records of defaced political propaganda on the streets: "You deface my city, I deface you". The words *you* and *I* binomial pair indicate and reciprocal relationship, of a reaction to something done by someone else. The possessive pronouns also take part in the dialogical relationship: The city is *mine* and *I* must protect it because *you* have defaced it with the propagation of *your* face.

Final Considerations

It can be said that the "I deface you" movement is ambiguous: as an intervention, it showcases a way of doing politics outside the constraints of institutional politics, distancing itself from the logic of representative democracy by proposing a form of direct action that reveals boldness and creativity in the appropriation of the public space. People take action against the discourse of candidates by using humor as a tool to disarm and generate empathy. At first glance, the act of defacing electoral

propaganda generates laughter and sympathy by mocking those in power, or those who desire it.

The discourse that sustains the movement is legalistic and originates from people who are outraged and defend their rights by ensuring the law is followed in their own way. The profile does not question the electoral system, but rather suggests the contract has been breached when material is displayed illegally. These intervention practices and their mediatized discourse indicate a wish to physically and symbolically cleanse the city: their statements defend a form of urban cleaning that seems to view politics (and not just propaganda) as something dirty. This reasoning does not consider the city as an essentially polyphonic place, as a visible arena for democratic struggle.

Moreover, the idea suggested in the profiles, and by the nature of the defacement, that everyone in the political class is the same and "no good", reveals a certain withdrawal from politics and shows similarities to a right-wing conservative stance, which aims more at maintaining power structures as opposed to transforming them. An example of this is the creation, two years after the launch of the "I deface you" profile, of an almost eponymous[7] account focusing less on defacing initiatives and more on underdeveloped criticism of political figures.

It is important to note that the defacement of electoral material occurred on the streets, but the "I deface you" phenomenon was strengthened and gained meaning as a form of protest by organizing and sharing the images and the repercussion on social media. A single defaced easel on the street holds less meaning than when it is photographed and included alongside several others on social media accounts that give names and meaning to this phenomenon that, at first glance, appears to be a simple joke. The objective of this study was not to analyze the debate that forms around the images through comments and posts on these sites, but these do hold potential as an object of research to understand this type of phenomenon.

[7] Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Voc%C3%AA-Suja-Minha-Cidade-Eu-Sujo-Sua-Cara/1788888222459 18>. Accessed on Sep 8, 2014.

In conclusion, this type of direct action that combines signs of disbelief in representative democracy with contemporary discursive practices in urban interactions shows a connection to the significant wave of protests underway at the time, which culminated in the June 2013 demonstrations in Brazilian cities. As such, although their magnitude was surprising, the demonstrations that spread across the urban space did not emerge suddenly, but formed gradually through small protests such as "I deface you", like small streams of discontent of varying types and complexities that, although contradictory, merged together into huge rivers through the streets.

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Madureira and Pelourinho: consumption and representation of typical foods at popular festivities[1]

Madureira e Pelourinho: consumo e representação de comidas típicas em festas populares

João Luis de Araújo Maia[2]
Adelaide Rocha de la Torre Chao[3]

Abstract *Mediated by food, music, cultural and religious rites, this article puts forward a reflection on representations based on the use and consumption of manifestations of the Brazilian popular culture. Feira das Yabás, held in Madureira, a suburban area in Rio de Janeiro and Festa de Santa Barbara, which takes place annually in Pelourinho, a traditional neighborhood of the historical downtown area of Salvador, are the objects of this analysis. In order to highlight the concepts that guide the communication and the consumption through the spaces of celebration, participant observation is used as a methodological approach through reports of experience.*

Key-words: *Communication; Consumption; Memory; Food; Popular festivities*

Resumo *Mediados pela comida, música, ritos culturais e religiosos, este artigo propõe uma reflexão acerca das representações, a partir dos usos e do consumo das manifestações da cultura popular brasileira. A Feira das Yabás, realizada em Madureira, subúrbio do Rio de Janeiro, e a Festa de Santa Bárbara, que ocorre todos os anos no Pelourinho, tradicional bairro do centro histórico de Salvador, são*

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os objetos desta análise. Para evidenciar os conceitos que norteiam a comunicação e o consumo através de espaços de celebração, utilizamos como metodologia a observação participante através de relatos de experiência.

Palavras-chave: *Comunicação; Consumo; Memória; Comida; Festas populares*

Introduction

Celebrating. Dancing, eating, talking, exalting religiousness, letting yourself be known, and sharing. These are some of the purposes of popular festivals, which are so common in Brazilian cities.

Between the months of November and December of 2013, we entered the public space of the street in the occasion of two popular festivities: *Feira das Yabás*, in the suburban area of Rio de Janeiro, and *Festa de Santa Bárbara*, in the historical district of Salvador. The cultural history of these neighborhoods shares similarities in terms of their formation process, transformations due to urban development policies, and the way they have been reframed as spaces of effervescence, highlighting new uses of habits, memory and tradition. The street, even though it is a public space, becomes an area of celebration, restricted to those who feel comfortable in sharing the festival's socialities. It is not necessary to establish a comparison between the two festivals for the purposes of this study, given that our goal is to understand the "celebration spaces" (Maffesoli, 1998) of the streets of the city.

