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# **Comunicação, mídia e consumo**

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## **Editorial**

The new issue of CMC Journal brings in your set of articles, an overview of recent and relevant topics, from which we extract some very interesting intersections. The starting point is related to the place of criticism in media studies, something fundamental to understand the perspective proposed by CMC, in its approach to consumption. In this sense, the discourse analysis is presented as the materialization of this perspective, in the following articles, which deal with the demonstrations of March 2015 on *Twitter* and the political positioning of the subject; the interactions between producers and consumers that rewrite the speeches on digital media advertising; the representations about sexual harassment, in the contexts of Spain and Morocco, taken into comparative analysis.

Youth cultures have again a marked presence in our pages, in the study of *punk* representations in advertising and in the paper on the cultural consumption of young people from Paraná. In dialogue with this cultural approach, we also have an article that discusses the “cultural circuits” in the so-called “lower Amazon”. In addition, the review of the book “Periodismos e imaginários” (Journalism and the imaginary) brings out the issue of the media reception, related to immigrants’ collectives.

We wish you all a good reading.

*Denise Cogo and Vander Casaqui*  
CMC Journal Editors

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**Camilla Costa Rocha**



## Artigos

## Places of critique in the media culture<sup>1</sup>

### Lugares da crítica na cultura midiática

Rosana de Lima Soares<sup>2</sup>

Gislene da Silva<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract** *Since the establishment of the place of critique as a theoretical field, from the emergence of different cultural circuits of artistic productions, much is discussed about who should and/or could make critique, judgments and evaluations, purposes and, in particular, on making the audience's opinion. In the specific case of the incipient field of media criticism research, such issues are also presented, especially for the same pendulum movement historically observed in other instances of cultural production assessment, the one among comprehensive theories and particular analysis. In the larger perspective of the study of theoretical, methodological and technical productions for a cultural critique of the media, this article aims to discuss the perception of criteria and the values specific to the media criticism, the social interaction between the critic and the audience, and the critique theories, always considering, in the wide variety of media empirical objects, the less distant sharing among producers and recipients.*

**Keywords:** *Media criticism; Discursive practices; Audiovisual culture; Journalistic production*

**Resumo** *Desde a constituição do lugar da crítica como campo teórico, a partir do surgimento de diversos circuitos culturais de produções artísticas, discute-se muito sobre quem deve e/ou pode fazer a crítica, juízos e valores, finalidades e,*

<sup>1</sup> An article originally presented at the Working Group of Media Culture at annual meeting XXIII Encontro Anual da Compós, at Universidade de Brasília (UnB, University of Brasília), June 9 -12, 2015.

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*mais especialmente, sobre formação de público. No caso específico do incipiente campo de pesquisa da crítica de mídia, tais questões também nos são postas, com destaque para o mesmo movimento pendular historicamente observado em outras instâncias de apreciação de produção cultural, aquele entre teorias abrangentes e análises particulares. Na perspectiva maior do estudo de aportes teóricos, metodológicos e técnicos para uma crítica cultural da mídia, este artigo tem como objetivo discutir a percepção de critérios e valores próprios da crítica de mídia, a interação social entre crítico e públicos, e as teorias da crítica, sempre considerando na grande diversidade de objetos empíricos midiáticos o compartilhamento menos afastado entre produtores e receptores.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Crítica de mídia; Práticas discursivas; Cultura audiovisual; Produção jornalística*

Since the establishment of the *place of critique* as a theoretical field, from the emergence of different cultural circuits of artistic productions, much is discussed about who should and/or could make critique, judgments and evaluations, purposes and, in particular, on making the audience's opinion. In the specific case of the incipient field of media criticism research, such issues are also presented. In the larger perspective of the study of theoretical and technical productions for a cultural critique of the media, this article aims to discuss the perception of criteria and the parameters specific to the media criticism, the social interaction between the critic and the audience, and the critique theories, always considering, in the wide variety of media empirical objects, the less distant sharing among producers and recipients.

The problem that we bring to reflection is configured as part of a larger project linked to the Grupo de Pesquisa *Crítica de Mídia e Práticas Culturais* (Research Group for Media Criticism and Cultural Practices) (a USP/UFSC inter-institutional group), created for the investigation of media criticism modalities, under the inspiration of how the film and literature critique, more consolidated, was constituted. Therefore, what we are interested in are both the critique circulating in the media itself as the academic critique addressed to the media products and processes – both interpretations supported in studies of media criticism and media culture. Of large empirical scope, the range of our research predominantly notes the audiovisual production and the journalistic production, targeting television, cinematography or online digital speeches and also the understanding of journalism as a culture product and producer, and the understanding of news practices as a cultural experience.

In addition to dealing with great variety and volume of empirical objects, this research task is also long-term, with a vocation for many ramifications, especially when one considers, in the case of postgraduate research, the diffuse interest in critically analyzing the media and the number of master and doctoral students involved with the problem. In this complex scenario, there is also a research gap on what kind of media criticism is placed in countless theses and dissertations completed, and

which theories implicitly or explicitly guide this critique. It is in this frame full of gaps and perspectives that we, researchers of the group, chose as a great purpose to treat the media criticism as a specific field of research and teaching, studying Brazilian experiences in dialogue with international research.

In the combination of these possibilities and demands, we think we can study the media criticism in different levels or modes:

- A. in the perception of parameters of the “how to criticize,” observing the operationalization of the critique work and, when in the field of journalism, with attention to ethical and aesthetic implications of the coverage of events reported;
- B. in the study of the media criticism circulating by the media itself, made by those recognized as critics, meaning that they have knowledge that the audience does not master;
- C. in the media criticism as a text genre practiced by experts from certain conventions recognized by the audience, allowing its circulation to people in spaces already institutionalized, such as newspapers, magazines, blogs, columns, among others;
- D. in the metacritic experiences, in terms of content and form, of the aesthetic and stylistic innovations disseminated in the media itself, which by proposing a new format or genre, undertake a critique to what is established as standard, making it not as an analysis of the media, but in the media deeds themselves;
- E. in the social interactions of critique, in which recipients criticize in a dispersed and informal way materials conveyed in the media and also reveal in their critique social images that they have from the various means and practices, confirming or questioning fundamentals of media production, as is, for example, the case of reporting news;
- F. in reading modes and profiles of the audience of media criticism;
- G. in the study of “critique theories,” theorizing about the ways of “how to make a critique” and “how to make a critique of those who

make critique,” be it focused on the media criticism practices be it on academic research;

H. and with regard to the specific nature of journalism, news media criticism as a didactic and pedagogical resource for education and for training professionals.

Among these modalities, as we have said, we point out at this moment the combination of three of them: the perception of the criteria and values that belong to the media criticism, the social interaction between the critic and the audience, and theories of critique, trying an initial answer to: what are the *ways to make the media criticism*, to develop concepts and criteria for its achievement? However, before turning our attention to these aspects and following the initial question about the *role of the media criticism*, we think it is relevant to resume briefly some of its assumptions, from the 1960s to recent years.

### **Media criticism and perspectives of the critical thinking**

An heir of the *media criticism* in its North American side, since its inception critical thinking about the media was constituted from different perspectives. In the European dimension – in which the currents developed in Brazil are included –, it was organized around the arising Critical Theory of the (school of social theory and philosophy) Frankfurt School. On the American side, it turned to the evaluation or monitoring of the performance of the media with reference to socially established values. In Freitas’ words, two trends are presented when taking this field of research:

In the perspective of the “Critical Theory,” departing from Marxism, the discussion revolves around the issues of power and domination, of media ownership and the class conflict. Whereas from the media criticism perspective the studies have aimed to analyze the mediae as a standard with reference to compliance with the ideas and desires that a certain society proposes to itself, with ethical statutes which government regimes must comply with, with professional ideals that guide the practices (FREITAS, 1991, p. 88).

ARTICLE

Under the bias of the Frankfurt School Critical Theory, we can recognize, widening its scope, vehicles of alternative press or independent media, studies on the quality of media production, initiatives for literacy, or media literacy, and those aimed at a critical reading of the mediae. Analogously, when observing the scope of the media criticism, we find a strong presence in the critique to journalism, especially the printed one, as well as television and, more recently, digital, by columns published on newspapers themselves, the presence of ombudsmen and the creation of media observatories responsible for systematically monitoring the production and performance of the mediae. It is in this multifaceted and porous scenario that we also see the academic production on media criticism arranged in two directions: in the effective realization of critical analyzes of forms and media content or in research devoted to the study of criticism produced in/by the mediae.

In this scenario, an absence is evidenced: a place for media criticism to establish the link between the media practices and the analyses of their social impact. This bond used to be essential to the achievement, at least until the 1980s, of two important functions of the media criticism: the monitoring of the mediae and the communication with the recipient, working “to improve ethical, cultural and professional standards of this performance and extending to the media recipients, contributing to the education of a selective audience, articulate and endowed with the power of discernment and judgment” (FREITAS, 1991, p. 89).

This conception, according to Freitas, understands that the critique presupposes a given representation of society, carrying out the analysis of the media from this representation, i.e., in a sense, what we see circulating in the mediae is part of a culture that is constituted and returned to society as self-image that in it is perpetuated, reaffirming its fundamental values: “The standards established are relational, i.e. based on values. It is precisely the agreement on these values that make them valid and universal standards. The integration of the critique to the system takes place exactly by the function of supervising or monitoring the effectiveness of these standards” (FREITAS, 1991, p. 91).

Updating the issue regarding the conservative or transgressor potential of the critique, Rancière asks about the possibility of a break presupposed in the artistic activity. When addressing the relationship between politics and aesthetics, the author presents two models briefly reviewed here: the *pedagogical* one, targeting the education of the audience from preestablished bases (including functionalism and the critical theory, often focused on the content of the objects analyzed); and the *transforming* one, interested in sharing what is sensitive through searching the viewer's emancipation and recognition (based on the absence of a source or purpose, and triggering identification processes). For the author, the role of art would be of creating alternative fictions in relation to those taken as consensual: "Art practices are not tools that provide forms of awareness or mobilizing energies in favor of a policy that is foreign to them, but neither leave themselves to become forms of collective political action. They contribute to design a new landscape of what is visible, speakable and feasible" (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p. 75).

The intervention of art in social relations would not be automatically achieved, but offers, in this case, the possibility of interfering with sharing what is sensitive, forging "against the consensus other forms of 'common sense', forms of a polemical common sense" (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p. 75). From these reflections, we state that the critical power would not be only in the object itself (it is not internal), but also outside it (in the context and in the reception). That is, there would not be a single way of representing reality or something that needs to be unveiled, but the reconfiguration of what is sensitive under other modes of perception and meaning: "The collective intelligence of emancipation is not the understanding of a global process of submission. It is the collectivization of the capacities invested in these scenes of dissension" (RANCIÈRE, 2012, p. 49). Unlike the proposition engendered by the media criticism, which requires less knowledge of the audience in relation to the experts, if we extend the considerations presented above to the media practices, we can see dynamics of feedback among producers/



authors and recipients/viewers that interferes and modifies products and processes present in them.

As we can see, several schools of thought provide contributions, more or less directly, to guide us in this investigation, as each *analytical* target assumes a *philosophical* perspective and a *historical* experience. This is how we see the critical possibilities unfolding from authorship studies; cultural studies; gender studies; reception studies; dialogism; discourse analysis; discursive genres; rhetoric; hermeneutics; mythology; history; sociology; structuralism; ethnography; technologies. In the 1990s, when dealing with television critique, Vande Berg and Wenner (1991) conducted a unique venture for media studies: recognizing the maturation of the analyses on television, the authors present the theoretical paths in which this medium is studied, through different approaches and applications. Beforehand, still in the 1970s, Newcomb (2007) had already published a major work on television critique, and in the years 2000, Davin and Jackson (2008), among others, used the theme with new critical analyses.

More than presenting case studies on television programs of various genres, with greater or lesser recognition (both in terms of quality, ratings or innovation) – and that could be replaced by others, more current –, Vande Berg and Wenner (1991) emphasize two issues: first, they demonstrate the variety of critical and theoretical biases and possible interpretations for television studies; then they highlight the uniqueness of such studies in relation to the place of speech taken on by each of the researchers, who bring to the analyses assumptions and perceptions as viewers who experience different ways of watching television. In undertaking this double articulation, the book shows at least three fundamental aspects for media criticism today, be it on television, film, music, news, radio, digital: there is no possibility of having a consensus on the ways of doing the media criticism; it is not possible to do it without regard to its conditions of production and reception; it is not possible either to make the critique without looking at concrete/empirical objects (products, processes and discourses) effectively circulating in the mediae.

The critique activity would therefore be eminently plural, built from different perspectives aiming to relate producers, works and audiences “in its own ways of discernment, setting in motion a wide range of analytical methods and explanatory or understanding procedures” (NUNES, 2007, p. 61-62). We are talking about the great paradigms that guide the ways of making cultural critique, which can also guide the media criticism, when we take those crucial questions: who is allowed to criticize, what their purpose, judgments and values involved in it are, the audience education, among others. At the moment, apart from these, we want to emphasize a question about the different ways to practice media criticism, which point to two trends in the way of addressing the object criticized: the comprehensive theories about the media and the specific analyses of media products.

In a previous article published, Silva and Soares (2013) argue that media criticism should, according to Braga’s perception, “leave behind totalizing judgments on the media, addressing them to the media products” (BRAGA, 2006, p. 17). What Braga suggests is that we depart from the generalized analysis to the one that is more specific, taking from the mediae unique products in order to recognize the repertoire there articulated. Similarly, Machado follows in the direction of particular analyses, indicating, in the case of television, the establishment of a “heterogeneous collection of audiovisual works” that must be addressed from an “evaluative perspective” inscribed in the materiality of its programs (MACHADO, 2008, p. 24). Braga’s statement, here highlighted, provides a path for such an undertaking: “The more developed the critique mechanisms are, the more likely that they turn to an analysis of specific products (and less to analyses of the medium in its generality)” (BRAGA, 2006, p. 61).

The argument in defense is that, when looking at what is specific, the guiding criteria of “how to make the critique” become more visible and palpable. According to Braga, “asking more specific questions about unique products is what enables realizing different structuring, making finer judgments about quality and more related to the criteria stated (as

‘quality’ is not an absolute or definable value in the absence of social references)” (BRAGA, 2006, p. 53). For the development of the media criticism process, he notes that, despite the difficulties in achieving “stable critical genders and mechanisms,” it is necessary to invest in the need to “study the most promising angles of analysis, developing each in terms of an open systematics, an explicit awareness of their concrete approaches, objectives and results,” for both knowledge of the media object as for the recipients’ interpretive ability (BRAGA, 2006, p. 274).

What we have then is some kind of contest among perspectives of making media criticism: one that opts for particular analyses and another one seeking more general analyses of wholes. This tension has been dealt with by França in a recent publication. The researcher discusses the cyclical nature of the communication critical approaches in the last forty years in Brazil, reaffirming the importance of rescuing more comprehensive looks, able to interpret the communicative practices in their relation with the social maintenance or change. She remembers that in the 1970s and 1980s the theories would denounce the commodification of culture, the emptying of what was symbolic, and the disputes for hegemony in the interpretation of reality. “The next twenty years were marked by a certain abandonment of the critical bias in favor of more specific approaches, dealing with more specific aspects of the process and the communicative product” (FRANÇA, 2014, p.101).

Supported by Boltanski’s (2009) recent reflections, França suggests hosting the synthesis carried out by the French sociologist when, after a long trajectory toward specific practices, he turns to the mutual dependence and complementarity between the “critique” and the “metacriticism,” highlighting the limits of the critique pragmatic sociology, since in it the notion of the whole is lost – and without this comprehensive perspective it would not be possible to move from the actors’ fragmented and specific critique to a concerned global critique of society. França calls for a permanent targeted critique in communication studies, “a perspective that, given what is specific and singular, does not close to self-sufficient objects and reasoning, and can always resubmit

these objects to the larger context in which they exist, act, condition and undergo conditionings” (FRANÇA, 2014, p.114). Her concern is not alone among Brazilian researchers. Braga also concludes at the end for the need for “a conceptual construction of the critical-interpretative work, based on references to the main existing processes and prospects of ‘making critique’ on media” (BRAGA, 2006, p. 67), which would be a conceptual construction designed to expand and diversify the scope of the critique due to its social goals.

### Places in movement

If we are all immersed in the culture of the mediae – and the very academic critique is inserted in it –, the questioning about the *places of the critique* expands and returns, in an amplified way, to the initial questions: who can make the critique of the critique? What can the academic critique do? One possible indication would be to say that the media criticism should highlight dissonant views on the media and question formats considered hegemonic. In this sense, besides pointing stabilities or reaffirming genres already recognized, the media criticism would be a place of questioning and disruption within the mediae themselves.

If, as De Certeau (1994) had stated, the everyday life is the locus where several reports convey in a conflicting and asymmetrically way in the contention for hegemony spaces, the discursive practices amplify the different social voices through shared interpretive frameworks, understood as systems of signification: “Inseparable from the present *moment*, of *specific* circumstances and a *deed* (producing language and changing the dynamics of a relationship), the act of speaking is a use of language and an operation *on* it” (DE CERTEAU, 1994, p. 96). Therefore, the author proposes the delineation of such operations by a different light, not as related to a closed system, but as “*forces of relations* defining the networks which they are part of and that delimit the circumstances that they can take advantage of. (...) It is about fights or games between the strong and the weak, and the *actions* that the weak can undertake” (DE CERTEAU, 1994, p. 97).

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It would be up to the media criticism to trigger repertoires constituents of the social imagery in order to repeat or reverse certain speeches. It is as if it performed a turn on itself, the criticism – transformed into metacriticism (cf. FUCHS, 2010) – it searches codes of the media culture to return them to their own mediae, returning what it had taken from them to undertake an interpretation beyond the common places recurring in it. By taking a critical perspective when looking at the mediae, even if it is from within, the analyst stands for quality – values and criteria – of the products examined, turning to society and its parameters of judgment, thus interfering in disputes at stake in the symbolic field.

As shown above, there are at least two possibilities for the media criticism when viewed from this angle: on the one hand, to conduct an analysis of the mediae that is indeed critical and, on the other, thinking the place of criticism as a deconstruction of crystallized speeches. If this double movement does not take place, or a *fold* of the critique over itself, we see the multiplication in the media of opinionated or superficial analyses that are called “critical” but actually only repeat what is already known, without showing what they state. Thus, as we said, it is the role of the university not only to make the media criticism, but also study the criticism made of it, pointing out aspects of the construction modes of the enunciation of different media discourses and society questioning in which they are inserted. In doing so, the media criticism also makes the critique of the ways in which the representation is constructed – or what is visible – and turns not only to aspects of production, but also of the reception and education of the audience, of an audience who, as we have seen, also participates in the critique circuit.

If the critical activity, as a method that seeks to examine media practices, presupposes values and criteria, it is necessary that both the concepts used in its analyses as well as the praxis to which they turn, recognize the empirical objects analyzed as symptoms of a particular historical time, putting them in crisis. It is by aiming this that we can say that the critique activity is a place of speech depending on the beholder’s place, determining what may or may not be seen and also to whom this speech is directed.

Thus, the issues raised here point us to three fundamental aspects for a systematic study of media criticism. The first one concerns the demarcation of what can be allocated under this heading; the second one asks the ways of its realization and dissemination; and the third one aims to define objects that are specific to those to which the media criticism could devote itself. Such exercises of constant observation and distinction of media products would take place both from theoretical and methodological choices in scientific research, as outside the academic sphere, by experts operating in the field of journalistic disclosure, by the audience and by producers.

### **Final Considerations**

Throughout the article, we have raised some assumptions that we believe are interesting for the analysis of the mediae which are intended to make critique and, moreover, for the study of the critique in/by the media. In general terms, we emphasize that criticizing means to draw the boundaries that place the object in crisis, expanding it beyond its more intrinsic textual relations. We understand that, at the same time, these same linkages are what shape its discursive integration and circulation in the mediae, which marks a turning point in relation to the criticism of traditional art. Without incurring in hierarchies that place again in the debate the division between high and low culture, or between popular, mass and erudite culture, it is in the field of media culture that we insert it.

We stress, therefore, a demarcation between the critique that emerges in modernity to think about standards of judgment in view of objects arising – that is, to explain to “laymen” a new art, not easily assimilated – and the contemporary critique, especially the one facing the mediae, in which each of us takes part in different positions, inquiring about the critique failure or currency. In the words of Didi-Huberman, we find a reflection of our concerns:

We now need to recognize this dialectical movement in all its “critical” dimensions, i.e., simultaneously in its dimension of crisis and symptom – as the turmoil shaking the course of the river – and in its dimension of *critical analysis*, of negative reflexivity, of challenge – as the turmoil that reveals and accuses the structure, the river bed itself (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 1998, p. 171).

Be it as crisis, be it as a symptom, the relevance of thinking about the place of criticism today is unquestionable, crossed by technological injunctions and a media culture radiated into the social fabric. As we forward to the provisional conclusions of this exercise of thinking about media criticism, a recent work can help us return to some points and projection of others. On the Argentinian film *The Film Critic* (2014), by Argentinian director and writer Hernán Guerschuny, besides the title that highlights this job, we see the main character, a demanding film critic, honored in newspapers for which he writes and known for his rigorous analysis of films, turning against the current film productions. Interestingly, the genre films are those who suffer most from his attacks, especially romantic comedies, for him a byproduct of what one day would have been “great art.” At the beginning of the narrative, we hear the critic openly say that “movies are dead” and that their best productions are in the past. Lonely and bitter, the character gets inadvertently caught in a romantic plot over which he has no control. So begins the story twists and its metalinguistic apparatus is placed in operation in the various narrative layers of the film. While witnessing the deconstruction of the genre in question, we are involved on a film that replicates and updates its clichés.

The narrative game does not take place only at the level of statements, but also in the enunciation, actively involving the viewer. Thus we have a genre film that builds on an authorial perspective (oscillating between these two narratives) which, in addition to evoking a consolidated genre – romantic comedies –, addresses to it a severe criticism while proposing its renewal, subverting the USA formula of humor and love, reinventing it with local colors. By deconstructing the generic form

to which it belongs to build it otherwise, we note approaches and distancing in relation to the distinctive features of romantic comedies. As in other recent productions, “the film evokes echoes (redundancies) in relation to the established standard and also ruptures (resonances) that differentiate from this standard, presenting a generic format as an experimental crossing point and not as a target fixation” (SOARES, 2006, p. 174).

In this sense, the criticism is not made from the outside, but from the very filmic fabric; that is, the film which we saw the carries in itself such movement, making a criticism in the form of expression, not just in the content form: “By understanding gender as a place that is external to the work, from where the narrative sense is produced and consumed, that is, by convention, the work would get out of itself, triggering its ability to communicate” (FOLLAIN, 2010, p. 59). But a unique factor stands out: the metalinguistic way with which the film refuses and extols the romantic comedies materializes in the professional critic – a profession which gives its name to the film – i.e., a second fold is established in the criticism that the film makes and in that moment inside itself about the same films with which it shares this film genre. In an article that deals with crime novels, Follain draws attention to a recurrence in contemporary works, whether literary or film: to please the audience and allow them to be recognized in the stories told and at the same time maintaining the critical dimension of the work through different reading levels.

