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Editorial

For us, editors, this issue of the CMC journal is especially striking, because of a few factors. Due to the mishaps that we faced for the finalization of the edition without delays in the periodicity, which we cannot describe here; because it is the closing of the 2016 cycle, in which novelties have been implemented, such as the new visual project; for being the last act of our work in this year of crisis. A year in which we continue, despite the difficulties.

In this issue, we present two initial articles dealing with broader aspects of fields of knowledge in dialogue: the open reflection on the field of communication and its intersections and tensions with media studies; and an international article on the relationship between advertising and marketing studies.

Consumption, on a material-based view, is discussed in a historical perspective, in the article Torches of Freedom; and in the representations of the use of semi-jewelry in the telenovela Empire, in which class taste is discussed.

As part of the recent tradition of our publication, we have a set of studies that are articulated with the consumption of technological devices and digital networks - from the uses of families of farmers in the South of the country to youth activism and social movements, and through celebrities on Twitter, in another international article that complements this edition.

To conclude, there is an interview with Laura Hurd Clarke on ageism, directly related to the theme of the International Symposium on Communication and Consumption of 2016 that was part of the COMUNICON Congress this year.

To our authors and readers, we thank you from our hearts and wish a brighter New Year for all of us.

Denise Cogo e Vander Casaqui
CMC Journal´s Editors

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Between media and communication: origins and modalities of a dichotomy in studies of the area[1]

Entre mídia e comunicação: origens e modalidades de uma dicotomia nos estudos da área

Luis Mauro Sá Martino[2]

Abstract *The words "media" and "communication" often appear indistinctly in studies of the area. However, in epistemological terms this relationship may not be obvious. This text proposes that, although taken as synonyms, these expressions reveal an epistemological position, discussed from three aspects: (a) between the notions of media and communication as a study approaches; (b) between academic and market demands in the development of theories and (c) between the word "communication" and its use as a delimiting epistemic operator of Communication. These tensions are conceived from the research references of communication epistemology.*

Keywords: *Communication theory. Epistemology. University. Genealogy.*

Resumo *Embora as palavras "mídia" e "comunicação" muitas vezes apareçam de maneira indistinta nos estudos da área, em termos epistemológicos essa relação talvez não seja óbvia. Este texto propõe que, embora tomadas como sinônimas, cada uma dessas expressões revela um posicionamento epistemológico, discutido a partir de três aspectos: (a) entre as noções de "mídia" e "comunicação" como recorte de estudos; (b) entre demandas acadêmicas e de mercado na formação das teorias; (c) entre a palavra "comunicação" e sua utilização como operador epistemológico delimitador de uma área. Essas tensões são pensadas a partir dos referenciais de pesquisa da epistemologia da comunicação.*

Palavras-chave: *Teoria da comunicação; epistemologia; universidade; genealogia.*

1 The author thanks the anonymous reviewers for the suggested modifications to this text.

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Introduction

To suggest, in the title of the paper, a difference between "means" and "communication" may seem to contradict a field of study that for more than a century has dedicated itself to dealing with the means of communication. Moreover, the vocabulary of Communication tends to address the terms as synonymous or interchangeable, along with other similar expressions.

If communication theories are evidently linked to the study of Communication, problems appear when the specificity of each theory is looked at more closely. A disparate set of theories and concepts for the most varied problems and objects are observed, reverberating positions of countless other areas of knowledge, defined as "communication" or as "media."

According to Paiva (2008, p. 2), the "translation" of communication as media "tends to hastily compress all the meanings of *Communication*" and, therefore, "neutralizes the cognitive and aggregating complexity of the communicative phenomenon, which must be understood in its dynamic relationship with society and culture."

However, each one of these expressions, in addition to their common use, indicates epistemological positions in studies of the area. A "means theory" is not necessarily a "communication theory," despite the semantic relationships that can be built between the terms. In other words, when a communication theory is conceived in its epistemological dimension, there seems to be two main appropriations of the idea: The first focuses on the *means of communication* or media studies, while the other one considers communication as *relationships*, with a different scope.

In addition to a conceptual division, it is possible to observe the above when examining the development of research and theories circulating in the area, as done in other instances (MARTINO, 2009, 2010, 2015). In this observation, the scenario is a questioning of the relations between "means" and "communication," or the notion that any communication theory is linked to a "media theory."

What does someone engaged in the study of communication theories?

This question, formulated in different ways by several researchers – França (2001), Martino (2004; 2007), Sousa and Geraldes (2009), Martino (2009; 2010) and Quiroga (2015) – leads to a problem that would demand the examination of the theories of the area accompanied by a meta-reflection about the epistemological possibilities of considering the relevant link between a communication theory and the area of Communication – assuming that epistemic operators are responsible, although in a partial way, for the delimitation of an area of knowledge.

Torrico Villanueva (2004, p.11) mentions the "epistemological weakness" of Communication, which, even being sometimes understood as a "confluence space," has not yet solved some of its identity problems.

In a way, as Felinto (2011) suggests – see also the discussion started by Pimenta (2011) and Ferreira (2012) – the lack of definition between media and communication is reflected in epistemological problematics when answering the prosaic question "What do you study?" in Communication. If, as the author points out, in some academic settings the response "media studies" can provide a satisfactory answer, it is inevitable not to note that even in Anglo-Saxon spaces this definition does not follow absolute and clear boundaries.

This work does not specifically discussion these ways of understanding or authors who sustain them, as previously done; it outlines some constitutive reasons for this division by focusing on what appears to be its genesis. While, for example, Ferrara (2016) addresses the distinction in epistemological terms, this research articulates the epistemological issue in terms of a genealogy of theoretical thought – not as a history of theories – where it is possible to find some lines of thought that support this development.

In the basic epistemological formulation of the study area, how was this double perspective formed, which up to now has resonances in the modularity and organization of the area, as suggested by many authors (Martino, 2001; Braga, 2001, 2010, 2014; Gomes, 2003; Lopes, 2003; 2007; Ferreira, 2003; Signates, 2013)?

It is suggested here that this epistemological dichotomy emerges from three main unresolved tensions present in the study area: (1) the lack of definition between the study of the "materiality of technology" or "communication phenomena" as a perspective of the area, which is anchored, among other factors, in (2) university and institutional demands, which either privilege technical and professional or theoretical matters. This is related to (3) the notion of communication, which already carries a wide possibility of resonances and interpretations.

1. The problem of the materiality of media

An epistemology of communication has to emphasize, firstly, the aspects of communication and then mention means and technology. This last aspect seems to be a specific modality of a relational phenomenon (i.e., communication) that is broader and more difficult to define than a specific media – a concept that is also fluid, but seems to present clearer boundaries in the area's research.

Here, it is worth taking up the proposal of Verón (2013). It would certainly be possible to trace common elements, differences and overlaps between the notions of media and communication. However, the usage of both concepts suggests important differences. When working with issues of identity and difference in digital environments, a distinction between media and communication is emphasized.

The term "media" can be found in some research as synonymous with a certain apparatus with an artificial character, produced within a historical, economic and social context through which relationships are established – and the use of "intermediate" is only to emphasize the perspective of "being in the middle" – between the instances connected by media.

The nature of media connections are evidently linked to communicational processes in a complex articulation, with no possibility of reducing any part. Without getting into a detailed discussion about the concept – as Baitello (2000) did – some confluences of meaning can be observed from the definition established by its use in Communication.

In this case, the term “media” seems to refer, with little questioning, to a set of means of communication, being either mass or digital communication. These are highlighted because they are technological devices sometimes encompassed by an institutional framework in which media also means communication companies. In both conceptions, as an apparatus and institution, it is possible to observe the unilateral accentuation of a dimension that sometimes seems to do without the human and/or the social as a principle, context and purpose.

At certain points of the epistemological discourse in Communication, it is possible to observe a tendency to highlight media from a set of communicational processes, in order to make it the agent of actions and conditions for the holding of certain facts. Although technological elements are not in any way neutral – since they are elements crossed by vectors arising from their social conditions of production and existence – the perspective of them not existing, apart from when integrated with human actions, is lost. They do not have, at least for the time being, any possibility of real autonomy.

When a specific media is studied, isolated from its conditions of production and use, the result is the formation of a type of media ontology that attributes, to a greater or lesser extent, agency capacity. This can be translated into statements such as “The media does this,” “This application does . . .,” “This device does . . . ,” – used in a strict sense and devoid of human resonances.

For this aspect, even the unsystematic observation of the empirical routine of communication research, particularly in certain instances of formation, shows the construction of epistemological discourses. They are not interested in the articulation between media and social processes, or in human relations in digital environments. In fact, they are interested in the effects of digital media on certain aspects of human life, echoing some of the origins of mass communication research in the 20th century. Without denying the possibilities of this approach, when studying digital media, it is worth questioning to what extent it would not be necessary to observe, in its intersection with communicational processes, something beyond a technical apparatus that agencies effects, something with a dynamic and contradictory relation.

This conception of a media ontology is also revealed by the stipulation of a certain temporality marked by the advent of certain technologies, putting aside not only the dimensions, flows and contradictions of its incorporation into daily life, but also the inequalities present in this process. This perspective can be identified in temporal markings in which chronological, if not social or historical raptures, are defined from the appearance of a certain medium or technical device. To some extent, this type of procedure points to a discourse of absolute change, objectified in claimed discourse for an eternal resumption with each new invention – "this application has changed everything," closer to strategies of dissemination than to a critical scrutiny.

At the same time, the counter-discourse that attributes little or no importance to media apparatuses, as if their emergence were not linked to any social aspect, seems to be equally reductive in the sense of eliminating existing relations between human beings and the culture produced by them, and that also produces us.

The lowering of digital environments to a minor phenomenon compared to others seems to lead, in turn, to a purposeful closure of the changes actually underway – in the form of a possibly correct denial of cause or causality, where the consequences and derivations of a particular phenomenon are put aside.

The conception of a media ontology tends – in a kind of semantic deviation that perhaps identifies oblique relations that are also in its conception – to blame technological or institutional apparatuses for human actions. The idea that "everything has changed" because of digital media, as well as the negative correlative that "nothing has changed" in spite of it, also takes the media as a central element, emptying the sense of the social origin of its forms, languages and discourses.

It is the incorporation of technical and technological devices into social processes that gives them some kind of sense from which it is possible to articulate them in the set of these same processes. In this aspect, it seems necessary to emphasize that the relationship between media and social processes does not occur in terms of a determination from one side to the other – it would be equally difficult to defend the autonomy of social processes in relation to the means used to shape their relations – but in a complex dynamic of tension between their elements.

This seems to be enough, at the same time, to consider the specificity of this kind of difference – see Trivinho's (2007) study of "dromocracy" in cyberculture. The possibility not only of reading, but also of sharing, remixing, transforming and commenting about circulating messages is added to this in order to understand that in digital environments the processes of appropriation obliterate any linearity, logic or predictability.

Thus, it would be reckless to think of media outside of its potential and potentiating relations, or as dependent on processes derived strictly from human practice. It is a question of observing the centrality of the human in communication processes without, evidently, leaving aside all ethological research responsible for revealing processes of observable meaning in certain animals, but reiterating this element for methodological reasons.

2. Between the professional-media techniques and theory in university space

In the 1980s, Venício Lima (1983) had already indicated an "identity crisis" in Communication courses from what could be understood as an epistemological problem related to the very definition of the parameters of a course with this approach. It would not be an exaggeration, perhaps, to indicate that this identity crisis identified at that moment has continued to the present day, seeming to have spread to the whole area of Communication.

Lima's argument – followed by other writers who dealt with the problem of teaching Communication, such as Noetti (1972) or Lins da Silva (1979) – derived from a prevailing oscillation in the focus of courses.

On the one hand, a mold of a technical character is mainly aimed at the training of professionals who are able to meet the demands of a professional market based on the model of large companies. On the other hand, there is a humanist or theoretical mold, which understands Communication courses as a specific space for the development of researchers and scholars who are not only capable of critically thinking about communicational phenomena, but also engaging in scientific research.

The absence of an articulation that could effectively resolve this dilemma resulted in problems, which were identified shortly after the institutionalization of Social Communication courses in 1969: the lack of epistemological parameters from which a branch of knowledge, based on the basic constitutive elements of a science, could be developed; and the delimitation of a set of phenomena within a specific objective that constituted a scheme of purposeful research – following, here, Sodré's (2014, p. 106) perspective in relation to this provision of academic practice.

The institutionalization of the area in terms of university education seems to have preceded its epistemological foundation. An indication of this phenomenon, for example, is the almost total absence of a bibliography on Communication prior to university courses. In fact, except for Décio Pignatari's (1967) works, which focused on issues related to design and information theory – to some extent, as a result from his poetic activity – and Gabriel Cohn›s (1969) works, part of a perspective related to Critical Theory, there was not even a bibliography on Communication available for university education in Brazil.

Theoretical books on Communication written by Vellozo (1969), Sá (1973) and Beltrão (1973), for example, are openly the result of lectures in undergraduate courses, which were transformed into books to be used again in the classroom. Without discussing the validity of these works or their contribution to the area, it is interesting to note that their emergence not only met a university demand, but also shows the lack of an earlier bibliography that could suggest interest in this object of study.

Indeed, for the case of Brazilian, communication does not seem to have aroused the interest of researchers before the founding of

Communication courses centered on professions and means. On the contrary, the existence of a few works related to Sociology or technical manuals is noted.

Despite the lack of initial epistemological clarity, the consolidation of Communication courses was quite rapid, which seems to have accentuated the conflict generated by the identity crisis pointed out by Lima (1983) and echoed thirty years later by Sodré (2014): while the institutional structure of the courses was ruled by qualifications focusing on professional training and the labor market, their epistemological basis for Communication was fragmented in a plethora of approaches from many fields of knowledge. According to Vizer (2011, p. 83), it is possible to point out that «when a discipline expands, both its interests and field of problems are conditioned by the social and economic pressure of technological change,» and it seeks to «maintain a ‹humanistic› perspective, finding itself subjected to unbearable tensions.»

This dichotomy seems to have deepened in the following years, and even increased with the expansion of university courses, which develop around specific qualifications, reiterating their professional origin and projecting epistemological questions. In this sense, it is possible to understand curricular guidelines that transform professional qualifications into courses as a result of this process of configuring Communication around professional activities and/or technologies. In academic practice this is visible in the area›s discourse: No one graduates in Communication; they graduate in journalism, publicity or public relations.

To a certain extent, the area of Communication, developing itself from and around university courses, somehow inherited and broadened these problems from which, perhaps, some questions periodically come up, raising fundamental questions of what defines communicational knowledge itself.

The emergence and consolidation of postgraduate courses in the 1980s and their growth in the 2000s seem to exacerbate the issue even more. These spaces are no longer oriented by the immediate demand of a professional market (although it is possible to talk about an «academic market,» this would divert the focus of this discussion) but by the education of researchers; it is a place where epistemological questions are continually emerging or becoming practical problems.

The experience of guiding students offers signs of daily life. Recurrent questions such as «Is my research in Communication?» or «Is my object from Communication?» suggest a deeper problem: how to delimit whether a study is actually of Communication. Choosing a theoretical framework, in particular, puts researchers in front of what seems to be the heart of the problem: What theories are *of* communication? Where are Communication concepts formulated from? Or is it, on the other hand, about studying the *means* of communication based on references from other areas of knowledge?

The references, coming from diverse areas, often lead researchers of communication to embark on other fields of knowledge in the search for epistemological operators that will then be applied as communication objects. Of course, there is no intention here to generalize, but only to illustrate an argument from practical situations.

It would not be idle to recall, from Wolton (2001) or Sodré (2014), that the definition of Communication itself derives from the theoretical input given, which is responsible for its delimitation. Each area of knowledge appropriates phenomena of Communication from their specific view – which is built in the history of the discipline – and each of them contributes in their own way, broadening understanding of the subject.

This creates at least two problems.

First, the fact that the communicational object is linked to a perspective that constitutes itself can lead to tautology: If there is an anthropological or sociological perspective in Communication, what would be the specificity of a communicational perspective on Communication? What would justify, for example, the inclusion or exclusion of research in a postgraduate Communication program?

At the same time, to what extent it is possible to talk about an area of Communication? The core of its categorization is not formed by specific definitions, but by an object constituted in the juxtaposition of knowledge. Besides coming from other fields, this knowledge is not appropriate and reconstituted, but applied to objects that are supposed to be communicational. A specific definition of Communication is not proposed here, but indicating, as Braga (2014) does, a need for diversity in general leads to dispersion.

The taxonomic definition of the pertinence of a study does not therefore derive from preciosity in the search for a definition, but from the perspective of an axiology of the classificatory elements at stake within any epistemological search that defines Communication itself.

3. Modulations between the word and the concept of Communication

The polymorphism of the communicational phenomena seems to constitute another epistemological obstacle to the definition of the contours of a study area. Here, there is the need to suggest a terminological distinction that may perhaps contribute to situating the question. Following the problem outlined by Paiva (2008), Verón (2013) and Sodré (2014) regarding the relationship between the word and the concept of Communication, it is worth looking for some definitions and tensions about both.

Several authors emphasize the communication perspective etymologically, trying to find in the roots of the term some clues to define what could be the theoretical framework of a research area. In general, this input tends to underline the relational aspect of communicational phenomena, establishing a basis between the various words within a close semantic field, such as communion, common, community and so on.

Merloo (1973, p. 168) draws a relation between the notion of communication and its radical "*munis*" to the concept of "*munia*," which translates as "service," and becomes the object of a more detailed reflection in Esposito (2005), Paiva (1999), Yamamoto (2014) and Sodré (2014). In fact, some of the ambiguities present in the establishment of a concept of Communication can xxxxxxxxx. As Lima (1983) indicates the ambiguity of the term, which ends up, in its root of "making common," both the ideas of "transmission" and "sharing", elements that would become, in the author's view, the dominant points of view in the construction of communication models, either focused on the work of transmission (of a unidirectional nature) or in the act of sharing (of a dialogical character).

However, if the meaning and etymology of the word are known, and of course without neglecting the contribution that this type of research offers, it may be possible to expose another problem: If the meaning of the term is known, difficulties seem to emerge from the transformation of the word into a concept, which is understood as an epistemological operator capable of handling a relatively defined portion of phenomena that, seized by the word, lose their dynamic reality to gain in terms of intelligibility.

If it is possible to trace an origin of the word "communication," its operationalization as a concept capable of handling a certain reality seems to be much simpler. The concept, at its oblique intersection with the phenomenon to make it operational, does not dispense with limits capable of offering some definition to what is being studied. The *definition* of Communication seems to be separated from the *concept* of Communication in the sense that the idea of a concept presents itself as interconnected to a research perspective due to its definition. It would be worthwhile, in this sense, to ask not only what communication means or what words are of the area, but what types of phenomena are conceptualized as communication.

Indicating the polysemy of the answer may not be foolhardy. Somehow, as Vizer (2011, p. 98) points out, Communication studies tend to delimit the phenomenon and apprehend this notion mainly from matrices that favor the social or language (without necessarily talking about Sociology or Linguistics, but inputs more or less originating from and directed to these areas). It is a perspective close to what Breton and Proulx (2002) argue, or even Miege (2000) and Wolton (1998), despite differences in perspective.

As suggested by Verón (2013), Muchielli (1991), Wolton (2011) and Vizer (2011), among others, Communication studies are developed around a relational perspective like a social practice focused on the development of meanings. Without neglecting the differences between these authors, it is possible to question to what extent a concept of relation that emphasizes the proper communicational approach can be established, as far as the relationship between the relational and the construction of meanings is also an object of, for example, Anthropology or Linguistics.

Although European and American academic environments seem to have partially resolved the issue by choosing the term "media" or the old "mass communication" to define the area, there are still certain ambiguities. Wright (1968) and DeFleur (1976) or, more recently, the textbooks of Severin and Tankard (2001) and McQuail (2005), solve the issue by considering mass communication as an object of knowledge, spread in various media – TV, radio, cinema – as a study object.

It is worth noting, however, that this does not mean eliminating polysemy from the notion of Communication, since similar studies, both old (Dance, 1973; Littlejohn, 1976; Mortensen, 1980) and more recent – Lazar (1996); Severin and Tankard (2001); Crowley and Mitchell (1994); and Holmes (2005) – use the term "communication theory" to refer to media, mass communication or, to a lesser extent since 1990, digital media.

The Iberian environment does not seem to offer a specific division either, as suggested by the works of Santos (1992), Freixo (2012) or, previously, the collection of Moragas Spa (1981), which define communication theory as focusing on the so-called "mass media."

The semantic field covered by media studies, therefore, is only partially equivalent to communication theory. At the same time, as indicated, because of the conceptual polysemy of media in Communication studies, the perspective of media studies does not necessarily seem to contribute to the definition of the object, but only to what seems to be an immediate resolution of an epistemological problematic that does not subsist to wider scrutiny.

The transition of the word "communication" to a conception of communication, as observed, does not seem to be something clear in the studies of the area. Behind what could be understood as an element of transparency – which is almost evident when talking about Communication studies – the perspective seems to be directed much more to the idea of media studies than to a communicational phenomenon that can be separated from the media.

This does not mean in any way that this transition is not the object of research excellence. The interlocution between Braga (2011), Marcondes (2010; 2012) and Ferrara (2013) developed, among other spaces, in the Compós Working Group for Communication Epistemology, seems to be searching exactly for a concept of Communication from which some of these problems can be rearticulated.

The purpose, in this sense, is obviously not to suggest any kind of exclusivity for Communication as a discipline, but to think about it in its specificity. The asymmetrical balance between Communication as a discipline and as a field, reviving Braga's (2012) definition, can result in the constitution of a contribution that, based on Sodré (2014), could be understood as something that conserves characteristics of juxtaposed disciplines without providing an element of dialogue between them.

Braga (2010) indicates how often the communicational element presents itself as what the author calls an "epiphenomenon" of a plethora of diverse social processes, from which the communicational element, even in all its diversity, is only apprehended as a given formed from these processes, without the centrality of the framework as an object, returning to what Martino (2007) could presuppose. The search for what Signates (2013) indicates as "specifically communicational" does not always appear as an epistemological problem in the field. The supposed transparency of the word corresponds to an opacity of the concept from which the epistemological foundation of the area is in a constant tension.

Final considerations

The approach of an area of knowledge tends to bring to the surface the threads that constitute it in its dynamics. This is no different for Communication. Daily work in the research environment can suggest the perception of certain problems that, located in some fundamental points of its epistemology, end up being spread in almost all of the constitution of knowledge produced in this area.

Some of the tensions pointed to in this text – the media materiality issue, institutional and professional demands, and the polysemy of the concept – tend to manifest themselves on a considerably larger scale when one thinks not only in terms of the identity constitution of the area, as done by Martino (2001), but also in several other aspects. The definition of an empirical research object, which tends to subordinate itself to the problems of the object knowledge of an area, becomes more complicated when the parameterization of the relationship between the two terms is not clear.