Through bibliographical research, we review the cultural history, considering the sociological and communicational aspects of the festivals alongside their typical food, several means of consumption and we emphasize the strong memory of past times that is shared in the streets.

Participant observation, the methodology used for field research, has allowed us to experience the vitality of the festivals, tasting typical foods and walking through the streets to understand the celebration spaces. We reveal fragments of the "cases" told by the participants (social actors), the day to day of the place, the memory and experience reports using the technique of narrative interviews in order to provide more detailed reports.

Without the intention of comparing the events, we note that the article highlights the use and consumption of typical food at street festivals as a binding and mediation element of the Brazilian culture.

Madureira: a space of memory and celebration

In Rio de Janeiro, the implementation of the train and the expansion of the urban rail network has given rise to the so-called suburban neighborhoods in Rio de Janeiro, such as Madureira. *Sub-urban* because they were created away from the economic and cultural center of the urban area, in order to remove the poor working class who lived there and did not match the modernist reforms by Mayor Pereira Passos, during the presidency of Rodrigues Alves (1902-1906). The area was filled by people with little education and economic power, in addition to slums and old buildings. They had been moved from central neighborhoods of the city and could not share the spaces of new public buildings and large European-style avenues that were to come (ABREU, 2003). Those people started the cultural history of the formation of Madureira neighborhood. Black people, former slaves, workers, migrants (mostly from the Northeast) brought the cultural references that remain in the neighborhood through music, art, festivals, trade, popular expressions and religious cults.

The suburban sense in Rio de Janeiro has peculiar characteristics. The modern and the traditional are not opposite, but complementary. A steady urban development process, given that "the suburb is the space of well-being, social development and cultural revolution" (SOTO, 2008, p.116).

The notion of *sheltering* is one of the social characteristics of the suburb, and Madureira is not indifferent nor impersonal regarding these socialities[4]. The analysis provided by Oliveira (2013, p.20) says that:

> In fact, it has been a while since the suburb has passed Madureira, for example. Today, Madureira, as well as other rail neighborhoods to which we refer, is far from being a suburb, as defined in the academic literature; that is, the farthest place from the central area of the city; a dispersed habitat, on the edge of the urban or near-urban system; a spatial transition between the rural and the urban, with a landscape in permanent

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[4] "Socialities" is a term used by Michel Maffesoli (1988, p.198) to "express a communalized and collective empathy".

transformation and movement, following the expansion of the city and its urbanization.

The concept of suburb, if applied to Madureira neighborhood, is far beyond the relationship with the train, the pejorative meaning of the term "suburban" related to low or poor quality, lack of culture or sophistication. (SOARES, in FERNANDES, 2011)

In the beginning of the 21st century, however, the suburb reinvents itself. Madureira shows its representations as a territory of consumption, culture, arts, sports, music, and gastronomy permeating the imaginary and everyday practices.

Celebrating 400 years in 2014, the festivities spread in symbolic spaces to highlight the neighborhood's history and socio-cultural contributions. The samba schools *Império Serrano* and *Portela* hold the traditional *feijoada* events, with rehearsals of their drum sections; Madureira Park offers a variety of concerts and cultural presentations, in addition to sports activities in their skateboard rinks, considered the largest and the best in the city, according to the sportsperson in the category, Bob Burniquist[5]. Madureira maintains the tradition of African dance through *jongo* and *capoeira* presentations, conducted by *Jongo da Serrinha*, an artistic group created in the neighborhood. Under Negrão de Lima Overpass, a route of daily traffic, every Saturday, for over twenty years, a *Baile de Charme*[6] is held, considered, by the population, the most traditional one in the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro.

Feira das Yabás[7]

The symbolism and reverence to feminism are highly evident in Madureira. The traditions, the customs and the cultural history of the neighborhood have attributed to women in the community respect

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[5] Article from *O Dia* Newspaper, available at <http://odia.ig.com.br/noticia/rio/2013-05-24/madureira-festeja-400-anos-no-ritmo-da-modernidade.html>, access on Jul 12, 2014.
[6] Article from *O Globo* Newspaper, available at <http://rioshow.oglobo.globo.com/noite/festas/baile-de-charme-do-viaduto-de-madureira-7618.aspx>, access on Aug 05, 2014.
[7] The event's organization has chosen to spell the term *Yabá* with a *y*, commercially. In this paper, we use this spelling as we refer to *Feira das Yabás*, held in Rio de Janeiro.

and massive participation in the major social, economic and cultural activities.