In the author’s words, on the one hand, “the plot is preserved, without prejudice to the one reader who seeks to have fun with the story,” ensuring their identification with the narrative. On the other hand, “something beyond the story is offered, a metalinguistic and reflective dimension, reinforced by numerous quotes, which allows another type of reader to contemplate, in a distanced and also nostalgic way, the narrative strategies that create the fascination in the first dimension” (FOLLAIN, 2010, p. 61). This is when we see the critic who hates romantic comedies beginning to live in his daily life the generic conventions and innovations of the format that he despises. Another ruse doubles this fold: the



character that has in film criticism his professional vocation is called to write a film script. The film that he imagined mimics his own life and reproduces, step by step, the elements constituting the romantic comedies that he despises and, in his words, are consolidated into a clear narrative form, as can be seen in numerous films of dubious quality.

This movement can be identified in the unusual dialogue between the character and a girl he falls in love with. When questioned by her about his work, the critic replies that “he writes film reviews” and is “an intermediary between the films and the audience.” The character solemnly presents his work: “Thanks to my work, people can discern a work of art from a bad product.” We return here to the starting point of the text – and of the traditional place of the critique – and, in a spiral mode, the end point of the article previously presented (SILVA; SOARES, 2013). At that moment, Follain would challenge us on two fundamental points, which we hope have found a target in the text now rehearsed. The first one relates to the differences between art criticism and media criticism and the adequacy of the model of one to the other. The second one refers to the function of the critique in the proposition of distinguishing criteria extrinsic to the works analyzed, which would place again to the mediae a separation between qualified cultural products or those of trivial entertainment.

Between forming in an authorial way the (good) taste of the audience and actively participating in a common genre, the place of media criticism in view of a diversified production, as Follain (2013) notes, departs from that carried out by the art critic, “owing to the process of art creation as an autonomous field, having as an assumption its dissociation from other spheres” (FOLLAIN, 2013)<sup>4</sup>.

A turning point appears for the continuation of our studies: the greater accessibility and proximity of the media culture with the current taste, in Follain’s words (2010), would make dispensable the mediation of interpreters – as for example the critic on the film about the critique

<sup>4</sup> Vera Follain de Figueiredo, in her report on the work by SILVA, G. and SOARES, R. L. at GT Culture of the Midiae, at the Brazilian annual meeting XXII Encontro Anual da Compós, Salvador, UFBA, 2013.

activity. However, when investing in products of light consumption and commercial success (such as the critic's romantic comedies), the mediae would lose their transforming and breakthrough power if considered from the art criticism criteria. We agree that this fact is not, in itself, neither positive nor negative, seeing in it a path to be followed in order to get parameters by which we can think about the media criticism singularities.

For Follain (2010), "if the modern work of fiction was, by definition, difficult to interpret, arousing a feeling of strangeness, causing a shock to the reader, the postmodern work wants to pass as something familiar, leading the audience with more repertoire to be suspicious of this familiarity and recover its complex dimension covered by this apparent simplicity" (FOLLAIN, 2010, p. 62). We dare say that if the elements discussed in this article are considered, we can see areas of innovation, which should be confirmed in future analyses when confronted with specific empirical objects. Finding critical gaps around ordinary products because they belong to the ordinary life does not mean evoking the role of the traditional cultural critique to the media culture, which would result precisely in emptying the criticism.

If thought dynamically, media criticism can be perceived as a kind of in-between place where various fields mix their specificities and are renewed. And by privileging the connections among the various media practices, the critique activity allows the insertion of a certain media object in a network of relationships generating new meanings, observing and articulating its historical, political, social, cultural and economic implications. But in media criticism the value judgments which can be drawn upon to perform it are shared much more interlaced with the audiences and ratings than we usually see in literary criticism practices and even movies criticism. In this perspective, media criticism should be done with criteria and values internal to it, since the audiences that it targets share, in different measures, the same media culture, participating and interfering in it.

Therefore, many and several challenges are presented to the task of researching on media criticism in Brazil. This article has proposed to suggest ways in which systematize and discuss media criticism, both in what is projected in relation to its procedures as in what is recognized in terms of its achievement, focusing on the specificity of theoretical and technical contributions to cultural media criticism. The task remains, therefore, of separating from a wide range of media practices those that can be analyzed to confirm or refute work hypotheses. We believe, both in the academic sphere and in the sphere of the experts and the audience, that a gap is opened for this route. We hope to develop some of its routes in future investigations.

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## Understanding the role of the subjects in the language act: a case study of the events of March 15, 2015 on Twitter

### Compreendendo o papel dos sujeitos no ato de linguagem: estudo de caso das manifestações de 15 de março de 2015 no Twitter

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**Abstract** *This article analyzes the hashtags used in interactions posted on Twitter due to the demonstrations of March 15, 2015, and the reply given by Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff and the government in a statement to the press, seeking to define the subjects of the language act, establish their role and check the communication contract effectivity. This research presents reflections by Lévy and Lemos (2010), Santaella and Lemos (2010) and Israel (2010) on digital social networks and Twitter; and Charaudeau (2014) on communication contract, language act and its subjects. From the analysis, it is clear that voters are outside the verbal configuration, assuming the role of MEc and leaving to the hashtags the one of MEe; President Rousseff is the YOUd and the government is the YOUi. It is also noted that the communication contract was signed, because the YOUi recognizes the messages from the MEc.*

**Keywords:** *Speech analysis; Politics; Digital social networks; Subject; Twitter*

**Resumo** *Este artigo analisa as hashtags usadas em interações publicadas no Twitter nas manifestações de 15 de março de 2015 e a resposta dada pela presidente Dilma Rousseff e o governo em pronunciamento à imprensa, buscando*

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*definir os sujeitos do ato de linguagem, estabelecer seu papel e verificar a efetivação do contrato de comunicação. Esta pesquisa apresenta reflexões de Lévy e Lemos (2010), Santaella e Lemos (2010) e Israel (2010) sobre redes sociais digitais e Twitter; e Charaudeau (2014) sobre contrato de comunicação, ato de linguagem e seus sujeitos. A partir da análise, percebe-se que os eleitores estão exteriores à configuração verbal, assumindo o papel de EUc e deixando para as hashtags o de EUe; a presidente Dilma é o TUD e o governo, o TUi. Também se constata que o contrato de comunicação foi firmado, pois o TUi reconhece as mensagens do EUc.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Análise do discurso; Política; Redes sociais digitais; Sujeito; Twitter*

## Introduction

IBOPE [Instituto Brasileiro de Opinião Pública e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics)] (2014) data report that, in Brazil, 53% of the population regularly access the Internet, which has become the primary source for the search for information to 47% of the population. The use of digital social networks also stands out among the Brazilians' objectives to access the Internet, either for relationship or exchange of views on various issues. It is noticed that the digital space is not only to exchange trivialities as people also use it for producing and publishing more in-depth content, which qualifies the type of information exchanged.

Among the digital social networks with greater penetration in the country, the online social networking service Twitter stands out, recognized mainly by its always-on character that the association between mobility and temporality allows, and the non-need for an off-line relationship.

This article analyzes the protests that took place in Brazil on March 15, 2015 from the perspective of hashtags used in messages posted on Twitter and the government's announcement that occurred at the end of day at a press conference. The choice of Twitter is due to the real-time nature of the microblogging, its mobile use dynamics and the scope of the posts published. The issue becomes relevant as political and social issues that have been the agenda of many mediae are discussed. Considering, then, that the access to the Internet and social networking Websites already reaches more than 50% of the population that uses these spaces to defend views and positions, including political ones, the search for a better understanding of the conversational dynamics, as well as its users' positioning as subjects of language acts are understood as critical.

Thus, answering who the subjects of the language act in public conversations on digital social networks are and how they behave in such act were sought. The goal is to define the role of those involved in the speech (virtual protesters and the government), analyze the language

act and the effectiveness of the communication contract formed among them.

From the monographic method, which examines the topic aiming at observing all the factors that influence it, a descriptive research is carried out (PRODANOV; FREITAS, 2013) from standard techniques of data collection. As a technical procedure, the option is towards the literature from Lévy and Lemos (2010a, 2010b), Santaella and Lemos (2010) and Israel (2010) to define and characterize the digital social networks and Twitter; and Charaudeau (2014a, 2014b, 2014c) to analyze the communication contract and the language act and their subjects.

Also the analysis of examples from a documental research is performed, from 376 tweets published by Brazilians on Twitter marked by the 22 hashtags monitored<sup>3</sup> on March 15, 2015 and the press conference in response to public demonstrations held at 8:00 pm. The 22 hashtags were selected from the conversations displayed in the week before the public demonstration and, therefore, are related to the agenda of the demonstrations both for and against the government.

To realize the goals presented, this article is divided into three parts. The first one presents a theoretical review to conduct the analysis of the corpus in which the Speech Analysis is conceptualized and characterized and the subjects constituent of the language act are defined. The second part, also theoretical, defines and characterizes Twitter, the digital social network from where the statements that make up the corpus were extracted. In the third part the corpus is analyzed from the intersection of theoretical frameworks presented with the corpus.

## **Understanding the discourse analysis**

When analyzing a language act it is necessary, first of all, to keep in mind that a statement is not the first, single, monological one. As pointed out by Bakhtin (2010), every word has two faces: it is determined by the fact of coming from someone (Me, the speaker) and be directed to someone

<sup>3</sup> Monitoring of interactions from hashtags was performed by the Seekr software.



(You, the listener). Every statement has relations with the statements made above (interdiscursive relations) and also with future statements that the recipients can produce (interlocutive relations), in a double dialogism that makes the speech escape from the utterer, even when there are no language marks.

The choice of words used in an utterance depends on social relations, because it is the product of the interaction of two socially organized individuals, which makes that its structure only becomes effective between speakers. That is, this choice is from a dialogical movement in which the speech meets the speech of another one and has with them lively and intense relationships. This relationship indicates that the language act is constituted by an explicit one (expressed) and an implicit one (a place of multiple senses that depend on communication circumstances). Its purpose is beyond verbal configuration, as it depends on the game that the subject shall establish between this one and the implicit one.

The circumstances of the speech intervene in the language protagonists' knowledge sharing as collective subjects in relation to social practices. They include the "set of supposed knowledge circulating among the protagonists of language" (CHARAUDEAU, 2014b, p. 32), which includes shared social practices and the filters building sense. They are the ones transforming the material environment in words and they build the Extralinguistic Situation – a concrete situation which, according to Bakhtin (2011), is directly linked to the understanding and explanation of verbal communication.

### **Defining the subjects of discourse**

To understand the roles that the protagonist subjects take in the language act established in relation to the corpus of this article, it is necessary to define and understand its concepts, as well as the features and functions within the act.

When resuming that the verbal communication takes place between two people (ME and YOU), Bakhtin (2011) opposes the studies dealing with the relationship between the partners (speaker and listener)

as a passive act of perception and understanding by the listener. He understands that this form does not represent the whole in verbal communication, as the listener receives and understands the significance of the speech and has about it an active responsive attitude, that is, they agree, perform and respond – or not.

As all understanding is likely to get an answer, as soon as the utterance is given, the hearer (YOU) becomes the speaker (ME), a movement that lays out the entire language act as an exchange between two people. Another point highlighted by Bakhtin (2011) is the possibility that the listener does not say or do something. This act, seen as a passive response (no action) is actually an active response, because by not answering to the speaker the listener is also expressing themselves.

In developing his theory of utterance, Benveniste (1989) emphasizes that when the speaker (ME) appropriates the language, they immediately recognize the other (listener) before them, regardless of the degree of presence that they assign them. In this context, he defines three categories: people (ME and YOU as subjects of the act who divide the space of discourse and maintain a strong relationship of identity and otherness; and THEM, a role of the referent) that are challenged by concrete ideology, time and space, making every statement to be made here and now.

Every language act depends on the supposed knowledge among the protagonists of the language, who are loaded with implicit and explicit dimensions. Both Bakhtin and Benveniste go beyond the communication concept that reduces the language act to the relationship *Sender -> Message -> Receiver*, since the latter is not passive: they build an interpretation of the statement from their point of view about the circumstances of the speech and also on those who utter (ME) and their intentions.

Therefore, there is a YOU-interpretant (YOU<sub>i</sub>) who is different from the YOU-recipient (YOU<sub>d</sub>) whom the ME addresses. When the YOU<sub>i</sub> interprets the utterance, they have an image of ME<sub>c</sub> that is different from the one that the utterer ME wanted to convey.

This understanding makes the language act one metalinguistic activity divided into two processes among four subjects: the Production,

in which the ME<sub>e</sub> addresses a YO<sub>d</sub> who is idealized by the ME<sub>c</sub>; and the Interpretation, in which the YO<sub>i</sub> builds an image of the ME<sub>c</sub> of the speaker.

From these points presented by Charaudeau (2014b) it is possible to establish who the four individuals involved in the communication process are:

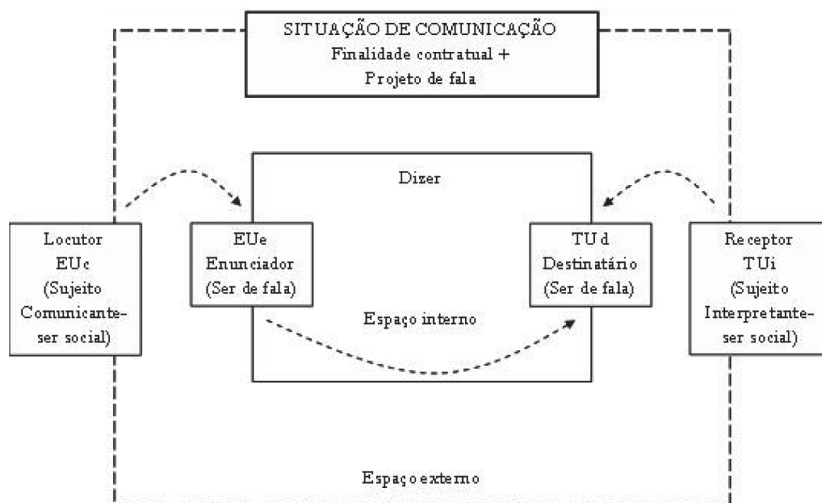
- YOU<sub>d</sub> – the recipient YOU is the interlocutor manufactured by the ME as the ideal recipient, on whom the ME is the master, transparent and understood as the subject of the speech;
- YOU<sub>i</sub> – the interpretant YOU acts outside the utterance act produced by the ME, being responsible for the interpretation of the utterance. Opaque, they depend only on themselves and are instituted in the moment at which they interpret;
- ME<sub>e</sub> – they are responsible for the act of speech and hide, to a greater or lesser degree, the ME<sub>c</sub>. As the YOU<sub>d</sub>, they exist in and by the act of production and interpretation;
- ME<sub>c</sub> – this is the subject agent who is as a speaker and articulator of the speech, determined as a communicant subject. They participate in all the language act, despite being in an external position with respect to the verbal act setting.

The conception of Charaudeau's (2014b) subjects gains value when analyzed in the language act, in which each subject assumes their role and displays their main features.

### **The subjects' role in the language act**

Because it is not the result of one single intent from the sender or the result of a double symmetrical process between the sender and the receiver, the language act is characterized by being larger than a language act. This is because, as stated by Charaudeau (2014a), it results from the game between the implicit and the explicit ones and depends on specific speech circumstances, the meeting point between the processes of production and interpretation and is staged by two entities as subject of speech (ME<sub>e</sub>/ME<sub>c</sub>) and subject agent (YOU<sub>d</sub>/YOU<sub>i</sub>).

The language act and its subjects can be understood in the graph:



**Figure 1.** Language act representation

Source: Charaudeau (2014c, p. 52)

As shown in Figure 1, every language act has two production circuits of knowledge, defined by Charaudeau (2014c) as the internal circuit of the configured speech (which includes the speech beings MEe and YOUd, as well as the discursive representation) and the circuit external to the configured speech (representation of the communication situation, it gathers the beings agents set as communicant subject image – MEc – and interpretant – YOUi).

In the production of the language act, it is the MEc who organizes, within their powers and restrictions, the intended global project of communication. They aim their language act to succeed, and for that they need it to match the interpretation between the YOUi and the YOUd. For this, they will use communication contracts and strategies.

The communication contract, according to Charaudeau (2014c), assumes that individuals who participate in the same social practice body can reach an agreement on the language representations of these

practices. For this to occur, the MEc needs to provide elements that allow the YOUi to recognize in the words used the same meaning of the MEc, which generate by the YOUd the connivance or agreement desired by the MEc.

Every act of language depends on a communication contract, because it shall overdetermine the protagonists of language in their dual existence of subject agents and subjects of speech and legitimizes the speech to provide the social language status to the subjects.

The strategy, for Charaudeau (2014c, p. 56) is based on the hypothesis that

The communicant subject (MEc) conceives, organizes and stages their intentions to produce certain effects – of persuasion or seduction – on the interpretant subject (YOUi), to take them to identify – consciously or not with the subject to the ideal recipient subject (YOUd) built by MEc.

Thus, it reinforces that the communication is surrounded by a double bet: who speaks expects their contracts to be well perceived by the recipient and also their strategies to produce the desired effect. This double bet converges on an act, which is received and reviewed by the interpretant subject, which detects and interprets the message and can react in three ways: not completely dominate the effects produced by the MEc; not dominate their own unconscious and disclose evidences that are external to their language act, i.e., react in an unexpected or unwanted way; and understand wrongly the act for not being aware of the sociohistorical context that started it.

When performing the analysis of a language act, it is necessary to go beyond the intention of the communicant subject (MEc) or the understanding of the interpretant subject (YOUi), to get away from a simplistic vision under only one point of view. It is necessary to account for the possible interpretation<sup>4</sup> that arises when the production and

<sup>4</sup> As the language act goes through a group's social practices, it constitutes the language representations of their subjects' experiences. By analyzing language, semantic and formal elements that compose it, the possible interpretation arises. (CHARAUDEAU, 2014c).

interpretation processes meet by answering, “Which subjects does the text make talk?”

## Digital social networks and conversations on Twitter

Currently, 53% of the population have regular access to the Internet, according to IBOPE. The Internet is now the primary source accessed in the search for information for 47% of the population. Among young people 15-32 years old, 90% of the population accesses the Internet regularly, 93% browse social networking Websites and 43% consider the Internet their main source of entertainment.

Digital social networks demonstrate the “individuals’ extraordinary ability to generate, disseminate and exchange meanings in the collective interpersonal communication, in a massive network system and in real time, in which everything tends to be connected” (GARCIA; DALY; SUPOVITZ, 2015, p. 55, our translation).

The organization of the digital social networks is made into categories, which include platforms of *social networking* (Facebook, LinkedIn), *microblogging* (Twitter), photography (Flickr, Instagram, Pinterest), video (Youtube, Vimeo), *social news* (Digg, Reddit), streaming (Periscope, Meerkat, Ustream), *social gaming* (World of Craft), *bookmarking* (Delicious, StumbleUpon) and blogs (Wordpress, Blogger), among others.

Lemos and Lévy (2010b) point out that the use of digital social networks can not be reduced to the exchange of banalities, as an increasing use and production of content can be seen, which tends to raise the quality of information exchanged between users. The expansion of its use is responsible for a wave not yet fully measurable, defined by the authors as the “release of the issue,” which includes not only the written word, but also sounds, photos and videos that are freely distributed among people. This release of the expression, which excludes a filter by a professional mediator (such as journalists), can be considered the main advantage of the Internet over traditional mediae.

This article has as an object of analysis the interactions posted on Twitter during the demonstrations that took place in Brazil on March

15, 2015, which makes it necessary to understand this social media, its dynamics and singularities, which shall be done next.

### **Twitter: The digital social network of conversations in real time**

Among the networks mentioned, this article highlights Twitter, a free social networking Website where users write 140-character messages (tweets), which are sent to followers who have chosen to receive content. A tweet lets you add text, image, video, links and also hashtags, which are words or phrases preceded by the # symbol, which converts the text in metadata. Using the hashtags allows indexing a particular subject, aiming at a quantitative verification and a qualitative understanding of the tweet content from the rest of the information that is associated with them.

Twitter is currently the faster, simpler and more economic social media in which all kinds of information, news, ideas, events, rumors, multimedia materials, etc. circulate, received from any business environment or other social media in real time. Therefore, on Twitter both the professional social media (television, newspapers, magazines, radio, etc.) as any other social media (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Flickr, blogs, forums, etc.) cross paths, part of a vast record of types of user profiles (individuals, NGOs, government institutions, the mediae, lobbyists, scientific journals, companies, brands, etc.). (GARCIA, DALY E SUPOVITZ, 2015, p. 57, our translation).

Twitter's use dynamics include retweets (or RT, which are the replication of third parties content to the user followers' network, which may or may not add new content), reply, mentions (citing a certain user in the text of a tweet), likes (when the receiver "likes" a content received), blocks (when a user blocks another one, who may no longer receive their content or contact them), listing (including the sender in thematic lists created by the receiver to organize content), Direct Messages (or DMs, private messages to a user or group).

Israel (2010, p. 5) highlights the Twitter users' different interests and objectives: "people tweet to raise contributions to a cause, to make the government take action, to find and distribute news, to build personal and professional networks, or just to kill some time with the people they love."

According to Santaella and Lemos (2010a), an important advantage of Twitter is that it combines the mobility (allowed by the association of the growth in the number of active smartphones and improvements on mobile Internet signaling) to the always-on character of temporality<sup>5</sup> inherent to the 3.0 social networks. It is "a true global digital agora: university, entertainment club, a social and political 'thermometer', a civil resistance instrument, a cultural stage, an arena of continuous talks." (SANTAELLA; LEMOS, 2010a, p. 66).

Twitter's information flow occurs in two ways: the inflow considers the content selected by the user to be received, while the outflow covers the content that shall be released by the user, depending on the analysis of their personal strategy.

Exchanges can generate what Lemos and Lévy (2010a) define as a virtual community: a group of people who relate in cyberspace. In addition to the technical structure of the computer network, virtual communities depend on the existence of shared interests, intimacy and continuity in relationships. Thus, there are in the digital social networks communitarian relations (where there are a symbolic territory and an affinity among their members, such as on Facebook, which are based more on friendship relations) and non-communitarian (a venue for meeting and sharing information and experience that are more ephemeral and dispossessed, like on Twitter, where exchanges occur mainly by affinities by themes and not by a previous relationship).

In other words, Twitter stands out by privileging the quality and type of content transmitted by a specific user, regardless of off-line social relations. This is because "Twitter serves as a multidirectional means of attracting custom information. It is a vehicle for continuous

<sup>5</sup> Always connected, in a free translation.



dissemination of ideas and a collaborative space where questions [...] can be freely discussed and answered.” (SANTAELLA; LEMOS, 2010a, p.66) Thus, Twitter reinforces the idea of dispossession of “me” of Lemos and Lévy (2010b, p. 202):

They (the ME) is increasingly tied to a physical location, a social class, a body, a gender, or an age. [...] We must understand, as several studies on subjectivity and contemporary culture show, that our identity shall bind differently to our knowledge, core interests, and social and language skills. Our “informational body,” virtually ubiquitous, is increasingly defined by its coordinates in the semantic space.