Rather than taking part in any of the dichotomies indicated, which would close the act of questioning – an element present in the original concerns of this text – this text sought to establish three points in the genesis of communication theories, where these elements can find some of their origins.

As noted in the beginning, the notion of communication is directly connected to the concept of means, especially because of decades of studies on the means of communication. On the other hand, the questions underlying this type of study – Which means? What communication? And how are they related? – if observed more closely, show that the apparent obviousness of the relation does not withstand a more elaborate investigation without showing some of their profound contradictions and the asymmetry present as original tensions in the foundations of the area.

Thinking about these questions in the openings of new questions may perhaps contribute more than just sketching an answer to work the theoretical problems of Communication – something that, far beyond what could be a mere conceptual elaboration, is reflected in the everyday problems of education and research.

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ARTIGO

Extending PR's critical conversations with advertising and marketing

Ampliando as conversações de RPs com a Publicidade e o Marketing

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Abstract *This article provides a deeper understanding of the public relations field by exploring the struggles of its closest professional neighbours: advertising and marketing. The article casts these three fields as distinct professional projects, using literature from Critical Advertising, Critical Marketing, Critical PR and sociology of the professions to examine areas of distinction, tension and convergence as advertising, marketing and PR struggle for dominance over one another.*

Key words: *Advertising, marketing, public relations, convergence, professions*

Resumo *Este artigo pretende aprofundar o entendimento sobre o campo das Relações Públicas explorando os embates com seus vizinhos profissionais mais próximos – publicidade e marketing. O artigo elenca estes três campos como projetos profissionais distintos, e faz uso da literatura da Crítica da Publicidade, da Crítica do Marketing e da Crítica das Relações Públicas e a sociologia das profissões para examinar áreas de distinção, tensão e convergência como publicidade, marketing e relações públicas no embate entre eles.*

Palavras-chave: *Publicidade, marketing, relações públicas, convergência, profissões*

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Advertising, marketing and public relations (PR) have experienced phenomenal occupational growth throughout the past century. In large, mature markets the three fields have evolved as separate specialisms, disciplines and professional projects. From the outside looking in, few may regard advertising, marketing and PR as separate. This is particularly the case in small and developing markets, where practitioners may work in PR, advertising and marketing. Indeed, in an increasingly globalised and digital world, distinctions between advertising, marketing and PR are often blurred and perceived as part of the same set of advanced techniques in modern commercial culture.

From a critical perspective, advertising, marketing and PR can be seen collectively as a set of practices and discourses that have helped to constitute and shape modern social relations. Yet the evolution of the three fields as separate disciplines is an important subject for the critical lens. This is because the emergence of distinctions between the fields is a story of inter-professional tensions as advertising, marketing and PR struggle for dominance over one another. Practitioners within the respective fields have also struggled to formalise their managerial status and establish themselves as trusted experts for client organisations.

Professional tensions between the fields are also visible in academic discourse, which has played an accompanying role in formalising advertising, marketing and PR practices. Nearly 40 years ago, the well-known marketing theorist, Philip Kotler, writing with Mindak (1978), questioned whether PR and marketing would evolve as "partners or rivals," critiquing a perceived lack of scientific discipline within the public relations field. A decade later, Kotler, together with other US marketing scholars, met their PR counterparts at a colloquium designed to mark out conceptual domains and "operational turf" between the disciplines of PR and marketing (BROOM *et al*, 1991). Similarly, influential theorists in Critical Marketing are inclined to regard both advertising and PR as "aspects" or "sub-fields" of a general marketing discourse (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). Some critical advertising/marketing theorists dismiss the very notion of "Critical PR," arguing either that PR is merely part of advertising or marketing – and can only be critiqued as a subset of these activities – or that PR itself is so malodorous that critiquing PR activities would be unproductive, since PR ought not to exist.

My own critical efforts have no such cynical outlook, and are driven instead by a quest for new understandings of PR practices and techniques by exploring PR's disciplinary struggles with its nearest professional counterparts. If reconfiguring PR means changing its conversations (MCKIE and MUNSHI, 2007), then PR's conversations can be expanded productively by throwing open the windows currently separating the emerging disciplines of Critical Advertising, Critical Marketing and Critical PR. In this article I therefore position advertising, marketing and PR as distinct professional projects, in order to explore the tensions, struggles and overlaps between PR and its closest professional neighbours.

Genesis of critiques on advertising and marketing

Whereas Critical PR is only just developing as an academic field, critical perspectives of advertising and marketing have existed at least since the 1970s. The trajectory of research has also differed; in part because advertising and marketing often evolved in different university departments, and in part because the scholars who critique advertising and marketing wear their critical hats at different "angles." Scott (2007, p. 4) explains this by pointing to the different ways in which the term "critical" is construed across advertising and marketing literature. For some advertising and marketing scholars "critical," for example, means "interpretive" or "qualitative," while others use "Critical" with a capital "C," explicitly meaning "Marxist." Others adopt a "critical" stance on larger social issues – such as globalisation or environmentalism – using advertising or marketing for socially progressive purposes. Finally, there are "critical" theorists who choose to resist more mainstream approaches to the study of advertising and marketing (SCOTT, 2007), as is true of much Critical PR scholarship.

Earlier critical advertising and marketing work was dominated by literary critique, using semiotics, rhetoric, poststructuralism and postmodernism to deconstruct the products of advertising and marketing as forms of representation (SCOTT, 2007, p. 5). Some of this work, Scott maintains, has become canonical, including John Berger's (1973) *Ways of Seeing* and Judith Williamson's (1979) *Decoding Advertisements*. Williamson's classic, in particular, posited that consumers could not escape advertising's false meanings; that advertising had "a life of its own," persuading consumers to buy goods against their real class interests (WILLIAMSON, 1979, p. 13). These and many other authors offered an analytical view on the "pervasiveness of imagery in late twentieth-century culture" (NAVA, 1997, p. 47). The combined perspectives resulting from this earlier work gave rise to a new sub-discipline, "cultural studies," typically housed in English departments or communications schools (SCOTT, 2007).

Cultural Studies explored the "culture industries" and processes of enculturation, taking in all those institutions and industries involved in some way with the production of popular culture (ELLIS *et al*, 2011, p. 43). Advertising and marketing were positioned as a key site of negotiation between economic and cultural spheres (LEISS *et al*, 2005, p. 15), with advertising and marketing practitioners being cast as cultural intermediaries educating the masses in the pleasures of consumption (WILLMOTT, 1999, p. 208). Other early critical scholarship adopted postmodernist perspectives, with successive studies focused on themes such as the fragmentation of markets into ever-smaller segments, including the supposed "one-to-one marketing"; hyperreality – exemplified by the many studies of shopping centres, the fantasy worlds of theme parks; the "pretence" of typical service encounters in which customer service representatives deliver rote responses as they follow preordained scripts; and pastiche television commercials and display advertising represented by self-referentiality (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008, p. 10).

Some of these critical approaches proved questionable, particularly as it became apparent that Cultural Studies was providing a way for many advertising and marketing academics to legitimise their discipline in relation to campus radicalism and the "culture wars" of the 1990s

(ARVIDSSON, 2008). Some early critical advertising and marketing scholarship promoted Marxist political agendas, thinly disguised as research (SCOTT, 2007). Cultural Studies was so often characterised by a "Critical" perspective that, by the 1990s, the two had become synonymous; viewed by a new generation of critical theorists as too despairing in tone and too dogmatic in approach (SCOTT, 2007).

Revisionist scholars (ARVIDSSON, 2008; NAVA, 1997; SCOTT, 2007) argue that earlier critical work portrayed people primarily as "consumers," thus marginalising other subjectivities such as citizenship. Meanwhile, those same consumers – particularly women – were too often portrayed as weak, malleable and unable to resist so-called neoliberal ideologies imposed by the marketing-media-branding complex (HACKLEY, 2009). Early critical scholarship is also accused of focusing relentlessly on industrial capitalism as the major source of oppression, thus failing to encompass other forms of economic organisation, particularly in more traditional agrarian societies. One exception to these revisionist critiques, concedes Scott (2007), may be the emancipatory efforts of Cultural Studies regarding cultural representations of women.

Leiss *et al.*(2005) further contend that earlier debates about advertising and marketing were overly focused on consumer markets and advertising/marketing's most visible outputs, such as display and television advertising. In doing so, earlier critical work helped mask a wide range of "hidden" techniques, from sales and marketing "control technologies" defined by their very invisibility (e.g. concealed microphones and cameras, or mystery shoppers) to disciplinary practices such as compensating or setting sales quotas – practices equally invisible to the onlooker and thus never framed as forms of power (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). PR scholarship has been similarly critiqued for bypassing more hidden activity such as lobbying in favour of visible outputs such as media relations. Likewise, B2B (business-to-business) marketing remained under-represented in earlier critical scholarship despite its size and importance (ELLIS *et al*, 2011). The absence of formal industry-wide training and qualifications in advertising and marketing also aides the "invisible" history surrounding these occupations, enabling myths and oral stories to predominate (LEISS *et al*, 2005; LIEN, 1997; LURY, 1994).

Advertising, marketing and PR – assuaging producer anxiety

As critical perspectives of advertising and marketing have evolved, authors have increasingly unmasked the activity taking place "behind the scenes" of advertising and marketing work.

These behind-the-scenes studies include the exploration of efforts to professionalise the fields (CHALMERS, 2001; LIEN, 1997; WILLMOTT, 1999). I will integrate some of this literature with similar discussions in Critical PR and with broader sociological perspectives of professionalisation in order to yield new understandings of all three fields vis-à-vis one another. I begin by positioning advertising, marketing and PR as "entrepreneurial professions" or "expert labour" (MUZIO *et al*, 2008, p. 25). Entrepreneurial professions have borrowed several features from traditional professions such as medicine or law, but, as Muzio *et al.*(2008) point out, this is largely a symbolic exercise. Advertising, marketing and PR have neither the professional credentials nor other independent sources of knowledge, remaining largely open and governed by market mechanisms. Their professional associations are embryonic, with no mandatory membership or credentials, while minimal special education is required to become a practitioner in any of the three fields (MUZIO *et al*, 2008, p. 4).

As a result, de facto control over the advertising, marketing and PR professions is weak – deliberately so, argue Muzio *et al.* (2008), because entrepreneurial professions are highly responsive to the organisations they serve. Not only are such professions active in the construction of knowledge through their use of language and client relationship skills, they are also continually developing new forms of knowledge together with different methods for its production, organisation and delivery, adopting "radically different strategies and organisational configurations" as needed (MUZIO *et al*, 2008, p. 4). But why would promotional professions deliberately undermine their own professional projects in this way? One answer arises in scholarship which personifies the corporate body, highlighting the anxieties plaguing contemporary client organisations.

Writing about advertising and marketing, Lury and Warde (1997, p. 487) contend that the constant shifting and changing in these professions has been in response to "producer anxiety or uncertainty" ~~(p. 87)~~. Organisations that seek advertising and marketing counsel have a perpetual problem – that of finding sufficient consumers for the volume of goods they produce – knowing that they cannot force people to buy their products, services or ideas now or in the future (LURY and WARDE, 1997). Any legitimacy possessed by advertising and marketing professionals has therefore evolved through practitioner efforts to assuage producer anxiety by promoting advertising and marketing as the appropriate disciplines for "guiding, controlling, influencing and predicting what consumers will be prepared to buy" (LURY and WARDE, 1997, p. 92). Similarly, Marchand (1998) argues that an array of twentieth-century PR initiatives was undertaken by client organisations in a quest to create a "corporate soul." Corporates were intent on legitimising newly amassed power, not just to others but to themselves. PR techniques were consequently used to assuage the anxiety of corporations keen to restore their social role in the eyes of the public, and to be accepted members of the larger community by establishing the "rightness" of their expansion activities (CHRISTENSEN *et al*, 2008; MARCHAND, 1998). Hence, advertising, marketing and PR are located as part of a growing number of professions attempting to assuage decision-makers' anxieties by "managing uncertainty, calculating probability and minimising risk" (LURY and WARDE, 1997, p. 99).

Contemporary client organisations are therefore likely to resist professionalisation strategies (LURY and WARDE, 1997) adopted by advertising, marketing and PR, stripping these forms of professional advice of their moral authority and recasting the fields as a technical resource or commodity (LURY and WARDE, 1997; MUZIO *et al*, 2008). Broadly speaking, organisations, regardless of whether they are in the private, public or not-for-profit sectors, are defined by the overarching need to produce reliable, stable alliances with their key stakeholders (LIEN, 1997). The implications for advertising, marketing and PR's professional projects are stark. Whereas traditional professions are customarily understood as producing their own ideology, which in turn establishes their professional status, universal validity and expertise (LARSON, 2012), the combined critical literatures suggest that it is organisational ideology that has produced advertising, marketing and PR. This represents a "reverse" ordering of professionalisation in which professional development is shaped not by the professions but by the organisations they serve (MUZIO *et al*, 2008). As a result, advertising, marketing and PR are forced into a never-ending pursuit of legitimation strategies to help them remain relevant to client organisations. This never-ending pursuit for relevance further defines the interprofessional tensions within and between the three promotional fields.

Advertising, marketing and PR – legitimation strategies

The contemporary anxieties "experienced" by client organisations are defined by a constant series of challenges, from entering new markets to holding on to customers in existing ones – from adopting new technologies and media channels to meeting new regulatory requirements. What then are the legitimation strategies developed by advertising, marketing and PR? And how successful have these strategies been in assuaging organisational anxieties? Across the promotional professions, a significant portion of expertise are based on social capital, informal knowledge, soft skills and emotional labour, as well as formal, scientific and managerial knowledge more closely associated with professional influence.

The social capital underlying the promotional fields is complex. In Western Europe and North America, for example, the most powerful promotional roles tend to be white, male and middle class (EDWARDS, 2011; LURY, 1994; NIXON, 2003). Applicants to advertising, marketing and PR are, today, typically university educated, but the type of degree is less important than the associated peer-group influence, since many promotional practitioners come to rely on their social networks for professional advancement. This is particularly true for consultancy-based practitioners for whom new business contacts are professional "currency." The "white, male, middle-class" profile is not replicated globally, of course, but what remains important is that the promotional professions replicate, as far as possible, the social capital of their client organisations. For this reason, where diversity may have become an organisational imperative in some fields, for promotional professions, diversity with respect to gender, race or class is "useful" only insofar as it allows client organisations to engage better with external audiences (EDWARDS, 2011).

Informal knowledge is naturally hard to pin down due to deliberate efforts to separate personal knowledge from professional identity (LIEN, 1997). Promotional practitioners bring a range of pertinent knowledge to their daily tasks, gleaned as citizens, consumers and other subjectivities. Yet, as Lien (1997) argues, such a competence remains largely invisible or unarticulated. Other forms of informal knowledge are elusive, known only to certain professionals. Advertising, for example, has engendered a "cult of creativity" and mythology of "artistry plus genius," in which creative directors – typically male – wield elite status and influence (McSTAY, 2010; NIXON, 2003). Client organisations value creativity for its "newness," its ability to break new boundaries and establish new genres (NIXON, 2003). Through creativity, advertising professionals are able to assuage client anxiety by meeting the demand for ever-more sophisticated campaigns in highly competitive markets (FAULCONBRIDGE *et al*, 2011). Yet advertising's supposed dominance over creativity may have infringed on PR territory in some contexts. Contemporary debates in the PR press trade suggest that, in a battle for market share, global PR firms are recolonising marketing communications by reclaiming "creativity" as a public relations specialism – hiring creative directors and "creative catalysts," and entering creative competitions that were previously the domain of advertising (ROGERS, 2014).

All three promotional professions rely heavily on soft skills such as communication. Lien (1997) points out that this is even true of marketing, despite the profession's efforts to privilege its "hard" skill sets. For Lien (1997), marketing is communicative on two levels: first, by translating and interpreting consumers' needs and preferences; second by selecting the characteristics of a product (or service), then visualising and textualising these characteristics for target groups. Such soft skills are often part of emotional labour – that is the management of "feeling" in the workplace (HOCHSCHILD, 2012). In PR, for example, Yeomans (2010, p.6) points to the emotional labour of managing client relationships, earning trust and respect by "making the client happy." Many PR practitioners also cater to journalists as important stakeholders, where emotional labour involves not upsetting or alienating journalists, and not wasting their time by promoting irrelevant stories (YEOMANS, 2010).

Scientific/managerial discourse

Despite the importance of informal knowledge, advertising, marketing and PR have all come to be dominated by a managerial discourse in which formal scientific knowledge confers the most power (HACKLEY, 2009). Scientific knowledge relies on credibility gained through the use of epistemology, collation of facts and application of scientific methods (WILLMOTT, 1999). The need to recast promotional work as scientific and managerial has come about partially from a sense of intellectual inferiority experienced by promotional professionals (LURY and WARDE, 1997), but also the need to vie for credibility against the claims of other more established management disciplines such as accounting or operations. Promotional professionals therefore engage in a "Darwinian corporate game" (Pitcher, 2002, p. 62) to outdo each other in managerial and technical expertise.

Marketing has been particularly successful in systematising formal, technical knowledge, having itself evolved as a branch of applied economics concerned with the distribution of goods and buying behaviour (HACKLEY, 2009). Marketing then replaced the economists' assumption of "perfect information in competitive markets" with theories of advertising persuasion drawing from social psychology and other fields (HACKLEY, 2009, p. 117), while also adopting approaches from engineering and sales management (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). With concepts such as the Unique Selling Proposition, the "4Ps" – Product, Price, Place and Promotion (later extended to the "7Ps") – market segmentation and Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC) became widely used terms, denoting the success of marketing's managerial discourse. Such terms appeal to client organisations not just because they provide a well-defined, theorised set of practices, but because of their inherent promise of progress and rationality (CHRISTENSEN *et al*, 2008). The 4Ps checklist offers clients a sense of engineering precision, while other terms such as B2B and CRM (Customer Relationship Management) have introduced further specialisation in marketing practice, creating new, distinct sub-fields of expertise. Some of these scientific methods will now be examined in further detail.

Market segmentation and surveillance

Perhaps the most powerful set of legitimation strategies used by promotional professions are those that manipulate stakeholders, producing subjectivities and binding targeted groups more tightly to organisations (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). Market segmentation and surveillance, for example, require researchers to produce contextualised knowledge regarding the sorts of products or services an organisation's customers want (LURY and WARDE, 1997). By tracking consumers, market segmentation acts as a "vast panoptic system of observation and social control" (BROWNLIE *et al*, 1999, p. 8). Methods of marketing surveillance have intensified dramatically since the widespread introduction of digital technologies. Digital advertising is a prime example. Much of it is unbranded, like classified advertising, and based on algorithms that aim to engender relevance to the consumer (McSTAY, 2010). It is therefore "hidden" from view, unlike more creative forms of display advertising that featured heavily as exemplars of visual representation in earlier Cultural Studies work. Dataveillance produced through advertising algorithms invoke Foucauldian views of discipline, McStay (2010) argues, involving surveillance, individuation and behavioural correction, creating docile bodies that are more powerful yet easier to direct and subjugate, because they are more calculable and thus "easier to know."

Relationship management paradigm

Also connected with surveillance techniques is relationship management, a parallel paradigm in public relations and marketing. As an orthodoxy, the relationship paradigm has defined the formalisation of PR and marketing professions, particularly in *mature* markets. Here, PR and marketing have been compelled not only to promote products, services, people or ideas to stakeholders as counterparts in an exchange, but to "engage" with stakeholders as long-term partners – even a "spouse" (GUMMESON, 2002), in the hope that resulting long-term relationships will secure profits and recognisable gains. The "relationship management" orthodoxy is further driven by the imperative to create value during the consumption of goods or services. In service-oriented firms, value creation is mutually created with the customer through long-term relationships (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). The customer becomes the core of the organisation's strategic process. Any occupation able to govern this "ultimate organisational imperative" (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008) gains a strategic role within the firm through expertise on key stakeholder relations. For this reason, relationship marketing and relationship management have become important joint sources of power through which PR and marketing simultaneously "legitimise" their managerial expertise (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2007).

The "relationship" paradigm has contributed to ever-more "complex methods of observation" (FOUCAULT, 1989 [1963]), a form of "gaze" over individuals and organisations. In marketing, the relationship paradigm has been coupled with technologies such as Customer Relationship Management systems. Similar forms of "gaze" are apparent in PR practice, where a plethora of indices and surveys are conducted by national and global PR consultancies in an effort to measure trust, goodwill and mutual understanding among key stakeholder groups (BOURNE, 2013).

Managerial discourses in advertising, marketing and PR are replete with issues – the promotional fields are accused, for example, of an over-reliance on bad science, "made-up" metrics and counterproductive scientism (BROWNLIE *et al*, 1999; TUROW, 2011). Furthermore, managerial discourses are often gendered discourses, reproducing technical expertise as a central defining feature of the senior male professional's role, while relegating more routine tasks and much of the emotional labour to junior, often female, personnel (CHALMERS, 2001). Ultimately, while managerial discourses may articulate promotional activity on behalf of large, complex organisations, they do not adequately express the nature of wide-ranging promotional activity undertaken on behalf of small, ephemeral or non-corporate entities such as activist groups or one-man bands (McKIE and MUNSHI, 2007).

Globalising

The final legitimation strategy reviewed here is globalising, for which there is an ever-increasing reliance on advertising, marketing and PR to develop, spread and sustain new markets for products and services (FAULCONBRIDGE *et al*, 2011). The need to globalise markets as a means of assuaging corporate anxiety has changed the shape of the promotional industries. All three have experienced convergence, with an increasing number of national consultancies now acquired by large, global groups with phenomenal reach. Global communication firms have real clout with client organisations because they are in a position to employ *all* of the preceding legitimation strategies, formal or informal, on a global dimension, thus achieving efficiencies of scale.

Global consultancies can also act quickly, offering campaigns and other services that mimic "just-in-time" manufacturing processes. A new advertising campaign can, for example, be tailored not just to specific consumers, but also to their "reactions and interpretations of recent global- or country- or region-specific events" (FAULCONBRIDGE *et al*, 2011, p. 13), with campaigns appearing almost immediately after key political and sporting mega-events, attempting to reflect consumer responses to them.

Predictably, the globalising of promotional activity has been heavily censured by critical scholars across advertising, marketing and PR (LEISS *et al*, 2005; McKIE and MUNSHI, 2007; WITKOWSKI, 2008), particularly since the promotional fields have provided strategies and tactics for spreading a dominant world culture via an "influx of ideas, values, products, and lifestyles from the rich countries," ultimately debasing developing countries' cultures (WITKOWSKI, 2008, p. 220). Meanwhile, the success of global communication firms in exporting the "ideas, images, products, services and brands" of multinational organisations (ELLIS *et al*, 2011, p. 221) only intensifies critiques of global advertising, marketing and PR as forms of cultural imperialism.