The terms *Aiabá*, *Yabás*, *Iabá* and *Oiá*, from Yoruba, an African language, mean "queen", "mother", "elderly woman", "sheltering", and "the one who feeds the children". Yoruba is a sub-Saharan language, spoken in the African region to the South from the Sahara. It is the native language of Yoruba people, and it is spoken, among other languages, in Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Sierra Leone, as well as in African-Brazilian religious rites (where it is called *Nagô*) and in Cuba (where it is called *Lucumi*) [8]. In the African-origin religions, the *iabás* are the female *orixás*, represented by *Iansã, Oxum, Obá, Nanã, Yemanjá*, among others.[9] *Feira das Yabás* is an event that shares this feminine reverence, either through the exaltation of the afro-carioca gastronomy, as through the tributes to Madureira matriarchs – traditional women of the community who have a close relationship with composers, samba personalities and artists from Madureira. The stalls are decorated in blue and white; the *Yabás* wear an orange apron and headscarf where the logo of the event is applied. In an attempt to symbolize the memory, the tradition, the religion and the black resistance in Brazil, we see some of them wearing an African-Brazilian outfit – white coats, headscarves, beaded necklaces under their party "uniforms".

Paulo da Portela Square, the site where *Feira das Yabás* is held, is a symbolic space of the region called "Grande Madureira" where composers and samba personalities meet and where Portela's *Velha Guarda* is based. It is possible to notice that the people there are willing to be together, to share a moment of festivity and gathering. It is "the feeling of belonging" approached on the works of Maffesoli (1988, 1998), which demonstrates the emotion towards the use of the place, as if they were in their homes, places of intimacy and casualness.

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[8] Available in Yoruba dictionary, sources: <http://www.alaketu.com.br/ritos/dicionario_ioruba.htm>, and <http://ileobaotito.no.comunidades.net/index.php?pagina=1731476904>. Access on Jan 14, 2014.
[9] Cadernos do IPAC – Festa de Santa Bárbara n.5, (p.19, 42, 43).

Since March 2012, on the second Sunday of each month, illustrious residents of Madureira have gathered at Paulo da Portela Square to hold an afro-carioca gastronomy fair. There are 16 stalls with food and delicacies organized by the matriarchs of the most important families in the region, in an effort to preserve the black culture and cuisine from Rio de Janeiro, characteristic of the suburb. Most *iabás* are part of Portela's *Velha Guarda*, as well as Império Serrano's. One of the most well known *iabás* is Tia Surica, a Portela personality who offers *mocotó* stew and cassava with dried beef at her stall. Neide Santana serves *feijoada* as the main dish, in addition to shrimp, *angu à baiana* and black beans broth. Fish is offered at the stalls served by Tia Nira and Jane Carla, who also make *pirão* (fish chowder), fish cakes, fry sardines, and shrimp. The oldest of the *iabás*, Tia Neném, who is 88 years-old, prepares along with her relatives, *rabada* (oxtail stew) with potatoes, *angu* (corn flour porridge) and pumpkin cake filled with dried beef. *Jabás* with pea chowder, beans stew, and *mocotó* chowder are served at *iabá* Romana's stall. There is also pasta with dried beef (offered by Tia Edith), the famous *tripa lombeira* (beef tripe and beans soup) with codfish cakes at Rosangela Maria's stall and *feijoada* made by *iabá* Marlene. Pastries are offered at the stalls belonging to Vera de Jesus, Tia Natércia and Sueli, who makes *vaca atolada* (beef short ribs and cassava stew), cassava cake, and beef with cassava[10].

Feira das Yabás is an event that is (re)signified as a territory of diversity and plurality of symbols, customs, and traditions. It offers much more than typical dishes of carioca cuisine – it revisits the memory of samba names and other personalities of cultural history, reveres the *jongo* culture in the usual presentations and favors the musical space for new and known artists. All of that is presented at the "cozinha a céu aberto"[11] (open-air cuisine) at the big yard of Madureira.

The Sunday lunch is a meal that, even through a current representation, brings the family together around the table, either inside or outside

[10] Available at <http://www.feiradasyabas.com.br> access on Jul 10, 2013.
[11] Available at <http://www.feiradasyabas.com.br> access on Jul 29, 2014.

the house (Barbosa, 2009). Often times, it is the "bait", according to the author, to invite people outside the family group with purposes of social aggregation – this is the highest external sociability meal. [12]

The family lunches are part of the Brazilian cultural history and are always remembered as emotional and gustatory experiences. The sociabilities of Sunday lunches are marked by the informality of the topics discussed at the talks, by the plans for the future, the routine of the week that is about to start, the recent events (Barbosa, 2009). Such sociabilities do not imply any associative process – the contact, the exchange and the conversation do not have any specific goals, according to Simmel (2006). The act of being there, talking, listening, sharing the time together and the moment is what matters.

> (...) food consumption is a practice close related to affection and even to the wonders inherent to the functioning of social life. Consuming means "taking something to ourselves," absorbing a part of the world to which we belong or want to belong, a practice that socializes and re-socializes us, making us intimate with or present in it somehow. (CARVALHO, 2013 p. 16)

The social purpose of *Feira das Yabás* is to portray those "Sunday lunches" in the suburbs, characterized by the abundance of food and music. Gathering family members, relatives, friends, friends of acquaintances, and even strangers to share the pleasure of being together.

The symbolism of the *Yabás* represents the cultural history of Rio de Janeiro, the culinary tradition of African origin hybridized *à la* Brazilian and carioca mode; it also represents the black resistance from the rise of the suburbs. The meaning of the word *iabá*, as "queen", "maternal ", grants these matriarchs, an "authority" that Certeau (1998) attributes to the new use of those spaces in daily practices.

