

COMUNICAÇÃO
MÍDIA
E CONSUMO

Editores-chefes: Denise Cogo, Vander Casaqui

Bolsista PPGCOM-ESPM: Hadriel Theodoro, Marcelo Andrade

Assessoria Editorial: E-papers Serviços Editoriais Ltda.

Revisão: Rodrigo R. Carmo (português)

Tradução: Fabiana Ribeiro do Nascimento

Capa: Cláudia Xavier

e-ISSN 1983-7070

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

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CATALOGAÇÃO NA FONTE

Comunicação, Mídia e Consumo / Escola Superior de Propaganda e
Marketing, Ano 1, v. 1, n. 1 (maio 2004) – São Paulo: ESPM, 2017 –

Ano 14, v. 14, n. 40 (maio/ago. 2017)

Quadrimestral

ISSN 1983-7070 online

Acesso em: <http://revistacmc.espm.br>

1. Comunicação – Periódico. 2. Mídia. 3. Consumo. I. Escola Superior de
Propaganda e Marketing. II. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação
e Práticas de Consumo.

CDU – 659.1

ESPM

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revistacmc@espm.br

Comunicação, mídia e consumo

**Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação
em Comunicação e Práticas de
Consumo da ESPM, São Paulo**

Publicação quadrimestral
ano 14 • volume 14 • número 40 • maio./ago. 2017
versão eletrônica da revista disponível em:
<http://revistamc.espm.br>

Indexadores e Diretórios: Revcom, Latindex, IBICT/Seer,
Sumarios.org, LivRe, EBSCO, Univerciência, DOAJ (Directory
of Open Access Journals), GALE-CENGAGE Learning,
Portal de Periódicos da Capes, Diadorim

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Foreword

In the second edition of CMC magazine of 2017, we have a predominance of texts that deal with current issues – greatly related with digital media. However, if we see them as a group, the studies show a fairly diverse panel that represents, in some way, the thematic amplitude that creates the current global scenario.

In the opening, the reflection about the neoliberal capitalism has as focus the debates promoted by the works of Lipovetsky, Serroy and Safatle, to answer a specific question: “how our very capacity of uncanniness has been organized in this system?”

Following that, there is the discussion about gender activism, in the study about the Youtube channel directed and presented by the drag queen Lorelay Fox, in a study based on the ethnographic methodology. The following article approaches consumption through the game streaming platform Twitch and asks other questions, still in the digital environment: “the inter relations between performance, digital consumption and interface conditionings” are problematized through the application of an online questionnaire that was answered by 177 users of the platform.

Other two articles are supported by the use of digital media: a study on social TV supported by the viewers of the TV series *The X-Files*, through their interactions in a page hosted on Twitter. What is being studied here are the strategies of engagement of the TV channel Fox (that broadcasts the show on cable TV), the social bonds derived from this initiative and the extension of “narrative arcs” of the show. The other

article discusses virtual platforms as learning tools, in the context of the Universidad de la Republica de Uruguay (Udelar), thinking about the triangulation between the observation of participation of students in the platform, interviews with teachers and secondary data.

Finally, we have three articles that bring the theme of culture in different registers: one of them brings the study about the young culture and alternative lifestyles in the scene of Baixo Augusta, located in downtown São Paulo. The following study keeps the dialog with urban culture brought by the previous text, when presenting data about cultural consumption and the “aesthetic cosmopolitanism of youngsters” in France, facing the debate on the relation between globalization, formation of taste and the cosmopolitan imagery. Bringing our attention to the Middle East and Africa, the study that closes this edition approaches the theme of arab and muslim stand-up comedians and their “dissident” humor, in order to conclude that “to see the arab and muslim society laughing at themselves is a new and surprising occurrence, because it breaks the stereotyped image that they are uncappable of enduring satire and irony for being dominated by fear and conservatism”.

We wish you all a delightful reading.