Struggles within and between the fields

The struggles within and between advertising, marketing and PR can be further seen within the context of broader professional struggles. Advertising has, for example, found it necessary to converge with or protect itself from specialisms such as media buying, web design and social media campaigning. The past 25 years have seen the rise of media buying agencies, together with an array of satellite companies providing technology and data (TUROW, 2011). Whereas media buying was once a "backwater" of advertising, its hegemony over digital technologies has now closed this field of knowledge to those in the upper reaches of advertising who lack the technical knowledge to grasp the nature of this specialism (TUROW, 2011). Digital media has also increased blurred lines between advertising and marketing, with websites providing an excellent example of convergence since they act as both web advertising as well as a "virtual shop window" for marketing activity (McSTAY, 2010, p. 116).

Whereas PR has "divorced" its professional project from fields such as journalism or

advertising (McKIE and MUNSHI, 2007, citing TOLEDANO, 2005), PR has also struggled with colonisation by the marketing discipline, which increasingly includes activities traditionally ascribed to PR such as fostering and maintaining goodwill among relevant stakeholders (CHRISTENSEN *et al*, 2008). Jurisdictional threats to PR also come from human resources, in-house legal counsel, investor relations and risk management professionals, all of whom are concerned with issues of management and reputation management. More recently, the PR profession has itself pointed to management consultancy and professional services as the disciplines that are now in the best position to "eat PR's lunch" (PRCA, 2012). As with advertising's relationship with media buying, PR also struggles to maintain its professional identity against its own "hybrids." Corporate communications has, for example, established itself as a managerial vision that promises to establish and maintain a unified organisational identity by regulating and controlling *all* communicative activity, encapsulating not just PR, but advertising and marketing, as well as human resources (CHRISTENSEN *et al*, 2008).

Of the three fields, advertising and PR may encounter greater jurisdictional threats, while marketing is by far the greatest aggressor. Indeed, marketing discourses frequently explicate marketing as warfare through notions of "competition," "conquest" and the importance of "capturing market share" (LIEN, 1997). Marketing's assertive approach has not only achieved greater success in *deepening* the field's expertise through scientific and managerial discourses, but has also increased its status and influence by *broadening* its relevance and reach (WILLMOTT, 1999). Whereas marketing initially evolved as a professional jurisdiction by "divorcing" itself from sales (CHALMERS, 2001; WILLMOTT, 1999), it has since gone on to contest other fields – not just advertising and PR

– by reconstructing and stretching established definitions of marketing. The marketing concept has been universalised, extending from consumer markets to wholesale markets, as well as the public and not-for-profit sectors (HACKLEY, 2009). While within organisations, marketing's "exceptionalism" has thwarted the jurisdictional roles of accountants, engineers, HR managers and project managers (WILLMOTT, 1999).

Marketing's efforts to "universalise" its expertise has meant that, particularly in service organisations, "everyone is a marketer now," with front-line employees considered as part-time marketers, albeit with ill-defined marketing roles (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008). On the one hand, the concept of part-time marketer is "ingenious" according to Skålén et al. (2008), who argue that it resolves potential conflict between marketing and operational functions by rearticulating marketing as a "cross-functional dimension" rather than as a threat to, or replacement of, other functions (SKÅLÉN *et al*, 2008, p. 134). By contrast, Brownlie *et al* (1999, p.186) describe this universalising effect of marketing as a "bridge too far." The broader marketing becomes, they argue, the further it thrusts itself into domains "for which it is ill equipped," and the less exclusive its expertise are – a view which sounds a warning for other fields, including public relations.

Conclusion

This article has presented a sample of arguments from Critical Advertising and Critical Marketing scholarship, through which the public relations discipline might contextualise its own emerging critical perspectives. It is useful, for example, to explore PR's professional project, not in isolation, but as part of a wide range of entrepreneurial professional projects constantly struggling to make themselves relevant to decision-makers. This helps to illuminate some of the questions occupying the time of PR scholars, such as the continuously evolving nature of PR definitions and expertise. An exploration of other bodies of critical literature further suggests that the ebbs and flows constantly erode and reshape

PR's jurisdiction and professional identity, which are by no means unique to the field.

Exploring the critical perspectives generated in other disciplines is also a reminder that PR scholarship must simultaneously embrace theory, including critical theory, while remaining suspicious of it (MACLARAN and STEVENS, 2008). Theory cannot only broaden PR's development, it can skew perspectives, encouraging the sort of insularity that defined certain corners of PR scholarship in the past. Exploring Critical Advertising and Critical Marketing is also a reminder to PR scholars that PR cannot solve *all* the problems of organisations or societies, since contemporary organisations and cultures are diverse and dissimilar. Further bodies of critical work also serve as a cue to PR scholars to safeguard against using critical perspectives to "suppress, silence and devalue other theoretical voices" (MACLARAN and STEVENS, 2008, p. 347). Instead, following Maclaran and Stevens, PR scholars may engage with and theorise the *human* side of PR, while asking "who is marginalised in our field?" and "who does PR dominate or silence?"

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ARTICLE

Torches of Freedom: Women, cigarettes and consumption

Torches of Freedom: mulheres, cigarros e consumo

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Abstract *This article analyzes the relationship between cigarette consumption and ideals of female emancipation expressed in advertising throughout the 20th century. The discussion has as a starting point the march known as Torches of Freedom in 1929 and the analysis of some advertising campaigns in both the United States and Brazil. Based on the theoretical framework of the anthropology of consumption, aspects of the cultural context are discussed that formatted the possibility for the meaning of women smoking to be transformed into representations of freedom. From being a male product, considered immoral for women to use, cigarettes become a symbol of the modern woman. The conclusions of this article indicate the complexity of the relationship between feminism and consumption throughout history.*

Keywords: *Cigarette; consumption; feminism; advertising*

Resumo *Este artigo analisa a relação entre consumo de cigarro e ideais de emancipação feminina expressas na publicidade ao longo do XX. A partir da marcha conhecida como* torches of freedom, *em 1929, e da análise de algumas campanhas publicitárias tanto nos Estados Unidos quanto no Brasil, são discutidos, com base no referencial teórico da antropologia do consumo, aspectos do*

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contexto cultural no qual se formataram as condições de possibilidade para que os sentidos do tabagismo feminino fossem transformados em representações da liberdade. De produto masculino, considerado imoral para as mulheres, o cigarro se transforma em símbolo da mulher moderna. As conclusões deste artigo indicam a complexidade das relações entre feminismo e consumo ao longo da história.

Palavras-chave: *Cigarro; consumo; feminismo; publicidade*

Introduction

In 1929, a group of women take over the streets during the Easter Sunday Parade in New York. [4] A little less than a decade after the approval of the Ninth Constitutional Amendment, which gave women full voting rights across the United States, young women march for freedom. Instead of placards, they take cigarettes. The act was a political challenge as well as a break in customs of the time: smoking was an exclusively male habit. The press coverage completed the symbolism evoked by cigarettes in women's hands: a product made of tobacco rolled up in paper, they became "torches of freedom" in the headlines of the day.

The cigarettes were Lucky Strike. The march was orchestrated by Edward Bernays, the father of public relations, in line with feminist concerns. Freud's nephew Bernays, an Austrian who had settled in the United States, was working for the company American Tobacco, which was seeking to expand the habit of smoking to a public so far unexplored – women (AMOS & HAGLUND, 2000; BRANDT 1996). The movement was therefore articulating female freedom with a market opening.

Despite having collaborated with the debate around smoking and its relationship with new gender roles, Bernays did not invent it. The 1920s in the United States and many other countries was marked by struggles of the first feminist wave and the expansion of consumption – two phenomena that dialogued in the creation of imagery about modern women and their emancipating relationship with the world of goods, such as great department stores (ROCHA *et al.*, 2015), the bicycle (MELO & SCHETINO, 2009), the car and the cigarette itself.

The movement for occupying spaces then restricted to men gave women smoking, at that period, an aura of revolution. The image of the emancipated woman, who could vote and was beginning to enter the labor market, was used several times by advertising and the cultural industry of the period (COTT, 1998). When it came to cigarettes, adverts directed to women were proliferating and female characters were

[4] Traditional festive parade held on Easter Sunday on Fifth Avenue, in New York.

glamorizing smoking on the movie screens. These new representations were part of a historical moment in which female roles were being discussed and redefined in public sphere.

It will be shown, through a brief history of the links between smoking and gender relations, how cigarettes were no longer a practice restricted to men in the 19th century and becomes a symbol of women's freedom in the first decades of the 20th century. Based on the literature of gender studies and the anthropology of consumption, this work contextualizes historical conditions that made it possible for women smoking to be transformed into a sign of freedom.

The reflection focuses on three movements that characterize the change of an exclusively male product for something that, by signifying freedom, reaches the large female market, previously excluded from consumption. The first movement is the episode that became known as torches of freedom, which happened in a historical context in the United States, Canada, and Europe marked by, on the one hand, feminist struggles and, on the other, the expansion of the consumer society. The second deals with the advertising narrative of cigarettes that, since the 1920s, started using the image of women as a way to turn them into a target public. Finally, two Brazilian campaigns of the company Souza Cruz are studied. They reveal some clues about how the relationship between cigarette consumption and the emergence of new female roles occurred in Brazil, where redefinition initiatives for women smoking in advertising happened a little later, at end of the first half of the 20th century.

It is important to mention that consumption phenomenon is seen as a privileged way to observe and describe a particular social imagery. As a practice built within the culture, consumption plays a central role in structuring values and constituting the identity of individuals and social groups, as well as the relationships between them. Consumer goods are neutral in themselves; the meanings they carry are assigned within a historical and cultural context (DOUGLAS & ISHERWOOD, 2013; ROCHA, 2010, 2012). This perspective permeates the reflections of this work, which seeks to contribute to a broader understanding of the complex historical relations that associate feminist movements and consumption representations and practices.

Women and cigarettes in the 19th century

In the 19th century smoking was considered a male habit. Smoking the first cigarette was, for a long time, a kind of rite of passage that turned boys into men. Associated with rational thought and an alert mind, cigarettes accompanied everyday male life, having an indispensable presence in conversations about politics and economics, in cafes, entertainment clubs, and when reading newspapers. It was a practice of sociability between men from different classes and cultural backgrounds around a common reference of masculinity (APPERSON, 1919; RUDY, 2005).

According to the etiquette of the period, respectable women would not smoke. For the Victorian morality that marked the 19th century in Europe and the Americas, women should represent purity and have good manners. In this way, the possibility of women desiring cigarettes was not even considered, since it was a habit distant from their angelic characteristics. In Canada, the habit of smoking used to refer to native people, considered wild. In 1904, the historian Edmond Roy rebutted the criticism of an American traveler who had written, more than a century before, that women from Quebec did not stop smoking. Roy said the traveler had confused Canadians with the descendants of indigenous people. For him, the native were smoking pipes just because they were primitive (RUDY, 2005). Women smoking was seen as uncivilized behavior, incompatible with the bourgeois modernity on the rise.

The cigarette in their mouths and hands meant the risk of moral failure, addiction and bohemia. It was far less problematic for men, because the danger was kept in check by the inherent male ability of self-control and rationality. Whereas women, if they smoked, would likely become addicted since they were seen as weak and emotional. In Western culture, women were indeed defined, at different historical moments, as *emotional* beings. Both feelings and the female sex are considered by common sense and part of scientific thought as *natural* entities, and therefore, chaotic, irrational and potentially dangerous. Women would represent risks to the social order because they are less rational than men (FREIRE FILHO, 2013, 2014). Thus, female smoking was related to a lack of morals and doubtful sexual behavior, associated with pornography and prostitution (AMOS & HAGLUND, 2000).

In this moral sense, women even had an important role in the anti-cigarette movement. The Chicago Anti-Cigarette League was founded in 1899 by a woman. The National Council of Women, in the United States, called for laws to ban the sale of cigarettes to women. In 1908, a woman was even arrested in New York for having a cigarette in public. Groups like the International Anti-Cigarette League pressured film producers not to show women smoking in movies, unless the characters had a "questionable character" (BRANDT, 1996).

In addition, the time for smoking was separating men and women, promoting an organization of space that reflected produced social roles for each gender: After dinner, as women were in the kitchen preparing the dessert, men were smoking in their offices. Women should not only abstain from smoking; they should not even be in the same places that men were smoking. In public spaces, a man who gives up his right to smoke because of the presence of a woman was a gentleman (RUDY, 2005). In the famous movie Titanic[5] (USA, 1997), directed by James Cameron, a passage perfectly illustrates what is this. After a dinner in the first class area, the men get up to smoke and discuss politics and business in another room, away from the presence of women. Only Jack Dawson (Leonardo DiCaprio), a lower-class man who had been invited to dinner in return for having "saved" the young aristocrat Rose DeWitt Bukater (Kate Winslet), is excluded and stays for a while with the women. With this, he has the opportunity to discreetly invite Rose for a party in third class (steerage). She accepts it, and among lower-class women she feels free to smoke a cigarette.

[5] The plot takes place in 1912.

As the scene shows, smoking a cigarette was a symbol that established the boundaries of behavior and social roles. According to Douglas and Isherwood (2013), consumer goods are mediators of social experience. They communicate values and provide stability and visibility for social hierarchies. The cigarette, as a consumer good invested by a symbolic dimension, was marking the line between men and women, delimiting their position in space and reinforcing subjectivity models. Despite being restricted to males, its meanings were shared throughout society.

When appropriated by women, cigarette consumption starts communicating new values and constituting an element that provides and communicates a new form of occupation of public space by women. Next, the conditions of possibility that enabled the transformation in the meanings surrounding cigarette consumption by women is explored.

The 1920s and the modern woman

To understand how cigarettes become a symbol of female emancipation, it is necessary to situate the cultural context of the first decades of the 20th century, which is strongly marked by feminist struggles. The first wave of the movement, dating from the late 19th century and early 20th century, had begun in England and spread to several countries, characterized by the struggle for civil rights. Its main claim was the right to vote, which made feminists of that time to be known as suffragettes (RAGO, 1995).

Access to the labor market and their own money were also relevant issues to feminism of that time. This was a particular agenda of bourgeois feminists, since historically poor women always worked. For wealthier women, work would be a form of participation in the public sphere, putting an end to confinement in the home (SARTI, 1997) and bringing financial independence (WOOLF, 1985).

In fact, the expansion of the so-called *consumer society* in the early 20th century was an important element among the conditions for the emergence of new female subjectivities. One of the main differences that marked the social experience of men and women was the separation of public and private spheres based on gender. The domestic space and its tasks were reserved to women, while men could participate in business and politics, social gatherings and had free transit through the streets and their attractions. Women could only attend church and its activities – masses, processions and charity events – and friends' households. In other spaces, when transiting unaccompanied, they were viewed with suspicion by society. The "public woman" was, par excellence, the prostitute (PERROT, 1998).

In this context, Rocha *et al.* (2014) analyze the relationship between the emergence of department stores in the second half of the 19th century, as the primary format for modern consumption, and female emancipation processes in the early 20th century. They represented safe spaces for women to transit alone or with friends and relatives of the same sex, reproducing, on a larger scale, the domestic environment. These spaces put the female consumer at the center of her own activities, since the shops and products were thought to be for them. In addition, department stores represented job opportunities, forming a new class of sellers that had more financial independence, access to consumer goods and forms of bourgeois fun, and opportunities to achieve higher positions in the retail market. The department stores also served as a meeting point for feminist militants, providing space for meetings of the movement and support with thematic shop windows and investments in publicity favorable to women's suffrage.

In addition to the feminist struggles, the early 20th century is marked by an emphasis on the growth of the media, particularly in the United States. The products of this cultural industry promoted an American lifestyle centered on modernity and consumption. The idea of progress was related to the increase in purchasing in volume. The advertising industry was growing and becoming more complex with the beginning of market surveys (AUCAR, 2016).

Such media discourse disseminated the emergence of a "new woman," born, grown and strengthened by previous struggles of political, economic and sexual emancipation. This model of the modern

American woman challenged both the old patriarchal lifestyle and the new collectivist lifestyle. It had less to do with a political banner, in the traditional sense, than with its representation in fashion and film, and especially in advertising.

> Advertisements exhaustively explored the topic of buying as a choice and control field in which women could exercise their rationality and express their values. . . .A domestic product advert published in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1930 proclaimed "Today's woman gets everything she wants. The vote. Fine silk linings to replace bulky petticoats. Glass objects in blue sapphire or bright amber. The right to a career. Soap to match the colors of their bathroom (COTT, 1998, p. 110).

Advertising disseminates new feminine models by stimulating consumption. In the advertisements, attractive young ladies handle products that become symbols of the American way of life, such as Coca-Cola and cars. Numerous publications of the 1920s mentioned the statistic that 80% of consumer purchases were made by women; however, more than a display of products directed to them, advertising conveys representations of women (COTT, 1998).

Thus, consumption consolidates itself as a central aspect of social life, a phenomenon that organizes the modern experience. Within the transformation of women's roles, struggles for emancipation do not develop only in the strict political sense, but also occur in the space of consumption. In this context, the cigarette becomes part of women's lives in a position close to rebellion against outdated customs and struggle for freedom.

Torches of freedom: from the streets to adverts

In the early 20th century, research showed that cigarette consumption among women grew dramatically in the United States. As a response to the movement of feminist struggles, smoking became a way of challenging social conventions. In the American magazine *Atlantic Monthly* (*apud* BRANDT, 1996, p. 63) published in 1916: "For woman, it [the cigarette] is a symbol of emancipation, a temporary replacement of the ballot."[6] The vote would only be allowed in the country four years later.

If, for men, cigarette evoked images of power, authority and intelligence, for women, it started representing glamor, rebellion and entry into a new era of modernity and independence. As stated by Brandt (1996, p. 64), the cigarette had contradictory meanings: "While smoking symbolized rebel against social conventions, at the same time, it represented conformity with the principles of the growing culture of consumption." The point is that the second contradiction was not part of the consciousness of that time.

A bill proposing to ban cigarette consumption by women in the District of Columbia caused a heated debate and powered support for smoking in women emancipation movements. The newspapers of that time reported the demands of women for spaces to smoke in the places they used attend.[7] The Globe Theatre in New York, for example, created a lounge for women to smoke in 1922 (BRANDT, 1996). Even with these advances, it was still unacceptable for men and women to smoke in the same space.

In this circumstance the cigarette industry, like any attentive industry, realizes the unexplored female public could give rise to a large consumer market. For this, the act of smoking should be emphasized not only as respectable, but as desirable, modern and feminine. Product advertising, which until then was directed to men, begins to target women. Lucky Strike's campaign in 1925 was based on the slogan "Reach for Lucky instead of a sweet," interacting not only with the new meanings around smoking, but also with an ideal of beauty centered on a slim body (AMOS & HAGLUND, 2000; BRANDT, 1996).

Lucky Strike cigarettes, four years later, would be in the hands of young women in the march that became known as "torches of freedom," earlier described in this article. Despite appearing as a spontaneous

[6] This and other translations of quotations in foreign languages are ours.

[7] The New York Times published in 1922: "There is a growing demand for smoking compartments for women. The female travelers wants a place to relax and smoke as much as the male public" (New York Times. July 22, 1922:III2 apud BRANDT, p. 64).

demonstration, the march was architected by Edward Bernays, considered the father of public relations. Hired by American Tobacco and responsible for Lucky Strike's advertising, Bernays intended to break a taboo that still hindered the consumption of cigarettes by women: smoking on the streets. For this, he hired debutantes – attractive young women – to parade in the Easter Parade with Lucky Strike cigarettes in their hands. With the repercussions in the press, various manifestations of women smoking on the streets were observed in several American cities (BRANDT, 1996).

Consumption markedly appears in this episode in ritual function: The object (in this case, cigarettes) was taken out of its usual context and placed in an alternative situation. The purpose of rituals is to pass on a clear meaning in relation to social life, fixing them in the imagination, a task that is strengthened by the presence of material goods (DOUGLAS & ISHERWOOD, 2013; ROCHA, 2010). Cigarettes in women's hands on the street becomes a ritualized torch of freedom, a passport for the emancipation of the modern woman and feminist heiress, who were increasingly active participants in the consumer culture.

Bernays's march fits with what Boorstin (1992) calls a *pseudo-event*: an event held for the sole purpose of being broadcast by the media. It is what, in some contemporary contexts, is call factoid; something created to attract public opinion's attention. It does not mean the event is false: it ritualizes aspects of everyday reality, turning them into a show to be broadcast by mass media. Thinking of the march of cigarettes through a vision of communication as mind manipulation would disregard the historical-cultural process that led to clashes around the significances of women smoking. The desire for freedom and transformation of women's social role as well as the symbolic disputes around cigarettes were shared by society. In fact, the torches of freedom event is more complex than what is called "marketing action" today. It is a fitting of affinities between markets to be conquered and libertarian ideologies wishing to be carried out. An arrangement or articulation between two poles that eventually converged in that context, although dissonant in many others.

At the same time, it is not possible to neglect the role of advertising in the spread of female smoking and its potential to redefine, from communicational actions like this, symbolic production of cigarette and its relation with women. From the 1930s, cigarette advertising heavily exploited the association between smoking and women's emancipation. These adverts functioned as a broad discursive space, where, more than cigarettes, new femininity representations were sold to an audience even broader than the consumers of the product. As stated by Rocha (2010, p. 32),

> In each advert, lifestyles, feelings, emotions, world perspectives, human relations, classification and hierarchical systems are sold in significantly higher quantities than refrigerators, clothes or cigarettes. A product is sold for those who can buy it, an announcement is distributed without distinction.

Several advertising campaigns of that period put women as target: cigarettes become advertised as a product for them. Women in the adverts begin to appear not only as sexy appeals to strengthen the aura of power around the man who smokes, but as consumers of the product, representing a revolution in customs and gender roles from these new buying habits. One of the most significant campaigns of this context was of the cigarette company Chesterfield in 1930, which draws a parallel between the right to vote and to smoke, highlighting the opening of a new possibility of pleasure for women (Figure 1).

> I really do not know if I should smoke . . . but my brothers and my dear one smoke, and it gives them great pleasure. Women started smoking, so they say, while they began to vote, but this is not the only reason why they should do it. I think I just like smoking – that is it. And I smoke Chesterfield. They seem to be lighter and have a very nice flavor.

Figure 1. Advert by Chesterfield (1930) cigarettes, one of the campaigns that had women as their main target, drawing a parallel between smoking and women's emancipation.[8]

Advertising can be understood as the narrative that gives meaning to consumption. It baptizes products and services, making them known and close, positioning them in relation to purposes, symbols and values. Thus, adverts play the role of teaching to new women consumers that they can (and should) smoke. Already far from the idea of immorality, the cigarette begins to represent a passport to the modern world first-post feminist wave.