> (...) urban spaces practices, use of daily ritualization, reutilization and workings of memory through the "authorities" that enable (or allow) everyday practices, etc. (CERTEAU, 1998, p.42)

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[12] Term used by the author to highlight the sociability between people without family bonds.

In this scenario, *Feira das Yabás* is a popular territory with various forms of communication and consumption (food, religious beliefs, music, dance, clothing and leisure). Typical dishes of the afro-carioca cuisine, in addition to clothing and crafts, are sold in stalls sponsored by the private sector and with the support of government agencies. However, the ones who cannot pay for the food and the drinks also have the chance to experience the same environment and the purpose of the event. Many families take their own containers with food and coolers with beverages to the square. This way they can experience this "Sunday lunch", as noted in the expression "familiarization" used by Maffesoli (1998) to demonstrate the need groups have to share the experience, being together with relatives and friends.

Experience at the festivities

We reached[13] the end of *Estrada do Portela* (Portela Road) by noon, around house number 391, towards Paulo da Portela Square. The *iabás'* stalls with delicacies, drinks and meals were already prepared. The appearance was predominantly blue and white. People started to arrive, especially in groups. The rich menu is always prepared by the *iabás* themselves and their helpers, but we noticed that many people, whole families, take their "homemade lunch" to the street. Many had Styrofoam coolers or plastic buckets with drinks and plenty of ice for their own consumption. They arrange tables, chairs, and start to make their plates. There are plastic boxes with barbecue, roasted chicken and even pudding for dessert. All set. Then, early on, a man who seems to be the oldest stands up and says a prayer in gratitude for the family reunion there on the street.

Everyone is welcome to eat. Some people try the food offered at the *Yabás'* tents and some people bring their own lunch to the Fair. In this same space – a public space with private representations – they share the sociabilities of the "Sunday lunch", typical at backyard parties

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[13] Participant observation carried out by Adelaide Rocha de la Torre Chao (author) and Angelina Nunes on November 10, 2013.

to experience emotions, emphasizing the tradition of the afro-carioca cuisine brought by the previous generations since the beginning of the suburb (FERNANDES, 2011).

On the stage, installed in the center of the square, musicians start to "warm up" the instruments and soon a samba group starts the party. Around 1 pm, Marquinhos de Oswaldo Cruz, a well-known samba composer in Madureira goes up to the stage and leads a *roda de samba* (samba circle) for almost three hours. People's participation is intense, singing several types of samba (songs, *samba de roda*, samba theme, *pagode* etc). Traditional songs by the samba schools of Madureira, Portela and Imperio Serrano, are sung there, in their place of origin. Gentlemen dressed in suits and white shoes, in addition to the traditional panama hat with a blue ribbon mark the presence of Portela's *Velha Guarda*.

At 2 pm the streets and the square were crowded. At the fried fish stall that belongs to *iabá* Jane, while she fried dumplings, we talked with Dona Neuza, 67 years-old, a retired cook who has taken part in the Portela community events for over 20 years.

"Feira das Yabás is an art, and to be an iabá is a gift. You must enjoy cooking and you must like people", says Dona Neuza, who has worked at the Fair since she resigned from a restaurant in Tijuca neighborhood because the owner had ordered her to reuse the food. She says: *"an iabá makes food for the children. If I do not serve leftover food to my children, why would I do this to other people? I am happy here because I add love to what I make; the food is good, well prepared, and that's what I like to see: people dancing samba together"*. Since then, she has dedicated herself to gastronomy, to events at the samba school patio and to *Feira das Yabás*.

Dona Neuza has tattooed Portela's eagle on her right arm, as a symbol of loyalty and love for the school. She says she has no relationship with Candomblé, she does not wear the *orixás'* beads around her neck, but she calls herself an *iabá*.

At Selma Candeia's stall, whose main dish is pumpkin with dried meat, there is a photo exhibition and a poetry reading going on. The Candeia family gathers at the fair with the intention to preserve the

memory of the father, the samba singer and composer Antônio Candeia (1935-1978)[14], and his contribution to Brazilian popular music. At various points of *Feira das Yabás*, we observe the people's relationship with food, music, rhythm, tradition and memory.

Pelourinho: a place of memory, religiousness, and celebration

> Personal memories, as places of such mutism in memory, return. As an introduction to a seminar on popular culture in Northeast Brazil, a walk during the previously noisy night from Salvador to Igreja do Passo. In contrast to the subtle theater of mercy, the dark facade raises the city's dust and sweat on its dignity. Above the old neighborhoods full of noise and voices, there is its monumental and silent secret. Ladeira do Passo is in charge. It does not surrender to the researchers who have it before their eyes; they cannot grasp the popular language either, which comes from far away and from very high up when they approach it. Quite different from Igreja do Rosário, all blue and wide-open, this black stone raises up the nocturnal side of the humor from Bahia. Impregnable rock, though (or because) well known, stripped of ceremony, similar to the songs of the Brazilian *saudade*. Returning from this pilgrimage, the faces through the streets, despite their merry mobility, seem to multiply, passing on the indecipherable and family secret of the monument. (CERTEAU, 1998, p.75-76)