Worldwide, Twitter has 241 million active users per month, who publish 500 million tweets per day. Brazil is the fifth country in total participants, with about 10 million active users. This number represents about 5% of the Brazilian population – or 9.4% of the Internet users in the country. Of this total, 65% access the microblogging by cell phone or tablet computer (worldwide this rate reaches 76%), which emphasizes the network mobile character and real-time communication. An interesting fact is that 40% of active users never tweet, they just consume content, i.e., they favor the *inflow*.

As in other networks, Twitter is a source of data produced in an ubiquitous, constant and massive form, which is defined as *Big Data*. This data set provides a great opportunity to research and analysis, since, besides its quantitative value, it carries opinions, which allows a qualitative analysis of these opinions and feelings, desires and demands.

### **Methodological procedures**

In this article, according to Prodanov and Freitas (2013), a descriptive research is applied, in which the facts are observed, recorded, analyzed, classified and interpreted without interference or manipulation of the researcher on the phenomenon. This type of research uses standard techniques of data collection. In this article, there was an option for a systematic observation from monitoring digital social networks via a specific software.

As a technical procedure, the option is for literature research and an analysis of examples from documents research. The corpus consists of publications by Brazilians on Twitter on March 15, 2015, during the public demonstrations against Brazilian political party The Workers' Party (Portuguese: Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT) and (36<sup>th</sup> President of Brazil) Dilma Vana Rousseff's government. The choice of the corpus is due to the fact that Twitter is digital social network that best relates to real-time events. The always-on character of the microblogging is added to the mobility, highlighted by Santaella and Lemos (2010a) as a factor that stands out.

For collecting the data (*tweets*) the choice was for Seekr, the monitoring software of digital social networks. In it were registered 22 hashtags previously selected from monitoring the network during the week before the event. The analysis shall start from the measurement, on the tweets collected from preselected hashtags, of the mentions of the hashtags selected for and against President Rousseff and the government, which shall allow listing the political position of the people who spoke via a digital social network.

At the same time, the Brazilian government ministers' speeches shall be analyzed [José Eduardo Martins Cardozo (Justice Federal Executive Department Attorney General) and Miguel Soldatelli Rossetto (General Secretariat of the Presidency)], given at the press conference held on the evening of March 15, 2015, to determine whether there was an understanding of the popular position by the current government in the period and if it a language act was established. Thus, it shall be possible to identify the utterer subjects (MEe and MEc) and the role of President Rousseff and the government as receiving subjects.

### **Definition of subjects in the language act and the communication contract**

Before highlighting the demonstrations of March 15, 2015, it is important to discuss the presence of this type of event in the history of the

country. In the last two decades, the population has gathered to go to the streets to protest in at least five crucial moments for the country.

In the early 1960s, for example, the *Campanha da Legalidade* (Campaign of Legality), led by Brazilian politician Leonel de Moura Brizola, promoted large demonstrations in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre, RS, in defense of the 24<sup>th</sup> President of Brazil, João Belchior Marques Goulart's tenure as a President, which occurred in 1961. At the same time, there was "an advance of social movements and the emergence of new actors" (FAUSTO, 1995, p.443), such as the creation of peasant leagues and the strengthening of the labor union movement. Besides, "the students, through (the most important student organization in Brazil) UNE [The National Union of Students (União Nacional dos Estudantes)], radicalized their proposals for social transformation and began to intervene directly in the political game" (FAUSTO, 1995, p.445).

In opposition to João Goulart's government and his acts of reform (such as the agrarian reform and urban reform), there were popular demonstrations as the *Marcha da Família com Deus e pela Liberdade* (March of the Family with God and for Freedom, a series of public demonstrations that took place between March 19 and June 8, 1964, in Brazil), which brought together about 500 thousand people, "demonstrating that the supporters of a coup could count on a significant social base" (FAUSTO, 1995, p. 460). According to Fausto (1995, p.465),

the movement of March 31, 1964 (the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état, a series of events in Brazil, from March 31 to April 1) had apparently been launched to rid the country of corruption and communism and to restore democracy, but the new regime began to change the country's institutions by rulings called Institutional Acts (IA).

With the Institutional Acts and the growth of repression, there was a decrease in popular movements, which followed until the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the 1979 amnesty law and the end of the military regime. In 1984, 20 years later, the population returned to the streets in several Brazilian cities to call for direct presidential elections for the presidency of the Republic (the *Diretas Já!* Movement, Direct (Elections)

Now, a civil unrest movement which, in 1984, demanded direct presidential elections in Brazil), which ended up not being realized in that year, but gathered, in events such as the ones in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, more than one million people (ARTIGO 19, 2014).

In 1992, that is, eight years after the Diretas Já! Movement, there were new street mass mobilizations, at that time against the 32<sup>nd</sup> President of Brazil Fernando Affonso Collor de Mello's government. At the time, the

maximum expression was the Painted Faces – students painted their faces (Brazilian flag colors) green and yellow in the demonstrations – that also led thousands of people to the streets in several demonstrations around the country, contributing to the president's resignation, followed by an impeachment ruled by the Federal Senate. (ARTIGO 19, 2014)

It is also important to emphasize that in this period there were many events of specific movements, from parts of classes and social groups, such as rallies and demonstrations of steelworkers in the (industrial region in Greater São Paulo, Brazil) ABC Paulista in the 1980s, as well as state teachers in different country states. More recently, are highlighted the “Marcha Nacional pela Reforma Agrária, Emprego e Justiça” (National March for Agrarian Reform, Employment and Justice) (1997), a walk that started from three different parts of the country, toward (the federal capital of Brazil) Brasília, attended by hundreds of thousands of people; the “Marcha dos Cem Mil” (March of the Hundred Thousand) (Brasília, 1999) criticizing the 34<sup>th</sup> President of Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso's economic policy and corruption in the federal government; the “Marcha da Liberdade” (Freedom March) (2011, in 41 cities of the country) against police repression of social movements in demonstrations; as “Marchas das Vadias” (SlutWalk), protest marches calling for an end to rape culture; the “LGBT Community Pride Parades,” celebrating the LGBT community pride, which even has a schedule of marches in cities across the country.

In 2013, 21 years after the Painted Faces, in addition to the events previously mentioned, the activities organized by the Movimento Passe

Livre (MPL, Free Fare Movement, a Brazilian social movement that advocates the adoption of free fares in mass transit, a horizontal movement without a formal leadership) centralized the popular mobilization process that year. From the increase in the price of public transport fares in many cities of the country, there were protests called by the MPL, especially in Porto Alegre, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The “4<sup>o</sup> Grande Ato contra o Aumento das Passagens” (4<sup>th</sup> Great Activity against Increasing Transportation Fares), which took place on June 13, 2015, in São Paulo, gathered about 20 thousand people; the next activity, on June 17, 2015, was attended by over 100,000 people (both in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, according to the organizers), resizing the public opinion about the demonstrations.

After the demonstrations, the increase in the transportation fares was revoked in several cities of the country, indicating a victory of the popular mobilizations. However, the protests were kept, with the people going to the streets with a more diffuse agenda, expressing dissatisfaction with the lack of public services quality:

After the repeal of the increase of the fares, the MPL did not continue calling all the other subsequent protests. The demonstrations consisted of numerous groups of different organizations, but none of them was able to take a leading role in such events to the point of their leaders being recognized as representatives of the whole movement in June. Another specificity was the diffuse nature of the agendas and the lack of clarity in the claims, which marked the demonstrations in 2013, after the repeal of fares. [...] The demonstrations in 2013 had as one of their main points the non-acceptance of the representative political system as a legitimate interlocutor, with acts of rejection occurring in several demonstrations, the participation of political parties, even parties historically linked to social struggles and central agendas of the protests. (ARTIGO 19, 2014)

In 2015, new demonstrations took the country's streets, these ones contrary to President Rousseff and the PT government, reelected in 2014. The demonstration on March 15, 2015<sup>6</sup>, differently from the

<sup>6</sup> To calculate the information about the demonstrations, there was an option for the articles published on the Websites of the three Brazilian newspapers with the highest digital edition circulation

previous ones, “drew attention for its national character: all state capitals and the Federal District had protests which, under the aegis of a fight against corruption, aimed to attack President Dilma Rousseff (PT party)” (GUTEMBERG, LEAL, 2015). Also in 2015, students from public schools in São Paulo began an occupation movement of their schools, demanding better study conditions for them and working conditions for teachers (ARTIGO 19, 2014), the kind of event that has been, in 2016, also held in other country states.

The interest of this study lies on the impact of the 2015 protests, which gathered, according to Brazilian daily newspapers *O Globo* and *O Estado de São Paulo* (2015), nearly two million people in the 26 Brazilian states and the Federal District, including all capitals. As for Brazilian daily newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* (2015), it emphasizes that there were a million protesters. As for the number of cities with protests, the three newspapers diverge: *Folha de São Paulo* states 152 municipalities, *O Estado de São Paulo* states 185 and *O Globo* states 147. According to Brazilian polling institute Datafolha, this was the largest demonstration in Brazil since the *Diretas Já!* civil unrest movement in 1984. (*O ESTADO DE SÃO PAULO*, 2015)

The three papers point out that the (Brazilian flag colors) green and yellow set the tone of the protests. *Folha de São Paulo* (2015) states that the protesters’ speech would call for the impeachment of President Rousseff and accused PT of corruption cases in (Petróleo Brasileiro S.A. — Petrobras, more commonly known as simply Petrobras (semi-public Brazilian multinational corporation in the petroleum industry) *Petróleo Brasileiro S.A. — Petrobras*. To these motivators, *O Estado de São Paulo* and *O Globo* (2015) adds claims on the economic policy situation, anti-PT and, at times, a request for military intervention.

In an article that analyzes the influence of the events of March 15, 2015 in posts made by President Dilma Rousseff in her Facebook page

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(MÍDIA DADOS, 2014): *Folha de São Paulo* (54,930 copies), *O Estado de São Paulo* (46,050 copies) and *O Globo* (39,380 copies).

between February 15 and March 29, 2015, Soares (2015, p. 5) details that

The protests were organized by groups who were dissatisfied with President Rousseff's government. The issue of corruption was widely remembered. The impeachment of the President was a common point to the demonstrations. The economy was also the focus of some protesters. There were also some claims from smaller groups, such as the request for military intervention, for example.

Peruzzo (2013, p. 77) points out that the movement of June 2013 and also the one on March 15, 2015 are not social movements, but rather political and ideological movements fighting "for political participation, protests due to political antagonisms, demands for democracy, regime change," among other claims.

Monitoring performed via Seekr software on Twitter during March 15 resulted in 376 entries from the hashtags selected. Considering that this article defines as a starting point the hashtags used in messages posted on Twitter regarding the public demonstration, the markers were classified as positive (they agree with the demonstrations, opposing the current government); negative (they advocate or support the President and the government and disagree with the demonstrations); and neutral (without favor or against identifications). Thus, the following division and quantification are reached:

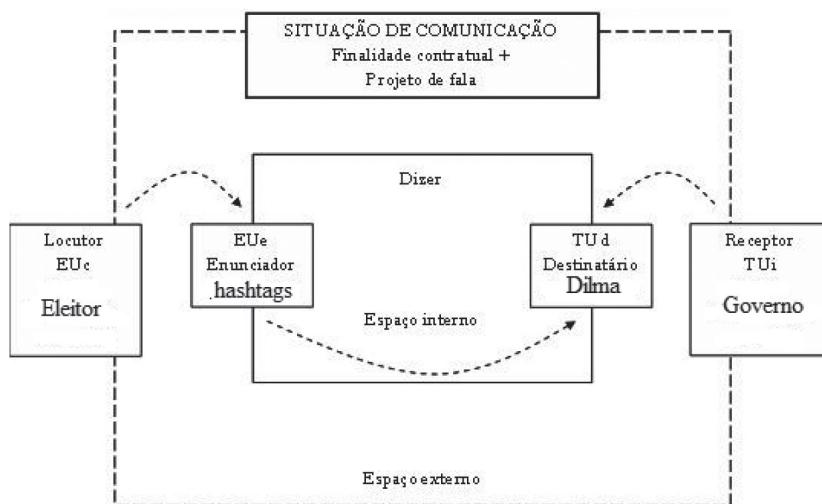
- Fifteen positive hashtags, with 288 mentions: #15demarco, #antipt, #chegadecorrupcao, #foracorrupTos, #foraDilma, #foraPT, #impeachment, #impeachmentDilma, #intervencaomilitar, #mudaBrasil, #panelaço, #ptnuncamais, #reformapolitica, #vempraru and #vempraru15demarco;
- Three neutral hashtags, with 52 mentions: #Dilma, #Dilma-Rousseff, #menosodiomaisdemocracia;
- Four negative hashtags, with 36 mentions: #dilmafica, #DilmalindaoBrasilteama, #domingoeunaovouporque, #Globogolpista.

From the use of hashtags it is possible to establish that among users who used a marker to be part of the conversation and at the same time

send their opinion, 76.5% position themselves in favor of the demonstrations against the government, 9.7% are in favor of the government and against the demonstrations and 13.8% are neutral. Among the positive hashtags, the most used one was #vemprarua (Come to the streets) (168 mentions) which, besides being an invitation distributed via outflow, is also an ownership of the watchword of the demonstrations that took place in Brazil in July 2013.

Thus are formed what Lemos and Lévy (2010b) define as virtual micronations, those formed by people connected by interests without necessarily being in the same territory. In the case of the demonstrations, all the people are in the same country, but the use of hashtags allows to extrapolate the boundaries among the country states and monitor in real time the demonstrations in other places (including abroad).

The analysis of the use of hashtags leads to the reflection on their role as a subject in the language act and allows the development of a new representation of the event (Figure 2):



**Figure 2.** Representation of the act of uttering hashtags on March 15, 2015

Source: prepared by the author from Charaudeau (2014c)



Figure 2 identifies the hashtags as MEe and the voices behind the utterer (Brazilians who unify their speech by hashtags) as MEc. It is possible to reach this understanding when it is established that Twitter is a collaborative discussions channel on which ideas and feelings are expressed in conversations and on which information is exchanged and consumed in real time. Posting a message on Twitter does not depend on prior acquaintance among the subjects, that is, this digital social network is a non-communitarian virtual community, defined by Lemos and Lévy (2010a) as a deterritorialized meeting and sharing place, where exchanges occur by affinity for themes.

Another factor that contributes to this understanding is the findability of information. If there is interest in a specific topic, there is no way to search publications by each user who speaks individually. Thus, the centralization of postings from hashtags allows real-time monitoring of what is said. Therefore, it is understood that the speech directed to President Rousseff stems from the hashtags as MEe, because they order and gather the statements (as one voice), which are structured by the MEc, which gathers the Brazilians.

President Dilma Rousseff, to whom the messages mediated by hashtags are addressed, takes on the role of YOUd, the ideal recipient manufactured by the MEc. *Hashtags* such as #foraDilma and #Dilma-lindaoBrasileama mark the destination of the messages and put the President in the production act. The response from the YOUd depends on the YOUi, who interprets the statements from their personal experience. Considering that the government is a collective and that the President is its representative, it is possible to identify the government itself as YOUi.

The fact that the President did not respond to the protesters refers to Bakhtin (2011), which states that this passive response is an active one, as not speaking is a listener's way of expression. Instead, Brazilian government Ministers José Eduardo Cardozo (Justice) and Miguel Rossetto (General Secretariat of the Presidency) take part in the press conference, leaving the communication situation external space, taking on

the role of intermediary ones in the language act. This new position is highlighted in the ministers' speeches, who at various times use phrases like "President Rousseff believes" to argue on her behalf.

At the press conference, the government ministers sought to respond to what had been dealt with by the media during the day of the demonstrations and also mentioned in the posts that contained the hashtags monitored, especially in relation to the themes "corruption," "political reform" and the needs for change in the country (which also appeared in the posts, with markers #chegadecorruptao, #reformapolitica and #mudaBrasil), for which they presented measures to be implemented by the government. They also repeated at various times the importance of holding demonstrations of democratic order, legal and away from a coup d'état agenda alternatives, which may be understood as a response to hashtags #foracorrupTos (Out, corrupT ones!, which emphasizes the acronym PT in the marker, linking corruption to The Workers' Party (Portuguese: Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT)), #foraDilma, #foraPT, #impeachment, #impeachmentDilma and #intervencaomilitar, acts seen as undemocratic by the interlocutors, which also had a strong presence in the media and on the streets. This evaluation is made from their world interpretations, including political positions.

Thus, the effectiveness of Charaudeau's (2014c) communication contract is confirmed, because it is perceived that the subjects participating in the event have reached an agreement. When using certain hashtags issuing the message (MEe), the voter (MEc) provided information that helped YOU to recognize and agree on the meaning of the MEc.

### **Final thoughts**

This article has attempted to analyze the events that took place in Brazil on March 15, 2015 from the perspective of the messages posted on Twitter to understand how what is said on this network through hashtags establishes who the subjects of the language act are in public conversations on digital social networks and how they behave in the act.

Therefore, the mentions at 22 hashtags on Twitter on the demonstrations day were monitored.

An objective was established to define the role of those involved in the speech, being them the virtual protesters and President Rousseff, the representative of the federal government. When verifying the relationship among the messages mediated by hashtags and directed to the President, it is possible to indicate the four subjects mentioned by Charaudeau (2014b, 2014c) for the language act, being the hashtags the MEe, the Brazilians the MEc, the President the YOUd and the government the YOUi.

When analyzing the language act, it is possible to realize that the communication contract was signed, because during the press conference the ministers responded to the points highlighted in the demonstrations, the media and also in the hashtags, especially the markers related to combating corruption and having a political reform. This is because the YOUi has acknowledged and agreed with the information provided by the MEc in the messages issued by the MEe.

From this study it is possible to develop new analyses, using messages posted on Twitter in relation to other events or even publications made on other digital social networks, seeking to understand the role and value of hashtags in each. Because each network has its audience, its use dynamics and characteristics, this article can serve as a benchmark with other realities.

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## **Voices in alliance and voices in confrontation: the authorship in the discursive fields of contemporary advertising production processes<sup>1</sup>**

### **Vozes em aliança e vozes em confronto: a autoria nos domínios discursivos do processo de produção da publicidade contemporânea**

*Fábio Hansen*<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract** *The discursive chain of advertising is going through a phase of re-configurations. The scenario of a profusion of voices, mingled with consumer engagement in productive processes in search of self-representation, transforms the advertising deeds. It is a communicational phenomenon that violates pre-established concepts, among them the notion of authorship applied to advertising. As a guiding perspective – tensioned to the French Discourse Analysis of Pecheutian orientation – has been the focus on cyber-advertisement as a preamble to examine the conditions of production of the advertising narrative. The reflection of the digital interactivity is the strengthening of the authorship in the dimension of the subject-consumer.*

**Keywords:** *Authorship; Advertising Discourse; Advertising Creation; Subject-consumer; Cyber-advertisement*

**Resumo** *A cadeia discursiva da publicidade atravessa uma fase de reconfigurações. O cenário de profusão de vozes, mesclado ao engajamento do consumidor nos processos produtivos em busca de autorrepresentação, transforma o fazer*

<sup>1</sup> Modified version of a work presented at GP Publicidade e Propaganda (Advertising and marketing) at the XV Encontro dos Grupos de Pesquisa em Comunicação (Communication Research Groups Meeting), an event pertaining to the XXXVIII Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências da Comunicação (Brazilian Communication Sciences Congress).

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*publicitário. É um fenômeno comunicacional que viola concepções previamente estabelecidas, dentre elas a noção de autoria aplicada à publicidade. Como perspectiva norteadora - tensionada à Análise de Discurso francesa, de orientação pecheutiana - tem-se o enfoque na ciberpublicidade como preâmbulo para examinar as condições de produção da narrativa publicitária. O reflexo da interatividade digital é o fortalecimento da autoria na dimensão do sujeito-consumidor.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Autoria; Discurso publicitário; Criação publicitária; Sujeito-consumidor; Ciberpublicidade*

## **From the virtual consumer to the actual consumer, from the absent presence to the powerful presence**

The production of meaning provides an interface between consumption and speech. Pêcheux (1993) defines speech as an effect of meaning between interlocutors. As for Canclini (2005), he understands consumption as a set of cultural practices in which meanings and senses are constructed. Martín-Barbero (2013), in turn, considers consumption as producing meaning.

It is this broader notion of consumption that we join in its symbolic dimension. We do not refer to consumption in a narrow sense of purchasing products, in a simple relationship between needs and assets created to meet them, in their commercial aspects. Consumption, according to Canclini (2005), exceeds the materiality of goods and involves the symbolic consumption. By extension, we are not addressing the consumer of a certain product in their economic facet. We are thinking about the consumer of the advertising discourse, in a communicative exchange between an author and a reader, between an advertising professional individual and the consumer individual of its narrative.

Such understanding lends itself to a reflection on the relationship between advertising professionals and consumers of the statements created by those, conventionally made possible via imagery, as it is by the anticipation that the advertising professional builds the effect-consumer, which constitutes the senses of their speech. Thus, the subject-consumer is crossed by imagery through the advertising speech production process, causing a change of meanings in creative ideas during the process, (re)appropriated to this projected consumer (HANSEN, 2013).

Displacing a thought by Indursky (2001, p. 36) for advertising, we would say that under the advertising professionals' creative ideas resound their interlocutor, who is established "under the modality of an absent presence." However, given the changes caused by the socio-technical mediation of media devices (FAUSTO NETO, 2010), it seems that an "absent presence" becomes a powerful presence, thanks to the

“new communicational space” woven with “connections, flows and networks” (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2014, p. 133).

The literature, under many different inclinations, attests contemporary modes of interaction, be them the Convergence Culture (JENKINS, 2008), the Participation Culture (SHIRKY, 2011), the Power of Crowds (HOWE, 2008). Subsequently, traditional advertising is impacted, as well as its way of relating to the consumer of its narrative – no longer just the idealized, silent, absent one. Neither of the productive chain of the advertising work is immune because the speech production status changes. The game of the advertising creation process has its space of (re)negotiations and (re)formulations enhanced.

Pêcheux (1993), in 1969, was the one who introduced the notion of production conditions. We could define, together with Orlandi (1993) - who continued in Brazil the Discourse Analysis developed in France by Pêcheux -, production conditions (PCs) as a comprehensive situation of speech production, which includes the historical and social contexts, the discursive situation, the speakers, the speech object. To better understand the voices that get in the production process of the advertising discourse, our attention falls in particular on the speakers, who are part of the PCs proposed by Orlandi (1993) as a circumstance that determines the production of speech.

Given the numerous possibilities of naming the consumer in cyber-advertisement (speaker, receiver, user, developer, sharer, prosumer, co-producer, co-creator, co-enunciator, amateur, hyperconsumer), we find support on the notions of a virtual reader and an actual reader proposed by Orlandi (1993). The virtual reader is the one to whom an author writes and to whom he assigns certain knowledge, opinions, preferences, experiences. It is a designed reader. As for the actual readers, they are those who actually read the text. The virtual reader is “a reader who is constituted in the act of writing itself,” from the image that the author has of their possible interlocutors, who can have the image of an “accomplice” or an “opponent” (ORLANDI, 1993, p. 9).