[8] Available in: http://hypescience.com/10-inacreditaveis-anuncios-propagandas-cigarros/. Access on: 30/11/2015.

In the 1960s, during the second feminist wave, another impactful cigarette campaign made analogies between smoking and the movement's achievements. Philip Morris Companies (now the Altria Group) launched in 1968 the brand Virginia Slims, positioned in the market as a product for women (TOLL & LING, 2005). With the slogan "You've come a long way," its adverts recognized past feminist struggles and invited women to enjoy emancipation by smoking Virginia Slims cigarettes. Black and white photos portrayed women, who would have been pioneered, smoking while this habit was still socially disapproved of. They paved the way for women's freedom that could now choose what to consume, appearing in color in the foreground, as can be seen in the advert below (Figure 2):

> 1) Mrs. Violet Anderson says she smoked her first cigarette on May 19, 1910. . . in her grandfather's attic. 2) Cynthia Irene Bell smoked her first cigarette behind an old barn on January 4, 1912. 3) Myrna F. Phillips confesses she smoked on March 4 or 5, 1911, in the field where only a squirrel and a bird could see her. You've come a long way. Now there is a new light filter cigarette that is all yours.

This campaign points out a particular social arrangement that allows female subjectivity to incorporate representations of a libertarian modernity expressed by the advertising narrative itself. It shows the cigarette as a magic element capable of resolving social contradictions around gender roles, leading women to experience emancipation from a practice of consumption.

> When we see a product magically working is because it works, previously, *inside* the advert. . . . Let us look at the model: a social situation is created, the product has to be in it and, by definition, will solve it. The image of life (the advert's story) includes a problem (lack, deficiency, need), and the economy of abundance occurs (the product is simply there), solving the problem (end of advert) (ROCHA, 2012, p. 183).

Figure 2. Advertising piece of the cigarette brand Virginia Slims from 1968. With the slogan "You've come a long way," the adverts recognized past feminist struggles and portrayed the new emancipated woman.[9]

By consuming cigarettes "in" the advert, a woman could become emancipated. As stated by Rocha (2001, p. 25), advertising narratives are not false or true, their regimes are the magic: "Advertising contrasts with our rational creed, because the objects in it want and can turn into affections, sensations, emotions." The advert sews another idealized reality: It transcends rational thought that structures modern society and produces a narrative that, analogous to the myths of tribal societies, can magically solve the contradictions presented, resulting in the idealized project. In

9 Available in Prasad *et al.* (2014).

the world expressed by advertising, the cigarette is transmuted into a torch of freedom.

Repercussions in Brazil

In the Brazilian experience, the torches of freedom do not seem to have had great repercussion nor had the relationship between cigarette consumption and the first feminist wave had greater weight in the country. The right to vote was gained in Brazil only in 1932, and feminism at the time was divided into two main aspect. One was formed by liberal feminists, women from the coffee elites, who especially questioned the difficult access of women to education and work in a country that was going through a process of modernization and urbanization. The other aspect was formed by feminist workers who fought with anarchist movements against exploitation in factories and sexist oppression by employers, besides rejecting moral standards that legitimized the wedding imposition and submission of women in domestic space (RAGO, 1995).

However, two advertising campaigns held at the end of the first half of the 20th century in Brazil reveal this relationship between women and cigarettes and deserve to be highlighted. The brand Continental, owned by the company Souza Cruz, launched a set of adverts in 1949 focused on changes that were being experienced by society, produced by new technologies and the revolution in customs. The idea of the campaign was that the world might be changing, but the preference for Continental cigarettes remained. Four of the six pieces published during that year, in the *Jornal das Moças* (*Young Women's Newspaper*), portrayed the woman as a symbol of modernity.

The first piece shows an out-of-fashion couple perplexed by a woman in a two-piece bathing suit, a bold clothing innovation of the time (Figure 3). The following three adverts focus on advances in technology and material culture. The artifacts – respectively, the typewriter (Figure 4), the radio (Figure 5) and the electric lampshade (Figure 6) – are operated by women who smoke cigarettes. In the background, flustered men act in an old-fashioned way because they write by hand, they are tied to old crystal radios, are unable to use modern receivers and try to switch on old and outdated lamps. The text of the typewriter, for example, states that "Yes – today women take the place of men and business mechanize... but the popularity of Continental cigarettes remains the same."

Figure 3. Adverts of the cigarettes brand Continental (1949) showed woman as a symbol of modern advances. For example, the two-piece bathing suit.[10]

10 *Jornal das Moças*, 1949, No. 1774. Available in: http://bndigital.bn.br/hemeroteca-digital/. Access: 30/11/2015.

Figure 4. In another advert of the 1949 campaign, the cigarettes brand Continental represented a modern woman who was taking the place of man in business, in a world of increasingly mechanized work.[11]

11 *Jornal das Moças*, 1949, 1778. Available in: http://bndigital.bn.br/hemeroteca-digital/. Access: 30/11/2015.

Figure 5. Technological innovations, cigarette and female independence appear related in another advert of the cigarettes brand Continental (1949).[12]

12 *Jornal das Moças*, 1949, 1786. Available in: http://bndigital.bn.br/hemeroteca-digital/. Access: 30/11/2015.

Figure 6. The last advert of the 1949 campaign of Continental analyzed in this article contrasts the emancipated woman smoker operating a modern lampshade and a man trying to switch on an outdated lamp.[13]

Just over twenty years later in Rio de Janeiro, in 1971, Souza Cruz launched an exclusive brand of cigarettes for the female public, as well as the American Virginia Slims: Charm cigarettes. After extensive market research, thirty famous women (among them, Leila Diniz, Elke Maravilha and Danuza Leão) were chosen to feature in the launch

13 *Jornal das Moças*, 1949, No. 1797. Available in: http://bndigital.bn.br/hemeroteca-digital/. access: 30/11/2015.

campaign, representing, in the view of consumers, the emancipated side of women (MAZETTI, 2014).

The photos of celebrities with cigarettes between the fingers had phrases like "We already have our cigarette," "Do not let any man smoke," "Say enough to man's cigarette." Heavily influenced by the second feminist wave, the advert's text stated: "Charm came at the time when women are struggling to become more independent. Now every time you want to show you are more feminine and have your own personality, light a Charm" (*Manchete*, 05/02/1972, p. 133, *apud* MAZETTI, 2014, p. 158). Therefore, seeking synchrony with both the foreign cultural context and the feminist struggles that flourished in the country, the Brazilian advertising invested, in these two moments, in the subjectivity of emancipated women, potential consumers of several products and services, obviously including cigarettes. These two campaigns show that in Brazil, as well, the cigarette and the consumption of other multiple goods by women was strongly associated with ideals of freedom and modernity.

Final considerations

In this study, it was possible to observe that consumption was one of the fields of dispute between traditional values surrounding gender roles and the configuration of a female identity, marked by a context of feminist struggles and the expansion of mass society throughout the 20th century. The cigarette, which in the 19th century was restricted to men and a symbol of masculinity, was redefined throughout the 20th century, becoming an icon of female emancipation – if not in the concrete plans of practices, certainly in the magical plans of advertising narratives.

It is important to emphasize that it was not affirmed here that these narratives orchestrated the transformation of women's role throughout the century. An evident criticism to this idea is that advertising did no more than capture feminist discourse in vogue at the time and, emptying its collective dimension, emphasized the issue of women's individual freedom to challenge submission through consumption. But, it is not so simple or reductionist, because, on the other hand, discourse analysis on cigarettes over the past century reveals the precise articulation between advertising narratives and social and historical contexts that it both reflects and produces. Feminism and the movements of transformation of woman's social roles inspired – and even demanded – a change in the representations disseminated in the adverts. At the same time, advertising discourse was also part of the process of creating female subjects and conformed to the demands of the consumer society.

Cigarettes, as well as other goods, had their materiality taken through diverse meanings throughout their history. Currently cigarettes' meaning have been reconfigured. Advertising them is banned and they are continuously associated in media discourse with the harm they cause to health. This only reinforces how meanings of consumer goods are changeable and clearly attributed to historical and social contexts in which they are embedded.

In the case studied here, and based on the analogy by Douglas and Isherwood (2013), cigarettes were no longer a fence that separated, spatially and culturally, men and women, becoming, instead, a bridge that led women to freedom, in the logic of advertising narratives. In reality, the contradictions are multiple and gender inequalities are supported by historical, cultural and economic situations that permeated the 20^{th} century and still continue today. Although, it is possible to state that the relationship between feminism and consumption is much more complex than what a simple binary reduction between adherence or rejection could assume.

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ARTICLE

The discursive construction of class taste in soap opera: enunciation and mediatization of semiprecious jewelry consumption in *Império*[1]

A construção discursiva do gosto de classe na telenovela: enunciação e midiatização do consumo de semijoias em *Império*

Maria Cristina Palma Mungioli[2]
Rosana Mauro[3]

Abstract *Based on the concept of mediatization (COULDRY; HEPP, 2013), this article discusses aspects of the production of meaning of class taste through discourse analysis of the soap opera* Império (Empire) *(Globo, 2014). The study, based on the enunciation of a "class ring," shows an opposition between luxury taste and popular taste as a class difference, and the production of meaning of consumption of tangible and intangible products by popular classes. The discussion was based on studies by Bakhtin and Volochinov (2002), Bourdieu (1983, 2008), Fiorin (1997, 2005), Maingueneau (2008), Landowski (1997) and Lipovetsky (2009).*

Key words: *Soap opera; taste; social class; mediatization; consumption*

Resumo *Com base no conceito de midiatização (COULDRY e HEPP, 2013), o artigo discute aspectos da produção de sentido do gosto de classe por meio da análise do discurso da telenovela* Império *(Globo, 2014-2015). O estudo baseado na enunciação sobre um "anel de formatura" mostra ao mesmo tempo a oposição*

[1] Soap opera written by Aguinaldo Silvia, directed by Rogério Gomes and shown on Rede Globo at 9:00 pm, from July 21, 2014 to March 13, 2015.

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entre gosto de luxo e gosto popular como diferença de classe e a produção de sentido de consumo de produtos tangíveis e intangíveis pelas classes populares. A discussão foi baseada em estudos de Bakhtin e Voloshinov (2002), Bourdieu (1983, 2008), Fiorin (1997, 2005, 2008), Maingueneau (2008) e Landowski (1997) e Lipovetsky (2009).

Palavras-chave: *Telenovela; gosto; classe social; midiatização; consumo*

Introduction

This article is a brief analysis inserted in the list of studies on soap opera and consumption developed in Brazil that have been characterized by the interdisciplinary approach of comprehensive issues related to material and symbolic consumption of/in TV fictions. An aspect which already has been thoroughly research, addressing the study of fictional television language and its representations to the material and symbolic ramifications integrated into practices, uses (CERTEAU, 2007) and reception, going through issues that intertwine and become complex in communication (HALL, 2003).

In this article, we discuss some aspects of the production of meaning of class taste by studying the discourses of a scene from the soap opera *Império* (*Empire*) (Globo, 2014-2015). The concept of mediatization (COULDRY; HEPP, 2013) and taste are starting points. The study focuses on the enunciation by some characters about the "class ring" object which makes it possible to observe not only the opposition between luxury taste and popular taste as class differentiators, but also the meaning of inclusion and exclusion in the consumption of tangible and intangible goods by popular classes. In addition to the authors mentioned above, Bourdieu (1983, 2008), Fiorin (1997, 2005), Maingueneau (2008), Landowski (1997) and Lipovetsky (2009) constitute the main theoretical references for this study.

Although the focus of our analysis is the production of meanings of consumption through discourses broadcast in a soap opera and is located in what is conventionally called the production center, the importance of reception research regarding consumer studies of Brazilian soap operas should be emphasized.[4] One aspect of these works is interests the objectives of this article, since it is characterized by discussion and

[4] It was highlighted among such researches: *Vivendo com a telenovela: mediações, recepção, teleficcionalidades (Living with a soap opera: mediations, reception, television fictionality)* (LOPES; BORELLI; RESENDE, 2002), *Telenovela nas relações comunicação e consumo: diálogos Brasil e Portugal (Soap opera in communication and consumption relations: Brazil and Portugal dialogues)* (TONDATO; BACCEGA, 2013), *O tecer das emoções Femininas em Vila Pouca do Campo: A telenovela Senhora do Destino (The weaving of the female emotions in Vila Pouca do Campo: The lady of destiny soap opera)* (TRANQUILIN-SILVA, 2006)

analysis of the correlation between the practices of material and symbolic consumption as an integral part of the constitution of citizenship in contemporary society permeated by communication (CANCLINI, 2008). In this sense, along with Canclini (2008) and Baccega and Orofino (2013), consumption is understood in this article from an approach that sees "consumption practices as cultural practices." (OROFINO, 2013, p. 67). In conjunction with binomial consumption and citizenship, Tondato (2010) points out, joining Canclini's (2008) thoughts, that currently:

> Being a citizen includes exercising the right of symbolic and cultural consumption, defining material consumption. It is through symbolic consumption that the individual-subject dialogues with the society of its time, informing its interlocutors about its identity, its habits, positioning itself in the world. (TONDATO, 2010, p. 6)

More specifically, we are dedicated to understanding the meanings produced from the enunciation and discourses of characters of the soap opera *Império* from the social and symbolic uses of a consumer product: a class ring.

In this context, it is worthwhile highlighting some aspects of research that studied the relationship between soap operas and the consumption of material and symbolic goods. The book *Soap opera, consumo e gênero: muitas mais coisas (Soap operas, consumption and gender: many more things)* (ALMEIDA, 2005) is very important to the discussions outlined in this article. In the book, the author reports reception research that was held with residents of Montes Claros, Minas Gerais, for the soap opera *O Rei do Gado (King of Cattle)* (Globo, 1996-1997). Among other results, her work shows the importance of the plot for material and symbolic consumption practices of the interviewees who were based on the soap opera when purchasing and using clothing, accessories, furniture and decorative objects. According to the author, in addition to being a product showcase, the soap opera is a disseminator of lifestyle. In this sense, it is more incisive than advertising during commercial breaks since the products used in the soap opera gain more of viewers' time and attention.

Another work that deals more directly with many facets of the relationship between soap operas and the consumption of material and symbolic goods—from the perspective of the displacement of the old approaches that put consumption as a consequence only of economic rationality (CANCLINI, 2008, p. 60-66)—is the book edited by Orofino and Baccega, *Consumindo e vivendo a vida: soap opera, consumo e seus discursos (Consuming and living life: soap opera, consumption and its discourses).* The work offers a wide overview of researches that consider consumption practices, among which is the consumption of soap opera, from an approach that points

> toward the politicization and reflexivity previously refused by theories of society and culture, which, even in their critical trends, considered consumer as a subject determined by purely economic, commercial and instrumental rationality (OROFINO; BACCEGA, 2013, p. 7).

For Hamburger (1998), among other things, soap operas disseminate throughout the country the glamorous world of consumption of the urban middle classes, through the acquisition and use of the latest releases in electronics, decoration and clothing by the characters of the stories. Tondato (2011), in turn, analyzes the blog *Sonhos de Luciana* (*Luciana's Dreams*) of the character who has the same name in *Viver a Vida* (*Seize the Day*) (Globo, 2009-2010), and discusses the role of the soap opera in promoting and disseminating new styles and ways of life showing "differentiated daily practices and technological innovation, promoting desires, increasing sensitivity to new expectations of consumption" (TONDATO, 2011, p.12). In another text, Tondato (2012) analyzes the issue of social differences through the study of eating styles of families in the soap opera *Fina Estampa (Looks & Essence)* (Globo, 2011-2012).

Focusing more directly on the empirical object of this article, in the soap opera *Império* (Globo, 2014- 2015), by Aguinaldo Silva, it was found that its main narrative arc is built around a family who owns the jewelry shop *Império*. José Alfredo Medeiros, patriarch of the family, controls the company with the help of his three children and wife, with whom he maintains a marriage to keep up appearances. The family often argues due to family disputes over money and power. The family discord intensifies with the arrival of a new heiress, Cristina, who will be recognized by José Alfredo Medeiros as his daughter and heiress of his fortune. The structure of the soap opera's plot around the family jewelry allowed the semiprecious jewelry brand Rommanel[5] to merchandise their goods, as it will be dealt later.

Thus, this article seeks to investigate aspects of the taste and value meanings produced by discursive and narrative construction for the semiprecious jewelry in order to reflect on the mediatization process. For this, discourses on class taste will be analyzed based on some specific parts of the plot, focusing on the characters Maria Clara (Andrea Horta), José Alfredo de Medeiros's daughter (Alexandre Nero) and *Império*'s designer, and Cristina (Leandra Leal), José Alfredo Medeiros's illegitimate daughter, who over the course of the story takes over the company.

Mediatization

In a broad way, "mediatization is a concept used to analyze critically the interrelation between changes in media and communications on the one hand, and changes in culture and society on the other" (COULDRY; HEPP, 2013, p. 197). This concept becomes important for the given discussion, since the soap opera plays a key role in building Brazilian social imagery, including in relation to the meaning of social classes and consumption (LOPES, 2009) of tangible and intangible goods.

Referring to consumption specifically, Almeida (2003) states that the soap opera can be a showcase not only for products, but also for lifestyles associated with goods. For the author, soap operas work similarly to television advertisements, with the advantage of having more time and space to include consumption. They not only show the viewer/

[5] According to the company's website, Rommanel manufactures 18k gold-plated, Rhodium-plated and steel jewelry. The brand has stores throughout Brazil and resellers work. Available at: http://www.rommanel.com.br/. Accessed on 02/05/2015.

consumer a long story, but they familiarize “the viewer with diverse worlds, several lifestyles and conceptions that are used by advertising to promote goods and services” (ALMEIDA, 2003, p. 42). In addition to demonstrating didactically the use of certain goods, soap opera allows an identification between the product and its ideal user. However, it is worthwhile to highlight, based on Certeau (2007, p. 93), that the relationship established between the products present in soap operas and the viewers has not only an economic aspect, but it is “like the repertoire with which users carry out their own operations,” indicating that consumption implies more complex operations that reveal not only economic, but social and cultural issues. Similarly, Bourdieu (2008, p. 95) states that “the consumption of goods assumes – without a doubt, always and in different degrees according to the goods and consumers – a work of appropriation,” which “contributes to produce the product he consumes through identification and decoding.”

For Canclini (2008, p. 42), the appropriation of consumption stands out for consumer participation, since “when consuming one also thinks, chooses and reworks social meaning” – and “it is necessary to analyze how this appropriation area of goods and signs intervene in more active forms of participation than those who usually receive the label of consumption.”

Sodré (2014, p. 109) states that mediatization is a descriptive concept “of a process of qualitative changes in terms of social setting as a result of the articulation between electronic technology and human life.” The author emphasizes this concept “for supporting the hypothesis of a socio-cultural mutation centered on the current functioning of communication technologies” (SODRÉ, 2014, p. 109).

Trindade and Perez (2014) discuss mediatization in relation to media presence in the creation of habits and consumer attitudes as well as in the construction of links of meanings between the expressions of the brand/products/services and its consumers. Studies of mediatized consumption “seek to understand the ways of presence and consequences of the actions of the advertising system (via companies’ brands, products and services)" (TRINDADE; PEREZ, 2014, p. 3). Focusing more specifically on the advertising system, the authors state that the communication of brands through this system generates practices and cultural references of consumption. Thus, from a communication perspective the ritual of consumption is perceived "as a mechanism that articulates the meanings of products/brands in people's lives, so that the presence of the advertising system is constitutive in this consumer relationship" (TRINDADE; PEREZ, 2014, p 05.). Considering the soap opera as part of the advertising system, an integral part of the mediatization of consumption context, it is possible to argue that among the meanings produced by the soap opera there are those constitutively related to consumption practices, knowledge and use of consumer and cultural goods.

Class taste and values

Taste in this text is treated in a social and symbolic perspective, as considered by Bourdieu (2008) and Fiorin (1997). Taste, in the theorists' view, is not a natural property of human beings, but a faculty shaped by sociocultural context, full of meanings that are linked to the identities of social beings and the objects to which it refers.

For Bourdieu (1983), taste is formed according to the access that different social classes have to cultural capital. These distinctions form varied lifestyles, in which tastes are configured and manifested by body dispositions, behavior and consumer goods. These latter items range from the most basic, such as food and clothing, to the most complex, such as the cultural consumption of art works. But despite inequalities, Bourdieu explains that there is an ideology of natural taste dictated by the ruling class, which conceals social contexts that affect material lifestyles.

> The most fundamental social differences would be able to undoubtedly be expressed in a small symbolic device reduced to four or five elements, such as Pernod, sparkling wine, mineral water, Bordeaux, champagne, whiskey, about as completely as through expressive systems apparently

> more complex and refined that the worlds of music and painting offer to the concern of distinction. (BOURDIEU, 1983, p. 84).

For Bourdieu (2008, p. 97), "the unifying and generating principle" of such practices can be found in the "class *habitus*, as an embodied form of class condition and the constraints that it imposes." Still, according to Bourdieu (2008), the taste of popular classes would be related to a more immediate need, the body, while the upper classes would be dissociated from such urgency. When it comes to art, for example, the sociologist explains that popular taste sees aesthetics itself separated from function, clear content – different from the aesthetics of the upper classes, who have more contact with cultural capital that is considered legitimate. The tendency of the popular class is to associate art with its own life, without a distinction between form and content. "Be it at the theater or the cinema, the popular audience has fun with the oriented intrigues, from a logical and chronological point of view, for a happy end" (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 35).

Fiorin (1997), in discussion based on Bourdieu's perspective, adds a semiotic point of view to the issue. According to the author, taste is like a skill that makes the distinct indistinct, "which means that it exists for the relation, in and for the difference" (FIORIN, 1997, p. 15). In accordance with the theorist, the subject acquires a relational definition with the object, called modal existence, characterized, for example, by one wanting to be combined with the object and one not wanting to be compared to the others' taste.

Fiorin states that in its most abstract form taste is the establishment of discontinuity in continuity, difference in undifferentiation. "What was distinguished is overdetermined by euphoria, while continuous, undifferentiated is seen as dysphoric" (FIORIN, 1997, p. 15). The basic semantic category would be exclusivity versus inclusivity.

In this line of reasoning, Fiorin also points out ideological and social issues related to taste, in accord with what Bourdieu (2008) discusses about legitimate taste.

> The dominant taste becomes good taste and therefore serves as a standard for the future, becoming a must do. So if the taste in sense 1 (preference) is of the want-to-do order, the taste in sense 2 (ability to discern beauty and defects in the spirit of products) is of the must-do domain. Who does not conform to this must-do is sanctioned: it is tacky. One likes what is needed to be liked. (FIORIN, 1997, p. 22).