The report of Michel de Certeau describes Pelourinho, a historical district of the historic downtown area of Salvador, which was listed, in 1985, World Heritage Site[15] by UNESCO, and represents a space of artistic, historical, cultural, gastronomic and religious mediation. Pelourinho was the name given to a stone or wood column with iron rings, also known as *picota* (pillory), exposed in the public square and used to

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[14] About Antônio Candeia Filho, available at <http://www.dicionariompb.com.br/candeia/dados-artisticos>, access on Jan 14, 2014.
[15] In 1985 UNESCO listed Pelourinho as a World Heritage Site (source: http://patrimonio.ipac.ba.gov.br/bem/conjunto-arquitetonico-paisagistico-e-urbanistico-centro-historico-da-cidade-de-salvador/#) access on Jan 13, 2014.

whip and punish criminals, slaves, black people, besides representing the local government between the 16th and the 19th centuries[16].

Driven by progressive changes in the capital of the Republic and the "Frenchification" of Brazil, the governor of Bahia at the time, José Joaquim Seabra (1912-1916; 1920-1924), political ally of President Rodrigues Alves, began the process of modernization of Salvador. Its critical moment also happened due to transformations and displacement of the population for the expansion and creation of new districts, which favored the upper classes, leading to the onset of the devaluation and degradation of neighborhoods near the central area of Salvador, such as the Pelourinho, which since colonial times had sheltered people with possessions, for its weather and good location in the high area of the city (TAVARES, 2010). Those people migrated to revitalized neighborhoods, and with their evasion, Pelourinho became a space of prostitution, drug dealing, and violence – being the site of the marginalized population of the city until the end of the 1980s.

With the revival, from 1990 onwards, Pelourinho became a place of cultural effervescence, with bars, restaurants, galleries, museums, music and arts schools, in addition of being one of the main tourist sites in Salvador.

Santa Barbara Festival

"The clothes are red. Faith has no color". (MELO, 2014)[17].

December 4th is the date that has honored Santa Bárbara and *Iansã* for over 300 years, representations of religious syncretism in Bahia. Considered Intangible Heritage of Bahia by the State Government since 2008, the celebration brings together thousands of people who dress in red and crowd the streets of Pelourinho to celebrate the representations

[16] On Pelourinho's origin, available at <http://www.bahia-turismo.com/salvador/centro-historico/pelourinho.htm> access on Jan 13, 2014.
[17] MELO, Ruan. Baianos lotam ruas do Pelourinho em homenagem à Santa Bárbara. Available at <http://g1.globo.com/bahia/noticia/2013/12/fieis-chegam-cedo-para-participar-de-homenagem-santa-barbara.html>, created on Dec 04, 2013, access on Dec 14, 2013.

that permeate the social imaginary of the festival – religion, traditions, as well as artistic, cultural and gastronomic manifestations. Santa Bárbara is considered the protective Godmother of the Fire Brigade because its image is related to the struggle, the courage, the justice, and for being the Patron Saint of the markets, due to the relationship with food, food distribution etc.

At 5 am, fireworks start the day of celebration. The central point is the church Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos, on Ladeira do Pelourinho, built between 1704 and 1870. After the stairs of the church are washed, an open-air mass is held as a means of religious celebration. To preserve the history and the culture of black people, the Catholic liturgy makes use of music and rites inspired by the Candomblé worship sites. After the Mass, a procession walks through the streets of the historic downtown area of Salvador, the *iabás* gather at the Santa Barbara market[18] for the distribution of hundreds of *caruru* (traditional dish of Bahian cuisine) takeout boxes, closing the religious celebrations. Samba circles, *jongo* and concerts take place at stages around the Pelourinho squares in the so-called "profane party" until the end of the evening.

On this day[19], new uses and ways of talking and eating can be seen. For Certeau (1998), a ('popular') use of the religion that modifies the functioning of daily life.

> A way of speaking this language received transforms it into a chant of resistance, and this inner metamorphosis does not compromise the sincerity with which it can be believed, nor the lucidity with which, by the way, the struggles and inequalities that are hidden under the established order can be seen. (CERTEAU, 1998, p. 78-79)

In the clothing symbolism, the color red exerts a "significant activity" enabling the body to the meanings of celebration (Hegel, in Barthes, 2005, p.361-362) – the color red represents the struggle, the courage, the resilience and the achievements and permeates the collective imagination of the party.

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[18] Due to local constraints, *caruru* was not distributed on the Market premises in 2013.
[19] Participant observation carried out by Adelaide Rocha de la Torre Chao (author) on Dec 4, 2013.

In the religious part of the celebration, the food presents new uses through a "ritual activity" The hybridization of Catholicism and *Candomblé* rites, symbolized during the solemn Mass, serves to contain the fluctuation of meanings and to preserve the live and active memory (Douglas, 2009).