Denise Cogo and Vander Casaqui
Editors of the CMC Magazine

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Uncanniness Management and Figures of Corporeity at the Age of the Aesthetics Capitalism

A gestão do estranhamento e figuras de corporeidade na era estética do capitalismo

*Frederico Feitoza*¹

Abstract: *Drawing upon the articulation of two recently published works in Brazil: A estetização do mundo (Le esthétisation du Monde) by Gilles Lipovetsky and Jean Serroy (2015) and O circuito dos afetos, by Vladimir Safatle (2015), this paper aims to rise a discussion about what types of corporeities are being arranged accordingly to the major Neoliberal Political and Economic current demands. Therefore, we try to develop one specific problem: how our very capacity of uncanniness has been organized in this system?*

Keywords: *uncanniness management; aesthetic capitalism; corporeity*

Resumo: *A partir de uma análise que busca articular duas obras recentemente lançadas no Brasil – A estetização do mundo, de Gilles Lipovetsky e Jean Serroy, e O circuito dos afetos, de Vladimir Safatle –, buscamos problematizar neste artigo que corporeidades estão sendo dispostas em acordo com as demandas político-econômicas que ora se estabelecem como neoliberais. Dessa forma, perseguimos uma questão específica: como vem sendo organizada, nesse cenário, a nossa capacidade de estranhamento?*

Palavras-chave: *gerenciamento de estranhamento; capitalismo estético; corporeidade.*

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Introduction

The transformation from a society of production to a society of consumption, especially after the Second World War, unraveled something new in the relation between capitalism and aesthetics. Guided by a system of credit, by the organization of speculative capital and by an intense process of internationalization of the markets, affluent societies stopped detecting that the relations between sensitive and economic began celebrating a new hedonism and the belief that finally everyone could live freely with their individuality, in a way that the kitsch and the mass culture could be surpassed as sensitive standards of this new era. No more “customers”, as Theodor Adorno would say, “hungry for cinema, radio and illustrated magazines” (ADORNO, 2001, P. 97), but entrepreneurs of self. Something deeper on how to feel, how to be affected, how to experience corporeity² in times of consumption capitalism joyfully linking with their demands, including and mainly labor demands.

Political rearrangements were vital so that this economic system could face this new ethos, no longer strictly based on these premises pointed by Weber or Marx around the world of labor, the repressions and energetic and corporeal safeguards, in a way that the model of State in a social welfare were letting itself of entertain or dismantle for a new speech of liberalism. Until the late 70’s, with the indication that the own notion of modernity was deteriorating, it was clear that the masses shouldn’t be uplifted as an indiscernible collective, but the minds and hearts of the so-called “individuals”.

A Thatcher’s premise that would begin to allow, in a near future, that these individuals were thought as a possibility of investment and no longer as subjects for exploitation. This individual would begin to be thought as a company. The focus would not be only on the work “force”, but in the affective dimension of bodies as an object of entrepreneurship: their intensities and libido. A new rhetoric around success and a worthy

2 I use the notion of corporeity because I believe in it more as a dialogic meaning and less as determinative than the term body. I anchor myself in the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (2006), since it seems better that the body is not thought through isolated spheres (biologic, cognitive, spiritual) but in its relation with the world.

existence would emerge then and, with that, a whole new sensitivity - including new models of corporeity.

Despite a persevering idealism of this political-economic system, not everything in the corporeity of this individual becomes subject to integrate docilely to their models and aesthetics. The capacity of uncanniness (*unheimlichkeit*) of the subjects, for instance - while promoter of experiences of negativity and about which we will talk later - becomes a challenge for the organizational and managemental philosophies blooming in the 90's. Ideally, within this new regime of production-consumption, such individuals, with their bodies irremediably affective and pulsing, should understand, elaborate and organize this capacity of uncanniness (facing themselves, their work and their social normativities) as a way of a valuable property to their successful subject.