In other words, the production of meanings related to good and bad taste in the soap opera is translated by reflection and refraction related not only to objects in the film's enunciation, but mainly through the discourses that make them ideologically perceptible as full of value in the context of enunciation. It should be remembered, in this sense, the discussion of Bakhtin and Volochinov (2002, p. 32) on the ideological evaluation that constitutes of the sign, because "a sign does not exist only as part of a reality; it also reflects and refracts another one. It can distort this reality, be faithful to it, or understand it from a specific point of view, etc. Every sign is subject to ideological evaluation."

The words of Appadurai (2008, p. 56) must be considered, who proposes, when addressing luxury goods, that one considers "luxury goods as not exactly in contrast to the needs (a contrast full of problems) but as goods that are mainly *rhetorically* and *socially* used, goods that are simply *materialized symbols*."

In case study proposed by this article, it is still valid to remember Bourdieu's statement (2008, p. 54) in relation to esthetic dispositions,

> which tend to put the nature and function of the object represented aside, besides deleting any "naive" reaction, in other words, horror before the horrible, desire before the desirable, godly reverence before the sacred, as well as all purely ethical responses to take into account only the representation mode, style perceived and appreciated by comparison with other styles – it is a dimension of the global relationship with the world and with others, of a lifestyle, in which the effects of particular conditions of existence are expressed in an unknowable way (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 54).

Taking into account the purpose of this study, it is still important clarify that the scene of enunciation (MAINGUENEAU, 2008), considered in the *corpus*, appears as the space in which the subjects of enunciation are established through discursivization; in other words, "the creator mechanism of person, space and time of enunciation" (FIORIN, 2005, p. 43). By speaking, the individual not only establishes herself as an enunciator, but also as the space (through adverbs) and time (through the tenses) of the enunciation act. Relying on Greimas (in FIORIN, 2005, p. 42), it is possible to say that the subject in the act of enunciation "builds the world as an object while it builds itself."

Still in relation to enunciation, for Bakhtin and Volochinov (2002), the appropriation of language by the subject occurs through a semiotic understanding that is socially constituted, since every utterance builds itself directed and is conditioned by two forces that act on the individual and the social. Thus, for Bakhtin and Volochinov, "the individual enunciation cannot be dissociated from the social and historical context in which it is inserted or with dialogues in a constitutive and interpretive way" (MUNGIOLI, 2009, p. 592). It is through enunciation (i.e., discourse's concreteness) that it is possible to observe that "different social classes are served by only one and the same language. Consequently, in every ideological sign contradictory value indices are confronted. The sign becomes the arena where class struggle develops." (BAKHTIN & VOLOCHINOV, 2002, p. 46).

Landowski (1997) discusses the idea of taste not only between subject and object, but also between subject and subject. For him, there is an object and subject taste. In the latter, there is taste to please someone. The pleasure can be achieved due to the object taste of whom she wants to please, because these objects are part of the composition of the subject's identity, which ends up becoming the object of the other's taste.

Thus, there is belonging to social class groups, as shown by Bourdieu (2008), through access to distinct cultural capital that shapes behaviors, lifestyles and diverse tastes. In this sense, the objects "speak" of this belonging to a group.

Still, the taste referring to these objects can undergo changes so that belonging to a reference group is maintained. Landowski (1997) explains that certain taste inconstancy, especially to follow certain fashions, is common and configured in what he calls "to look and to be," or the main and underlying program. The underlying program encompasses changes in preferences and choices for the individual to keep coherence with what she wants to be, to the main program, where her group of belonging lies.

Império, semiprecious jewelry and taste

The discussion undertaken in this work regarding the meaning construction of "good" and "bad" taste in the soap opera *Império* is structured around the discourses of Maria Clara, and some of her family members, and Cristina, in the scene broadcast on December 31, 2014. The scene was broadcast days after Rommanel's greater merchandising actions in the soap opera, which were launched at a cocktail party of the collection designed by Maria Clara. This is a semiprecious jewelry collection, called Rommanel Império, which was launched in the real market.

In other actions of the brand, characters appear using Rommanel rings, earrings and necklaces, like Maria Clara, Amanda (Adriana Birolli), Juliane (Cris Vianna), Érika (Letícia Birkheur), Danielle (Maria Ribeiro), Du (Josie Pessoa) and Bianca (Juliana Boller). It is important to note that these characters are part of both the rich and the popular core of the story.

In the scene transcribed below, Cristina, a girl from a poor background who worked in a vendor market, named by her father – who simulates his own – is in charge of the company. Cristina is not accepted by the José Alfredo Medeiros's wife and legitimate heirs. They do not wish to divide the inheritance with the illegitimate daughter, who appears in their lives once she becomes an adult.

To enter this new family, Cristina goes through a style change to please other subjects and to suit her new social place: executive of an important company of precious stones and jewelry, a fact that does not go unnoticed by Maria Marta as will be seen later in a passage selected for analysis. In this passage, Maria Clara and José Pedro also refer to loyal customers, the "A" class, the market niche. That is, circles to which they belong.

> Because, after all, whether the reference group is identified with a certain professional environment, or elsewhere, with a particular social group, or is defined, as a common rule in terms of generation affinity, what resources do their respective members have to express in a simple, clear and continuous way, their preference for the groups mentioned, apart from the adoption of conducts that show, emphatically if necessary, that the valuation principles they use to define their personal position in various matters, in each moment coincides with the ones that "everyone" considers more suitable in the regarded community (LANDOWSKI, 1997, p. 106).

At the time, the Império company faces a major financial crisis and the solution found by Cristina involves a change in relation to the products produced and sold by the jewelry shop, which in turn will mean a change of the brand's customers. Her proposal is that the jewelry shop should start producing and selling class rings and jewelry for men. Maria Clara and her brother José Pedro (Caio Blat) – the two most active children in the company who see the presence of Cristina, in charge of the Império, as a theft of their rights as legitimate inheritors– resent the proposal, because these products are not part of the company's proposal. The class rings are considered "popular," and therefore would not meet the prestige gained by the company over years, of its image and brand identity. Below is the transcript of the dialogue, from which some excerpts were extracted, which extended over two different scenes of a chapter.

> **José Pedro:** Class rings? Do you think you will save Império with this weird idea?
>
> **Maria Clara:** I told her that class rings are entirely out of fashion.
>
> **Maria Marta:** Guys, as if she understands this, God.

Cristina: You are absolutely right, I am no expert in fashion. But I know that what was in vogue at a particular time returns. It was like this with flared trousers, checked shirts, moccasins.

Maria Clara: That little top you used to wear on the hair. . .

[Laugh]

Maria Marta: Oh, sorry, that little top that reminds one of the widow Porcina . . .

Cristina: You can mock all you want . . .

Jose Pedro: It is not mockery, Cristina. It is simply that you are out of touch. You are able to confuse a bad piece of clothing with luxury jewelry. . .

Cristina: But high luxury is not paying the bills, José Pedro. You know this better than they do. With so many people graduating each semester in this country, each time more . . . I myself will graduate soon.

Maria Clara: So, you are legislating for your own cause. No, not for this. I can recommend a very good shop where you can buy a ring.

Cristina: It is not this, Maria Clara. I am thinking of the public, and a growing public. The class ring can go back to being an object of desire. Imagine Império manufacturing a collection for these young people, a beautiful collection, prepared, with a nice advertising campaign.

Maria Marta: In short, she wants to make Império Chinese.

Maria Clara: From this to start making beads and carnival stones is a jump.

Maria Clara: I said that I disagree with your proposal because, to tell you the truth, I actually found it ridiculous. So, Cristina, do not count on me to design crap class rings or jewelry for grown man. I'm out.

Cristina: Will you refuse to do it? Is that right? Are you sure?

Maria Clara: Absolutely sure. I studied for years to make women's jewelry, charming, eternal. It is what I am specialized in. I cannot suddenly start designing with beads…

> **Maria Marta** interferes to say that Cristina's idea is reasonable, because they are immersed in a crisis.
>
> **Jose Pedro:** I do not believe you could agree with the change in Império's profile. Mom, Império has a brand. It has an established market niche, loyal clientele.
>
> **Cristina:** And all this did not prevent us from falling into bankruptcy. Loyal clientele, stagnant niche, but that does not buy constantly because the cost is high.
>
> **Maria Clara:** Just don't forget one thing, the crisis has not been established just because the jewels are not successful.
>
> **Cristina:** What will help us now is launching more affordable, attractive and fast selling products.
>
> **Maria Clara:** People, designing class rings and pendants for man is not my style.
>
> **Cristina:** Maria Clara, you are being selfish and unreasonable.
>
> **Maria Clara:** I do not mean to be. Cristina, it is not because my father gave you power that I will say amen to your typical ideas, of someone who does not value our place in the market. Our public is and has always been the A class, not C. If I say yes to you now, tomorrow you will have the great idea of putting my entire collection to be sold in the vendor market.

Based on the utterances above, some elements will be discussed, as the characters' speeches are constituted by ideological signs that encompass contradictory value indices. In the same way, as Barros (2011) warns, the ideological issues of the text are in the discourse. "The internal examination of the text is not enough, however, to determine the values that the discourse conveys. For this purpose, it is necessary to insert the text in the context of one or more ideological formations that assign, in the end, meaning to it" (BARROS, 2011, p. 83).

In the scene in question, there is taste opposition marked by Cristina's social belonging on the one hand, and Maria Clara, Maria Marta and José Pedro's social belonging on the other. First, it is worth highlighting

Cristina's "taste change" when she begins to work at the Império company. At the beginning of the story, while working in the vendor market, the girl was dressed in jeans, a strap shirt and a little top (mentioned in the dialogue) tied on the head. When joining the company, Cristina starts dressing according to a standard identified as executive, has loose, well-kept hair and makeup. In other words, she complies with the rules of a new social environment in order to be accepted, which corroborates Landowkski's (1997) statement about the demonstrations of taste affecting conduct and behavior standards for the operations of inclusion and belonging to a group.

Thereby resuming Fiorin's (1997) relational idea when addressing the most abstract form of taste, through the basic semantic category of exclusivity (discontinuous and distinguished – euphoric) and inclusivity (continuous and undifferentiated – dysphoric), it is necessary to point out that the exclusivity is also inclusion, in the sense of belonging to social groups, and inclusivity is also exclusive, as all tastes are distinguished from an "other."

In the case considered here, it is possible to suggest that in the scene analyzed there is a fundamental opposition between luxury taste and popular taste. The first identifies with the euphoric and the second with the dysphoric. The table below shows the constitutive oppositions of the characters' discourse in the transcribed scene.

Luxury taste (Maria Clara, Maria Marta and José Pedro)	**Popular taste (Cristina)**
Eternal	Chinese
Luxury	Out of fashion
A Class	C Class
Loyal public	Vendor market
Fashion	Out of fashion
For a few	Chinese
Inaccessible	Accessible
Traditional	Graduation orientated

Table 1 - Basic semantic categories

Source: Prepared by the authors

First, in the case of "graduation orientated" in the right column, it is important to explain its ties with "the popular" in the text analyzed and its discord with the notion of "traditional" in relation to the concept of social class position. That is because, currently, educational ascension is no longer restricted to a few people, and therefore does not represent itself as a "distinctive expression" and cannot autonomously express a "practical affirmation of an inevitable difference" (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 56). Inevitably associated to the prestige/social value of university graduation6 itself, in a society in which the idea that even the poorest7 can access university education, the class ring also symbolizes a rise achieved later by the less wealthy. Thus the expression "out of fashion," used by Maria Clara, unveils her class's sentiment in relation not only to an object, but also to people (and therefore to social class) and all social practices that still unfashionably value an object unable, in her view, to symbolize greater status and differentiation.

Moreover, in the table above, in the right/popular taste column, there is reference to the values linked to the jewelry series idea, made in large scale and at a low price, explicit in the words "chinese" and "vendor market." And in the left/luxury taste column, there are the values of the original's model.

As explained by Baudrillard (2006), products (also understood as culture and education) reaching the middle and lower classes are no longer the same ones the elite has access to. They are diluted. Middle- and lower-class people consume the remains of the high bourgeoisie, who have already categorized these products as "out of fashion." The model is destined for the privileged and the (Kitsch) jewelry series is for the rest, Baudrillard explains.

But, the opposition between model and series reveals now contradictions in itself, which is exposed in the text's discourse. Because,

[6] The plot reinforces the great effort by the character to complete higher education, doing extra work, like selling chocolate cake, to pay tuition fees. It is important to highlight the merchandising of the institution UNIESP in the soap opera.

[7] As an example of public policy directed to the democratization of access to higher education, the Programa Universidade para Todos (University Program for All – PROUNI) was mentioned. Available at: http://siteprouni.mec.gov.br/o_prouni.php. Access on: May 1, 2015.

as Lipovestsky (2009) explains, the original style is no longer luxury's privilege: "all products are, from now on, rethought bearing in mind a seductive appearance, the model/series opposition became blurred, it has lost its ostentatious hierarchical character" (LIPOVETSKY, 2009, p. 189). It does not mean that the extremes disappeared, the author clarifies, but they no longer show an incomparable difference.

Thus, Maria Clara, Maria Marta and José Pedro's discourse is an attempt to reassert an exclusive, luxury and differentiating position that is already ambiguous in our current consumer society. There is also contradiction in the words "traditional" and "eternal" versus "fashion" because fashion itself exposes the logic of ephemerality (LIPOVETSKY, 2009).

Similarly, the fact that Maria Clara is the designer of the new collection for Rommanel disagrees with the values that the family tries to convey in this scene. Semiprecious jewelry are not considered high luxury products *a priori*. Rommanel manufactures gold-plated and steel jewelry, which are not necessarily destined for the "A" public, nor are they so inaccessible in terms of value.

In this case, it is argued that the brand Rommanel is linked to these luxury taste values in an aspirational sense. Customers of the brand aspire to certain luxury and class desires and status, which are not necessarily part of the products in more concrete terms, but the brand's desired image. As noted previously, not only Império's core of rich characters use Rommanel's products along the soap opera, but the "popular" core characters too.

Furthermore, it should be noted that despite Cristina's discourse not being aligned to what can be identified as the brand's discourse in terms of refined taste "for a few people," her utterances play an important role in the production of meaning of popular taste valuation and the possibility of upward social mobility, materialized by the graduation and the ring. These are transformation symbols of a young lady graduated in Business Administration in a faintly-prestigious faculty – as her brother José Pedro often emphasizes – after her hard struggle. The class ring can be interpreted as “C” class’s gateway to Império’s luxury world and a symbol of social transformation through education. It gains, thus, materiality as symbolic capital and, to some extent, as a “worship object” (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 73). The brand Rommanel, when linking itself to the plot, begins to compose the interdiscourse market in which the aspiration of the “popular” for the luxurious is revealed, seeking to materialize itself as something different, that is, as something that is for a few people, fashionable and symbolizes the legitimacy of the desire for change in social status.

The discourse on class taste in the scene chosen disqualifies popular taste, considers it as out of fashion and reaffirms high-class taste as legitimate and universal. Cristina says she does not understand anything about fashion but she does understand the company is failing and needs quick profits. Thus, her discourse is not stated on the same pillars of her interlocutors, revealing, in a certain way, her not belonging to their universe in terms of values and consumption and, therefore, their social class. Her discourse is intended to be articulated through the objectivity of the balance sheet of the company, which is dire. From a taste point of view, her arguments reaffirm the discourse of her sibling and Maria Marta. Unlike her, in the passage analyzed, although they are presented as arrogant during the soap opera narrative, Maria Clara, José Pedro and Maria Marta have not had their tastes denied but reaffirmed as values that identify Império’s image. Only Maria Marta seems to be more attentive to Cristina’s arguments, doing so only because she takes them into account from a financial point of view.

Good legitimate taste is still considered luxury, A-class taste. However, it is penetrated by new logics of the popular, affordability, semiprecious jewelry and class rings. And, in a certain way, by Cristina’s trajectory as a go-getter who built xxxxxx through her own efforts and with exceptional willpower, as constantly stated during the soap opera, emphasizing her “individual path” (BOURDIEU, 2008, p. 104). Discourse about the market, advertising, consumption and individualism are glimpsed as characteristics of upward mobility. This is in line with what Lipovestky (2009, p. 184) claims about the consumer society: "[T]he society centered on the expansion of needs is, first of all, the one that reorders production and mass consumption under the law of *obsolescence*, *seduction* and *diversification*, the one that passes the economic to the orbit of fashion."

The discourse of the scene analyzed reaffirms the individuality and subjectivism aimed at personal satisfaction in consumer desires, which shows the connection between the logic of capital and media representations of consumption and social class, an aspect that had already been seen in Campbell's work *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (2001).

Final considerations

The article focused on the study of aspects of the production of meaning of class taste through discourses of the soap opera Império. Through the discourse analysis of a scene, it was possible to see the elements in utterances that compose the discursive plot through which it becomes possible to observe the social construction of ideological signs (BAKHTIN & VOLOCHINOV, 2002) and their refraction in relation to social classes in regard to taste (both "good" and "bad"). The study of the characters' enunciation in the object "class ring" object led to the observation of the opposition between luxury taste (good taste) and "popular" taste (bad taste). The soap opera discourse reaffirmed the luxury taste of the ruling class as legitimate and universal. However, it is observed xxxxx, although it was mixed with popular values. This is a matter of market, social mobility and individual consumption discourse in our society. This is the context in which media discourse and tastes are anchored, as the mediatization of consumption occurs, established by the construction of links of meaning that make consumer habits and attitudes possible in the expressions of brand/products/services and their consumers.

Thus, based on the enunciation and its interdiscursive possibilities, discourse analysis is, thus, effective for a study that seeks conjunction between social/ideological aspects and media texts. As part of a certain historical and social situation, media texts can reproduce existing hegemonic discourses but also transform them as, at the same time, the media and their cultural products – and more specifically the soap opera here – participate in a daily dynamic, where signs are constantly reframed. Such reproduction and transformation are perceived by the verb-visual composition of discursive enunciations analyzed in this work.

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The use of technologies by brazilian farming families: a methodological reflection

O uso de tecnologias por famílias de agricultores: uma reflexão metodológica

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Abstract *This work discusses research about the appropriation of communication technology by farming families integrated into the tobacco agro-business supply chain. The report is based on field research that was carried out with two families living in the region of Santa Cruz do Sul (Rio Grande do Sul). Given the importance of the methodology for empirical research, this reflection proves to be productive in analyzing the stages already achieved in the research as well as paving those to come.*

Keywords: *Methodology; communication technologies; media use; farming families*

Resumo *Este trabalho tem por objetivo realizar uma discussão metodológica sobre uma pesquisa acerca das experiências de apropriação de tecnologias de comunicação por famílias de agricultores integradas à cadeia agroindustrial do tabaco. A incursão a campo em que se baseia o relato foi realizada junto a duas*

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famílias moradoras da região de Santa Cruz do Sul – RS. Tendo em vista a importância da metodologia para a pesquisa empírica, a reflexão proposta mostra-se produtiva para analisar o trajeto já percorrido e para projetar os próximos passos do trabalho.

Palavras-chave: *Metodologia; tecnologias de comunicação; usos da mídia; famílias agricultoras*

1 Introduction

This work aims to carry out a fundamentally methodological discussion about the research "*Communication technologies in daily practices: the case of families related to the tobacco agro-business supply chain*" (CNPQ, 2014-2016) in order to continue empirical research on the theme. The challenge is to adopt, although partially, reflexivity (NEVES; NOGUEIRA, 2005) in the research process, analyzing and questioning practices and procedures adopted until now.

The research focuses on the reconstruction of daily practices and appropriation experiences of farming families who are integrated into the tobacco agro-business supply chain, in order to study their relations with communication technologies, including both traditional media (radio, television, newspaper and magazines) and new media (mobile phones, computers and the Internet). It is fundamental to keep under scrutiny the relationship that is established between old and new media, because such an approach contributes to keep in tension technical changes and innovations as well as social forms and cultural dynamics constituted in daily life (MORLEY, 2008; VARELA, 2010).

According to Martín-Barbero (2009, p. 148), technology is not just a thing but an ''extremely powerful 'scope' of both languages and actions; social, political, and cultural dynamics; as well as questions about what social means today." Thus, technology goes beyond its own space and merely instrumental character, constituting new forms of sociability and ritual functions.

ICTs, considered as artifacts/objects and means, are acquired either for functional reasons or for status and/or aesthetic choice. As means, they provide ties between families, their individual members, and the world that is outside the home. Silverstone, Hirsch, and Morley (1996, p. 40) therefore consider that means are "doubly articulated in private cultures and public cultures." Although focus is not on discussion of the theoretical framework adopted, this study is part of the scope of consumer research and the use of ICTs in a domestic context, especially those driven by the formulations of Silverstone, Hirsch, and Morley

(1996). In addition to this theoretical framework, the contributions of Couldry (2009, 2010, 2013), Morley (2008), and Silverstone (2005) were adopted. All of them, in some way, understand that the technological challenge is not originated by the technology itself, but mainly by the role that media plays in everyday life, and thus, its uses and rituals.

It is necessary to understand the process of domestication that different information and communication technologies have undergone – being incorporated in the home, acquiring meaning in everyday life, and making sense in cultural, cognitive and affective frameworks of the most varied subjects. And, also to include a description of the latest process that is going in the opposite direction, as Morley (2008, p. 145) points out – the "undomestication" of media and the radical displacement of domesticity.

Regarding the interviewee families involved in the agricultural production of tobacco, workspaces and family life become merged, since it is in the home environment that much productive activity happens, with work being carried out by all family members. Family farming reveals the merger of relationships between the world of work and domestic space, which is also the environment of ICTs consumption. Bearing in mind that the context has an important influence on how the technologies are perceived, adopted, and used by individuals (MORLEY, 2008), the importance of understanding the rural context, family farming, and the region for this research are outlined, considering their historical, economic, and socio-cultural characteristics.

The field research that gave rise to this article was held in the Vale do Sol municipality, a micro-region of Santa Cruz do Sul (Rio Grande do Sul), next to two farming families. Each family was visited twice, in July and October 2014. In these meetings collective open interviews, individual semi-structured interviews, observation, and photographic records were used as research techniques.[4] The empirical research was conducted in two steps, which correspond to the first and the second visits: a) objective data collection on sociocultural forms that covers

[4] Respective techniques implemented will be further detailed.

general information about family and property, inquiries about which communication technologies exist in homes, and how members of families use them, as well was what the other existing domestic technologies in the house are; b) interviews with members of the families in order to reconstitute their practices in relation to communication technologies.