The food at the party, as goods, are ways to discriminate values, and they are ritual accessories. In Mary Douglas analysis (2009), this is the visible part of the culture. The *acarajé* cakes and the *abarás* are mixed with bread and grapes and are offered as a symbol of religious syncretism; on the profane side, they are consumed at the stalls of the traditional *baianas*. "Consumption uses the goods to make firm and visible a particular set of judgements in the fluid processes fluids and to rank people and events". (DOUGLAS, 2009, p.115). The distribution of *caruru* in takeout boxes and breads at the Santa Barbara Market represents a creative reconquering of public spaces, of the interest by the public in the various forms of sharing symbols. It means linking the consumption to the civil awareness in a place of cognitive value that is "useful to think and act in a meaningful and renewing way in social life". (CANCLINI, 2008, p.72)

What is impressive about *Festa de Santa Bárbara* is the bonding, always in a collective and social exchange. Even as strangers, people are acquainted at the party through dance, food, gestures, and beliefs. As Pérez reminds us on the rites and relationships of the parties, people recognize one another, they get together with others, and they rebuild themselves from what is shared, even if they do not know one another. (PÉREZ, 2002).

Street festival, street food

Food gets to the streets, in the search for other areas of the city, different from lunches at home. In contemporary times, the urgency for a more practical and fast life has led many people to dispense with the time spent in preparing lunches, without leaving aside the commensal practices and the pleasure of being together, sharing the meal time. The

practice of designating urban areas as a means to reformulate the ghettos has become a strategy to reform the cities. (Jayne, 2000, in BELL, 2005, p. 59).

The terms "eat on the street" or "eat on suburban streets" or "eat at the festival", commonly heard by attendees of *Feira das Yabás* and the participants of *Festa de Santa Bárbara* are close to "geographical eating", an expression by the French geographer Jean-Robert Pitte, noting that "knowing or expressing a territory culture through its culinary, products, recipes seems to us quite natural" (MONTANARI, 2008. p. 135)

Such traditional Brazilian culture parties in Madureira and Pelourinho are events in public territory – the street and the square. Habermas (1984) classifies as "public" certain events when they, in contrast to closed societies, are accessible to anyone. It is interesting to observe that, even though it is an open event with free admission, the street is given a "private status" in the sense of belonging and ownership of that space. It is the feeling of "entering one's backyard," the "party place", the "banquet set on the table" and the "ground to dance samba".

People demonstrate to feel involved, invited to "go have lunch at the party," recognizing the street as a legitimate place for such an event. For this reason, they take the space as private, as if they had been formally invited to a party. As explained by Habermas (Idem, 1984), the representativeness of events and parties in the street, since the 15th century, is always dependent on a surrounding region that develops and gets involved.

For Montanari (2008), the "geography's taste" does not belong to the past. Today the territory is an absolute reference value in food choices. That is, the "suburb food" is identified (or combined) with the space of the street. The author emphasizes that the choice of location is based on elements that belong to the tradition. Yet it is innovative, it is developed along with various phenomena, both of economic and cultural character (Idem, p. 141-142).

"Eating on the street" involves the very sociality energy that, to Maffesoli (2014, p.5), "is invested in those real or symbolic places, where

post-modern tribes share (musical, cultural, sexual, sports , religious ...) tastes that are the cement (*ethos*) to the fact of being together. For the author, the place creates the connection. This sociality is related to commensal practices, which are intrinsic to the street. At *Feira das Yabás* and *Festa de Santa Bárbara*, it is possible to see people eating their meals sitting (or not) in tables arranged in the middle of the street, on the sidewalks, at the balconies of the buildings. It is not a problem if no table is available. The beverage, usually beer and soft drinks, is in buckets filled with ice and people put them on the floor. They gather to talk around the bucket and they share snacks, standing up with their plates in their hands. We also noticed people who do not necessarily consume the products sold on the street. Some groups take their own food in containers, coolers and stools. Across the sidewalk, they organize the space in which the cooler is turned into a table and the stools are arranged around the box. Then, everyone comes together to "eat together", to "celebrate", bonded to what Maffesoli calls "a community ideal" an effect of a close link that unites real/unreal, reason/sensitivity, visible/invisible, and that is able to avoid the stigmatization of "acting in community". (Idem, p.5; 84)

The author emphasizes that the purpose of food culture is above all to unite, to bring together different experiences.

In all traditional societies, the ways of eating is the first signal of difference between individuals and classes. However, when the food becomes a widespread good, this food code is made dull, whereas the value of the territory as a receptacle of a new difference is asserted – the geographical food. For this reason, the concept of "territory cuisine" remains a current concept. (Idem, p. 142)

The table, for Montanari (2008, p. 137), is a place of inter-territorial, inter-regional, international exchange – a central place, designed to gather all kinds of products, especially food, in typical festivals. As well as the products, the dishes are also seen (perhaps they have always been) as something linked to the territory, to the resources, the traditions, as a sign identifying diverse cultures.

Popular celebrations in Madureira and Pelourinho reframe representations and sociabilities through practices and ways of doing in the urban space. Practices that question the popular and community cultures based on "arts of doing", on the combinatorial consumption of goods, rites, gestures, food, clothing and beliefs.