The communicability model in a network, interactive and connective, displaces this accomplice or opponent from the imageries to the sphere of what is real, now ensuring them greater visibility and presence strength. The speaker is presumed as being real and not only symbolic. Consider this: the actual consumer unfolds in two orders, the consumer of the strategy (accomplice) and the consumer of the resistance (opponent). From the point of view of the Discourse Analysis, they would be, respectively, the fully identified and subjugated consumer and the counter-identified consumer with the dominant meaning in advertising communication. Both, as well as the virtual consumer, constitute a consumer-author, but with different speech operations.

Thus we come to the authorship and its social character, the perspective that matters to us in this text. With the circumstances of production of the advertising discourse enhanced by the digital interactivity, the authorship is strengthened in the dimension of the actual consumer. As has already been demonstrated (HANSEN, 2013), the virtual consumer already holds the authorship, given that, although fictional, is a constitutive part of the speech. In the scenario of cyber-advertisement, the actual consumer is also raised to a consumer-author status; although one cannot ignore that they already exercised the authorship even before the digital social networks. However, “the recent changes in communicative contracts of the advertising discourse” (CASAQUI, 2014, p. 33) expand not only the dialogue with the audience to which the advertising statements are targeted, but also the circulation of speeches (both advertising speeches as the advertising consumers’ speeches).

Thus, the instability and the social character of the meanings reveal the urgent need to investigate the issue of authorship in the discursive field of advertising. Therefore, it is under the aegis of the notion of authorship that we shall join discussions about the advertising discourse consumer transfigurations, handling the bewildering narrative hybridizations that mix the functions of reading and writing, i.e., of readers and authors.

## Individuals and meanings in movement in cyber-advertisement

Our goal is to reflect on the subject-consumer – constitutive of meaning in the production process of the advertising discourse – who experiences the authorship through interaction environments that opens new discursive spaces. We think it is unwise to aim the statements as products, ignoring the production process. In this sense, we approach the creation in advertising in a discursive perspective, as a complex process of production of meaning, in which the advertising professional and the consumer are present as individuals. “How to look at the statements (as ‘products’) without looking at their modes of enunciation (as the ‘production’ itself)?,” asks Atem (2014, p. 128). This would ignore the individuals participating in the creation of the statements.

It is known that the meaning is not an exclusive property of the text and of whom produces it. The meaning is the result of the interaction of the readers with the texts. According to Martín-Barbero (2014), mediations are the place where meaning is granted. That is, the effect of meaning is not given a priori, but in the interaction condition. “Producers and consumers of ‘texts’ [...] participate in the production of meanings and significances” (HARVEY, 2007, p. 55).

The communication process is active and interactive by nature. Technology, when offering the technical conditions for the individuals to collate meanings, potentiates something inherent in human beings, given that, according to Shirky (2011), human beings are social creatures who value a sense of connection. Technology refers today to “new modes of perception and language, new sensibilities and scriptures” (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2014, p. 79).

The interaction logic credits an unprecedented expressiveness to a restricted speaker, making them join with growing power the advertising communication arena. They are “new dialogues established between consumers and advertising agencies’ clients within the digital platforms” (COVALESKI, 2014, p. 157), restructuring the communication contract in building the advertising discourse. It should be briefly recalled

how the creative advertising system is configured. Let us immediately add that it is not being replaced, but expanded in the light of the concept of cyber-advertisement, which is to try to “show its continuities and breaks with the traditional model of Advertising” (ATEM, 2014, p. 138).

The virtual consumer already interferes in the production process of advertising communication via an imaginary formation. Here it is worth mentioning Pêcheux (1993) and his thesis that all discursive process supposes an anticipation of the representations of the speakers, on which the discourse strategy is based. The discursive strategy of the anticipation provides for the possibility of responses and directs the advertising arguments, that is, the idea resulting from the advertising discourse production process is conveyed only from this image constructed, produced by a gesture of interpretation from the advertising professional. It is because of these imaginary anticipations that the advertising professional builds the effect-consumer, projecting a homogeneous image in relation to consumers that make up its target audience.

We recognize such a standardization movement of the everyday imageries as part of the discursive functioning of the advertising production system, which also draws on research with the target audience and the tests of statements. However, such expedients never assured control of the meanings. In fact, it was never more than a control effect, a traditional advertising effort in building an idealized reality for the advertising discourse.

For Atem (2014, p. 132), “From the linear flows of the traditional Advertising, from the advertising agencies’ client to the consumer, we go to more circular flows, like in dialogues,” until then an effect, which now are established and have continuity from the expression from consumers reflecting a speech (advertising) from advertising agencies’ clients, entitled to replies and replications. The continuous flow reflects an ideological incompatibility from the actual consumer towards the virtual consumer. Considering that the virtual consumer is imagery from the advertising professional, the advertising discourse circulates and finds numerous actual consumers, different from each other, who effectively

interact with the advertising communication and can produce an interpretation which departs from the desired meanings.

As a result of the gap between the virtual and the actual consumers, there is the gap between the speech desired by the advertising professionals and the effective speech in the subject-consumer. As a result, the advertising communication is subject to much criticism and challenges, with advertising agencies and advertising agencies' clients having to explain immediately why now "there are new voices able to speak and to be heard [...] new possibilities of interaction among consumers and brands, generating a new discourse" (COVALESKI, 2014, p. 157).

### **Resistance and strategy: the actual consumer in the advertising discourse**

The new marketing reality amplifies an existing voice, the voice of consumers of the advertising communication. Verbs such as like, comment, share, label and evaluate indicate actions by a consumer increasingly aware and critical of the advertising discourse, which increases the interaction unpredictability. Jenkins (2008) reports that consumer's participation may be feared by some and welcomed by others. Jenkins' thought is useful because it leads to a double movement in the advertising field: the consumer's resistance to the advertising discourse and the strategy of approaching them to the advertising discourse. The resistance comes from the individuals. As for the strategy, it originates in corporations, incorporating the subject-consumer.

Here we identify a resistance movement, in which speeches are primarily spontaneous demonstrations by consumers and not by businesses; and also a strategic movement of reinvention of the advertising system, which encourages the production among professionals and amateurs. Openness to participation can be understood as a threat – a confrontational relationship (opponent) is established with consumers – or as an opportunity – an alliance relationship (accomplice) is established.

Under an angle, the advertising industry realized it could incorporate collaboration into its strategies, encouraging public participation in the

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creation of the advertising discourse, and may have adopted such behavior in response to a resistance speech from this same audience. Among the attempts to invest in a dialogue with consumers, we highlight co-creation. In cyber-advertisement the consumer “is called to participate in advertising campaigns, to co-build their narrative, to be a co-enunciator of the brands”, says Atem (2014, p. 131).

Co-creation comes from the idea of companies working with their audience chain, which may include customers, employees and suppliers. In the process of creating advertising, in particular, it brings consumers within the idea generation process. Co-creation, by way of illustration, is what was done in 2013 by Brazilian advertising agency Loducca with (wireless service operator) Nextel Communications, Inc., when anonymous people inspired new commercials of the brand. Actually, it was more than inspiring. Ordinary people, necessarily Nextel’s customers, were invited via the Internet<sup>3</sup>, in the relationship action entitled “Nextel: Tell Your Story,” to describe an actual story relevant to their life. The narrative, besides being based on actual facts of overcoming challenges, should not make any specific mention of Nextel, its brands, services and products. We would say that this was the briefing informed to the wireless service operator’s clients, who could voluntarily participate. The activity was intended to choose actual stories for Nextel’s advertising communication.

The stories told by Juca Varela, Diego Reeberg, Ethel Rosenfeld, Fabiano Moreira, Juliana Motter, Fábio Leão and André Vianco were selected, produced and broadcast. The character of each commercial would help write the script, co-creating with the advertising agency. In this recent case of advertising strategy, participatory creation is evidenced, in which people from outside the advertising field assist the advertising agencies in the task of creating, engaging and actively contributing.

The co-creation strategy produces affective and meaningful bonds between brands and consumers, institutions and individuals. However, through it one attempts to promote a revival in the generation of ideas,

<sup>3</sup> Nextel: Tell Your Story. Available on <<http://vc.nextel.com.br>>. Access on December 4, 2015.

since the process by which advertising professionals create is repetitive and aim reproduction (HANSEN, 2013), resulting in creative tiresomeness. An outsider tends to bring a different look and opens avenues for experimentation. Diversity is what is advocated by Capote Filho (2014) when arguing that a heterogeneous creative group looks at the problem from different points of view, generating hypotheses of richer answers.

Santaella (2013) notes that the collaborative problem solving by all teams' work results in collective construction processes called inter-creativity processes, which are reciprocal cooperation networks. Cooperation in the intellectual framework for the creation of new ideas causes changes in the way of thinking up the advertising creation process, affecting labor relations. It gives the impression, precipitated, of outsourcing the creative department by the advertising agencies. Despite the profusion of voices, consumers are indeed producing together with the advertising professionals, but under the supervision of the latter, since they are the creative professionals that make up the final version of the advertising communication. Thus, advertising professionals are the curators of ideas in co-creation initiatives, responsible for directing the creative work, organizing it, and maintaining its operation.

Whereas people do not always know how to participate, the professionals are needed at every step, taking on the task of managing and directing the collective production. When performing the curatorial activity, the advertising professional coordinates the participants' efforts in a management oversight work that ensures the advertising agencies' clients' objectives. To the extent that there is a formally managed production, we could say, adapting from Casaqui (2014, p. 46), that the advertising professional individual "builds the logic of transformation taken as a collective deed, in which they put themselves in the leading position" of the process.

In situations of co-creation, such as the one by Nextel, the format of collaborative projects is planned by the advertising agencies in partnership with the advertising agencies' clients, and the content is created by the consumer. This forces us to advance in the reflection to show

that the production does not take place outside of professional practices and routines. It is not amateurish, although the model involves professionals and non-professionals. Nor does the creative effort by amateur consumers is free, because the individual whom we deal with here is the individual of the Discourse Analysis of Pecheutian orientation – not a free individual, master of their actions and their will, the core of their speech – but a social and off-center individual, undergoing the intervention from the unconscious and the ideology. Therefore, the subject-consumer is subjugated to the discursive formation in which they are inserted, saying only what it allows and hence to a dominant ideological formation. In other words, they are subjugated to the dominant position regarding advertising and, by extension, the dominant sense.

When examining an action of co-creation, we cannot ignore that, despite the immersion in the subject field of the other, the communication strategy does not deviate from the directions desired by the advertiser, mediated by the advertising professionals. It is a strange new hybrid that gives voice to the consumer to follow what is already laid. So much so that when editing the ideas the advertising professionals are the ones who take control, editing according to the advertising agencies' client's point of view, in a sly enunciation game.

The narrative structure on which the consumer works and creates is previously established by the advertising professionals, according to the advertising agencies' clients' trajectory and their brand. This structure is maintained and respected, respecting the original narrative. Thus, the blurring of boundaries between the internal elements and external constituents of the co-creative speech is clear. However, the internal logic prevails and consumers, as a condition for participation, are confined to an experiment with a predetermined script, reveals Shirky (2011). Creativity “lets it fly, but determines the descent procedures. In soil, it requires going through customs, is critical and rigorous, rules out fragile ideas or just beautiful and useless ones; it calls for changes” (CAPOTE FILHO, 2014, p. 130).

Incorporating the consumer to the production processes is viewed by Casaqui (2014) as part of a brand advertising strategy whose watchword is convergence. In his critical eye, the author maintains that the meaning of the coproduction makes up the logic of the communicative contracts, being nothing but a “dialogical game” arising from an “imagery of the shared construction” (CASAQUI, 2014, p. 40). We would add that it is the advertising system developing by adopting other techniques for the creation process, while, however, resorting to old procedures that hide the corporations’ true face. The interaction, strategically hidden as horizontal, is absolutely vertical. Whereas “the corporate culture simulates its openness to society” (CASAQUI, 2014, p. 46), the subjection is done more subtly, turning the subject-consumer into an important ally in the advertising plot.

In contrast to the camouflaged horizontality, in which “breaks are not sought but confirmations, concordances, and no dissonances are” (CASAQUI, 2014, p. 35), a new discursive space is born, facilitating expressivity in a more horizontal way – a characteristic of the cyber-advertisement discourse. This new interactional dynamics is based not only on the absent presence of an imaginary consumer but on the powerful presence of an actual consumer who does not adhere to the strategy and the call from the advertising agencies’ clients to coproduce the advertising discourse. Thus, a counter-identification is introduced in relation to the vertical interaction and to the dominant direction in the advertising narrative and resistance is settled.

In contact with advertising, the actual-resistant-consumer disrupts everything that was orchestrated by the professionals. More than that, they challenge the advertising agencies’ clients and are not only challenged by them, in an inside-out movement. This reverse flow overcomes the traditional structure of the communicational contract, of an indirect nature, marked by the lack of conversation among the interlocutors. With the advent of the Internet and the online social networks, direct and spontaneous interventions by the individuals in the pre-addressed fields to advertising agencies’ clients in eminently corporate domains have intensified.



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Of course the consumers' spontaneity of manifestations should be examined with reservations, because what is spontaneous can be inserted into the advertising strategy, a recurring tactic from advertising agencies' clients and advertising professionals to raise visibility through a controversial speech. Although it is difficult to assess spontaneity in all resistance situations to which we have access every day, we cannot therefore simply deny it. Proceeding in this way (re)institutes a romantic view from the illusion of considering that advertising is immune to counter-advertising and to having its knowledge put into confrontation. In the discursive perspective, it is unthinkable that the universal knowledge of a particular discursive formation is not called into question, i.e., that the dominant meaning in the advertising discursive formation shall never be destabilized by putting its ideology into question. If it were so, the discursive formation would not be understood as heterogeneous.

Besides causing tensions, interventions not planned by the advertising agencies' clients carry with them damage and enemies to their brands. This is what shows us, as a study unit, the beer brand Skol 2015 Carnival advertising campaign<sup>4</sup>. The impact of the sentence, "I have forgotten the word No at home" in their ads was not positive and generated protests in digital social networks, broadcast by the press, after two young ladies – advertising professional and illustrator Pri Ferrari<sup>5</sup> and journalist Mila Alves – posted pictures (Figure 1) making an intervention that altered the original message.

<sup>4</sup> Skol now preaches carnival with respect. Available on <<http://www.meioemensagem.com.br/home/comunicacao/noticias/2015/02/13/Apos-protestos-Skol-muda-pecas-de-carnaval.html>>. Access on December 6, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> It was possible to hear Pri Ferrari at the event, "Let us talk about gender in advertising?", promoted by the Grupo de Planejamento e Atendimento do Paraná (GPAPR; Group for Planning and Serving in Brazilian state Paraná) on March 19, 2015. Available on <<http://www.facebook.com/events/392828084224070>>. Access on December 5, 2015.



Figure 1. Pri Ferrari's Facebook page print screen

Source: <http://www.facebook.com/priferrari22>. Access on December 6, 2015.

As shown in the image (Figure 1), the post had 8,505 shares, 590 comments and 26,948 likes. Due to the disapproval of their advertising content in social networks, Brazilian brewing company Ambev changed (Figure 2) the props of the controversial advertising campaign after the accusation of irresponsibility for making rape apology. The replacement of the advertising material was disclosed by the company after complaints about the advertising discourse went viral on social networks. Skol not only accepted the audience's dissonant discourse, accepting the presence of this party, as it appropriated the dissident speech to explain and justify: "We were warned on social networks that part of our communication could result in a dubious understanding. And out of respect for diversity of opinion, we shall replace the current sentences for clearer and more positive messages."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Skol shall change controversial advertising campaign. Available on <<http://www.meioemensagem.com.br/home/comunicacao/noticias/2015/02/11/Skol-vai-mudar-campanha-pol-nica.html>>. Access on December 5, 2015.



**Figure 2.** New advertisements of communication for Skol Carnival 2015

Source: <http://www.meioemensagem.com.br/home/comunicacao/noticias/2015/02/13/Apos-protetos-Skol-muda-pecas-de-carnaval.html>. Access on December 6, 2015.

In order to examine the subject-consumer in the contemporary context of the digital social networks, we present what happened at Carnival 2015 with the brand Skol, a fact that confirms the phenomenon efferescence on screens. The negative impact that surprised the advertising professionals and the company's management proves the unpredictability in communication and the lack of control of meanings attributed to the advertising discourse by the subject-consumer in their gesture of interpretation. As it deconstructs and destabilizes a surface that looked so well structured by advertising, it establishes the conflict between the speech desired by advertising professionals and the effective speech in the actual consumer.

Questioning the brands in the cyberspace reaches the apex when it generates different impacts from what was expected by the advertising enunciation strategies. In the scenario reported about Skol, another factor gains strength: immediacy in communication. The answer on the Web is very fast, almost instantaneous. The replacement of the advertising campaign took place in the same week when it was released. Participants in the digital world not only give an actual feedback as they change the form and/or content in real time. Therefore, the advertising

professional who in the traditional model of advertising was informed of the echo produced by the enunciations on consumers and would gradually modify their assumptions for future creation processes now (re)organizes the speech right away (Figure 3, highlighting what we marked with a red rectangle).



Figure 3. Pri Ferrari's Facebook page print screen

Source: <http://www.facebook.com/priferrari22>. Access on December 6, 2015.

At the end of the day, another logic is established for making the advertising communication, and it particularly affects the dimensions of the work in the advertising creation. In the context of cyber-advertisements, the creative work product is changed when it is already “on the air” and no longer while it is being processed. Here is a change in the production mechanics of the advertising discourse. Significant changes on creative routes are imposed on interactions already underway, with the advertising campaign already being broadcast, approved and paid by the advertising agencies' clients.

Understanding this advertising communicational movement from digital mediations, where everything is likely to be readily reacted to

and, consequently, modified, adapted, transformed in real time and in the speed of the Internet, it should be in the list of (pre)occupations for advertising agencies' clients, advertising agencies and advertising professionals. If nothing else, because the repercussions around advertising campaigns are recurring and hard-hitting, reflecting on the advertising industry by giving the creation process an uninterrupted basis.

These cases motivate us to reflect on the strengthening of authorship in the dimension of the actual consumer. Prior to the technological revolution of recent years, the advertising professional would hardly directly<sup>7</sup> interact with this consumer. Today, as digital social networks allow people to express in intense, spontaneous and instant ways, new discursive spaces and interaction environments were created, new and more individuals take the place of authorship in the production of the advertising discourse, interfering with the generation of ideas, that is, with the movement of meanings in the advertising creation process.

### **The consolidation of a consumer-author in the production process of the advertising discourse**

From the interaction practices in cyber-advertisement emerge traces of new and more voices to experience the authorship in the advertising speech production process. Along with the other voices (the advertising agencies' clients, the virtual consumer, the customer service staff, the planning, creation, and media staff) who stand in such process, the actual consumers share the authorship with all the other individuals. Despite being something that once was already possible, now it proves to be a reconfigured operation in view of a modified discursive situation in which the forms related to the dialogue are new.

<sup>7</sup> Although it is the exception – because it was created to provoke the resistance – it is worth remembering the advertising communication by global fashion brand Benetton Group S.r.l. in the 1990s. At least two advertising campaigns of the clothing brand aroused social reaction: a set of billboards showing the picture of a black woman breastfeeding a white child, in the Brazilian city of São Paulo, was graffitied to protest the sentence, “Never again a wet nurse.” As for a billboard showing the kiss between a priest and a nun caused a protest with bombs in the Benetton store in Rome (AUGUSTO, 2004).

In the advertisement creation process, authorship circulates among the individuals as an empty seat to be filled. That is, they are authors at a given time, in a given place, because the authorship is temporary (HANSEN, 2013). It is a passage area, not permanent. Floating, ephemeral, fleeting, as a way of being an author, transferable at each stage of creation. And now another phase of circulation and composition of the meanings acquires new dimensions and greater importance: the verdict of disapproval or the request to change the idea that came from the advertising professionals is given by actual consumers not on surveys and discussion groups to test, enhance, or discard ideas, but in real time and recurrently.

If, as well as the advertising agencies' clients, the actual consumer has the power to veto ideas – a power in theory in the scope of the businesses – be it to disapprove or request amendment, “prohibiting them” to remain in circulation, of course it happens to occupy a place of authorship, with transition in authorship. From the moment when they take responsibility for directing the meanings, participating in the exclusion of ideas – as well as the construction of other ideas – the consumer exerts pressure on the advertising professional's speech.

The difference, compared to advertising professionals and the advertising agencies' clients, lies in the phase in which the advertising consumer inhabits the empty place of authorship: it is with the advertising communication in the street, in circulation, after – internally – approved, paid and conveyed. That is, the advertising project does not come out of the agenda, it is on standby because at any moment any changes can be requested or material created can fail, even when already made available for consumption. It seems that in contemporary advertising communication it is before the eyes of the general audience that the production process of statements takes place.

We are witnessing the expansion of the advertising discourse mode of production and with it the strengthening of the consumer-author in the advertising creation process. As the meaning is changed, and the person in charge for the deviation generates a new subject-author, the consumer of the advertising narrative is raised to such a condition. In

all individuals involved in the advertising project there is an instance of authorship, which goes from one hand to another, according to the discursive stage, and at each new stage the voice of one of the speakers stands out, giving rise to a discursiveness that brings with it a new copy-right registration.

Thinking the issue of authorship involves establishing a connection with the interpretation. I am here considering, based on Orlandi (1996), the interpretation as a burst of effects of meanings, both in production and in reading texts, and authorship as a form of articulation and displacement (more or less) of meanings in a given direction (MITTMANN, 2011, p. 100-101).

Authorship is an intense activity of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction which consumers increasingly incorporate. Whenever the consumers' interventions emerge (whether online or off-line) an author breaks out, imposing significant changes in the actions in progress, appropriating the advertising agencies' clients' and the advertising professionals' voices to (re)define speeches and displace meanings.

Of course, we are referring to the actual consumer of the resistance order, the counter-identification to the traditional rules of the advertising game. However, the actual consumer subjugated to the strategy has not been despised. Although, as we have already seen, in different circumstances they have also begun to climb the condition of producers of meanings. The caveat is that the discursive co-creation is a "joint activity that enacts its connection to the corporate environment" (CASAQUI, 2014, p. 47). Even then the subject-consumer inserted in the co-creation strategy, the hybrid and collaborative production activity, does not remain without questioning the traditional notion of authorship as a purely human and especially individual activity.

In the case of the advertising discourse creation process, there is not a single author, in spite of the effect-author making it look like there is someone responsible for the creative idea. Recognizing the perspective of other individuals who make the process a joint creation, authorship is shared, consisting in intersecting many subject-authors and, of course,

different types of knowledge. All this leads us to the notion of a collective authorship, one that proposes to be collective since its inception and, at its end, jointly carries the match of the function-author to the effect-author (HANSEN, 2013).

From the perspective of the Discourse Analysis, there is not a greater or lesser degree of authorship. This undoes any questions about a discrepancy of authorship between the two types of actual consumers. The consumer subjugated to the strategy lives under the illusion of empowerment, having their narrative production molded from the desire of brands and corporations. In turn, the consumer resisting to the acceptance and embedment of the advertising discourse leads the interaction and the meanings produced in it, beyond the strategy and what is pre-cast, marking the discursive field as a dispute territory. Demonstrations erupt in digital social networks; with them an author breaks out and also the mode of production acquires novel traits.