Next, in this article the methodological design of the research is presented, particularly regarding data collection procedures used; a reflection on each of the collection instruments and, in specific cases, the initial handling of collected data; and, finally, notes about continuing the research are made. With the methodology playing such a fundamental role in any empirical study, it was believed that a reflection is productive in analyzing the path, choices, and decisions taken, and to lay out the next steps of the work. It was assumed, therefore, that one of values of reflectivity resides in adopting flexible research designs, which provides learning space for everyone directly involved in the research as well as for the academic community in general. By choosing this direction, this report does not seek to anticipate results or conclusions regarding the empirical research in progress.

It is important to point out that, in the specific case of this study, the rural universe is relatively unknown to these researchers, since all their social life is constituted in urban environments. This condition makes it "easier to research about unknown universes because its strangeness creates distance and forces them *to see with new eyes* phenomena that would be forgotten if such means were familiar" (BEAUD; WEBER, 2007, p. 37).

2 Field research: interviewees and tools

Empirical experiments conducted in 2014 for this research were taken as a foundation. They consist of two meetings: one held on July 17, and another on October 6. Both were based on visits to two families of farmers, V. and K.[5], residents of Vale do Sol.

[5] In the report, the names of the families were hidden, using only the first letter. Given the broad access to scientific texts on the Internet, identifying the families – that keep a certain proximity and social bond – was avoided.

Family V. has three members: a father (30 years old), mother (30 years old), and son (8 years old). The family's property is 11 hectares, where they grow tobacco (about 90,000 plants per year), corn, beans, potatoes, sweet potato, manioc, and pumpkin, besides raising pigs and chickens. Family K. has four members: a father (39 years old), mother (37 years old), son (20 years old), and daughter (11 years old). In the 22-hectare property, they produce tobacco, milk, fruit, honey, beans, potatoes, sweet potato, cassava, vegetables, and raise some pigs and chickens.

The procedures with the two families were the same.[6] In the first visit, an introduction was made that it is simply called the presentation – an initial talk explaining the research and introducing the researchers – followed by the application of an individual questionnaires, including issues relating to the family, education, and media consumption; and a family form, focusing on aspects of the house and property. In the second visit to the families V. and K., individual interviews were held. While in the first visit all researchers (six) were together in each of the houses, in the second they were split into groups of two and four, according to the number of members of each family.[7]

Contact with the families was mediated by an agronomist from a non-governmental organization engaged in the micro-region of Santa Cruz do Sul.[8] For many years, the NGO has provided services to families from the communities where the researched people live, and the agronomist knows some interviewees since childhood. He chose the two families – in a meeting previous to the visit to Vale do Sol, when the general purposes of the research was explained by the researchers and the reality of the city was described by him – who are both notable users of new communication technologies[9].

After, the focus was on introducing and reflecting on the field experience and each of the data collection tools used, as well as the first

[6] The introduction of the instruments will be further deepened in this article.
[7] Family V. is formed by two adults and one child, while family K. has three adults and a pre-adolescent.
[8] The NGO is called CAPA (Centro de Apoio ao Pequeno Agricultor – Support Center for Small Farmers).
[9] A brief reflection on this mediation is made in item 3.1.

most comprehensive organization of some data obtained from these empirical experiences, resulting in what was called the field report[10] and individual and family profiling.

2.1 Arriving in the field

Generally, there was no reports of this first contact of researchers with the respondents. Although it is a basic aspect in empirical research, it is understood that its "elementary" characteristic dispenses further reflection on its conduction; however, it is known that this first approach is fundamental and its preparation and execution is not as simple in practice as it seems at first glance.

First, it is worthwhile commenting on the mediator's role. His research starts when choosing families to be indicated for participation in the research. He filters the type of interviewees who he will have contact with. He was not told that families had to have access to the Internet at home, for example. However, knowing what the study was about, he found important to use this as a criterion. Following the research, in a step that is not included in this article, this mediator role was no longer needed. From families V. and K., it was possible to access other families and choose more varied profiles.

Another important aspect was the fact that he accompanied and introduced the team to the farmers on the first visit. It was understood that this mediation facilitated the acceptance of the researchers by the families, although his interventions were more direct than expected, clarifying some questions that the team did not intend to explain in the first survey – such as the central interest in communication technologies.

To prepare this step, comprehensive questions were prepared to guide the conversation – and that is how it is understood, as a guide and not as a script. There were three broad questions: How is it to live here? What is the family routine like? How does the family use media? Before these questions were asked, an introduction of the survey and the researchers

[10] From what each researcher saw and experienced in the field, a narrative was elaborated and shared with all members of the team.

– each member introduced himself, saying his name and professional occupation – was conducted by the mediator (agronomist).

Most of the team participated in this first field research (six researchers). This could be extremely invasive, because the large number of people was in practice interpreted as a "great visit" due to the good receptivity of the families. For the number of interviewers not to harm the organization of the conversation, a main interviewer was previously elected. She would be responsible for directing the conversation, as far as possible so that the questions were answered. The introduction lasted about an hour for each family.

2.2 Individual and family questionnaire

In order to outline the profiles of each family and their members, two questionnaire were applied in the first visit to Vale do Sol: one related to individual information (of each family member) and another regarding the family, both with objective questions. The first one was applied to each of the family members, including children, in order to get to know the individuals who compose the family, as well as to have an initial idea about their tastes, habits, and uses of ICTs. The questionnaire consists of two main blocs: *Personal data* and *Media*. Regarding personal data, respondents were asked about their residence during childhood (country or city); parents' and siblings' professional occupations (former and current); courses attended, respondent's and relatives' level of education; and their main recreational activities. The second block has questions about the media used – TV, radio, newspaper, magazine, Internet, books – and their respective TV/radio stations, favorite programs, places, times, and amount of media consumption, as well as the question *What is your favorite media?*, which concludes the questions guide.

The second questionnaire, in turn, relates to information concerning the family nucleus. The questionnaires, answered by a member chosen by the family, also have objective questions divided into two main blocks: *property* and *domestic technologies*. The goal of the first group of questions is to know if the property is owned – and if so, since when;

what the family produces; the size of the property and those who work on it; family income; who lives in the house; and how many bedrooms and bathrooms there are. In the second block, related to domestic technologies, the families representative tell the researchers about the ownership (and quantity) of some artifacts, such as the car and motorbike (model and year); household appliances such as the refrigerator, freezer, gas stove, wood stove, microwave oven, electric oven, washing machine, dishwasher, vacuum cleaner, and air conditioning; media players – TV, radio, DVD, VCR, home theater, video game, landline, mobile, mobile with Internet access, computer, laptop, and tablet; Internet access – kind of service and signal quality; possession of satellite TV and pay TV; and newspaper and magazine subscriptions.

The questionnaires were applied by the interviewer, who put his name at the top of the page – since the team has a large number of researchers, it is important that each form is identified so that it is possible for questions to be answered. It is important to emphasize that there were discrepancies in the way the questionnaire were carried out by the researchers, which showed the importance of having more meetings in order to clarify the research tools and their respective purposes. Despite the team's efforts to develop the tools together – the fact that the researchers are from different universities and different cities – the field visit revealed that there was a different understanding of the tools.

During the application of the questionnaires, the need for each family member to be separately interviewed in a room of the house (or outside) was also seen so that the interview of one member would not interfere with the other, either because of the influence of others in responses (observed in a family in which a young woman was interviewed) or the noises that disturbed interviewer-interviewee communication.

2.3 Individual interviews

For Morley (1996, p. 261), the interview, besides allowing "the researcher to have access to opinions and statements of the interviewees," it also provides "access to linguistic terms and categories. . . where interviewees build their worlds and their own understanding of their activities." Thus, conducting individual interviews was considered a natural step to deepen knowledge about the interviewees.

In general, the interview sought to contemplate the arrival and introduction of ICTs in their environments/living spaces, representations and imagination in operation with regard to ICTs, as well as the changes and continuities produced around practical life. For this, the tool was organized into four parts, created after meetings that sought to reflect on the data the team already had and on those they wanted to obtain: *experience of the incorporation of ICTs* – exploring a historical bias of media arrival and use; *experience of use of ICTs* – focusing on the uses given to technological artifacts today; *experience of use of favorite media* – allowing a more deepened knowledge of the use of a specific and preferred media; *work* – seeking to relate the use of media to the agricultural work performed.

Parallel to the questions script, a document was produced in order to clarify the objectives of the categories and the best way to apply the interview. This is a valuable resource when performing collective, interdisciplinary, and inter-institutional research, especially considering the diverse backgrounds of the researchers. The document began by punctuating the following aspects:

> Observations:
>
> 1) It is important that all researchers have clarity of what is intended in each topic, since the interviews will be individually conducted by an interviewer, and the result will be part of an integrated set of data. Thus, it is important to ensure that questions are similarly asked and directed.
>
> 2) For this, a questions script was produced that will be applied to each member of the family by a different interviewer. This document looks to clarify the script produced. The script has "semi-directive" questions, which stipulates that at the end of the interview, the same basic information of each interviewee was collected. At the same time, it allows for an adaptation of interview progress according to each case.

Even with this resource, added in a briefing before the field research, a diverse level of appropriation of the instrument was noticed. Comparing the interviews through recordings, it was perceived that not all interviewers knew the script deeply and were not able to apply the interview in a flawless, natural way. Consequently, a workshop was planned in order to develop interview techniques and to increase the appropriation of the tool produced, aiming to standardize procedures.

Finally, concerning the individual interviews, it is emphasized that the group of researchers was divided in the application of the instrument when allowing, on the one hand, the feeling of "invasion" of the domestic space to be reduced and, on the other hand, to establish a more intense relationship between the researcher and respondent. The choice of which researcher would interview each family member was made previously, bearing in mind the past experiences and skills of the interviewers.

2.4 Observation and photographic research

As a complementary tool, photography was used to register the properties, houses, and environments where ICTs are used, as well as the technologies studied. Photographic images were only an additional resource of information registration for the reality being explored and was not further discussed. There was a tacit understanding between the members of the team that images would serve as an illustration of what was being studied.

When asking permission to photograph the domestic environment, the team found resistance when recording more intimate spaces such as bedrooms and bathrooms. However, all families allowed living rooms, kitchens, the outside of the property, and the facades of the house to be photographed. Although the team naturally complied with the situation, actually, they should have paid more attention to the families' culture with respect to what is considered as fine to show – and therefore photograph – and what is forbidden or invasive.

During the data analysis period, the researchers realized the importance of photographing the devices/artifacts – and not only the place where they were positioned or being consumed – since when handling the data collected, some questions about technical specifications appeared and could have been easily answered through images. If the image existed, in this case, it would function as a methodological resource that would activate the researcher's memory and enrich his means of observation.

Still regarding the photographic records, the importance of not taking very large photographic equipment and not using flash were also discussed and emphasized, reducing the risk of inhibition and embarrassment by respondents. The mediator (who provided the first contact with the families), during the first field research, did not follow this rule created by the group, as he photographed, with his own camera, the respondents during the application of the questionnaires and used flash without asking them for permission.

However, it was recognized that considering the photograph as document in a social research would imply entering into a polarized debate between those who consider photographs as evidence and those who consider it as construction. As put by Martins (2008, p. 15) "considering the photograph either as a sociological object of knowledge or as its tool."

It is also important to note that the researchers themselves behaved with an attitude of careful observance. This means that from beginning to end they were alert to the details of the context of the empirical research, especially the domestic context, where ICTs are used. Valladares (2007), from the *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* (WHYTE, 2005), draws on what he calls the "ten commandments of participant observation." In the seventh commandment, the author says that observation implies "knowing how to hear, listen, see, use all the senses," and that the collection of information is not restricted to interviews. Thus, the field research also sought to use impressions captured by researchers through observation, which later formed the field report.

Next, there will be a reflection on the field report and individual and family profiles, which, unlike the new techniques presented, are not data collection tools, but initial procedures of data analysis. Here, a methodological exploration of them was carried out, discussing their use for the research. This ruled out concerns about the empirical data they create, and allowed for the first interpretations of the relationship of the studied families with technological devices.

2.5 Field report

After the first visit to Vale do Sol, researchers were instructed to write a field report, describing their observations and perceptions of the collective conversation held with each family and the questionnaires. As a group research, the record of each member's impressions is essential so that this information does not get lost and can be systematized and stored for sharing.

Observations about the environment and the respondents find space in the field report and are described as the researcher wants. Travancas (2011, p. 103-104), when talking about practical and theoretical ethnographic issues, explains that the researcher "is not only a transmitter of heard speeches. . . . His fundamental role is to interpret."

From this perspective, field reports give space to the subjectivity of the researcher, who is able to capture impressions and raise questions based on facts, contexts, and environments. In addition, the field report is the placeholder for criticism and self-criticism in relation to the application of research tools in the field, providing an expression and positioning space. In addition, this exercise will then constitute what Brandão (2007, p.16) suggests as the first step in the attempt to articulate explanations. In his experience, this procedure existed in the individual and family profiles presented below.

2.6 Individual and family profiles

Among the data collection and initial analysis tools explored, the individual and family profiles are the ones that come closest to a first procedure of handling, organizing, and systematizing data about the use of ICTs by families related to tobacco agri-business. They were thought as an initial step for the analysis of individual and family questionnaires, serving as a first articulation of the information obtained through these tools. Therefore, it is a procedure which enables the first textual production while taking into account the data collected, or what Brandão (2007) considers as the first most comprehensive organization of data. Again, the challenge was to standardize procedures within the large group.

Below, a part of one of the profiles is reproduced.

> Profile: Carmem[11] V.
>
> Daughter of farmers, Carmem, 30 years old, has been married to Demétrio for 8 years. She has a son, Pedro, 8 years old. She presented herself as "farmer, housewife, school monitor, mother, and wife".
>
> From the five siblings, Carmem is the only one who has not completed secondary education, although she intends to complete it. Her parents only completed the fifth grade of elementary school, but her two sisters finished high school.
>
> About the different tasks she completes in her routine, she says that she "opens the beds" for the seedlings to catch sun, gives the pigs food, and takes care of all the housework, such as washing clothes, cleaning the house, cooking, etc. In addition, "of course," to "curing the tobacco," work done in the barn. Compared to Demétrio's activities, she concludes, quite naturally, that he "is more about the issues of farming, right?"
>
> In relation to the media she uses, she points out the TV and, especially, Globo news, which she "cannot miss." She listens to the radio whenever she is in the shed, while working with the smoke.

[11] For the same reasons explained in footnote no. 6, the names of the family members were changed and only the first letter of each were kept.

The example shows how objective of the individual questionnaire relate to work, education level, and media use, which are studied in the description and data analysis step. Although the goal is not to have a single model profile, excluding personal writing characteristics and specific aspects that stand out for each researcher, a base of what is regarded as essential in the procedure was maintained. Finally, it was understood that the production of a profile allows all researchers to know a little better all respondents, since this extended knowledge is essential for data analysis.

3 Final considerations

In addition to the actual empirical exploration, that is, the data collected during visits to the families, field trips in this first phase of the research aimed, on the one hand, to introduce the researchers team to the research area, and thus, to have contact and know the reality to be studied in addition to the bibliographical documentation; and, on the other hand, to refine the tools and methodological strategies.

The first field experience also enabled the researcher team to get to know each other and see their roles as interviewers. The second field research provided an even greater interaction with families, deepening the issue of the use of media itself. It is understood that field work is an experience with a subjective dimension (BRANDÃO, 2007), whether in interpersonal relationships between researchers and respondents or between the researchers themselves and their environments. Hence, there is great importance in adopting the value of reflexivity that "should be done on the implications of this crossing of social references in order to favor a better understanding of the dynamics that are developed in interaction spaces" (NEVES; NOGUEIRA, 2005, p. 410).

From these experiences, there is the need to reiterate that the team needs to carry out the same procedures whilst preserving individualities. It is necessary to bear in mind that the group, in this case, has interdisciplinary characteristics, including members with disciplinary backgrounds of more than one area of knowledge. Thus, the challenge of uniting procedures becomes even bigger, and this objective cannot disappear. For this, the team needs to intensify in-person meetings focused on research techniques, allowing knowledge about the tools used to be deepened and to establish a pact of action. Thus, the study conduction, it is thought, will be the more natural and as safe as possible.

Finally, on the data collected about each family, it was understood in an early planning that the two visits and the techniques used so far were enough to accumulate necessary information about the two families. However, it is necessary to deepen the exploration of these interviewees with a historical perspective. In this sense, it would be very valuable to take this first instance as the new media entry (mobile and computer, with or without Internet access), which joins with already established practices (mainly related to radio and television), causing a re-accommodation of the existing, with continuities and ruptures potentially occurring.

On the other hand, certain conclusions about the use of communication technologies by farming families, in order to understand certain appropriations from this universe, would be more legitimate when crossed with another study of the same character in urban areas. Such comparison can provide important clues about the specificities of each situation, pointing out distances and approaches for rural and urban families. These are the new methodological challenges created by the research.

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The main celebrities on Twitter: analysis of their communication and influence on the social network

Las principales *celebrities* en Twitter: análisis de su comunicación e influencia en la red social

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Resumen *El cambio de paradigma en la capacidad de comunicar que han hecho posible los medios digitales produce una transformación en la forma en que las estrellas del deporte, el cine o la música se relacionan con sus audiencias en cuestión de segundos. ¿Cómo se comunican realmente estas personalidades con sus seguidores en Internet, usando como medio la tecnología de las redes sociales y en concreto la plataforma Twitter? Este estudio seleccionó a las personas que tenían en 2015 el mayor número de seguidores en redes sociales a nivel mundial. Las formas de comunicación de cada una de las personalidades tienen aspectos diferentes y complementarios. Se analizó la temática y el tipo de contenido empleado: texto, imagen, y/o vídeo, utilizado con mayor frecuencia, así como el grado de diálogo alcanzado con los seguidores.*

Palabras clave: *Redes sociales; Twitter; celebridades; interacción social; fans*

Abstract *The paradigmatic shift in the ability to communicate, which has been made possible by digital media, produces a transformation in the way sports, film or music stars can relate to their audiences in a matter of seconds. How do these figures really communicate with their followers on the Internet, using social networking technology, specifically Twitter, as a platform? This study selected people with the highest number of followers on social networks worldwide*

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in 2015. Forms of communication of each of the personalities have different and complementary aspects. The subject and content type was analyzed -text, image, and/or video were most commonly used- as well as the level of dialogue reached with followers.

Keywords: *Social networks; Twitter; celebrities; social interaction; followers*

1. Introducción

Un líder de opinión es una persona u organización que tiene la capacidad de ejercer influencia sobre las actitudes o la conducta de otros individuos, hacia ciertas formas de pensar o de actuar, en virtud de que es percibido por los demás como una autoridad o una fuente confiable de información, noticias, o reflexiones. Sin embargo, una celebridad (a veces referido con el anglicismo *celebrity*) es una persona famosa, ampliamente conocida y reputada que tiene un alto grado de atención por parte del público y de los medios de comunicación. No siempre un líder de opinión es una celebridad y viceversa. Tiene que existir cierto nivel de interés público en la persona, que puede estar motivado o no, con la razón por la que esa persona es famosa. Muchas celebridades lo son sólo durante un período concreto (MARSHALL, 1997).

Los líderes de opinión y las celebridades adquirieron su máximo apogeo con la llegada de los medios de comunicación de masas. Fueron los propios medios los que en muchos casos otorgaron ese status a aquellos que producían identificación con las audiencias por su grado de notoriedad pública -en un círculo de retroalimentación constante-, su mero cargo o posición, sus éxitos y logros, y en menor medida por sus conocimientos, habilidades o ejemplaridad. De cualquier forma, se trataba de individuos influyentes sobre la denominada "opinión pública" gracias a la comunicación de masas.

Con la llegada de los medios sociales, sólo posible primero con la irrupción de la web 2.0 en la primera década del siglo XXI, hemos asistido a la convivencia del modelo tradicional del líder de opinión junto con la nueva revolución de la llamada nueva "democracia" de la comunicación social (KIM, 2009). De repente, ciudadanos anónimos con el poder de generar contenidos y compartirlos masivamente tenían al alcance de su mano la oportunidad de tener un alcance multiplicado, como nunca hasta entonces había ocurrido. Las reglas del juego cambiaron, el control del mensaje, de la comunicación, de las marcas, saltó por los aires para dejar paso a la capacidad de influencia en manos de los individuos, de los públicos, de los consumidores, que por primera vez se situaban al nivel de las organizaciones, de los medios y las agencias en cuando a las posibilidades potenciales de generar contenidos y difundirlos masivamente. Potencialmente cualquiera podía convertirse en un influenciador gracias a los nuevos medios al alcance de todos, que evidenciaban que el poder de la comunicación amplificada ya no estaba sólo en manos de quienes habían ostentado su control hasta ese momento.

En este nuevo escenario digital, las redes sociales fueron el mayor ejemplo de las posibilidades que ofrecían las nuevas herramientas de comunicación interpersonal, haciendo saltar por los aires las viejas limitaciones espaciotemporales y de alcance de antaño. En este contexto, las celebridades rápidamente "[…] incorporaron los medios sociales para mantener y reforzar la vinculación con sus seguidores" (MARSHALL, 2010; MARWICK & BOYD, 2011; LEE & SHIN, 2012; LEE & JANG, 2013). Una de las cuestiones que se plantean es si son las propias personalidades las que escriben y envían sus comunicaciones en las redes sociales o si lo hacen a través de un equipo de comunicación y relaciones públicas. Sea como fuere, el llamado carácter de "Celebridad" se ha convertido en una serie de estrategias y prácticas que buscan darle una continuidad a la fama (MAWERICK & BOYD, 2011), y es frecuente encontrar una combinación de ambos planteamientos personales y corporativos, pero deseablemente respondiendo a una estrategia ordenada.

Con la globalización de Internet, comenzaron a aparecer primero las webs oficiales de celebridades. En ellas se mostraba información estática sobre su biografía, actividad profesional, giras, prensa... Sin embargo, este medio no permitía la interacción celebridad-fan. Todo cambió cuando en 2004 apareció Facebook, y en 2006, lo hizo Twitter. Pronto las celebridades abrieron páginas oficiales de Facebook y empezaron a "tuitear", término utilizado al hecho de crear y publicar mensajes en la red social Twitter. Los fans comenzaron a seguirlos en las redes sociales y se posibilitó la comunicación directa entre celebridades y sus fans, ahora convertidos en seguidores de sus redes sociales.

Mientras que la imagen pública tradicional sigue vigente, las redes sociales permiten en teoría una relación más cercana entre la celebridad y sus seguidores, o es el tipo de relación que perciben muchos seguidores. Las actualizaciones de estado o publicaciones en las redes sociales tratan de mostrar su lado más humano, compartir información de cualquier tipo, vincularse con otras celebridades y, en definitiva, comunicar un hecho desde su punto de vista personal. De modo que la personalidad publica su estado y los seguidores comentan, comparten y/o "les gusta" dicha publicación. Y por encima de toda publicación está la tarea de crear, respaldar y modificar la imagen pública de la celebridad.