An art of rebuilding the space practices, ways to go somewhere, complex processes of the cookery art and ways of providing reliability to rites. Certeau (1998) calls those "reutilizations" "bricolage". These are new ways of doing, from the possibility of using spaces in blank. For Certeau (1998), consumption is beyond commercial techniques and methods; it is related to an inventive and different ways of making and using. Under this analysis, Madureira and Pelourinho create new ways for uses of their cultural manifestations over time, involving the people who go there and who want to consume and share their experiences.

The representations of the popular celebrations both in Madureira as in Pelourinho are based fundamentally on communion, the common experienced by many, keeping those places as epicenters of sociality, memory and tradition.

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La creación está en el aire: juventudes, política, cultura y comunicación
BARBALHO, Alexandre Almeida.
Barcelona: UOC, 2014. 104 p.

The creation is in the air: youths, politics, culture and media
A criação está no ar: juventudes, política, cultura e comunicação

Amanda Nogueira de Oliveira[1]

Abstract *Published in 2014 UOC publishing in Barcelona, the book La creación está em el aire: juventudes, política, cultura y comunicación (Creation is in the air: youth, politics, culture and communication) is a dialogue on contemporary youth. It discusses the role of young people as a plural social category based on their cultural and political presence, which is reinforced by technological communications devices. These devices are perceived as platforms for visibility, identity construction and the production of meaning. The book also presents in-depth discussion on youth as a minority as well as public policy aimed at this category, justifying mapping as an essential theoretical and methodological tool to investigate this group.*

Keywords: *Youths; Culture; Politics; Media*

Resumo *Publicado em 2014 pela editora UOC, de Barcelona, o livro* La creación está em el aire: juventudes, política, cultura y comunicación *propõe um diálogo acerca das juventudes no cenário contemporâneo. Para isso, discute o papel das juventudes enquanto categoria social plural a partir de sua atuação político-cultural, que é reforçada pelos aparatos tecnológicos comunicacionais. Tais aparatos são percebidos como plataformas de visibilidade, de construção de identidades e produção de sentidos. O livro traz ainda profundas discussões sobre*

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as juventudes enquanto minoria e, ainda, sobre as políticas públicas voltadas para essa categoria, justificando a cartografia como possibilidade teórico-metodológica essencial para a investigação do cenário juvenil.

Palavras-Chaves: *Juventudes; Cultura; Política; Mídia*

Alexandre Barbalho's book, *La creación está em el aire: juventudes, política, cultura y comunicación (*Creation is in the air: youth, politics, culture and communication), published by UOC publishing company in Barcelona, is a rich and diverse dialogue about a social category that, in the last century and particularly since the 1950s and 60s, has attracted increasing attention from sociologists, anthropologists and other researchers around the world: young people.

The result of continuous research by the author, the book is one of the most significant present-day contributions to discussions on youth. It reflects on the use of technological devices to promote their practices and improve visibility, and on the cultural policies resulting from the category, either in terms of their manifestations in public arenas or how they create areas and circuits of "production, circulation and use", regardless of borders, routes and defined spaces. The discussion also centers on the viewpoint previously addressed by the author regarding social minorities, a term which he feels most accurately defines contemporary youth.

Alexandre Barbalho is a professor in the Graduate Programs of Public Policy at Ceará State University (UECE) and Communication at the Federal University of Ceará (UFC). His career includes work in the fields of communication and culture, with an emphasis on cultural, communication and minority policies, and as an author and co-author of different books on the theme, including *Relações entre Estado e cultura no Brasil* (Unijuí, 1998); *Brasil, brasis: Identidades, cultura e mídia* (Fundação Demócrito Rocha, 2008); *Comunicação para a cidadania: Questões teóricas e metodológicas* (with Bruno Fuser and Denise Cogo — Intercom, 2010); and *Comunicação e cidadania: Questões contemporâneas* (with Bruno Fuser and Denise Cogo — Fundação Demócrito Rocha, 2011).

The key points put forward by the author during the book are: a) the conceptual understanding of young people in contemporary society, conducting gradual historical assessment of the category; b) discussion on the affirmation of this social category as a minority; c) debate on the need for public policies targeting this group; d) comprehensive

qualitative and quantitative research conducted by the author based on texts submitted by the research group Communication for Citizenship (*Comunicação para a Cidadania*) of the Brazilian Society of Interdisciplinary Communication Studies (Intercom) between 2001 and 2009, of which he is a member; and e) the idea of youth involvement (so-called *protagonismo juvenile*), still sustained and highly debated, as controversial term for young people in Brazil[2].

Given the complex and sometimes fledgling concepts addressed throughout the book, one can understand the author's need to provide a brief contextualization of the concept of youth. Barbalho discusses the plural ability of young people, establishing them as a social construct in addition to praising their potential, language diversity, organizational capacity as a form of political expression and identity construction, contrasting with the view[3] of youth as an age category or period of transition, based solely on biological aspects.

At the same time as interest in discovering the actions, customs, rites, rituals and languages of these new young people increases – as a type of sociological discovery – using them as a new possibility to expand consumption becomes important in this new social cycle. This can occur in the form of products to be directly consumed by young people, or by strengthening youth as an ideal standard for existence, providing "models of conduct and consumption for other generations".