Although in one there is a full subjection (identification) and in the other there is a counter-identification (acting on another position-subject and subjugated to it), in both situations there is authorship. This equates to countersigning the triple authorship (HANSEN, 2013) shared among the advertising agency professionals, the advertising agencies' clients and the consumer – real and imaginary. Considering that the speeches are created and transformed also in the digital universe, the authorship is further diluted by absorbing voices in alliance and voices in confrontation.

The authorship cannot be focused on only one party, whether the advertising agencies' clients, the advertising professionals or the consumers. It is in the dynamics of the interaction among these parties. Thereby an intricate authoring process is formed. Thus, more than justifying Mittmann's (2011, p. 92) statement that the authorship "takes places precisely in and by the game of otherness," our reflection clarifies the notion of a diffuse authorship, shared by the agency, the advertising agencies' clients and the consumer of the advertising enunciation, i.e., the subjects involved in the advertising speech production process. The advertising creation professionals should work on the boundary between



their own authorship and “another” authorship, taking on a share of authorship.

With the various ways of making communication take shape, the activity on the digital social networks is reshaping the notion of authorship (GONTIJO, 2004). In this sense, we consider relevant to approach it to the subject-consumer in the discursive fields of advertising, for the marketing, cultural and social transformations operated through technology lead us to deeper concerns about roles previously established, here including the authorship. Thus, when discussing the reconfiguration occurring in the world of advertising work, we hope that the arguments presented here raise new debates, thus fulfilling our task of investigating actions and movements of meanings that generate transformation in the lives of individuals and institutions.

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## From the fanzine to the magazine: an analysis of punk rock representations by advertising<sup>1</sup>

### Da fanzine à magazine: uma análise das representações do punk pela publicidade

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Lívia Pessanha Boeschstein<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract** *The objective is to analyze the social representations of punk rock in the media from two icons of this movement: Johnny Rotten (former lead singer of the late 1970's punk band The Sex Pistols) and João Gordo (former lead singer of the Brazilian hardcore punk band Ratos de Porão). It starts with the premise that the punk rock subculture is likely to be, through advertising, retransmitted to the general audience within “politically correct” standards in comparison to what it is in its ideological essence. To try to understand the concept of “social representations” and also how the process of assigning meanings to certain elements that are “foreigners” to a culture is, a reflection shall be developed from Moscovici’s (2003) theory of social representations, among others authors.*

**Keywords:** *Media representations; Advertising; Punk rock*

**Resumo** *O objetivo é analisar as representações sociais do punk na mídia a partir de dois ícones deste movimento: Johnny Rotten (ex-vocalista da banda Sex Pistols) e João Gordo (ex-vocalista da banda Ratos de Porão). Parte-se da premissa de que a subcultura punk é passível de ser, através da publicidade, retransmitida*

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*ao público em geral dentro de padrões “politicamente corretos” em comparação ao que ele é em sua essência ideológica. Para tentar compreender o conceito de “representações sociais” e também como se dá o processo de atribuição de significados a determinados elementos “estrangeiros” a uma cultura, será desenvolvida uma reflexão a partir da teoria das Representações Sociais de Moscovici (2003), dentre outros autores.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Representações midiáticas; Publicidade; Punk*

It starts with the premise that advertising acts, in particular, as a space of signification in society that contributes to the maintenance of what (Romanian-born French social psychologist Serge) Moscovici (2003) calls “consensual universes,” in which what is outside the established standards gains new meanings, becoming a current portion of common sense. In order to discuss, in a way, the limits of the role of advertising in the construction of these conciliatory media representations, turning the “non-familiar” into “familiar” (Moscovici, 2003), we take punk rock as an object of reflection.

Punk rock is a subculture that was built as absolutely transgressive and countercultural, which appropriated everyday elements, shifting goods from their original meaning, giving new meaning and inventing an unconventional lifestyle embodied by the dominant culture. Even it, we propose to state, is likely to be, through advertising, retransmitted to the general audience within “politically correct” standards in comparison to what it is in its ideological essence. For that, it shall be necessary to understand the concept of subculture, dialoguing with theories of the field of British Cultural Studies, and resort to the sociological theories of deviance (Becker, 2009) and impurity (Douglas, 2012). The punk phenomenon shall be explored beyond the musical genre as a kind of subculture endowed with rites and symbols, politics and as an element of criticism of the “mother culture” or “mainstream culture,” using the studies by Hodkinson (2007) and Hebdige (2008) about the topic.

The punk subculture gained strength in the 1970s among young people from the British working class due to economic and political crises of the postwar as a way to challenge and deny everything that would come from the conventional culture or mainstream (Hebdige, 2008). Nevertheless, punk is frequently used as a reference related to a given youth ethos, serving as a symbolic marker for the entertainment industry – fashion and pop music – and advertising. The media, in general, intensively works with social, collective and consensual representations, and therefore friendlier, to strengthen its traditional paradigms and values, to communicate more clearly and quickly. Thus, it is possible to

generate a process of identification and recognition from the audience with what is being presented and communicated, labeling different cultures, stereotyping characters.

In order to understand the concept of “social representations” and also how the process of assigning meanings to certain elements that are “foreigners” to a culture is, a reflection shall be developed from Moscovici’s (2003) theory of social representations, which addresses issues surrounding this phenomenon. Moscovici conceptualizes social representations as products of an interactional force to familiarize what is “non-familiar” or unknown in order to avoid what is foreign to the common sense of that society. It is possible to see, in this way, the author’s speech proximity to the subject matter covered in this research: how the media, particularly the advertising discourse, appropriates certain concepts to deal with what looks strange and unexpected. According to the theorist, social representations have a mobile character. They are as supports for words or ideas. Their meanings and structures are dynamic and can be moved to others that are completely opposite to the previous ones, or even disappear. According to Moscovici, there is a continuing need for reestablishing any breakages on common sense, that is, the social representations are ways to recreate reality without which no community would operate.

As for Durkheim (1970), to whom Moscovici attributes the basis of his theory, the concept encompasses the collective, because a single individual could not create such circumstances and beliefs alone. It is an “actual phenomenon” collectively created and imposed on individuals. Collective representations are therefore coercive. The collective then prevails on the individual. According to the sociologist, the less they are perceived, the greater the power of influence of collective representations.

Also according to Moscovici’s ideas, the representation systems are different ways to classify concepts and add certain features. A culture can be seen from the massive sharing of conceptual maps, that is, a huge amount of people understands the same meanings from the same

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social representations, sharing the same identity. In short, the representation is the process that connects things, concepts and signs. Similarly, reinforcing common sense, inserting an idea massively shared by a social representation and enabling the creation of an identity that brings people together to share the same set of ideas is what makes the media.

### **Subcultures, deviation and danger**

The discussions on the terms used to define cultures that arise within other cultures are numerous.

According to Morin (2006), the subculture belongs to the wider system of mass culture, thus participating in the cultural industry, sharing “market laws, production techniques and mass diffusion” (MORIN, 2006, p.133). The subcultural media conveys messages that are not focused only in entertainment, but in political ideals that refuse integration in the consumer society, taking on marginality. For Morin (2006), subculture is a phenomenon that fits “between” culture and counterculture. On the one hand, the counterculture is opposed to what is established; on the other, the subculture “coexists” with it. Subcultures propose innovations, changes in values, review of precepts and practices, in short, the strength of the market is higher than its transgressive effect – they are quickly merged into the industry and commodified (Morin, 2006).

Clarke (2003) says in a detailed study of the concept of subcultures that movements that go against the mainstream culture are segregated, treated by the media as evil and marginalized by the mainstream society, because they work hard to not belong to it. Their efforts translate into ownership of unusual everyday goods and reframing them. There is the imposition of a lifestyle that is different from the one in previous generations, being totally opposite and confronting it in the literal sense, if necessary.

Punk is, by its characteristics, a subculture. Also, by its marginal characteristic and its existence in pathways parallel to mainstream, the punk subculture sets a detour (Becker, 2009), that is, everything that is not expected or foreseen by society and the dominant culture. The deviant

or outsider is the individual who deviates from the set of rules, “someone to whom that label has been successfully applied; a deviant behavior is the one that people label as such” (Becker, 2009, p. 22). The deviation is an ambiguous category, according to the author, since it shall be determined from the perspective of the group’s rules that judges them in this way. For example, a person can be part of several groups of the same society and their actions can be considered conventional in one of these groups and deviant in another. This ambiguity is relative in relation to the “distinctive rules of one or another group in society; there are some rules that are generally accepted by all.” There are other rules to which there is no consensus, “the difference is, among other things, a consequence of the reactions of others to a person’s action” (Becker, 2009, p.21).

It is by the characteristic ambiguity of not fitting in conventional rules or standards that the deviant represents great danger to society and therefore must have its deviation opposed and corrected, still according to Becker. The ambiguity and danger posed by them lead to the marginalization of this deviant person. Since there are no group or dominant rule in which the deviant is able to fit precisely, that is, since there is no single label able to define them, they are disowned, segregated and set aside from what is the main and official axis of the mainstream.

In order to understand the process of the deviants’ marginalization, we shall use the classic study undertaken by British anthropologist (Mary) Douglas (2012) when she theorizes that in the case of “shifting impressions” (Douglas, 2012, p. 51) of the symbolic universe we tend to classify certain things with labels: on the one hand, those who, although ambiguous, tend to be classified as a standard due to somehow harmonizing with the rule; others, due to being discordant, are rejected. “Once labeled, [the objects] are soon stuck in their due places in future” (Douglas, 2012, p. 53). It is worth remembering that this process of labeling is similar to social representations, as the objective of both is to generalize to classify and categorize. The labels, as well as the social representations, are personal classification systems, influenced by the



collective. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the two categories, label and social representation, is that the latter is a phenomenon motivated by harmonization and inclusion while the first one is motivated by exclusion of what is strange, out of standard or non-familiar.

Proceeding with the theory (Douglas, 2012, p. 53), the categories “anomaly” (an element that does not fit the rule) and “ambiguity” (a type of statement subject to two interpretations) can not be separated or isolated because they are largely complementary. The author states that societies have provisions to deal with ambiguous or anomalous events: (1) by labeling them in a special category; (2) by physically controlling them, eliminating them; (3) by avoiding them; (4) by classifying them as dangerous as “assigning danger is a way to put an issue above discussion” (Douglas, 2012, p. 55); by leaving no doubt about its potentially offensive character from its inadequacy to the current rules; (5) by using them in a ritual in order to enrich the meanings of a narrative. Douglas defines as “impurity” or “dirt” what can not be included when one intends to maintain a certain standard.

### **The punk movement**

The punk movement gains momentum in the early 1970s in the United States and its values are manifested with greater intensity in England: as a culture of challenging and denying of all that was part of the mainstream. Besides the mohawk hairstyle, boots, chains and scream three-chord songs, the punk subculture emerged in neighborhoods inhabited mainly by the working classes. Originating from a disaffected youth who did not conform to their parents' lifestyles, cultures and professions, the punk movement was not limited to one type of music and criticism. According to Hebdige (2008), the punk subculture was built on a process of bricolage, that is, cutting and pasting, appropriating and giving new meaning (Hodkinson, 2007) to various elements of culture, fashion, music, history and politics, giving them new forms of interpretations.

Criticism and challenging opposed to mainstream were the new uses proposed for everyday objects such as metal chains, taken as security objects and acquiring new meanings as clothing props; jackets being deliberately used in a state that would configure garbage: ripped, worn, stained; boots, previously restricted to industry workers, appropriated as casual shoes; shaved or colored hair, defying gravity, in opposition to the typical military hairstyle or to the Beatles good boys'. In the newspapers and magazines photos their attitude would show, besides an intention to challenge and criticize, mockery.

The mass media, however, explored the punk movement as something created by violent, untalented, frustrated people. A subculture movement<sup>4</sup>, in general, aims to go against the “mother culture” (Clarke; Hall; Jefferson; Roberts, 2003), despite bringing, in some way, elements of this cultural context in which it appears. Thus, even if there is something in common between the subculture and the mother culture, the individuals who belong to that one are presented and interpreted by the mainstream as potentially dangerous, precisely because they do not fit in what is established in relation to behavior in a conventional society. Therefore, these individuals were stigmatized as “vandals,” protagonists of violence, who practiced the “cult of ugliness, self-flagellation and sound indigence,” according to a report broadcast in Brazilian magazine VEJA<sup>5</sup> under the title “Rotten Fashion” (Figure 1). Finally, to the members of this movement were assigned several “categories of charges,” an expression used by Velho (1999) from Becker’s theories, reinforcing the stigma of being “violent” and “wild” in the sense of not following the “normal” rules of behavior and attitude expected by conventional society.

<sup>4</sup> Despite the term used by Morin (2006) featuring the punk movement as counterculture, here we shall use the most common nomenclature, the subculture. In order to not generate terminological confusion. These concepts are mutually exclusive. Therefore, it is understood that there are countercultures within subcultures.

<sup>5</sup> Brazilian magazine VEJA, p. 69. Issue of September 28, 1977.



Figure 1. First report page of Brazilian magazine *Veja* of 9/28/1977 on the punk movement

Source: Digital collection of Brazilian magazine *Veja*

As another example of the treatment given by the media to the punk movement there is the following excerpt from the report by Earl Berger “Punk Rock? Eu chamo de Rock Nauseabundo”<sup>6</sup> conveyed in the American newspaper *The Examiner*<sup>7</sup>: “Uma nova onda adolescente está vareando a Europa. E acredito que não devemos deixá-la entrar na

<sup>6</sup> Punk Rock? I call it Puke Rock [...] A new teenage craze is sweeping Europe. And it musn't be allowed to reach America. It's called Punk Rock. And it's built on Horror and Hate. Free translation.

<sup>7</sup> Newspaper clip published in KUGELBERG, 2012

América. Chama-se Punk Rock. E é baseada no Horror e no Ódio.” In order to delegitimize the movement, the mainstream media would often use the term “new wave,” aiming to treat it as something temporary, a passing fad, which should not be taken seriously (Kugelberg; Savage, 2012).

As for the fanzines, magazines independently printed and written by subculture participants, they were a great means of communication for the punk subculture, having been responsible for the spread of ideas, bands, important concerts and events schedules (Kugelberg; Savage, 2012). In these magazines, the unique and purposeful formatting and typography style (erasures, cutting and pasting letters from several newspapers and the smudged types, written as in stencilling) would already reveal the materialization of the meaning of the punk movement ideal for homology (Hebdige, 2008). Punk means chaos at all levels, but there is still some unity in its style – always chaotic in different ways, according to Hebdige (2008), and this is only possible because the style is perfectly ordered. The homology of the symbolic objects is absolutely consistent, embodied in goods that are appropriated and reinterpreted by these subculture individuals, in the lyrics, in the fanzine layout or in the attitude and punk world view, they all have a meaning in common that gives meaning to life: absolute chaos.

When a punk person uses a swastika, for Hebdige (2008) this is not intended to indicate that they are nazi, but only that they are so subversive to the laws, morals and the existing order that they wear a shirt with the most feared symbol of the twentieth century to break and shake all the structures of the “boxes” that format categories of right and wrong in society, trivializing it by saying “it’s just a stupid design, it does not mean anything.” The goal of the punk movement is to explode categories, concepts and labels imposed by a dominant speech, picking up the smithereens that remain, appropriating them as part of their image, entirely changing their symbolic meanings (Hebdidge, 2008). Therefore, it is at least intriguing that advertising, the medium understood as the main arm of the capitalist system, would use two characters, Brazilian

musician, reporter and television presenter João Gordo (João Francisco Benedan's stage name) and English singer, songwriter, and musician Johnny Rotten (John Joseph Lydon's stage name) who were, for decades, voices of absolute subversion to the "system." Therefore, we shall use ads to analyze the punk subculture representation. Let us then see how this transformation of meaning took place.

### **Under control: punk in advertisement**

Advertising usually works with stereotypical social representations, that is, figures that show common sense, in order to generate a more rapid and efficient identification by the consumer. For this, advertisers need to "squeeze in little boxes" certain social groups, subcultural or not. There is the "perfect mother" from the margarine ads; the "rational man" in the car ads; the "flirtatious young man" in beer ads. Anyway. Due to being a medium where the message should be transmitted, decoded, understood and absorbed by the audience on a page of a newspaper or in a few seconds on television, advertising needs to smooth out the rough edges of personalities with whom it works in order to succeed in making understood the message it wants to convey.

Thus, advertisers produce more obvious features to simplify the understanding of the message, even if this caricature does not exist in real life as created by the advertising media. As an example, a US advertising campaign for a line of cell phones from (South Korean multinational conglomerate company) Samsung, which aims to reach a young audience but also to establish a dialogue with an older crowd who has some difficulty to use it. English singer, songwriter, and television personality Ozzy Osbourne (John Michael "Ozzy" Osbourne's stage name) – the emblematic lead singer of the American heavy metal rock music genre – has starred a series of television commercials and the rocker's almost incomprehensible manner of speech was raised to extremes: Ozzy appears in everyday conversations, as babbling to a taxi driver, to a coffee shop attendant or to a psychologist. Since his grumblings are incomprehensible, the singer, for ease of understanding, in a good-natured way,

pulls out a cell phone and sends a quick text message to the person he wants to communicate with, which is possible only due to the simplicity of use and the product differentiated keyboard. At the end the narrator says, “Make yourself heard with the full QWERTY keyboard Samsung Propel.”<sup>8</sup>

As for a commercial for the purchase service of used gadgets, turning them into credit for buying new electronic equipment from Best Buy, a US chain store, Ozzy, this time, appears as a “decrepit old man” screaming the name of his wife, Sharon (Rachel Osbourne), at the slightest hint of trouble. Nothing different from what can be seen in the American reality television program *The Osbournes*, which showed the supposedly spontaneous multimillionaire everyday life<sup>9</sup> of the Osbourne family. In this commercial, Ozzy is treated, again, pathetically, with limited speech and motor skills, showing difficulty to advertise a certain product that changes all the time, being soon replaced by the then teen Canadian pop music star Justin Bieber, alluding to the speed with which electronics are obsolete, being replaced all the time.

Ozzy Osbourne, as well as another unique figure of American rock, Iggy Pop (James Newell Osterberg, Jr.’s stage name), who appeared in a series of ads for brands such as beverage brand Schweppes, the Swift Cover insurance company and French fashion designer of Spanish origin Paco Rabanne perfumes (Figure 2), are more accustomed to the media. Both starred in advertising campaigns and broadcasted their music videos on the TV channel reference to the pop music world, the US MTV. In addition, their contracts with major record labels inserted them in the world music circuit, touring for crowds that ran and still run the world. As for the punk rockers, they tried their best to stay out of the media and politically correct circuit for years. However, decades later, two symbols of the punk movement appeared in advertising campaigns.

<sup>8</sup> *Make yourself heard with the full QWERTY keyboard Samsung Propel* – Free translation.

<sup>9</sup> *The Osbournes*. An American basic cable and satellite television channel MTV coproduction that aired between 2002 – 2005 at the station and was transmitted around the world. Available on: [www.imdb.com/title/tt0306370/](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0306370/) Access on 5/10/2015.



**Figure 2.** Advertisement starred by Iggy Pop for Paco Rabanne's perfume *Black XS L'Excès*

Source: tenerclase.com

The ad (Figure 3), from the Brazilian fast food chain of tea house stores *Rei do Mate* that circulated in national magazines and banners in stores, shows the image of the presenter and lead singer of the Brazilian hardcore punk band *Ratos de Porão*, one of the oldest Brazilian punk rock bands, *João Gordo*. The singer appears openmouthed and scowling, showing all his teeth, holding, with his tattooed hands, a sandwich of the brand, as if he were going to fiercely bite it. The artist wears a T-shirt, sunglasses and a black cap, ear reamers and several piercings on his face. At the bottom, the following text appears already between quotation marks, like it were a quote from the pitchman himself: "The new *Rei* sandwiches are as good as... caraMBA!" where "mba" is a kind of patch over the original text, in order to hide a possible Brazilian Portuguese swearword, *João Gordo's* trademark. This stratagem refers to two quite characteristic aspects of the punk movement ethos: the swearword, hidden beneath the amendment simulated by the ad, the cutting and pasting, the hallmark of fanzines, LP records covers, among other elements of this counterculture, indicating the practice of *DIY (Do It Yourself)*.



Figure 3. Advertisement of the Brazilian fast food chain of tea house stores Rei do Mate line of sandwiches, starred by João Gordo

Source: Rei do Mate

Currently, the musician has a video channel on the Web, where he receives guests and prepares dishes based on his current diet, *vegan*<sup>10</sup>. In social networks, in addition to publicizing his programs and issues related to his band, João Gordo campaigns, criticizes capitalism and non-vegans. The singer's lifestyle reveals, in a way, a current subversion to "healthy" diets recommended<sup>11</sup> where there is consumer indication of animal products.

<sup>10</sup> Veganism is a way of life that proposes the non-instrumentalism of animals, going radically against all forms of animal exploitation or any other relations of subservience. Available on [www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism](http://www.vegansociety.com/try-vegan/definition-veganism). Access on 4/27/2015.

<sup>11</sup> Although preaching a lower consumption of animal products, the "Food Guide for the Brazilian Population," developed by the Government Department of Health does not provide the total exclusion of this type of food.



In the *Rei do Mate* ad, João Gordo appears as a person without formalities, having a lewd language vocabulary, whose behavior goes against everything that is said by the manuals of rules and etiquettes at the table<sup>12</sup>. The punk movement subversion element is then kept as it has been widespread by the media over the past few years: aggression, wildness, ungracious and confrontational behavior, being shown, however, in a more appropriate way regarding the rules.

In a post by Brazilian journalist and adman Adonis Alonso on his blog that deals with market backstage, the professional details:

Instead of Brazilian models Luize Altenhofen, Maryeva and Ana Luiza Castro, João Gordo! The TV presenter is the new pitchman for O Rei do Mate, the brand that has already had those models as campaigns protagonists. [...] “Using the presenter seeks to impact the consumer audience, accustomed to beautiful women in posters at the stores,” explains Antonio Carlos Nasraui, commercial director at Rei do Mate. “He is irreverent, young and appeals to our target audience,” he adds. Blog do Adonis – “João Gordo substitui Top Models” (João Gordo substitutes Top Models), 4/11/2012<sup>13</sup>.

In this sense, the choice of João Gordo allows a dialogue among the consumer audience, as well as impacting, since the delicate female models were replaced by a man wearing sunglasses, cap and piercing, snapping up a sandwich. Even though he was described as “young” by the company’s commercial director, João Gordo is in his fifties; still, the model generates an identification relationship with the audience by a characteristic commonly attributed to youth: irreverence.

The next advertisement to be analyzed is the first in a British television commercial campaign for English butter “Country Life.” Starred by Johnny Rotten, the ad shows the former punk band The Sex Pistols lead singer wearing patterned suits, always with earrings, tousled hair, and listing possible reasons why he would buy the “Country Life” butter.

<sup>12</sup> <http://chic.uol.com.br/boa-vida/noticia/evite-micos-a-mesa-gloria-tira-suas-duvidas-sobre-situacoes-embarcosas-em-restaurantes-e-jantares-entre-amigos> Access on 4/27/2015.