Un fenómeno fruto de esta repercusión de las redes en todos los ámbitos de la sociedad es el de los nuevos famosos que surgen desde las mismas redes sociales, sin haber tenido antes una presencia destacada en los medios tradicionales. A esto se le denomina micro-celebridad, e implica una consideración de los amigos y seguidores en las redes como base de fans, buscando la popularidad como una meta, y gestionando esta base de fans mediante técnicas de afiliación efectivas, asemejándose bastante a aquellas técnicas usadas por personalidades famosas para manejar sus audiencias por Facebook o Twitter.

La competencia se multiplica. En palabras de Gallagher (2015), ya no es aceptable que las celebridades tengan un papel pasivo en su imagen, ni en el uso y distribución de la misma. Sino que ahora deben difundir sus actividades diarias, mostrando a sus *fans* lo que sucede en su vida más personal. Basta con fijarse en que en las cuentas de redes sociales, parecería que las estrellas de cine pasan más tiempo promocionando una película que trabajando en ella, para comprobar que ahora es fundamental la autopromoción si se quiere mantener el status de celebridad. La fama cuesta, y en el escenario digital hay que trabajarla diariamente y ser muy interactivo, para no pasar desapercibido en un escenario plagado de nuevos influenciadores anónimos que buscan convertirse en nuevas *celebrities*.

Actualmente es difícil hacer una separación clara entre medios masivos y medios interpersonales; incluso los investigadores hablan ahora de "comunicaciones personales masivas". Twitter es un ejemplo muy destacado de este fenómeno, porque los usuarios con más seguidores son precisamente celebridades; individuos que se comunican directamente con su público a través de sus *Tweets*, saltando los tradicionales intermediarios de los viejos medios de comunicación masivos (WU y cols., 2011, pp. 705).

Para MARWICK y BOYD (2011), Twitter permitiría transformar la relación parasocial entre fans y celebridades. Como las propias autoras señalan "la práctica de la celebridad [en Twitter] precisa de observar a los seguidores como fans" (2011, p. 144). (CARO CASTAÑO, 2015). La posibilidad de reciprocidad y de apelación directa de los fans a la cuenta de la celebridad sería suficiente para que se pudiese hablar de una experiencia social y no parasocial. Sin embargo este trabajo plantea que se produce el fenómeno justamente contrario: las redes sociales contribuyen a potenciar la idea de una presunta horizontalidad y simetría en la interacción comunicativa entre fans y celebridad que no se da en la realidad, que es además contraria a la propia noción de celebridad, y que contribuye a ocultar realmente las relaciones de poder que subyacen en estos espacios.

Aunque dado que se trata de un fenómeno reciente y no hay aún mucha investigación específica el respecto, los datos de estudios como el realizado por Page (2012, p. 11), reflejan el comportamiento de las cuentas de Twitter de celebridades respecto a usuarios no celebridades y empresas, poniendo de manifiesto la supremacía en las redes sociales de las cuentas de celebridades ya mencionada. Del total de *tweets* de las celebridades, más del 60% son destinados a compartir actualizaciones de estado (fotos, lugares, qué hacen, qué piensan, etc.). Mientras que solo un 32% van dirigidos a otros usuarios. Y un escaso 5% a *retweets*. En cambio, los usuarios no celebridades, dirigen más sus *tweets* a otros usuarios y *retweets* y comparten menos actualizaciones.

La presente investigación trata de contribuir al análisis de las comunicaciones que realizan las principales celebridades dentro de la plataforma social Twitter, estudiando el grado de interacción a través del (RTs) y favoritos (FAVs) y el impacto y la repercusión que eso tiene. Asimismo, investigar el formato de la comunicación de las celebridades en Twitter atendiendo al texto, la imagen y el video. Las hipótesis de trabajo son, por una parte que existe una correlación referida a los fans respecto a sus celebridades entre el número de RTs (veces que los seguidores "re-comparte un mensaje") y el número de FAVs (número de seguidores que marcan como favorito un mensaje), por otra que publican más mensajes en Twitter con contenido visual o audiovisual y que hay una tendencia por parte de las celebridades a interactuar con sus seguidores siendo aquellas que más interactúan en Twitter las seguidas por más personas.

Más recientemente, el estudio realizado por Kim & Song (2016) investigó cómo la forma en la que se comportan las celebridades en sus medios de comunicación social, y particularmente Twitter, afecta a la percepción que los fans tienen de ellos. Utilizando una muestra de fans en Twitter seguidores de celebridades, los resultados encontrados mostraron que el hecho de compartir no solo su vida laboral sino también personal (por ejemplo, compartiendo su vida con amigos, familia, gustos, aficiones) mejoraba la percepción de los fans sobre ellos. Además, el hecho de compartir *tweets* de terceros aumentaba el grado de presencia social y se observó que la actividad en redes sociales correlacionaba positivamente con el grado de interacción parasocial de las celebridades.

2. Metodología

A la hora de elegir las celebridades representativas para el estudio, se realizó la selección en base a su influencia y presencia en redes sociales, tomando en cuenta las 10 que más seguidores tenían a nivel mundial y con presencia en Twitter. El ámbito donde se realizó la investigación fue la red social Twitter ya que el nivel de igualdad y transparencia es mayor que otras como Facebook y permite investigar de forma homogénea y clara. Las diez celebridades top corresponden a una de estas tres categorías: Deporte, música o cine.

El análisis de los textos se realizó tomando como fuente los contenidos de las celebridades publicados. El grado de multiplicación de los mensajes que transmiten fue un elemento importante en la investigación, ya que es lo que indicó el grado de alcance de su comunicación. En este sentido se contó con tres elementos de medida que aportan información sobre cuánta repercusión tiene su imagen y lo que transmiten con ella: volver a compartir el contenido publicado por la celebridad o "retuit" (RT), marcarlo como favorito (FAV) o responder al mismo (*Reply*). La información que suele contener la respuesta puede ser un comentario en forma de texto escrito (a. De un autor que es citado, b. De un autor que no es citado, c. Creado por él, d. Una combinación de los anteriores), de imagen con texto, Fotografía (la foto que es compartida o comunicada puede ser a su vez de a. De un autor al que se le da crédito, b. De un autor al que no se le da crédito o porque se desconoce cuál es o porque no se lo quiere dar, c. La fotografía es obra del usuario o fan y lo comparte y el autor no sale en la foto; o d. Cuando el propio autor forma parte de la imagen), o un vídeo (de una fuente externa o del mismo usuario que transmite hechos, información u opinión de una forma audiovisual).

El análisis documental se realizó en febrero de 2015 considerando como técnicas de análisis estadístico la medición de frecuencias, se usaron tablas de contingencia (*crosstabs*) y se emplearon elementos estadísticos descriptivos. Se implementó la prueba de Kolmogorov Smirnov que indica si los datos siguen una distribución normal o no, así como la prueba de Wilcoxon que compara el número de casos con RTs superiores a FAVs y el número de casos con FAVs superiores a RTs.

3. Resultados

En cuanto el nivel de actividad en la red social, las celebridades que más uso realizaron de las redes fueron los cantantes Justin Bieber y Taylor Swift en ese orden, siendo especialmente prolíficos: al primero es a quien le corresponden el 24,7% de todos los mensajes emitidos analizados y el 21,8% a Swift. La siguiente celebridad más activa fue la cantante

Rihanna con un 14,7% de los mensajes. Tras ella se encontraban con el mismo nivel de comunicación el futbolista Cristiano Ronaldo y la cantante Katy Perry, ambos con un 14,1%. Después le siguieron los cantantes Shakira con un 10% y Eminen con el 0,6%.

El análisis indicó, como se puede observar en la tabla 1, que no se establece una correlación directa entre RT y FAV. Las variables que tienen un carácter cuantitativo presentan una dispersión de los datos. En el análisis de los datos se deduce que no se sigue una distribución normal con respecto al número de *retweets* y el número de favoritos.

	N	Mínimo	Máximo	Media	Desviación estándar
Número de retweets que ha tenido el tweet	170	297	135588	16976,37	20767,311
Número de favoritos que ha tenido el tweet	170	647	147285	25830,21	25710,538
N válido (por lista)	170				

Tabla 1. Estadísticos descriptivos sobre el impacto de los mensajes con los *retweets*.
Fonte: Os autores

En cuanto a las temáticas utilizadas en el contenido de los mensajes que utilizan se observa que las que tienen una mayor frecuencia de utilización son las relacionadas con Promoción y Música, con un 19,4%y 18,2% respectivamente. Le siguen las temáticas *Grammy* y Cumpleaños ambas con un 15,3%de utilización. Las siguientes temáticas más utilizadas en los textos enviados son la clasificada como temas cotidianos con un 8,8% y la siguiente la temática correspondiente a la familia, con un 6,5%.

En cuanto al idioma que utilizan las celebridades más seguidas en Twitter es el inglés en el 87,6% de los casos. En castellano se emiten el 10,6% de los mensajes, principalmente por la comunicación de la cantante Shakira. En su caso se encuentra un aspecto diferenciador de los demás, y es que ella comunica los mensajes en los dos idiomas, en inglés y en castellano para llegar a sus seguidores. En el 1,2% los mensajes emitidos corresponden al idioma portugués, principalmente por los mensajes del deportista Cristiano Ronaldo. Y por último la combinación de castellano-inglés en el mismo mensaje se produce con 0,6% de frecuencia. En este análisis, conviene diferenciar que los mensajes que comparte Shakira en ambos idiomas los hace por separado, es decir, normalmente no pone en un mismo mensaje el texto en los dos idiomas, sino que emite dos mensajes distintos uno en inglés y el otro en castellano.

De los mensajes publicados, el 54,7% de ellos no llevan asociada ninguna imagen, publican simplemente texto. En el 45,3% restante sí que las celebridades prefieren añadir un contenido visual en forma de imagen a sus mensajes en Twitter, por lo que se observa que hay casi una paridad en este análisis.

En el análisis de la integración de la red social Twitter con la red social Instagram para replicar el contenido de los mensajes de una red en otra, en la mayoría de los casos, en el 85,9% las celebridades no tienen realizada tal integración. Tan sólo en el 14,1% de los casos han decidido integrar ambas redes y duplicar el contenido de una en la otra cuando hacen sus publicaciones. Así pues se observó un porcentaje bajo de celebridades que publican mensajes en Twitter deforma enlazada a la publicación en Instagram.

En el caso de los mensajes que llevan asociado no imágenes sino vídeos, se observó que el 92,2% de los mensajes publicados no llevan asociado ningún contenido audiovisual. Tan solo en el 7,1% de los casos prefieren añadir el uso del vídeo adjunto a sus mensajes, por lo que se observa un bajo uso del vídeo en la comunicación vía Twitter.

4. Conclusiones

En el contexto de las diez personas más seguidas en el mundo en las redes sociales, dentro de la red social Twitter las personalidades Justin Bieber y Taylor Swift fueron los más activos en su comunicación con los seguidores. Por otro lado, la lista de este top 10 la cerraban los que fueron menos activos en 2015, Eminem y Shakira.

Los resultados permitieron rechazar la hipótesis de que existe una correlación entre el número de *retweets* -RTs- (veces que los seguidores "recomparte un mensaje") y favoritos –FAVs- (número de seguidores que marcan como favorito un mensaje) que reciben las celebridades por parte de sus *fans*. De hecho después del análisis se observó que los datos no cuentan con una distribución normal en cuanto al número de veces que un mensaje de una celebridad es "re-compartido" o RTs con el número de veces que los usuarios han marcado el mensaje como favorito o FAV.

Sí que se pudo confirmar la hipótesis de que los seguidores toman más la acción de considerar un mensaje de una celebridad como favorito (FAV) que la acción de "re-compartir" con todos sus seguidores. Se comprobó que hay mayor cantidad de personas que marcan como favorito un contenido al de personas que lo comparten con sus seguidores a través del "re-compartir" o RT. Lo que significa que toman la opción más "segura" en el sentido de que no hacen tan público y visible sus gustos y apoyo a una celebridad que puede o no ser del agrado de sus propios seguidores.

Se rechazó la hipótesis que consideraba que hay una mayor publicación de mensajes en Twitter que adjuntan imágenes que mensajes que no las llevan. El estudio permitió observar claramente que el número de mensajes que se publican con fotos es menor a los que publican sin fotos. Es decir su publicación se hace con mucha frecuencia, un 45,3% de las comunicaciones que se realizan, pero no llega a ser la mayoría. Sí se pudo confirmar sin embargo el mayor uso de fotos que de vídeos, que se había considerado igualmente como hipótesis.

Se rechazó la hipótesis de que hay una tendencia por parte de las celebridades a interactuar con sus seguidores en respuesta a los mensajes que publican en la red social Twitter. La mayoría de las celebridades prácticamente no interactúan con sus seguidores cuando estos responden o comentan a sus mensajes. Solo ocurrió en el caso de Justin Bieber. En el mismo sentido se rechazó la hipótesis de que las celebridades que más interactúan en Twitter con sus seguidores son los que son seguidos por más personas.

Se confirmó que los temas de música y promoción son los preferidos por las celebridades en los mensajes que envían por Twitter. Para Katy Perry la temática más importante es la promoción, para Shakira la familia, para Eminem y Rihanna la música, para Justin Bieber la interacción, para Taylor Swift los *grammys*.

Así pues, por lo que al uso de Twitter se refiere, hay que derribar algunos mitos sobre el uso de los mayores influenciadores, al menos en cuanto al número de seguidores se refiere. Ni son tan interactivos, ni son tan creativos como podría pensarse.

El presente trabajo no deja de ser una contribución a un ámbito que decididamente debe seguir siendo investigado y que próximas investigaciones contribuirán a ampliar en su conocimiento desde una perspectiva profesional y académica.

De cualquier forma, la capacidad de influencia, ya sea de personas naturales o jurídicas, anónimas o no, va a depender, de nuevo en el nuevo escenario digital, de la confianza, la autenticidad, el entendimiento mutuo y la capacidad para aportar y recibir valor de los demás, desde la responsabilidad social y la ética, utilizando acciones comunicativas desde una posición bidireccional y simétrica con dichos públicos, donde el diálogo cobre un nuevo protagonismo, donde es posible tener un momento de gloria fugaz en el universo online pero donde es necesario construir una relación estable para realmente ser un influenciador sólido y con posibilidades de éxito en el medio y largo plazo en el nuevo escenario digital.

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Youth, social movements and protest digital networks in a time of crisis

Juventude, movimentos sociais e redes digitais de protesto em época de crise

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Abstract *In recent years, we have seen in several contexts the emergence of new forms of contestation that involve the use of digital media as a resource for civic mobilization. Based on the results of a qualitative research project on youth participation in Portugal's public sphere, with special emphasis on the use of digital technologies and media, this article intends to answer a set of questions: What role does digital media have in the repertoire of action of collective actors that are part of the recent cycle of protests? What is the role of the so-called social networks and other digital tools in these protests? And, how are they used by certain collective activists and what representation does their use raise in different circumstances of "activist practices"?*

Keywords: *Youth; activism and social movements; Internet and digital networks.*

Resumo *Temos assistido, nos últimos anos, em diversos contextos, ao aparecimento de novas formas de contestação que envolvem a utilização de mídias digitais como recursos para a mobilização cívica. Partindo dos resultados de um projeto de pesquisa qualitativa sobre participação da juventude na esfera pública em Portugal, com especial ênfase na utilização de tecnologias e mídias digitais, o presente artigo pretende dar resposta a um conjunto de questões. Que papel têm os meios digitais nos repertórios de ação dos atores coletivos presentes no recente*

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ciclo de protestos? Qual o papel das chamadas redes sociais e de outras ferramentas digitais nesses protestos? Como são utilizadas por determinados coletivos ativistas e que representações suscita o seu uso em diferentes circunstâncias do "trabalho ativista"?

Palavras-chave: *Juventude; ativismo e movimentos sociais; internet e redes digitais.*

1. Introduction: youth, digital media and the new protest cycle

In the last few years, as a result of the political instability and the financial crisis affecting several countries, we have seen strong waves of collective mobilization that have taken on a certain innovative character. Among the aspects to be pointed out is the use of digital media as a resource for mobilization and civic participation. These devices have been fundamental in expressing demands and organizing protest, which favor the emergence of informal political and civic action. These are practices where young people, socialized in a digital era (BANAJI; BUCKINGHAM, 2013), have played a relevant, but not exclusive, role as a visible face of widespread dissatisfaction.

However, the causes of greater participation of young people are deeper. Austerity policies in Portugal seem to have particularly affected this cohort, with a decrease in social support from the state and an increase in unemployment and job insecurity (CARMO et al., 2014). In this context, it is worthwhile highlighting the March 12, 2011, protest of the Geração à Rasca ("Desperate Generation"), which had young people as protagonists and anti-austerity demands as its principle cause. This protest can be traced to a wider cycle of protest that gained strength during 2012, with the bailout that lead to the intervention of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Commission (EC) – commonly known as "Troika" – culminating in the first half of 2013, and then suffering a progressive decline that intensified during 2014. During this period, we witnessed various protest actions under the general cause of "fighting against austerity measures," generating new collective actors that can be seen as the "newest social movements"(FEIXA et al., 2009). This was a cycle characterized by large protests, marches, assemblies and the occupation of public spaces, among other forms of action.

Given the weak tradition of political involvement and civic participation of the Portuguese population (CABRAL, 2014), previous protests marked a turning point in what has been referred to as the "new protest cycle" (BAUMGARTEN, 2013; ACCORNERO; PINTO, 2014). However, we cannot discard the close relation between these phenomena and the waves of protests that occurred internationally, notably in Tunisia and Egypt, in the USA (Occupy movement), in Spain (Los Indignados – "the indignant ones") in 2011 (DAHLGREN, 2013; FEIXA; NOFRE, 2013), and in Brazil (the "free-fare" and "anti-world-cup" movements) in 2013 and 2014 (RECUERO et al., 2015).

This analysis is based on a research project carried out between 2014 and 2015, which sought to articulate the use of digital media in forms of activism and public participation of young people in Portugal.[3] Methodologically, a qualitative approach was adopted, articulating online (analysis of digital platforms) and offline research (in-depth interviews, observation of events and documental collection). The empirical basis for the thoughts presented is focused on the analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with activists of different profiles.[4]

Which actors have emerged and affirmed themselves in the recent protests in Portugal? What role has digital media played in these actors' repertoires of action? In addition to this more general characterization, we also intend to focus on the role that certain platforms play in what we can call "activist practices" – particularly, what is the role of so-called social networks (such as Facebook or Twitter) and other digital tools in recent protests? How are they used within certain activist collectives, and what representations does their use raise in different circumstances of activist practices?

[3] "Youth Network Activism: digital media, social movements and participatory culture among young activists" (EXPL/IVC-COM /2191/2013). Project funded by national funds through the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) and a post-doctoral scholarship (SFRH/BPD/99671/2014). Project developed at the Interdisciplinary Center of Social Sciences (CICS.NOVA) – FCSH/UNL, UID/SOC/04647/2013, with financial support from FCT/MEC through national funds.

[4] A total of 36 in-depth interviews were conducted with activists from different movements, groups and collectives, mobilized around different causes (political, social, ecological, LGBT, etc. – see Table 1's caption) between March and November, 2014. In addition to causes, the selection criteria for respondents included age (youth and young adults between 20 and 35 years of old were interviewed – with the exception of two in their 40s, since they were leaders and activists who had belonged to the collectives in question for a long time) and the type of involvement in activist practices. In the latter criteria, both leaders of movements and "anonymous" activists with significant and diversified trajectories of civic implications were considered.

2. Social movements and activism in Portugal: actors and tensions

The project developed sought to contribute to the re-evaluation of participation in the public sphere, looking at non-traditional forms of political and civic involvement. That is why a broad meaning of activism was adopted, including different forms of participation in the public sphere, motivated by strictly political causes as well as demands that can be placed on a symbolic and cultural level (DAHLGREN, 2009). Contemporary youth has been portrayed as politically non-participative. This situation is, in some way, related to an apparent crisis of the democratic system, which has led to a gradual disbelief in the system and its institutions. However, in opposition to this somewhat pessimistic view, unconventional public participation through non-institutional channels – or that is not usually associated with traditional political activity – must be taken into account (LOADER, 2007; OLSSON; DAHLGREN, 2010). Digital media represent a fundamental tool in this context, as confirmed by our respondents.

Through observation and the reports gained through the interviews, six types of collective actors involved in activist practices were identified. Although it is possible to say that most of them have a "pre-austerity existence," since they defend more general and overlapping causes, all of them are associated in some way to the recent public protests that have taken place in Portuguese society. On the other hand, even though these collective actors are neither exclusively nor predominantly constituted by young people, their presence is very relevant, a fact reinforced by the presented demands.

The first category can be described as *new anti-austerity social movements*, resulting from the economic and financial crisis, which had the fight against austerity measures implemented by the government as their main cause. The non-hierarchical, organic, non-institutional aspects and, therefore, distant from what can be considered institutionalized political activity, constitute some of the movements' main characteristics. The Indignados Lisboa ("Indignant ones, Lisbon") movement, or the Que se Lixe a Troika ("Fuck the Troika") movement, are two good examples of this type.

A second category concerns so-called *alter-globalization movements* that can be regarded as a kind of "predecessor" to the new social movements constituted around anti-austerity demands. There is a clear affinity between global demands against the socio-economic consequences of neoliberal capitalism and the causes that motivate the so-called anti-austerity movements. In addition to the specificity of the context in which they emerge and the global reach of motivations, several fundamental issues remain identical and maintain their presence in the new cycle of national protest.

The third type of collective actors considered falls within the category of the so-called *new "classical" social movements*, associated with cultural and identity causes. The political impact of these movements depends to a great extent on what is understood as political, since strictly political motivations are somewhat missing from the point of view of demands. Associations and environmental, animal rights, anti-discrimination groups (ethnic, sexual, gender, etc.) were included in this category.

A fourth set corresponds to the so-called *"radical" movements*. This category includes collective actors who are explicitly "against the system," such as anarchist groups and others who are characterized by alternative practices, practices of resistance or that oppose the dominant values of society. The best example of these types of movements could be represented by Okupas (squatters) linked to the occupation of empty urban spaces. In the Portuguese case, the importance of these groups is residual, considering recent housing occupation experiences (BAUMGARTEN, 2013).

A fifth type involves *movements directly linked to digital activism*. That is, movements, platforms, groups or organizations that mainly act online or use the Internet and other technologies as the main resource or cause (for example, Anonymous, the Free Software movement and the Pirate Party movement). This is a broad and heterogeneous category composed of distinct collectives that have in common the particularity of using digital technology in a more sophisticated and prolific way than other groups.