Barbalho highlights the importance of mapping in contributing to youth research, not only in terms of their practices and cultural constructs, but their media creations. To that end, he conceptually defines young people as minorities, justifying them as such based on four factors: their legal and social vulnerability; their ability to change and start again; their counter-hegemonic struggle against consensus and the established order, highlighting its peculiarities; and their discursive strategies. The author establishes the last factor as a priority for the actions of young

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[2] Unlike the Spanish version, the Brazilian version *A criação está no ar: juventudes, política, cultura e mídia*, published in 2013 by Ceará State University publishers (EdUECE), contains ten chapters, with the other five focusing on young people in Ceará state.

[3] Refuted by several current sociological and anthropological studies.

people as a minority and emphasizes communication as a potential tool for visibility essential to the autonomy of youth, reinforcing technology as a "more appropriate habitat" (p. 32) for contemporary youth, as a platform for their cultural policies to move beyond their immediate environment, potentially blurring the boundaries between the center and periphery.

The author consistently defends mapping as a theoretical and methodological benchmark in youth research, primarily for its fluid nature and the prospect that this tool could contribute to the externalization of young people's affections and desires, with mapping as an essentially political practice.

Based on the author's chosen course when discussing young people, their power and possibilities, it is inevitable not to consider them a focus of public policy, since they prompt debate on their movements, culture and politics. To that end, Barbalho explains the need to begin with a broader and even historic social universe, prompting debate on the issue using a document produced by Unesco in 2004, which describes the situation of youths the Latin American youth.

According to the document, public policy targeting Latin American youths has been formulated based on four approaches: as a risk group; as natural persons; as strategic players in development; and from a social capital and empowerment perspective. According to the author, the second perspective potentially differs from the ideal promoted by the liberal matrix, though identified by Unesco as limited. Based on these approaches, four 'models' are developed for young people in Latin America, designed primarily as a form of control, either of their free time, conduct, sexuality, or even their capacity for political involvement.

A gradual overall view develops of young people as apathetic, which is particularly clear in their withdrawal from practical political arenas and institutions. However, the author does not agree with this notion and, based on information from studies conducted with young people, explains that this rejection is not prompted by politics itself, but rather its hegemonic nature.

Considering the Brazilian reality, Barbalho also cites the strengthening of NGOs as government clients, "[...] reinforcing reduced State involvement" in the formulation of public youth policy. As a result, he reaffirms the need for government policies aimed at this social category, particularly with respect to the right to culture, considered a fundamental right for society as a whole, yet still not included in article 6 of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution.

With respect to the discussion on public policy and citizenship, the author conducts a qualitative and quantitative analysis based on texts submitted by the Intercom research group Communication for Citizenship (*Comunicação para a Cidadania*) between 2001 and 2009 on the youth issue. Among the studies that consider youth the focal point of research and analysis, a significant statement consistent with the author's own dialog throughout the book is that that young people "[...] are active subjects in the communication process, that is, young communicators", who identify most with audiovisual media and the internet. Also mentioned is the power of music, the plural nature of youth and its constitution as a minority. A minority, in fact, that is at the center of discussions on involvement.

At the end of the book, Barbalho discusses the existence of a "perverse confluence" in the Brazilian democratic struggle that is directly in line with the debate on youth involvement. The term was coined by Dagnino (2005) to describe the relationship established "[...] between the democratic and neoliberalist designs". While the former invests in expanding democracy and the participation of civil society in areas of power, the second defends the minimal State, "[…] including the promotion of collective rights, social responsibilities and transparency".

In other words, in the established democracy permeated by perverse confluence, the State role diminishes while at the same time identifying partners in the neoliberal perspective, that is, the non-profit sector. Thus, in the case of individuals, participation is understood as "shared participation", considered "volunteerism", and in the case of institutions and particularly companies, as "social responsibility".

The prospect established based on this perverse confluence is that of young people indeed called upon and inserted into an aseptic political sphere as volunteers, becoming the objects and not subjects of governmental and non-governmental policies. More than viewing society collectively, as participants and entrepreneurs themselves, young people are permeated by the notion of developing individual skills.

However, in the midst of this heightened battle of the senses, disturbances in this process, which converge into other youthful capabilities, are made strategically viable by the relationship between culture and communication. To reinforce this perspective, Barbalho focuses on the so-called *perifativismo cultural* (cultural peripheral activism) that emerges through the involvement of residents of slums, poor and peripheral regions, largely young people who maintain the virtual public arena (the internet) and transform it into a counter-device, that is, a vital space for their peripheral activism.

It is important to underscore that, regardless of the current terms and terminology used to refer to young people as political players, there are always new forms and daily practices that lead to different perspectives and actions, sometimes contrary to those expected. This prospect is conveyed throughout the book, especially when the author highlights mapping as a potential theoretical and methodological tool in youth research, justified by its fluidity that echoes the manifestations of this social category. Young people are exercise in continuous understanding and, along these same lines, culture and communication emerge as instigators of the construction and reconstruction of meaning *for* and *by* the youth.

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