<sup>13</sup> Available on: [www.blogdoadonis.com.br/2012/04/11/joao-gordo-substitui-top-models/](http://www.blogdoadonis.com.br/2012/04/11/joao-gordo-substitui-top-models/) Access on 5/10/2015.

The first scene begins with the cover of a newspaper open with the headline “A Great British Occasion”<sup>14</sup> accompanied by a photo of people on the streets with several nation flags. Very mockingly, Rotten appears as the newspaper reader. Pulling his bowler hat and putting his reading aside, he begins a series of rhetorical questions, “Do I buy Country Life Butter because it’s British?”<sup>15</sup> in a highly aristocratic salon, with simple decor, dark and with gentlemen reading newspapers in leather armchairs while, in the background, a butler prepares some tea. The next scene shows an English crowd saluting the British Royal Family car with flags and nods – Rotten is among the people. He stands out from the happy crowd, swinging in an ironically frustrated way, but with energy, a tiny English flag. Then, in a rural setting, the second rhetorical question is asked on a classic model of English car, surrounded by a flock of sheep, while the singer appears out of the vehicle through the window: “Eu compro a manteiga Country Life porque anseio pela zona rural britânica?”<sup>16</sup> Rotten, again in a mustard suit, tries to chew some grass root and reacts with disgust, throwing the weeds away, denying the deed. Then he finds himself confused in the middle of a typical rural folk celebration, also denying it. The last question takes place in the midst of pasture and a cattle herd: “Ou eu compro porque ela é feita apenas de leite britânico?”<sup>17</sup> Cut to the final scene, the artist appears in pajamas and a red plaid pattern robe, while removing toasts from a toaster and concludes: “Que nada! I buy Country Life because I think it tastes the best!”<sup>18</sup>, spreading a generous portion of the product on the hot toast, which makes the butter melt. The ad ends with the brand logo and a voice-over: “It is not about Great Britain, it’s about great butter!”, punning on the word great<sup>19</sup>.

The second ad campaign (Figure 4) follows the same quick, ironic and mocking style as in the previous one. In a muddy road, holding

<sup>14</sup> *Great British Occasion* – Free translation.

<sup>15</sup> *Do I buy Country Life Butter because it’s British?* – Free translation.

<sup>16</sup> *Do I buy Country Life Butter because I yearn for the countryside?* – Free translation.

<sup>17</sup> *Or because it’s made only of British milk?* – Free translation.

<sup>18</sup> *Nah! I buy Country Life because I think it tastes the best!* – Free translation.

<sup>19</sup> *It is not about Great Britain, it’s about great butter!* – Free translation.

an umbrella, walking beside a farmer as he accompanies a cattle on a dirt road, Rotten asks, “Do I buy *Country Life* butter to support the hard working British dairy farmers?”<sup>20</sup>, and as they passed in front of a house, Rotten goes on: “Não! It is their career choice.”<sup>21</sup>, entering the property, leaving in the rain the farmer and the livestock. In the next scene, in a dining room, there is a woman spreading butter on a *crumpet*<sup>22</sup>, then serving it to the singer who is sitting in an armchair, legs and feet stretched on a bean bag chair, concluding: “I buy *Country Life* because I love to savour it with *crumpets*! Thank you, farmer’s wife.”<sup>23</sup>, the following scene is a closeup of Rotten eating hastily, making noise and savoring his crumpet with butter. The ad ends with the logo and slogan, the same as in the first one.



**Figure 4.** Screenshot of the second ad starring Rotten for *Country Life*

Source: YouTube

<sup>20</sup> Do I buy *Country Life* butter to support the hard working British dairy farmers? – Free translation.

<sup>21</sup> No, it is their career choice. – Free translation.

<sup>22</sup> A traditional type of English bread.

<sup>23</sup> I buy *Country Life* because I love the taste of me crumpids. Thank you, farmer’s wife. – Free translation.

In an article published in British national daily newspaper *The Guardian*<sup>24</sup>, the use of the emblematic former Sex Pistols lead singer in the *Country Life* butter ad was due to the symbology that Johnny Rotten represents for his nation as a typical product that is part of English pride. Adams (2008) discusses the character of Englishness of the Sex Pistols, assigning the band an important role in building a national identity, regardless of what it represents as the biggest name of a movement sustained by refusing to what is established. As a symbol of jingoism, the figure of a domesticated punk person, with no swearing, no intention to scandalize the conventions is the big brand strategy to combat the main competitor, butter Anchor from New Zealand, confused as being also English. Ironically, Rotten, who has already cried against his country, accusing the English monarchy of being the cause of the woes in the 1970s, is now the greatest symbol of the nation and is able to be as representative in his authenticity to belong to the territory of Queen Elizabeth II as the monarch herself.

Ruth Adams (2008), when investigating how the English band became the symbol of the feeling of being English, showed that Rotten argued that there was a misunderstanding, since his goal when singing *God save the Queen / She ain't no human being / There is no future / For England's dreaming*<sup>25</sup> was not to declare hatred to the nation, but a criticism due to being tired of seeing his country being mistreated. Despite severe criticism by the British and world mediae, according to Adams (2008) the punk movement in England was not *creating* boredom, rebellion, unemployment and other factors common to a time of economic crisis that affected mainly the working-class youth, but *dramatizing them*. The crisis already existed, what the punk movement did was to show, materialize their anger and feelings in a social, cultural and musical movement. Decades after littered hotels, untuned shows, and swearing to the British Crown, the band is now remembered as a

<sup>24</sup> Available on: [www.theguardian.com/media/2009/may/15/john-lydon-country-life-butter-advertising](http://www.theguardian.com/media/2009/may/15/john-lydon-country-life-butter-advertising) Access on 5/10/2015.

<sup>25</sup> The Sex Pistols – God Save the Queen in: *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's Sex Pistols*. Virgin: 1977. Digital format.

friendly and mocking resistance icon. The Sex Pistols became a reason for pride of the authentic English feeling, besides the flag and the friendly queen wearing a hat and waving, as the author states. Nothing more right than having a former member starring an advertising campaign for a butter brand that wanted to be seen by the public as a true national product.

## **Conclusion**

Regardless of them having proposed questions to society and the capitalist system years ago, the punk movement stars, unlike other rockers, are still shown as irreverent, ironic and mocking in the ad campaigns analyzed. However, to become “palatable” to the public, the punk rockers are presented by advertising in a version without cursing, devoid of the attitudes considered “immoral” and “dangerous” that made up the main features of the movement in the eyes of the great media. The punk movement is cut from its context, its inadequacy rough edges are smoothed out, it is “tamed” so that its appearance and language are made adequate again in order to be positively accepted by the consumers. The values that remain after the transformation are of irony, mocking and irreverence. The punk movement is then metamorphosed into a commercial format, young and incapable of causing damage to existing power narratives. Advertising then appropriates what is irreverent and rebellious in it, since these are the values to be related to the advertised brands, subject to social harmony, critical for the familiarization of social representation, as Moscovici (2003) teaches us.

What this article sought to discuss is how, under the harmony of social interactions and, consequently, social cohesion, social representations tend to embrace even what is, ultimately, made impossible for representation. Advertising, the place of perfect worlds and of what is pleasing to the common sense points of view, is an important space for the phenomenon of social representations: so much so that it can, albeit belatedly and with rare daring, incorporate the punk movement in its persuasive messages. Moreover, it sanitizes what is impure and restores

what is deviant. Punk, the anti-capitalist movement opposed to the commodification of things, and also the controversial personalities of Ozzy Osbourne and Iggy Pop, become signs endowed with positive values: youth, authenticity, originality, good humor. Emptied of their original meanings, like the swastika stamped on the dirty and torn shirt, the transgression icons mean nothing – advertising also appropriates, gives new meaning and rearranges them, like a bricoleur, like the young man who listens to three-chord songs and dances, adorned with piercings and colored hair, to the Sex Pistols' sound.

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## **An approach from Brazilian State of Paraná on youth cultural consumption and media convergence: an analytical report**

### **Uma abordagem paranaense sobre o consumo cultural juvenil e a convergência midiática: um relato analítico**

*Regiane Regina Ribeiro*<sup>1</sup>

*Celsi Brönstrup Silvestrin*<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract** *The text is an account of the first phase of the research “The Youth and Media Consumption in Times of Convergence” in the Brazilian State of Paraná. By using preliminary data from the pilot study and the research exploratory stage in the Brazilian city of Curitiba, the article presents an overview of media consumption by young people by aspects related both to their complying characteristics and habits, as to those dealing with its presence as an active part of cultural and communicational practices in the media influenced society. Among these practices are noteworthy the media convergence, the new visualization schemes, the linking of the cultural and media assets and their symbolic character in the construction of juvenile identities, and collective performances aimed at socialization, identification and reinforcement of social ties.*

**Keywords:** *Media consumption; Youth; Convergence; Paraná*

**Resumo** *O texto é um relato da primeira fase da pesquisa “Jovem e Consumo Midiático em tempos de Convergência” no estado do Paraná. Ao utilizar dados preliminares do estudo piloto e da etapa exploratória da pesquisa na cidade de Curitiba, o artigo apresenta um panorama do consumo midiático pelos jovens*

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*por aspectos ligados tanto às suas características conformadoras e hábitos, como às que tratam de sua presença enquanto parte ativa das práticas culturais e comunicacionais na sociedade midiaticizada. Dentre essas práticas merecem destaque a convergência midiática, os novos regimes de visualidade, a vinculação dos bens culturais e midiáticos e seu caráter simbólico na construção das identidades juvenis e as performances coletivas voltadas para a sociabilização, a identificação e o reforço dos laços sociais.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Consumo midiático; Juventude; Convergência; Paraná*

## Introduction

The excessive increase of information and opportunities for access to media content considerably changes young people's perception habits and produces distinct forms of meaning and apprehension of meaning of the messages. Based on data collected in the Brazilian State of Paraná in the first phase of the research Rede Brasil Conectado (Connected Brazil Network) "The Youth and Media Consumption in Times of Convergence", it was possible to signal some important aspects in the acquisition and use of digital technologies by putting under tension the media consumption and its logic from these new practices, as well as discuss the interaction schemes caused on these young people based on a *sui generis* aesthetic experience.

The purpose of this article is to present the partial results obtained in Paraná in the subproject, "An approach from the Brazilian state of Paraná on the youth's cultural consumption and media convergence"<sup>3</sup>. The theoretical reflection is directed from the perspective of the British and Latin American Cultural Studies. It starts with the premise that the cultural dimension – understanding culture as a non-monolithic or homogeneous entity but differentiated according to the social formation and the historical moment – is crucial to understand the young people's consumption habits (AGGER, 1992, p. 89).

With regard to the practices of use and ownership of goods and services, (Argentine-born academic and anthropologist) Néstor García Canclini's prospect is considered, according to which cultural consumption is understood as "the set of processes of appropriation and uses of products in which the symbolic value prevails over the values of use and exchange, or where at least the latter are configured as subject to the symbolic dimension" (CANCLINI, 1993, p. 34).

The text begins with a brief description of the national project and its configuration in the Brazilian state of Paraná. Then a report on the tasks carried out until the stage of the pilot study is presented – with emphasis

<sup>3</sup> A project supported by CNPQ, process no. 406286/2012-04, called MCTI/CNPQ/CAPES 18/2012.

on the application of in-person questionnaires and analysis of youth profiles in the virtual environment. Based on these data, it presents an overview of these ways of consuming by aspects linked both to the young people's complying characteristics and their habits, as to those dealing with its presence as an active part of the cultural and communicational practices in the media influenced society. Among these practices, some stand in the State, such as:

- Linking the cultural and media assets and their symbolic character as a determinant in the construction of juvenile identities;
- Belonging to a community where two functions are clearly intertwined: socialization and identification. The collective performances take place as processes of inclusion and social ties strengthening;
- Sharing and use of images (new visualization schemes) increasingly present in the young people's performances on digital platforms;
- The media convergence as a determinant in the consumption of music, TV series and movies rearranging the practices of perception and participation.

### **National Project versus Local Project**

The national project "The Youth and Media Consumption in Times of Convergence" is an initiative by researcher Nilda Jacks<sup>4</sup> for the purpose of nationally studying and mapping young Brazilians' media consumption behavior in the digital age, in a socio-cultural status dominated by the convergence of the media and receptors more active and inserted in the context of the audience. Its problematization involves possession of or access to digital technologies by young people from different social strata of the five regions of the country, seeking to know whether the differences among the practices conditioned by a differential access in different (social) cultural contexts can set similar identity processes as

<sup>4</sup> National coordinator of the research project and Professor at UFRGS.

part of a youth culture taken in general terms (JACKS, 2010). The team in Paraná, formed in early 2012, currently has ten members from three different institutions, including professors and postgraduation and undergraduate students, consolidating the network inter-institutional work.

### **Cultural consumption, identities and media convergence**

Discussing the concept of cultural consumption in contemporary society and its potential influence on young people is no easy task, especially because the act of consuming is not necessarily linked only to the use or exchange of goods, but to a symbolic process of social representation. This process is realized in new models of interaction with the world and with things. In practice, it is possible to cite as an example of this new context the decrease in the collective use of the urban space and the considerable increase in consumption of domestic entertainment.

For Canclini (2005, p. 58-59), “the act of consuming involves broader cultural processes through which social life is given meaning and order and identities are built. Consuming would be an ‘emotional investment’ and not just a monetary act. The goods would be ‘ritual accessories’, giving meaning to the symbolic flow.” Thus, “consuming is like making more intelligible a world where what is solid evaporates.” In this line of reasoning, the author proposes two theories that should not be considered separately to understand the consumption practices. The first one concerns the “reproduction of the labor force and capital expansion.” The second is understood as “a place where classes and groups compete for the appropriation of the social product.” The third as “a place of social differentiation and symbolic distinction among groups.” The fourth as “an integration and communication system.” The fifth as “an objectification scenario of desires.” And the latter as “a ritual process.” (CANCLINI, 1992, p. 3-5)

In this sense, when young people select goods and appropriate them, they define what they consider publicly valuable, in a mix of

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representations and meanings ranging from the appropriation of the social product and the symbolic distinction to the satiation of desires and rituals through an integrated communication system that does not necessarily obey a traditional logic.

It should be thought that the new practices of media consumption take place within a complex and significant dimension of everyday life. In them, culture and identity are intertwined concepts. Thus, the cultural transformations witnessed in recent years have directly affected the identities. In addition, we have witnessed the emergence of new forms of identification, now more distant from the classical conceptions. HALL (2003) states that this debate can not be had if we leave aside the consequences brought by modernity: on the one hand, the process of globalization and the emergence and spread of new technologies that have structurally transformed social relations; on the other, (free or forced) migration processes which present the debate on the postcolonial world.

Thus, identity is understood as a feeling of belonging of realities and a set of shared meanings (CANCLINI, 1995; HALL, 2001; KELLNER, 2001; SILVA, 2014). Its construction takes place according to the individuals' positioning in the social sphere (CASTELLS, 1999). "Cultural identities are points of identification, unstable points of identification or suture made within the culture and history speeches. It is not an essence, but a positioning" (HALL, 1996, p. 70).

What at first we can say is that media consumption by young people in Paraná is a territory full of senses, with possible understandings common to other Brazilian States and at the same time with its own dynamics. Thus, it becomes understood as an aspect of cultural consumption, a type of communication process that stimulates consumption both through the supply of goods, as when it comes to trends, behavior, novelties, identities, fantasies and desires. What interests us is to know what young people consume from the media – media and products/ contents –, the way they get hold of it (of what they consume and how they use it), and the context in which they engage with it (places, ways,

routines, etc.), never losing sight of the fact that “cultural practices are essentially human, desperately needed and required in the turbulence of multiple and communication ages symbolically possible to be occupied”. (GONZÁLEZ, 2012, p. 167).

Since one of the main features of media consumption is the convergence of mediae, it is important to discuss this concept by adopting (American media scholar Henry) JENKINS’ perspective. The author defines this phenomenon as:

[...] the flow of content across multiple media platforms, the cooperation between multiple media industries, and the migratory behavior of media audiences who would go almost anywhere in search of the kinds of entertainment experiences they wanted (JENKINS, 2009, p. 29).

In this context, the author redefines the media from the technological, marketing and especially cultural transformations, analyzing that the content stream, besides pervading multiple mediae and markets, has a very strong relationship with the migratory behavior of the audience which, as indicated by the initial survey data, oscillates between various channels of search and new entertainment experiences.

The central argument in JENKINS’s thesis (2009) is related to three core concepts: media convergence, collective intelligence and participatory culture. All these concepts dialogue with the way of looking from Rede Brasil Conectado and the partial research data in Paraná, since collective intelligence concerns a new form of consumption and a new source of power, and participatory culture characterizes the contemporary consumer’s increasingly less passive character.

Thus, media consumption – as a cultural process – predisposes some particular characteristics made evident in the pilot study, which corroborate the perspective of this discussion, especially with regard to the concept of transmedia narrative. For the author, transmedia refers to certain ways of setting production, circulation and consumption of media products, often linked to the entertainment industry and which are characterized by the fragmentation of content in various mediae. This

appears quite clearly in music, TV series and movies consumption practices across multiple platforms.

In other words, thinking about the relationship of convergence and transmedia narratives assumes understanding that these issues (linked to media and cultural consumption) create communicative ecosystems (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2002, 2009) in which are set the forces and relations between society, communication, technology, culture and economy (and all this in a symbiotic way, without the possibility of thinking about these interrelationships in isolation from the context of production, distribution and reception of media messages).

A specific reading of the television field (by serial fiction) and its relationship with the transmedia strategies addressed by JENKINS (2009) is undertaken by LOPES AND GÓMEZ (2014). Such thinking helps us understand that “transmedia planning and production do not refer only to the changes of technological nature.” On the contrary: transmedia strategies and practices alter the logic of the market with regard to the production and relationship among technologies, genres, formats and even audiences (LOPES, GÓMEZ, 2014, p. 73).

Thus, not only the environment is taken into account, but also the production of contents/narratives that can be unfold on multiple platforms and hence change the ways in which young people relate to the world through consumption.

### **The experience of the pilot study**

It is important to highlight that the completion of the pilot study was preceded by a data collection on Paraná and Curitiba as part of an “information system”<sup>5</sup> with the purpose to know the State and local realities, besides composing a frame with data to support a text about the State and the city environments<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> According to Galindo Cáceres, all research should start by creating an “information system” that will feed its execution and end with a “communication system” which will ensure its dissemination and social use.

<sup>6</sup> This initial step, as well as the tools for data gathering have followed the guidelines set out in the national project.

Regarding Paraná, it is worth considering some information: located in the Brazilian South region, it consists of 399 municipalities and has a population of about 10 million people, evenly split between males (49.13%) and females (50.87%). The young population is 17.52% of the total population (IBGE, Censo 2010). Young people follow the general balance in the division by gender, reversing the slight difference towards the male population (8.82%) and they reside mostly (15.08%) in urban areas. In regard to color or ethnicity, 11.94% identify themselves as white, 4.83% as of mixed ethnic ancestries and 0.53% as of black color or ethnicity. The Brazilian Native population is 0.04% of the young population, while 0.18% is identified as “yellow” (East Asians) (IBGE, Censo 2010).

As for Curitiba, the capital of the Brazilian state of Paraná, it sits on plateau, located in the eastern region of Paraná. It has 26 municipalities in the metropolitan region with 75 districts and 1,751,907 inhabitants. The young population in Curitiba totals 16.97% of the total population of the city, divided between males (8.47%) and females (8.5%), all residing in the urban area (IBGE, Censo 2010).

In 2013, the phase of field research itself began, with the completion of the pilot study, according to the protocol provided by the national coordination. The study consisted of two parallel movements: an interview with university students identified as belonging to the “lower classes” (which became known as an off-line search) and an observation of young people’s profiles on (online social networking service) Facebook (online research).

Under the guidance script sent by the national coordination, the two research fronts serve to observe dynamics, flow and circulation of topics/ contents set by the youth online, besides exploring details of university students’ practices and rituals on digital platforms.

### **Off-line research**

The recommendations for carrying out this step of the pilot study were that respondents should be university students between 18 and 24 years,



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belonging to lower classes, with a maximum income of BRL 1,800. To ensure a youth “sociocultural” sense, the questionnaire incorporated elements such as family income, location and type of housing, family education level, professions, in an attempt to identify the social stratum researched, as well as aspects that would determine the cultural consumption by a survey with them.

The task of the in-person questionnaire was carried out in two stages. In the first there was the distribution to two undergraduate classes. In the second, there was a contact with Brazilian NGO *Em Ação* (In Action), which offers free-of-charge preparatory courses for Brazilian universities’ entrance exams on weekends, serving young people with low income, to complete the sample. Adding the two fronts, 11 young people were interviewed. However, for analysis purposes, only 10 had their data compiled, according to the pilot study protocol.

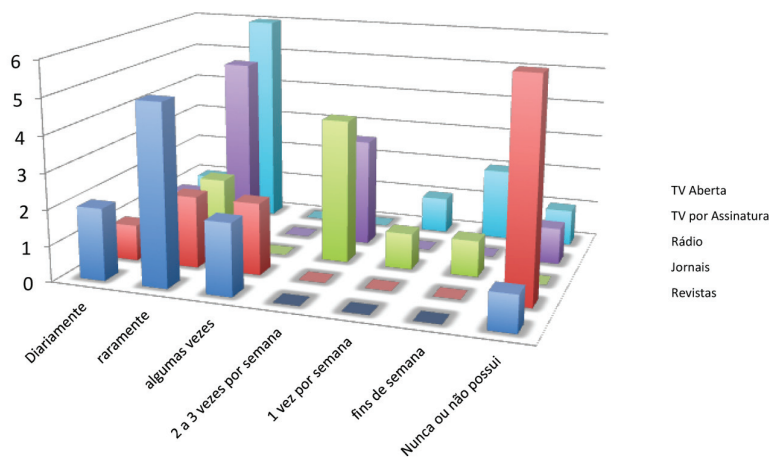
With regard to the places where television sets and computers are used, there was a preference for the living room and bedroom. The parents’ bedroom appears as a third option. Sites of mobility or even the kitchen did not have great representation, which sets up the media consumption from the site of use as being directly related to the family income and the sharing of the devices by the family members.

In relation to connectivity, access to the Internet is performed mostly in broadband, followed by 3G (third generation of mobile telecommunications technology). Cable connection is little representative. The representative access to broadband is due mainly to the State’s good digital media structure, which now has 10 telecommunication carriers on offer. In Curitiba, Internet access is present in 340,770 households in the city, provided by Brazilian telecommunications companies like OI, GVT and NET. The presence of mobile phones is perceived in 529,024 households. The following mobile phone companies are present in the city: Brasil Telecom Celular S/A; Claro S.A.; Tim Celular S.A., Sercomtel and Vivo S.A. (ANATEL, 2013). It is also noteworthy that access to broadband in the State was encouraged by digital inclusion projects developed under the Paraná state government and non-governmental

initiatives. These data concern the large number of accesses to digital platforms via broadband in the State and how this technological aspect determines the use and appropriations that young people can or can not do on digital platforms.