Finally, *traditional political actors* were also considered, namely political parties and trade unions. They maintain a relation of ambivalence and complicity with some activist movements. First of all, because several activist groups' members have a trajectory marked by connection to some political party. The prominence of trade unions is also evident, especially the main central trade unions in the country, CGTP (General Confederation of Portuguese Workers) and UGT (General Union of Workers), which have great capacity for mobilization and intervention.

This brief description of the main collective actors involved in activist practices, especially in recent protests, reveals a heterogeneous field marked by the confluence of multiple actors in a varied public arena. Figure 1 seeks to represent these various actors by positioning them on two main axes, as well as a third axis that cuts across the two. That is, an axis related to demands surrounding the fight against austerity, and another axis that stipulates the different degrees of institutionalization involved in the forms of organization of these collectives.

We can, for this reason, interpret the six types of collective actors described according to certain tensions.

The first of these tensions concerns the process of institutionalization. On the side of institutionalization there are political parties and trade unions, but also, on another level, movements that organize themselves as cultural or identity associations. By contrast, there are non-institutional collectives, some only representing networks of shared interests, whilst others are against any form of institutionalization, promoting informality, horizontality and participation. Some of the current movements and platforms were created to promote specific events of an ephemeral nature (protests, the occupation of space) and others do not have the opportunity to institutionalize as they did not continue their activities.

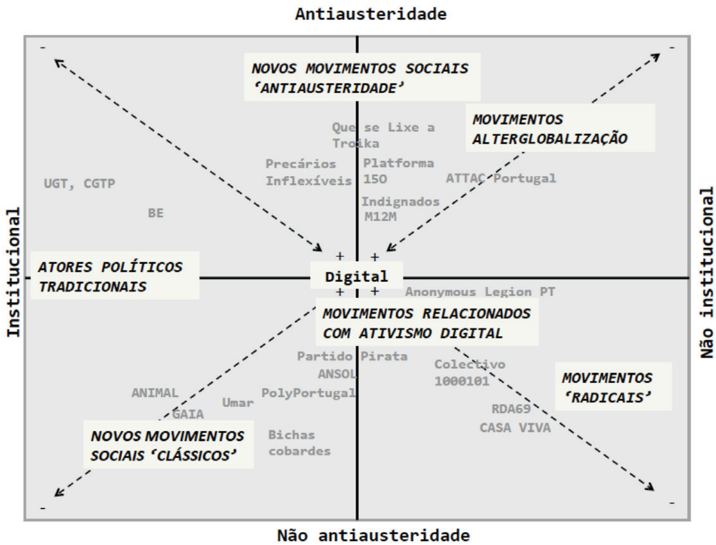

Figure 1. Collective actors involved in activism according to two main axes (non-institutional vs. institutional; anti-austerity claims vs. non-anti-austerity demands) and a third one (digital vs. non-digital).
Captions: Traditional political actors: the BE (Bloco de Esquerda – Left Bloc) party; the CGTP (Confederação Geral de Trabalhadores Portugueses – General Confederation of Portuguese Workers) trade union; UGT (União Geral de Trabalhadores – General Union of Workers) trade union; new anti-austerity social movements: Indignados movement; M12M (Movimento 12 de Março – March 12 Movement); Que se Lixe a Troika platform; Plataforma 15O (Plataforma 15 de Outubro – October 15 Platform); Precários inflexíveis (Precarious Inflexibles) association; movements linked to digital activism: Anonymous Legion PT (Portugal); ANSOL (Associação Nacional para o Software Livre – National Association for Free Software; Colectivo 1000101(Collective 1000101); Pirate Party movement, Portugal; alter-globalization movements: ATTAC Portugal (Association pour la Taxation des Transactions pour l'Action Citoyenne – Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions and Citizen Action); "radical" movements: Casa Viva (Occupied House) Porto; RDA69 (Regueirão dos Anjos 69) Lisbon; new "classical" social movements: Animal (Associação Nortenha de Intervenção no Mundo Animal – Northern Association of Intervention in the Animal World); Bichas Cobardes (Cowardly Fagots) association; GAIA (Grupo de Ação e Intervenção Ambiental – Environmental Action and Intervention Group); PolyPortugal (Associação Poliamor – Polyamory Association); UMAR (União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta – Women's Association Alternative and Response).

Source: Youth Network Activism Project. Prepared by the authors

A second tension concerns the underlying causes of collective actors. In some cases, anti-austerity demands are evident, constituting their identifying and aggregating element; in other cases, this concern does not exist or is diffusely present, associated with other specific demands (for example, new "classical" social movements). In any case, and even considering anti-austerity movements, their concerns are sometimes broader and more diverse, from appeals for greater democratic and civic participation to cultural demands.

A third and final tension allows us to consider digital and non-digital organization of activist practices. Together with "street dynamics," strong mobilization through the Internet and the use of digital equipment, should also be highlighted, which reflects a tension between the online and offline. The Internet not only presents itself as a complementary space to exchange information, communicate and create networks, but can also be thought of as an arena for public intervention, constituting a territory for activist struggle and causes. The so-called digital movements directly reflect this dynamic, in the same way that other movements relate to the digital mainly as a tool used for different purposes and with variable degrees of sophistication.

3. Digital media, protest and activism: between the streets and the Internet

The importance of digital media in political and civic participation has become more pronounced in recent years, particularly as the use of the Internet has become mobile and ubiquitous. In a certain way, the space of contemporary protest is a hybrid space, where the Internet and the streets are interconnected in various ways (CASTELLS, 2012). However, the role of digital networks as a tool for democratization and participation has been interpreted in different ways (DAHLGREN, 2013). An optimistic perspective tends to emphasize its democratizing and emancipating role (CASTELLS, 2012). A critical perspective calls into question the capability of the Internet and digital technologies to generate more participation (FUCHS, 2011). These polarized positions are particularly evident in relation to social media platforms (such as Facebook or Twitter), which either raise apologetic discourses, underlining their importance in creating alternative channels of participation, or derogatory discourses, emphasizing the temporary and inconsistent nature of these social media, and equally warn about the risk of monitoring and electronic surveillance by companies and authorities (LOVINK, 2011).

In addition to the general use of digital technology tools in political activities, its use for varied interests and causes can be considered in a more complex way (POSTILL, 2014). This issue leads us to a distinction about the different ways of using digital technology in political participation and activism. On the one hand, digital technologies appear as tools to be employed by social movements, allowing communication, the dissemination of content and the construction of alternatives using the Internet (ATTON, 2004). On the other hand, digital technologies themselves become the cause of contestation (RAYMOND, 1999). In this sense, one can observe movements for which the use of such technological resources is relatively secondary as they develop activities mainly offline, as well as movements for which the use of these resources plays a crucial role, where the "virtual" space constitutes an important territory for exercising activism.

As in other recent contexts of mobilization and protest (FERNANDEZ-PLANELLS et al., 2015; JURIS, 2012; POSTILL, 2014; RECUERO et al., 2015), the use of the Internet and different digital tools for practicing activism has become naturalized among Portuguese activists, showing their progressive integration with daily life (CAMPOS et al., 2016). Although they fulfill different functions, it is their enormous capacity for communication that stands out in the different uses that are conferred to them.

The way digital tools (technologies, digital platforms and the Internet) are conceived and applied to activist practice is associated with the different attributes of the resources used as well as the procedures of activist practice. Given the importance of identifying activist practices for a correct evaluation of the impact of digital technology on activism, a typology with essentially descriptive objectives was developed. Although these practices predate the advent of digital media, they can also be thought and put into practice through these tools. Based on the analysis performed, eight fundamental dimensions were identified (CAMPOS et al., 2016)[5]:

a. "debate and reflection" – internal activities (aimed at activists belonging to a certain group) that seek to promote sharing and reflection about the causes defended;
b. "organization and logistics" – backstage work in organizing events or developing certain initiatives;
c. "mobilization" – actions that aim to encourage participation and adherence to the cause of a particular movement/group, mobilizing not only the supporters of the movement but also a wider audience;
d. "communication" – communication actions and dissemination of a varied set of messages directed to various audiences, from those who support the cause to a wider and indefinite audience;
e. "recruitment" – actions aimed at recruiting new people to the cause;
f. "advertising and public representation of the collective" – processes of ideological communication and creation of different expressions of the collective's public image;
g. "social networks" – processes of creation, preservation or perpetuation of networks with national or international actors (both individual and collective);
h. "events" (protests, meetings, etc.) – public initiatives organized by the collective or places where they are represented, aiming at a series of strategic objectives (protest, dissemination of the cause, etc.).

[5] Which are obviously interconnected and, in many cases, overlapping; however, from an analytical point of view, it makes sense to distinguish them, allowing the role of different digital media in activism to be assessed.

The importance and centrality of digital devices varies depending on the activities developed and the ways online and offline processes are articulated. Certain digital tools (for example, email) are preferably intended for internal communication, while others (for example, blogs and websites) are destined to the implementation of broader processes; moreover, there are others that fulfill both functions (for example, Facebook). There are, therefore, practices and situations involving activist activities in which the use of certain devices is essential, since they simplify processes and ensure greater effectiveness. Thus, it is possible to affirm that there is a pragmatic and strategic evaluation of the devices, referring to the strengths and weaknesses of their use, their effectiveness or reach. In reality, there was an integration of these new resources with established procedures and forms of action, mainly taking into account the articulation between activism outside and inside the Internet.

4. Activism and protest digital networks: uses and representations

Among the most used tools in activist practices are platforms associated with social media. In most cases, social media is synonymous with using the Internet and digital equipment in activist practices. There are several examples that could be evoked here, from the protests arranged through Facebook to the direct reports of demonstrations through Twitter.

How is the use of social media characterized in the context of practices and discourses of the activists interviewed? To answer this question, it is necessary to consider not only the dimensions of uses raised before, but also the individual variations when using them. This question points to an important distinction between what can be considered individual uses, related to personal interests and private networks, and what can be considered institutional and public uses, directly associated with collectives. This boundary is not always clear in activists' daily practices, as their individual interests blend with their own connection to particular collectives and causes. The very attributes of existing social media contribute to blurring between the public and the private, to the extent that the contexts of networked audiences collapse, combining contacts from different social spheres (MARWICK; BOYD, 2011).

Facebook stands out as the most used platform. This preponderance is essentially due to three reasons: firstly, the dissemination of this platform on a large scale; secondly, the ease with which it is used and integrated with a wide range of everyday practices, including private uses; and finally, its versatility, being a tool with multiple facets that can be used for different purposes and in the most varied circumstances.

It is possible to add to the previous reasons the effectiveness of these tools in the development of previously offline activities, with greater investment of resources. Therefore, there is a communication paradigm in which online activities seem to gain importance in relation to street activities, with which they combine but also seem to remain somewhat autonomous. The advantages of this new communication paradigm in activist and civic action are recognized by different individuals and emerging collective actors as well as by traditional actors, who do not dispense with them. Nevertheless, this is an area of informal communication that seems to benefit mainly those working in the extra-institutional sphere, looking for channels where they can express "their voice," contributing to their own "empowerment." This latter function is particularly relevant in relation to minority causes, which are marginalized by the dominant discourse and, therefore, hardly reach the traditional media.

> ActiBistas is a collective for bisexual visibility. . . . I joined them at that time and it is a very informal collective, which works in a Facebook group with many things online and punctual interventions. (Activist from ActiBistas and Polyportugal)

The hegemony of this platform is only called into question by individuals and activist collectives who have digital technology as their cause or area of intervention area and are, therefore, mobilized to create alternative networks to Facebook itself, such as the advocates for free software:

> At the Association level, in social media that are implemented with free software. Of course they have a small problem, they have a lot less and reach fewer people . . . . Such as the Status Net network . . . the great core of social media is to be distributed and federated, not centralized in a single website. Because this happened, a few weeks ago it became public, for example, that Facebook along with the United States Department of Defense created a massive situation, without people knowing, by manipulating the newsfeed that people receive. (Activist from ANSOL)

It is a surprising fact, compared to what happened recently in other protest contexts (Spain, Brazil, etc.), that Twitter was of little importance:

> Twitter, despite being a social media with potential, reaches a very restricted audience in Portugal. It is different from what happens in Spain. In Spain or England Twitter is widely use. In Portugal it is not. Facebook is the one that is extensively used in Portugal and it is where most people are discussing and sharing poorly informed opinions or announcing things . . . . It is mostly journalist who are active on Twitter. (Activist from Precários Inflexíveis and May Day)

Blogs, which have also been recurrently referred to, cannot be ignored. They emerge in the interviews as a kind of antithesis of contemporary digital participation. Blogs are referred to basically because they marked a certain historical period and have lost importance in favor of Facebook. The Facebook-blog duality (see Table 1) is the reflection of a set of tensions. On the one hand, blogs are associated with the "long term," that is, a conception of civic and political activity that requires a more in-depth, informed and long-run exercise of reflection. By contrast, besides its popularity, Facebook is more associated with a "short-term" paradigm and instantaneous and ephemeral culture, functioning through simplified processes of communication that do not stimulate reflection or reasoned debate. Consequently, it promotes the development of "viral" episodes, rapid mobilization, and instant indignation.

> Facebook is a very instant thing for rapid response and the dissemination of text, song or video. Blogs have functions, such as having more structured and longer texts and making achieves, which Facebook does not have. (Activist and leader of a student association)

	Facebook	Blogs	Twitter
Attributes and uses	Heavily disseminated and used Easy way of disseminating/accessing information Creation /reinforcement of networks and mobilization and creation of events Individual and collective use; "mixture" of public and private	Less used Loss of importance in favor of other tools Good source of information Public individual and collective use	Little used or referred to Rapid and immediate dissemination of information Individual and collective use
Representations	"Short-term" paradigm Fragmented/superficial information Emotional responses Associated with viral episodes of instant indignation	"Long-term" paradigm Reflection and in-depth debate Rational responses Weighted/less immediate responses	"Short-term" paradigm Viral episodes and rapid deployment

Table 1 - Comparison of specific tools in activist practices

Source: Youth Network Activism Project. Prepared by the authors.

Although the different digital platforms fulfill a participatory, emancipatory and democratic function, activists identified a set of negative aspects that create certain challenges. The representations mentioned in the table above express some of these challenges that can be systematized around three main aspects.

The first of these challenges concerns the difficulty in maintaining the balance between new and traditional forms of mobilization and digital activism associated with offline practices. The overvaluation of the former to the detriment of the latter is a risk, since various digital practices are inconsequential and poorly committed, is, above all, not accompanied by offline mobilization and participation. These less committed practices have been termed "couch activism" or "click activism," because of the context in which they occur as well as the connotation of passivity. In this sense, the streets are still the par excellence symbolic space for activist combat.

> The conversation is about how we can mobilize people outside the Internet, because it is very good to create Facebook pages and events, but we need to be on the street in front of organizations and people and show that we are a big group and not just 300 or 3000 likes [he laughs]. (Activist from Bichas Cobardes and No Hate Ninjas)

Another of the main challenges is the difficulty in managing and filtering a large amount of information in an increasingly complex and diversified media ecosystem. This issue is associated with the proliferation of digital devices and platforms, a circumstance that produces, on the one hand, a "saturation or excess of inputs" and consequently a "fragmentation of information" and, on the other hand, difficulty in evaluating the credibility of information. In this way, a "culture of transience" has been generated that does not favor a more in-depth appreciation of information:

> [T]his is another disadvantage of the Internet, the volatility of what can be hegemonic and then, in the next moment, is not – what is viral and what is not . . . . And, on the other hand, the constant creation of . . . focuses that, at some point, make people a little . . . impermeable or stop reacting,

> due to the speed with which the information is reproduced. (Activist from Precários Inflexíveis and Que se Lixe a Troika)

Finally, there is the issue of control and surveillance systems implemented by public authorities and companies that can condition the organizational dynamics of movements and their actions. This is linked to a recognized ambivalence contained in digital tools: On the one hand, they are emancipatory, democratic and apparently empowering; on the other hand, they enable the monitoring and surveillance of citizens. The use of specific tools for making monitoring more difficult seems to be a concern of some activists.

> There is a great need . . . to react, so to speak, to the hegemony of information control that corporations and governments have. And, thus, the only way is to create a back-up activism, away from people who dominate information and communication systems and these technologies, so as not to be watched. (Activist from *Que se Lixe a Troika)*

5. Conclusion

We can say without hesitation that it is impossible to think about the current forms of political and civic mobilization without considering the use of digital tools. In fact, the Internet is not only increasingly presenting itself as a complementary space for exchanging information, communicating and creating networks, but it has also been affirmed as a proper space for public participation. Use by young people has been particularly notable as they are proficient users of a whole range of digital equipment and platforms, as well as having played a role in recent protests in Europe and various parts of the world.

For the case of Portugal, the recent wave of protests has been characterized by the emergence of new collective actors and practices. Traditional collective actors join these new movements, reinforcing the complexity of the current public space of contestation. In this context, digital media has started playing an important role, as demonstrated by the project we have developed.

Thinking about the use of digital media in activist practices depends to a large extent on how this activity is conceived. Digital technology seems to be integrated into pre-digital practices and ways of undertaking activism; however, this integration has a transforming character, as new repertoires of action are being generated. It was confirmed that several platforms and resources are used, and that their employment depends on different factors (the specific characteristics of digital resources, the technological expertise of social actors, the type of collective and the nature of activist practices, etc.). It is also necessary to consider the strong connection between online and offline practices, since the street presents itself as a primary place for political and civic participation, where digital space is a kind of extension of the first.

Although there is great diversity in used digital resources, it was noticed that social media, especially Facebook, has taken a leading role. For this reason, we explored both the uses and functions assigned to it, its representations and other medias similar to it (Twitter and blogs). It was found that the representations about the potential of these tools differs. Thus, some of these devices, due to their characteristics, seem to be closely related to mobilization and protest actions, which stand out as being ephemeral, informal and horizontal in nature. These forms of mobilization depend, to a large extent, on the existence of digital networks and networks of people constantly connected, which can act quickly without the need for complex structure or logistics.

However, the inclusion of these technologies also generates some uncertainties and dilemmas. On the one hand, these tools reveal emancipatory and participatory potentialities, allowing the accomplishment of what is their democratic inclination. On the other, they raise concerns due to their withdrawal from the reality of the streets, because they either seem to generate a kind of "world apart," with apparently easy and inconsequential participation, or they incite a wealth of information whose relevance becomes difficult to discriminate. This leads to a critical assessment of the integration of these resources with established procedures and forms of action when considering advantages and disadvantages.

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Aging, ageism and the invisibility of older people in the media

An Interview with Laura Hurd Clarke

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PhD in Sociology from the University of British Columbia, Laura Hurd Clarke researches the experiences of men and women during the aging process. She is the author of Facing Age: Women Growing Older in an Anti-Aging Culture[3] *and articles from journals of social gerontology, the sociology of aging, feminist studies and other fields.*

This interview was conducted in Vancouver as part of GRUSCCO (CNPq Research Group for Subjectivity, Communication and Consumption) activities, led by Prof. Dr. Gisela G. S. Castro on PPGCOM ESPM, São Paulo.

Invited to speak at the International Symposium of Communication, Consumption and Aging Modes, an event that comprises the schedule of COMUNICON, Dr. Clark will be in São Paulo in October 2016.

CMC. How did you come to the research topic of aging in an anti-age culture?

Clarke. During my childhood, my grandparents were a very important part of my life. When I was studying Sociology at university I became

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3 Rowman & Littlefield, 2010.

interested in the subject of aging. The concept of ageism4 really touched me. When I finished my master's degree in Social Services, I worked with the elderly in a hospital for a few years. I could see firsthand the discrimination against older people. This experience motivated me to do a doctorate. I did qualitative research in a center for the elderly, where I investigated subjective experiences of the elderly in the fight against ageism and the loss of their social value. When I was writing the research, I found only two studies published on the subject. My supervisor and I realized then that this would be the topic of my doctoral research.

CMC. What was your experience of writing *Facing Age*?

Clarke. Writing the book was a wonderful challenge. I was an assistant professor and presented a paper at the Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society of America when I met Tony Calasanti, a pioneer in research of this area. Tony invited me to write for the Aging and Diversity collection. I hoped to make a significant contribution to the debate.

CMC. Has there been any change in how aging is seen in Canada today and in the recent past?

Clarke. One of the topics of my book is about how much the meaning attributed to wrinkles has changed over the years due to consumer culture and ageism. When I started my doctoral research, women did not speak of wrinkles like they do now. Today they tend to reproduce messages from consumer culture about the aged appearance of their face being something unwanted and unattractive. With the advent and increasing use of injectable fillers, fine lines began to have a bad connotation in product marketing messages. People internalize these messages and begin to see and interpret wrinkles and aging of their bodies in a different way.

Pressure is growing on men and women to sport a youthful appearance, framed in a successful aging narrative that was adopted by gerontologists, pharmaceutical companies and consumer culture on a global scale. To

4 Prejudice that generates discriminatory attitude against people based on age.

be successful, you must have a young and slim appearance. You cannot show any sign of changes through the passage of time. It is expected to be ageless.

Dependent on others, age is perceived as a bad thing – something unattractive. These cultural constructions are establishing themselves insidiously, leading to the avoidance of linkages among people and seeing aging as increasingly negative.

CMC. Comment on your current project, *Older Men, Ageism and the Body: Everyday Embodiment in Later Life*.

Clarke. I had studied the body image of women and the problems related to the ideal of the perfect body in the imperfect body. I realized that men had been left out, which led me to investigate the everyday experiences of aging men. I started analyzing the representations of older men in men's magazines. This study was published in the *Journal of Aging Studies*.[5] I am currently analyzing the interviews I conducted with older men. Problems related to body image are growing among men along with eating disorders and the consumption of personal care products. The culture is changing. The pressure on men to take care of their appearance and seek the ideal body has increased. Patriarchy oppresses women more, but we need to change this system for all.

CMC. What are the main differences between men and women with regard to aging and ageism?

Clarke. Ageism affects women with greater force. They are more oppressed by structural economic issues, for example. In Canada, the poorest social layer is composed of single mothers, followed by older women. There are structural factors that affect women and result in ageism. Women live longer than men and they are defined by their appearance. Interestingly, in my recent interviews with older men, they also conclude that ageism is harder on women than themselves.

5 Hurd Clarke, L., Bennett, E. V., & Liu, C. (2014). Aging and Masculinity: Portrayals in Men's Magazines. Journal of Aging Studies, 31 (4), 26-33.

CMC. Comment on the invisibility and stereotypes of older people in the media?

Clarke. Older men continue to be under-represented in the media. Older women are also highly under-represented. However, it is interesting to see that men tend to be represented more positively. In North America, generally older adults have been represented in more positive ways, although they are still absent from media productions. They are invisible, but nevertheless more positively represented, especially older men. I do not think we should underestimate the power of invisibility. This is a big problem and I would like to change it.

About the authors

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