The access points are divided among home, college/university and work. LAN Gaming Centers and community centers also appear. In relation to the type of mobile device that they use, the answers were divided equally between mobile phones with Internet access and smartphones. With regard to the use of mobile phones, consumption varies among: sending (text messaging service component) SMS (Short Message Service), listening to music, talking to friends, Internet access and phone calls. Internet access is divided into the use of social networks, research and searching information.

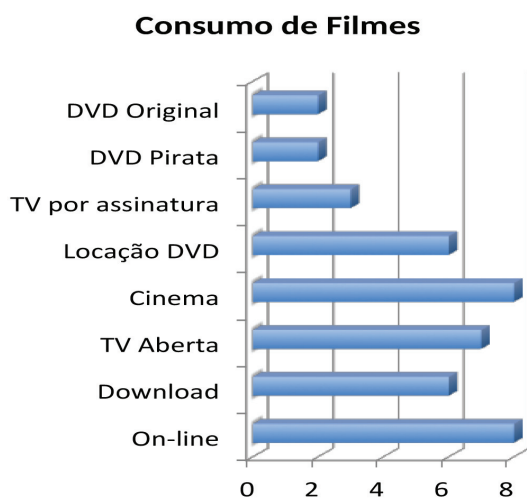
It was found that Free-to-air (FTA) television (TV) services broadcast still appears as a possibility for media consumption. However, it is already experiencing a decline in its use. Pay television is not used by these adolescents either. Radio, newspapers and magazines in their original formats are hardly consumed by young people in Paraná.



**Figure 1.** Media Uses

Source: Research Data

When analyzing media use by young people in Paraná, the pilot study signaled practices that support the idea of media convergence and trans-media proposed by the JENKINS (2009). The consumption of movies and TV series appears as an important segment for the young people and the practice of watching this genre takes place online, through downloads, followed by movie theaters and Free-to-air (FTA) television (TV) services broadcast. This practice occurs not only at the reception and interaction with the content, but also as new forms of participation: comments on social networks, participation in communities and even phenomena such as “binge-watching”<sup>7</sup>. Other relevant data are in the choice of the watching platform, which no longer focus Free-to-air (FTA) television (TV) services broadcast and is now held in other screens like on tablet computers and smartphones.



**Figure 2.** Movies Consumption

Source: Research Data

<sup>7</sup> Binge-watching, also called binge-viewing, is the practice of watching TV for longer periods than usual, usually a single television program.

This shows that media consumption reflects a set of communicative actions that transcend specific means of transmission, through making them digital, allowing desires for participation by recipients in the broadcast processes to be exacerbated to the point of generating this new set of behaviors.

In this context, as JENKINS (2009) states, young people interested in certain products start not only to consume but to create subproducts, discuss and gather to celebrate these products, enhancing their position as responsible for the final/official product and their importance and influence on their growth, continuity and/or creation itself, giving new configuration to the ratings.

The author also argues that the emphasis on convergence should not be moved from the capitalist market logic. Thus, it is also about strategies consistent with the global consumption format seeking to account for the new standards that the audience presents in contact with the cyberculture (computer culture) (JENKINS, 2009).

In which concerns the use of social networking, off-line data converge with the profiles analyzed on *Facebook* (*online research*). All respondents use the social network daily and unanimously use it to relate to friends, family, sweethearts or domestic partners and coworkers. *Facebook* highlights the average age of onset of use of digital social networks: 13.8 years. Most started by using (social networking website formerly owned and operated by Google) Orkut. MSN [Windows Live Messenger (formerly MSN Messenger), a discontinued instant messaging client developed by Microsoft] and ICQ (Mail.Ru Group's open source instant messaging computer program) were also mentioned. Other networks mentioned were Pinterest, Badoo, Google+, Tumblr, Instagram, Linkedin and Twitter.

The consumption of digital services (Websites, e-mail, chat, etc.) is characterized by the search for information and contact with friends and family. The main reason cited for participation in the networks was the popularity. Also shown in the answers: practicality, the network benefits/resources that meet their needs, habit, contact with family and

colleagues, interests and news. Only two people never stopped using any network. Most have already stopped, mainly by collective disuse, due to extinction of the network, new and worst interface, use by few people and access to other sources. The times of day when they are more connected are afternoon and evening.

With regard to user's network, most contacts are focused on Curitiba and the State itself. The main topics of conversations are everyday life, studies, common interests, leisure, relationships and business. All stated that they usually meet their contacts outside of the virtual networks. Four young people stated that they meet the ones who are part of their everyday life. One of them meets them on specific occasions and another said that they meet some of the contacts.

The content flows address issues such as: professional area, music, photos, trivia and controversies, books, promotions, reflections, humor, issues related to citizenship, news, videos and texts and everyday life. Three respondents do not usually post. Most state that they read other people's posts. Only three said they do not forward posts. Most say they share content, especially if they are useful to a larger audience, if they are humorous or related to their own posts.

Therefore it can be seen that the partial data from the off-line pilot study reinforce the idea that it is through social networks that contemporary young people learn about the world they live in and expand their identities. These are the means that help them in the construction of reality, which is therefore formed by elements and information offered and triggered by the media coverage process existing nowadays. Such practices appear with greater emphasis and shall be deepened in the data collected in the online survey described below.

### **Online research**

Data collection from *Facebook* followed the official protocol of the national survey and analyzed 11 young people's profiles, six men and five women. From the profiles analyzed, only one had no information about the family. All the others had information about work and education

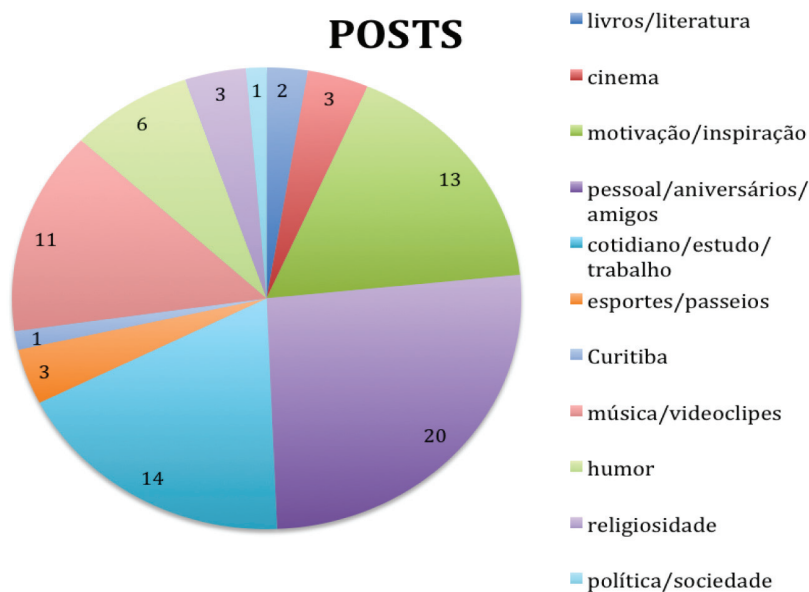
and date of birth. Almost all informed current city, history, gender, languages and some link to contact (*e-mail* or *blog*). These data indicate that the practices of appropriation of digital platforms by young people are primarily related to the process of generating identification with the others, resulting in a communicative interaction of identification and sociability. Regarding this, Thompson states:

Separating the social interaction from the physical location, the development of technical means affects also the how and how much individuals are able to manage their self-presentation. Every action or performance takes place within a specific interactive framework that involves all kinds of assumptions, conventions and landmarks. An individual acting within that framework shall adapt their behavior to it to some extent, projecting a self-image that is more or less compatible with the referentiality (THOMPSON, 1995, p. 302).

That is, young people increasingly build an identity that is coherent according to them in a symbolic process by utilizing materials available on the network. This is present in the recent activities of the profiles as new friendships, participation in events and pages liked.

Another noticeable feature is the high number of friends. The minimum number was 300. Of 11 profiles, eight had more than 800 friends. Three of them had more than 1,100. Regarding the favorite pages, the item that appears in greater quantity is music, followed by movies and sports/athletes. And there is also the fact that some profiles have “followers”, i.e., they have subscribers to their updates (feeds), which shows the establishment of relationships beyond family or friendship circles.

With respect to posts, only one of the profiles analyzed had no post within one week. The themes are: humorous sentences, funny pictures and posts related to the study area (activities or jokes of the area), usually content shared from pages that they follow or their friends share. And also clips and direct messages from friends with names tagged. Posts that have more impact usually involve humor (sentences accompanied by an image or on colorful backgrounds), personal matters and photos with friends tagged. Rare are the posts that obtain no kind of interaction.



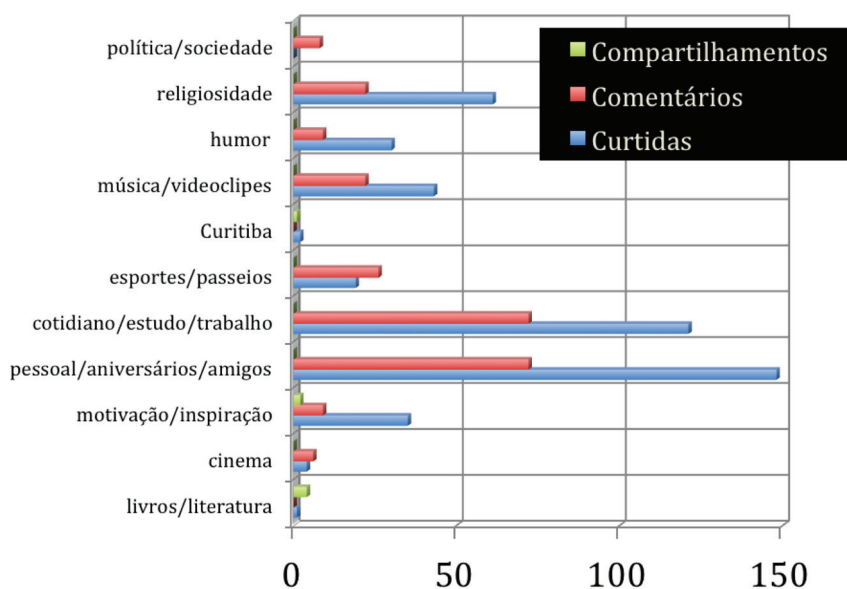
**Figure 3.** Categories of the *posts*

Source: Research Data

Thus, what is observed is that when these young people narrate their lives based on everyday life elements, their identity is presented not as a timeless essence that is expressed, but as an imaginary construction that is narrated. It is possible to see the emergence of social networks for the reorganization of identities, as the movies, radio and television have already done.

Further evidence on image and content sharing practices on the profile pages is that they tend to diminish the importance of the founding events and territories that used to sustain the illusion of un-historical and self-centered identities. This behavior has been shown by Canclini when he states that

The referents of identity are formed now, more than in the arts, literature and folklore – which for centuries produced the nations' distinction signs – in relation to the textual and iconographic repertoires generated by the electronic media and with the globalization of urban life (CANCLINI, 1995, p. 124).



**Figure 4.** Data of shares, comments and likes by subject matter

Source: Survey data

In the profile pages observed on *Facebook*, these iconographic repertoires are increasingly present and establish new visualization schemes for understanding the contemporary media culture. The increasing use of (online mobile photo-sharing, video-sharing, and social networking service) Instagram in the young people's preference is a reflection of this practice. Importantly, from the eight (software application) mobile apps identified in the profiles, four are exclusively for image sharing (Instagram, Pinterest, Flickr and Piccollage).

With this, we can try a foregone conclusion based on data collected in Paraná in the pilot study, which converge to the view approached by Canclini with regard to two outcomes for cultural consumption in contemporary society: the author proposes that culture, as well as art and communication, retrace their practices from globalization and urban transformations, as well as the role of media in modern society (CANCLINI, 1995; 2001; 2006) and considers identity and citizenship as processes strongly linked in Latin America. It is evident, however,



that these data can not be generalized because they comprise a relatively small sample, although suitable for a pilot study, but are important evidence to be further explored in the next stages of the project and compared with other regions of the country, which is the objective of the national survey.

### **From the report to the reflection: brief thoughts**

The project “The Youth and Media Consumption in Times of Convergence” is a practical opportunity to think about the organization of a large research and its challenges. Although there is a standard protocol which guides all teams and searches homogeneity of the information collected and presented, there is an implied cultural diversity in the network of researchers among the regions and among the members of the same team.

With regard to the first results of the pilot experience, the plurality of response options in the data collection tools, in a way, already shows one of the characteristics of the youth who we seek to know better. If, on the one hand, this wide range makes it difficult to search – in terms of predicting responses, tabulation and analysis of results –, on the other, it gives more room for the multiple possible answers, given the youth’s transitory nature.

The initial phase, which included the production of a monograph with the State and capital city data, was extremely important to the context of the pilot study data and also for the next stages of the process. These data were organized and published in a book. The delimitation of the media structure of each region and the aspects that determine the access to the digital platforms by the young people showed that in Paraná that access is facilitated not only by the number of broadband and 3G/4G providers available, but also by government and non-governmental projects of digital inclusion.

The pilot study data in Paraná led to the recognition of youth characteristics and enabled the expansion of the scenario to be explored, as well as adjusting the actual wording of the questions and the establishment of

categories to organize the data collected for the next phase of research. From these practices, some stood out, such as linking the cultural and media assets and the symbolic character associated with brands and products as determinants in the construction of juvenile identities verified in the young people's performances on social networks, their narratives, choices and absences.

In these narratives of life itself and daily life, new visualization schemes are established, propitiated by the increasing use of (software application) mobile apps related to the production and sharing of images, especially Instagram. It is clear that while participating on Facebook the young person answers the question, "What's on your mind?", on Instagram the question is: "What are you doing (watching) now?", reminding that Instagram content most often is also shared on *Facebook*.

The transmedia character and convergent nature of the mediae is another important fact that should be further explored. The consumption of movies, TV series and music on multiple platforms and the transposition of the audience as a coproducer of content, as well as the simultaneous use of devices in the act of consumption, are key aspects in these young people's profiles. The analysis of the postings made on the social networking Website, a step in development, shall qualitatively expand the debate, including more details of such practices, rituals and streams that make up their forms of ownership.

Finally, the experience of networking and the collaborative character in the search and exchange of information have shown, even with all the difficulties that a project of this magnitude presents, an important access and production model of scientific knowledge. Of course, added to the methodological requirements adopted to ensure the reliability of the data obtained in the various stages of the study, commitment and conduct assumed by the researchers are key.

Thus, between the tension and the satisfaction of fulfilling each stage of the research within the deadlines set, the conviction remains that it is an important contribution to know and understand a little more the reality of the State of Paraná and other states of Brazil.

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## **Market, politics and culture in “lower” Amazon rain forest: long and short circuits of culture**

### **Mercado, política e cultura na “baixa” Amazônia: circuitos longos e curtos**

*Fábio Fonseca de Castro*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** *This article discusses the circuits of culture present in the space of “lower” Amazon – the most consolidated Western occupation area in the region – having as reference three population groups, understood as social trajectories, which differ among themselves by their economic and cultural spaces mode of occupation. It is observed how two of these social trajectories more actively participate in the circuits of culture, while the third one appears to be more reserved in relation to them. One seeks to interpret these relations of approaching and distancing from the intersubjective social experience involving them.*

**Keywords:** *Circuits of culture; Amazon rain forest; Cultural production; Social trajectory; Cultural market*

**Resumo** *O artigo discute os circuitos culturais presentes no espaço da “baixa” Amazônia – a área de ocupação ocidental mais consolidada da região – tendo por referência três grupos populacionais, compreendidos enquanto trajetórias sociais, que se diferenciam, entre si, por seu modo de ocupação econômica e cultural do espaço. Observa-se como duas dessas trajetórias sociais participam mais ativamente dos circuitos culturais, enquanto a terceira mostra-se mais reservada em relação a eles. Procura-se interpretar essas relações de aproximação e distanciamento a partir da experiência social intersubjetiva que os envolve.*

**Palavras-chaves:** *Circuitos culturais; Amazônia; Produção cultural; Trajetória social; Mercado cultural*

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## Introduction

What is the impact of the circuits of culture on the production of new localisms in the Amazon rain forest region of more traditional territorial occupation – the one of floodplains of the major rivers and of the Brazilian state Pará estuary? In what way the different layers of the Amazon population relate to these circuits of culture and, more specifically, how do they participate in them and how do they work to establish them? We start from these questions to understand the system of exchange and circulation of cultural goods and information in the most inhabited part and ancient colonization in the Amazon rain forest, the estuarine floodplain – the Brazilian Marajó archipelago with the estuaries of Amazon and Pará rivers – and its most important extensions: the northeast of Pará, lower Tocantins and the lower Amazon. As it is the most traditional space occupation in the region, cultural exchanges made in it are more intense and have peculiar dynamics, favored by the media and communicative tissues there present, as well as exchange and consumption networks already consolidated. This space, which here we call “lower” Amazon rain forest, is an important meeting and cultural hybridization place: the world of meetings among numerous indigenous peoples and also the world of historical ethnocides, the world of the riverine and quilombo Amazon, the black Amazon of the several experiences of colonization and consolidation of the Portuguese State, of the 1835 civil and rubber wars, and also the Amazon that gathers the musicality of the Caribbean and which experiences what is tacky and other sensitivities marked by the idea of artifice.

Initially we have developed a number of mapping and analyses of the massive, communitarian and popular communication structures in the region (CASTRO 2012a; 2012b; 2013) and we have sought to identify not only the conventional media dynamics and strategies, centered on the traditional action by the big companies and economic agents, but also the alternative strategies that characterize the communicative and cultural scene in Pará. Then, we have undertaken a mapping of the circuits and the artistic and cultural production centers, looking for

a glimpse of the exchange of practices contained therein and how its agents would integrate with the communication structures in the region.

Therefore, we have sought to understand what we have identified as the regional cultural-communicative field, discussing the relationship among the different social experiences of the Amazon region and the production, reproduction and consumption of culture.

This article is a first handling of this stage of the research, which implicate the inclusion of the conceptual elements for a cartographic and geopolitical approach of the Amazonian culture. Therefore, we intend to present an approach of cultural and communicative processes, taking into account the socioeconomic dynamics of the spaces and local populations.

From this point of view, we take into account a historical and geographical perspective, through which we can identify shapes and patterns of social relations developed in each block of the social and historical experiences in relation to cultural deeds.

In this sense, this article should also be understood as a methodological outline for a task of mapping and understanding the economic chains of culture in the Amazon rain forest, but in particular in this space what we have agreed to call the “lower Amazon.”

The work is therefore a first handling of the observation outcomes just started. They are still provisional results, but that already allow glimpsing the circuit of culture systems of the lower Amazon, and perhaps more than that, indicating the methodological dynamics that I intend to follow throughout the research.

We have tried to observe in this work the typologies and topologies of cultural practices in medium-sized cities of the lower Amazon rain forest, especially in regard to social forms taken by the “short” circuits of culture – those which, as later is going to be defined, are based on the collective social experience and the self-organization of the places themselves – as opposed to “long” circuits of culture, those through which is produced the hegemony of the dominant cultural agents such as the Brazilian southeastern cultural industry and mass communication.

For this, we have followed, through participant observation and open interviews, cultural flows and practices of representatives of three fields of the Amazonian society, or, to be more specific, following the methodology used by Costa (2010) of three Amazonian social trajectories.

This article is developed in five topics. After this introduction, we discuss the notion of circuits of culture, also identifying how this concept can be applied to the observation of the lower Amazon. In the next topic, we briefly try to explain the lower Amazon area, identifying the variables that, in principle, allow us to understand it as a locus with its own dynamics within the broad regional scene. In the fourth topic, we describe three social blocks that we have selected in order to place the question thematically. This is done through the concept of “social trajectories” by Costa (2000), with the support of a sociocultural morphology research performed by us from 2011 (CASTRO, 2011; 2014). In the fifth topic, finally, we seek, in a succinct way, to design observations and hypotheses about the relationship among cultural and public circuits of lower Amazon through a general chain of questions which we find pertinent to be placed in the context of a political economy of culture to the process observed.

### **Observation protocol of circuits of culture**

Barbosa (2009) understands culture as a circuit network characterized by capillarity, mobility, decentralization, multiple articulations and interdependencies. Culture can be understood in this way as a mobile and dynamic set of political, social, symbolic, and economic processes, which, associated, conform circuits of culture (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).

The same author points out two advantages in using this concept: recognizing that cultural dynamics are multiple and must be handled in their specificities, and emphasizing that the “circuits of culture” are total social phenomena involving, at the same time, the symbolic, aesthetic, social and economic dimensions (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).



The circuit of culture is a process that involves three clearer moments: production, circulation and reception, and this third moment may involve dynamics of consumption and of cultural recognition. In this process, cultural agents (artists, their agents, producers, critics, among others) interact, and forms of social organization are also present, such as public administration, market, civil society and community.

All these agents act on the circuit shape by means of different processes, but it is possible to identify two social processes with a regulatory impact on the circuit: the cultural policies and communication.

Cultural policies have a central role on the circuit because they have a regulatory power on the forms of action and established practices, and, of course, they constitute one of their main sources of funding. In turn, communication – here understood as either mass communication as that which in contemporaneity is made possible by computer technology and which conforms to the digital culture – exerts the role of being a conductive link in its organizational dynamics. Barbosa emphasizes the role of communication among the circuit elements as a central function for its operation:

Coordination or communication of cultural agents among themselves and among these and the regulatory institutions become the central issue of public policies, since they involve action patterns of the public sector in relation to the dynamism of circuits of culture and the chain of events that make up the circuits (BARBOSA, 2009, p. 276).

Therefore, when we set out to understand the functioning of a circuit of culture, we must take into account the social diversity of the agents present in it, including their conflicts and contradictions, and also these two factors that have a regulatory impact on it.

It is also important to note the socio-spatial dimensions of the circuits. This is not to understand the geographic or spatial dynamics present in the formation of the circuits but, together with them, the social cut given to this space. Specifically, it is necessary to understand how the socio-territorial inequality is present in the circuit, influencing cultural exchanges. In this sense, the proposal by Santos (1997) that places are

defined by means of forms-content is shown to be useful for the understanding desired.

Santos helps to problematize the territorialization of social actions and thus to understand the spatial dynamics as multiple flows, which comply with different wishes by different social subjects among individuals, their groups and the various institutions.

This would be as drawing up a circuit topology-topology, a methodology that was employed by Alves (2010) in their interpretation of the territorialization process of circuits of culture in the Brazilian city of Recife. By means of such approach, Alves has observed the information fixed and flows organized for the production and dissemination of musical culture of Recife, seeking

to clarify what the connections between the downward informational circuits are, based on logic and rules that are strange to the places, and the upward informational circuits, based on the organization of places itself (ALVES, 2010, p. 1)

Short circuits tend to operate in the gaps of conventional cultural policies and use forms of non-hegemonic communication, such as the Internet and its social networks, blogs, local websites, community and free radio stations, magazines, “word of mouth” broadcast – but also possibly the hegemonic communication network itself when they become accessible to these social agents. The short circuits social agents usually build strategies to overcome the territorial fragmentation of the social space. Strategies which, in the field of cultural policies, concern the claim for democratization and regionalization of the discussion process and public funding of culture and that in the field of communication concern densification strategies of information networks. Short circuits tend to be mobilized from common interests and thus they have a collectivist or cooperative dynamics of social action.

Long circuits, in turn, consist of exogenous social agents. They correspond to the logic of the greater market, the national networks of communications, telecommunications and content production and also the logic of exclusivist, authoritarian and centralized cultural policies.

The long circuits of culture are based on logic and rules that are strange to places and the historical and social experience of the people involved, while short circuits are based on the organization of places.

With this perspective, we can ask about the space, media, practices, dynamics and forms taken by these circuits, both long and short, in order to better situate and understand them.

Circuit spaces are the streets, squares, markets, book shops, cultural centers, theaters, auditoriums, movie theaters, galleries, record stores, etc.

The media present in the circuits are those supported by both the mass media and conventional ones, such as radio, TV, magazines and newspapers and those present in the technological, digital, contemporary culture, as in mobile phones, Web sites, social networks, blogs and microblogs, etc. And they also need to be considered as mobile media, such as digital files and their flexible media such as CDs, DVDs, USB flash drives, etc.

Circuit practices are as diverse as the very social experience. They relate to the way the circuits are used. Such as the use of social networks, for example, or the practice of recording at phonographic studios, or even the scenic present in shows. A concept that takes to the concept of mediation, also a form of social practice, but allowing to inquire more specifically about the social experience from the use of the media. Among these mediations, also extremely varied, it is possible to exemplify the daily mediations involving the cultural workers' actions such as, for example, how they deal with information flows and the content broadcasted through these flows.

Finally, it should be noted that the importance of discussing the circuits of culture from the perspective of political economy and a critical understanding of the space dispute lies, we think, in the fact that this approach allows us to understand the cultural process as a collective action and thus helps support strategies for the democratization of public policies and communicative flows. On another level, this approach also allows us to understand culture as the effort resulting from a complex social, territorial and technical division of work.

## The space of lower Amazon rain forest

Lower Amazon rain forest corresponds to the most consolidated space in the region. It is the historical space of colonial Amazon, which has lasted as a socioeconomic system with relatively well defined, although complex, features until the present. It is, in other words, the society of the floodplain. The riverine production mode space of the first urban experiences, of “settlements”<sup>2</sup> and of the Directory<sup>3</sup>, of the Brazilian indigenous peoples’ “coming down”<sup>4</sup>, of the estates involved in mixed farming<sup>5</sup>, of the cattle and buffalo breeders, of the hinterland drugs<sup>6</sup> and the latex. It is the space of collection as a central economic activity and of multiple social practices, which result from or impact this economic activity: family production, pasture, culture of regatão (peddlers) and aviamento (debt-peonage system)<sup>7</sup>, in its many forms. But it is not only this. It is also the space of “fringe” industrialization, of precarious population settlements and a huge informal trade.

The “lower” Amazon is, in short, the historical Amazon turned into a geographical border since the 1960s by the Brazilian national program of territorial integration of the region – much larger indeed than this floodplain society – to the Brazilian southeastern economy. The occupation of the Amazon region by the Brazilian national society

<sup>2</sup> The “settlements” in Amazon history are modes of economic production with indigenous labor and management carried out by religious missionaries. They would add different ethnic populations together captured by the European invader and settled in mock villages for slave labor.

<sup>3</sup> What should be understood by Directory is the model of Brazilian indigenous peoples’ settlements turned into villages and thorps after the expulsion of the religious order of the Jesuits from the Portuguese territories in 1759.

<sup>4</sup> “Coming down” is the term with which the Amazon colonial society of the eighteenth century would represent the war expeditions and capture of indigenous peoples, in general refugees in the Upland – as opposed to the floodplain, here understood as “lower” Amazon – for slave labor.

<sup>5</sup> The notion of large estates in the Grão-Pará colonial society [one of the Brazilian states of the Portuguese Empire (1751–1772)] is not the model of plantation, reproduced in large monoculture systems in Brazilian history, but harvest landlordism, centered on the diversity of the economic production.

<sup>6</sup> The term means the amount of all Amazonian natural products collected by enslaved people and intended for export, such as cocoa, guaraná (Paullinia cupana), Brazil nut (Bertholletia excelsa), achiote (Bixa orellana), sarsaparilla (Smilax), and various other aromatic and medicinal herbs.

<sup>7</sup> Regatão (Peddler) is the traditional trading boat in the Amazon, a vehicle of economic distribution of basic goods and manufactured products. Aviamento (debt-peonage system) is a credit system through which the goods are delivered against the provision of surplus value and interest.

has specific variables, which never integrate nor harmonize with the very traditional Amazon experience. These variables correspond to the productive models of large extensive farms, the “Big Mining Projects”, forced colonization and credit systems that, in their essence, even when administered by regional institutions such as Sudam (Brazilian Superintendence of the Amazon Development) and Basa (Brazilian bank Banco da Amazônia S/A), do not meet the poor Amazon populations' specificities and needs.

In the contemporaneity of “lower” Amazon, it is possible to realize the persistence of social experiences and modes of production centered on mining activity, with an additional resource of subsistence and/or temporary crops. Employers' economic strategies in this space are dominantly represented by timber extraction and agroforestry projects (COSTA, 2012a; 2012b). As for peasants' economic strategies in this space, they practice the extraction of forest products associated with temporary subsistence crops. In the space with exogenous dominance, in turn, in the employers' economic strategies, intrusive activities of agribusiness and beef cattle remain. And in the peasants' economic strategies, crops associated with large projects, family economy and small breeding remain.

Exchanges between these spaces, although intense, contemporaneously also keep conflicts and breaking and tension points.

They are two macro spaces and thus retain peculiarities of their social experiences. However, there are two spaces that permanently interpenetrate each other through economic exchanges that become, in their daily life, symbolic and cultural exchanges, shaping the appearance of the hybrid Amazon society which, more superficially, we know.

The space of the lower Amazon would roughly constitute a spot that extends from Brazilian city Belém and from northeastern Pará almost to Brazilian city Manaus, crossing the Amazon river and entering the Tocantins river to Tucuruí river, on the Xingu river and the Tapajós river, and covering the entire the estuary with the island of Marajó and most of Brazilian state Amapá. Its central space is the state of Pará, the oldest historical area of the Amazon rain forest, which involves, in addition to Belém, about 90 of the 146 municipalities in the state, involving a

population that can be estimated at about 5 million people. In Amapá, this cultural belt would reach at least 9 of the 16 municipalities in the state, with a population of about 600,000 inhabitants. In Brazilian state of Amazonas, the lower Amazon rain forest reaches those 11 municipalities that have an intense exchange with the lower Pará Amazon rain forest, with a population of about 330,000 inhabitants.

In addition to the Belém metropolis (2.4 million inhabitants) and large cities like Ananindeua (470,000 inhabitants), Macapá (400,000 inhabitants) and Santarém (300,000 inhabitants), this territorial spot houses eight other cities with populations over 100 thousand inhabitants (Abaetetuba, Barcarena, Bragança, Cametá, Castanhal, Marituba, Santana and Parintins) and 15 cities with populations between 50 and 100 thousand inhabitants (Acará, Alenquer, Benevides, Breves, Capanema, Capitão Poço, Igarapé-Miri, Moju, Monte Alegre, Óbidos, Oriximiná, Portel, Santa Isabel do Pará, São Miguel do Guamá and Tomé Açu).

Speaking of lower Amazon is, of course, an abstraction, which lends itself to describing an area of cultural exchanges dominated by cultural and creative industries of Belém and other cities in Pará simultaneously marked by an intense and creative cultural and media production. In the first group, it can refer to the technobrega (cheesy techno), zouk, melody and guitar playing scenes, to name only the best known musical styles. In the second group, it is possible to mention the important media scene centered in Belém with national distribution – the city is home to two national religious television networks, one Catholic, Rede Nazaré, and another one evangelical, Rede Boas Novas – besides being also content generating television headquarters of Brazilian networks SBT and Record, notably the only Amazonian capital in which these groups have their own content generating stations (CASTRO 2012a; 2012b; 2013).

It is possible to extend this space of the lower Amazon rain forest to Manaus and go up Negro and Purus rivers, or encompass all Amapá, or go down the Xingu river. If I do not do it, it is due to trying to cut a map that, in my observation, has more consistency and takes into account the current cosmopolitan urban and cultural characteristics of Manaus

or the form of occupation of western Amapá. Finally, an arbitrary cut, through which we position our observation.

Similarly, it is necessary to realize that the lower Amazon is not a tight, waterproof social and cultural space. Quite the contrary, it is an area of intense and constant exchange and, above all, a space already penetrated by modes of production that are exogenous to the Amazon experience. It is because of this that we place in this observation a social trajectory formed by this exogenously production, T-4 (COSTA, 2010), soon explained.

### **Description of the socio-cultural groups observed**

The three portions of the Amazon population that we outline are rural and semi-rural and they are highly significant groups of forms of economic occupation of the Amazon region. One of these portions is characterized by highly predatory practices in relation to the environment, since it represents the first group of individuals coming from other Brazilian geographical and social spaces that establish themselves economically in the Amazon region, based on logging activities which converge, as the years go by, in the direction of extensive beef cattle breeding. The second population group is, in turn, the individuals fully participating in a mode of production, say, Amazonian, characterized by sustainable, collective and family-based exploration of forest inputs. They are traditional Amazonian populations generally not understood by the productive financing system of the Brazilian state apparatus and ignored by the national median public opinion.

The third group – that is not in the research by Costa (2010) and is a projection that we have made in our own research – consists of a portion of middle-income individuals established in medium-sized urban areas (cities with populations between 100,000 and 230,000 inhabitants) who, according to experts, are the regional social group which, associated with an economic process explained as “city networks,” make up a highly significant part of the regional economy and, probably, are the backbone

for a sustainable future of the Amazon rain forest. Table 1 summarizes these three groups of individuals:

Group	Topographical description	Sociographical description
T-4	A system of families associated with the employer's economic activity that comes as an exploration of wood products, converging to planting temporary crops and economically consolidating in livestock activity.	<p>This social group in the Amazon rain forest corresponds to the production model imposed on the Amazon by the Brazilian military government (authoritarian military dictatorship that ruled Brazil from 1964 to 1985) and, until now, maintained with government subsidies through credits authorized by development experts who determine the supporting policies.</p> <p>According to Costa (2009), this group consists of 27,831 establishments which occupy 59.7% of the privatized area in the Amazon rain forest, which is equivalent to 33.3 million hectares. Each estate has, on average, 1.2 thousand ha and, in its entirety; they employ 10.5% of the rural workers and produce 25% of the gross value of farm production (VBPR in the Portuguese abbreviation) in the Amazon rain forest.</p>
T-2	A system of families associated with peasant economic activity, which is based on non-timber extraction in combination with a diverse agriculture, i.e., an agroforestry family system.	<p>This social group complies with the most traditional standard of the Amazonian economy, being the expression of a technological paradigm that assumes environmental preservation.</p> <p>Costa (2009) estimates that there are 130.593 peasant establishments of such type in the Amazon. They occupy an area of 3 million hectares. Each property has an average size of 23 ha, of which only 1/5 on average is used for agricultural activity.</p> <p>Also according to Costa (2009), this system employs 502 thousand people and represents 21% of the VBPR.</p>



Group	Topographical description	Sociographical description
A-12 <sup>8</sup>	A system of families associated with an urban leasing economic activity, with a standard monthly income in the (family) range between BRL 1,115.00 and BRL 4,807.00, with no member with college graduation and city dweller with a population over 100,000 and less than 230,000 inhabitants.	In the Amazon region, this social group is about 37.2% of the population and holds 31% of the regional income. It has a strong socioeconomic relationship with the countryside and at the same time it complies with ongoing urbanization standards of great regional impact.

**Chart 1:** Sociocultural groups observed

Source: Costa (2010, 2012a, 2012b).

The central question of our observation concerns the way individuals from each of these social trajectories arise in relation to circuits of culture present in their social space and, more specifically, in relation to the short routes of these circuits. We also want to inquire about how these trajectories produce use, ownership and discussion strategies of the social processes with a regulatory impact on the circuit: cultural policies and communication.

### Summary of the observations

The entire lower Amazon is lacking in specialized cultural spaces such as museums, theaters, movie theaters and libraries. In this sense, only Belém has an important cultural and even representative structure in the entire Amazon rain forest. However, non-specialized cultural venues are numerous and are present everywhere. I mean public squares, farmers' markets, and streets; religious festivities; seafronts and avenues by rivers of all the lower Amazon rain forest; party sheds and yards; “spas,” bayous and clubs; community centers and improvised places of conviviality and sociability, etc.

<sup>8</sup> We use in the first two rows the classification built by Costa (2010, 2012a, 2012b), adopting the designation “T” for Trajectory, as in this author's study. On the third row we use the designation “A,” which we have built in a research survey and exploratory model.

Also the cultural practices and mediation strategies present in these areas are varied. Music and dance are, by far, the cultural events that most thicken the circuit. The multiple subgenres of corny, guitar playing, stereo equipment on stage, Brazilian dance carimbó and other Pará songs are present in everyday life of the entire lower Amazon, forming a large circuit of production, distribution and use that usually starts in Belém through the production of musical content and spreads in a distribution network which has an active market based on a network of shows that reach millions annually.

When we observe and compare the three social trajectories highlighted in terms of their insertion in the Amazonian circuits of culture, the proximity between T-2 and A-12 becomes evident. Both are population layers characteristic of the space here identified as lower Amazon. Their life outlook and worldview conform from sociocultural typifications produced by a historical experience of long duration. The uses made of the cultural policy mechanisms and forms and media are quite varied between these two social trajectories, but it is possible to see that both allow the enjoyment of short circuits of culture.

In turn, the trajectory understood as T-4 tends to make the opposite movement: it tends to strengthen and endorse long circuits of culture. In practical terms, this means, for example, that individuals in this trajectory are not going to be present, in general, at a typical Pará stereo equipment party nor are going to consume in the same way, within the piracy CDs and DVDs market, with regional stars, nor are going to participate in less important economic exchanges on the occasion of traditional festivals and/or religious festivities. They are going to try to establish, for example, musical genres more accustomed to the cultural experience of extensive rural areas of the country, such as the Brazilian country music.

Socioeconomic reasons for this form of reaction are evident: the components of the trajectory do not belong in general to the lower Amazon space. They were taken there by the pressure of capital on the Amazon rain forest.

This difference in practices, customs and tastes generates social geographical border processes that, despite having potential conflictive forms, also have exchanges and dialogue experiences that enrich the whole society.

The impact of Pará circuits of culture on A-12 seems to be gigantic. It is in this social trajectory that we find the greatest variety of social practices of self-management of cultural and communication processes and an immense receptivity to cultural content produced in the region. This is a localism indeed, but a hybrid localism, which seems to be the very condition of its existence. Hybrid because it combines, for example, the culture of stage equipment parties with the television programming of talk shows. Because it combines international pop music with local guitar playing. Thus, the circuit is energized and revitalized, even to the point of reinventing the modes of economic exchange.

Cultural practices associated with technology and sociability processes of A-12 also generate a reformulation perspective of the traditional way of showing communication in its social effects: it is no longer critical to discuss the effects of media on society, but rather the opposite, in a view that evokes the discussion provided by Gushiken (2008). This author states, for example, that

if we consider communication in its paradigmatic force in the creation of contemporary culture, it is possible to see in the social and cultural movements the communication and expressive thought emerging on the way of language production practices in genres ranging from classical arts to crafts, from oral language to visual and musical language, if not the intersection between them (GUSHIKEN, 2008, p. 10).

Another interesting issue to be addressed concerns the role of the circuits of culture in the production of new territorial and identity experiences – or even in the production of new localisms. Hall (2001) and Naisbit (1994) observe how the production of new localisms dialectically results from the expansion of global society. In principle, this process would consist of the upward trend itself of circuits of culture, i.e., the very territorialization or rather re-territorialization of the space taken by

the long routes as these tend to be associated with the national and/or global capital against the localization experience of local communities.

But of course this game of local experiences is constituted as overlapping experience spheres and one always can talk about more local localisms than others. Within the space defined here as lower Amazon, there are internal territorializations: different and competing identity territories that produce new local demands and new territorializations, certainly with impact on circuits of culture.

It also seems important to mention the role of cities or city networks in the production of new localisms and, consequently, in shaping circuits of culture. In the Amazon rain forest, cities occupy a decisive socioeconomic role as, besides being the most traditional form of Western occupation of the territory, historically they function as a natural network of environmental protection – as the ruralization of the Amazon region results in greater known impact on the virgin forest. As stated by Becker (2009), cities defend the forest heart as it contains the spread of economic activities, especially when they form a network of services creation and add value to bioproduction.

Circuits of culture have, in the cities, their main area of multiplication and symbolic production. Perhaps because cities serve as a point of intersection between different local, national and transnational scales.

Finally, it should be noted that cultural policies must take into account the local dynamics to not become simply a validation tool for long circuits of culture. In the case of the Amazon rain forest, this concern has been recurrent by cultural producers when, for example, they claim compensation for the “Amazon cost” – which is the economic and political equation present in the logic and in the challenges of short circuits of culture.

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*Periodismo e imaginários. Brasil, más allá de lo tropical y lo sensual.*

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Dialogues established between Brazil and Spain about Brazilian's women and men media representation

Diálogos estabelecidos entre Brasil e Espanha acerca da representação midiática dos brasileiros e das brasileiras

*Camilla Costa Rocha*<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** *The book review summarizes a synopsis of the main points of the doctoral research by author Maria Badet Souza, which resulted in the work *Periodismo e imaginários (Journalism and imaginarieness). Brasil, más allá de lo tropical y lo sensual. The work consistently contributes to the studies on media perception and groups of immigrants. From these references, the author approaches issues gaining prominence in her research, namely, the social representation of **Brazil in Spain**, the perception by the Spanish people in relation to groups of Brazilian immigrants and, in our view, in an even more emphatic and contributive way, the author introduces the issue of the perception of Brazilian women's media image with 120 young people.**

**Keywords:** *Studies on perceptions; Media; Brazilian women*

**Resumo** *A resenha apresenta uma síntese dos principais eixos da pesquisa de doutoramento realizada pela autora Maria Badet Souza que resultou na obra*

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*Periodismo e imaginários. Brasil, más allá de lo tropical y lo sensual. A obra colabora de maneira consistente para os estudos de recepção midiática e de coletivos de imigrantes. Partindo desses referenciais a autora adentra em questões que ganham relevo em sua pesquisa, quais sejam, a representação social do Brasil na Espanha, a percepção dos espanhóis em relação aos coletivos de imigrantes brasileiros e, ao nosso ver, de maneira ainda mais enfática e contributiva, a autora introduz a questão da recepção da figura midiática da mulher brasileira junto a 120 jovens.*

**Palavras-chave:** *Estudos de recepção; Mídia; Mulher brasileira*



The book object of this review brings in its pages the search by author Maria Badet Souza about the media representation of Brazil and *Brazilian men and women* in the mass media in Spain and, from that beginning, two aspects should be highlighted: the amplitude of the author's look towards the sociocultural context and the media reality that pervade her research as well as the total adhesion to a theoretical and analytical density along her entire text.

The work is scoped to fill a gap in research on media perception of news about Brazil held in Spain. With the intention not only to appease such absence but also to problematize it, the author poses the question: *How are Brazilian men and women shown in Spain by the mediae?* The questioning having been launched, its fruits are harvested, as we realize in the development of the research presented. The author fulfills indeed her purpose by a rich and detailed analysis on the appropriation, by Spanish students, of media content that presents the *Brazilian men and women*.

Divided into nine chapters, the book instruments our perception with the tools necessary for us to understand later the opinions presented by the media and the students' appropriation of them. This way, it introduces some reductionism that characterizes the social representation of Brazil abroad, such as, for example, nuances resulting from (Brazilian artistic movement) Tropicalismo, bringing, from Ribeiro (1998; 2002) and Machado (2004), miscegenation, samba, dance movements, soccer.

Upon reading it, two key aspects about this reflection that covers issues of Brazil from the perspective of Spain are worth mentioning. The first one concerns the specific situation of *Brazilian men and women* who are immigrants living there: it is important to know how they are perceived by the Spanish people in social spaces – and this includes the media, schools, streets. Another aspect that we must pay attention to is related to the imaginairiness, that is, besides the concreteness of the groups of Brazilian men and women who are immigrants present in social spaces, it is important to reflect on the media role during the

construction of representations of these *Brazilian men and women*. This distinction is crucial to understanding the author's research.

Here it is worth mentioning the fact that even though the research intent was to ascertain about Brazil and *Brazilian men and women*, the author presents us specially a useful analysis of the image of *Brazilian women* in the media. And in a masterly way she addresses an important question: how the media uses the stereotype of Brazilian women to talk about Brazil. Although the author points to informational possibilities, the media approach focused on Brazilians' sensuality is highlighted.

And if from the point of view of media production we have demonstrated an approach to marks primarily in common sense, structured in a monothematic, reduced, stereotypical and heterogeneous thought, it is necessary that we turn our attention to the appropriation of such content. And at this moment it is worth mentioning the appropriation that the author makes of the studies by Martín-Barbero (1987), contextualizing them in Latin America also by Cogo (2009), which emphasizes communication as a process decentralized from the media itself, and who has as a starting point the culture, mediations and individuals.

Thus, the immersion in the field carried out by the author proves to be critical. By using a consistent methodology that underlies the various techniques applied, she attempts to unveil the meanings of the appropriations of the imaginarieness constructed by the media. We are then presented to the group of 121 young people between the ages of 14 to 18 years from three different teaching centers and the question that remains is: Can we expect criticality from the young people interviewed?

In relation to *Brazilian women*, we are surprised when two female students – in the whole group – look to the potential damage linked to the fact of associating Brazil as the country of Carnival, which implies drawing attention to *Brazilian women's* beauty in their stereotypical images. In a very close contact with young people, the researcher then explores (and manages to show) the strength of this imaginarieness constructed by the media: almost no room is left for a critical appropriation of the content.

This was the case, for example, of the results collected with the presentation of images: two photos, of a Colombian model in a bikini at a beach and a Brazilian Native person with her son in the Amazon rain forest. Which image in this case would be considered of a Brazilian woman? The dispute was never strained. The Colombian woman “was seen” as *Brazilian* for 44.6% of the adolescents while only 4.1% associated the real *Brazilian* woman, the Brazilian Native, with her country of origin. As we can conclude with the author: the tendency for reproduction by the adolescents of the media content built around Brazil and *Brazilian* women was proved.

These are treasures excavated in the search field that solidly tie the author’s intent in unveiling the image of *Brazilian* women in Spain, both in its construction and in its appropriation. If it is true that the process of media perception helps in creating social imaginarieness about the identity of the others (Chillón, 2000; Duch, 2002; Morley, 1996; Nash, 2008), Maria Badet Souza is very sensitive when drawing our attention, with support by major authors (Aguaded, 1999, 2000; Morley, 1996; Martín-Barbero, 1987; Orozco, 1993; among others), to our littleness in view of the research: we need to see every detail from its context. That is, we learn from the research about the nuances surrounding Brazilian women’s image, already previously shrouded in a social imaginarieness that paints them as sensual and beautiful. This implies an opening for hope when we are responsible for these narratives.

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