Based in this context, this paper seeks to articulate the notions of “aesthetic capitalism” and “uncanniness management”, based on two texts recently published in Brazil: *A estetização do mundo (Le esthétisation du Monde)*, by Gilles Lipovetsky and Jean Serroy (2015) and *O circuito dos afetos*, by Vladimir Safatle (2015). Such discussion, that is nothing more (for now) than a theoretic essay, will have as context an issue that seems bigger: Which type of corporeity would interest to the full functioning of the so-called neoliberal democracies?

Yuppie bodies...

Michel Foucault (2008) decided to dedicate part of his course entitled “the birth of biopolitics”, released in 1979, to the exploration of that so-called *homo oeconomicus*: the active, individual citizen, thought as capital, species of investment in the business society. The man had as a self-entrepreneur, or rather, entrepreneur of a “self” transformed into company. Not even the aesthetics of existence or life lived as work of art - that were considered ways of escaping thought by Foucault for the disciplined and controlled world -, but life taken as an object of calculated management, that would characterize the basic function of his version of biopolitics.

It is ironic that this phenomenon starts to arise in the 80's, the so-called decade of plastic, of the disposable, of the post-modern, that was not a Foucauldian subject. That decade was also the decade of the yuppie, the executive that saw himself in the movies, a strong man, master and slave of himself, unconsciously socio-darwinistic... It is a type of self-entrepreneur, whose performance was condensed into one entrepreneurial intelligence, the youthful energy and a MBA mentality that was still in the beginning as an object of North American exportation: It is the American Psycho, ironized in the famous book of Bret Easton Ellis in 1991, or the woman of with shoulder pads, masculinized, as the one played by Sigourney Weaver in *Working girl*, movie by Mike Nichols in 1988.

These narratives already brought, under the form of pastiche and parody, the seed of a type of corporeity that would become normal with the internationalization of the North American culture. The means of communication used to spread ideas, models of corporeities and appearances capable of grouping all this new idealized aesthetic form: the multifaceted, accomplisher of many concomitant activities, ambitious, scheduled, meritocrat and passionate about his work, protected by a widely integrative educational and work speech.

Foucault did not testify this celebration of the neoliberal homo oeconomicus. He could not see how the professional world and the advertising world, as well as the mediatic culture as a whole, would start aestheticizing him. He did not imagine that the capitalism would begin to produce their own little myths decades later, for example, Andrea Sachs, main character of the best-seller of Lauren Weiberger *The Devil wears Prada* (2003), or Chris Gardner, played by Will Smith in

The Pursuit of Happyness (Gabriele Muccino, 2007). Narratives about the painful and, at the same time, charming process of management of their vulnerabilities and ambiguities.

It was the post-modern, while a updated field of understanding of this new world, that started to think this aesthetization of our economic system to, often times, worship it. One of the names behind this perception

was Gilles Lipovetsky. When he wrote *O império do efêmero* (2009) in the 80's, highlighting the modal character on which capitalism itself depended, the author defended, in a certain way, that the self-expression of the democratic individual worked through his individual freedom of living hedonism and the little luxuries of a consumption market that is now accessible.

Status and ostentation could relatively be lived by almost everyone. And, in the end of all that, a certain social dignity would be reached, in which the subject who lives the extravagance of fashion as the main driving force of a consumption society, instead of being considered as someone passive or alienated, would begin to be seen as someone who is capable of reinventing, in a certain way, their relationship with others, and, in addition to that, creating new meanings for the notion of elite, that would continue to dictate trends, although now it would also happen in a more dialogic way.

In 2003, Lipovetsky, along with the sociologist Jean Serroy, goes on disserting about the capitalism itself as an aesthetic form, or what he calls "artist-capitalism". In the text *A estetização do mundo*, a compendium of small commentaries on the society of consumption based on an update of the theory of the spectacle of Guy Debord – in which words such as "hyper-spectacle" and "hyper-consumption" are contextualized –, is assumed that the creativity begins to have an important role in a world that was thought as predestinate to unsurmountable massifying oppositions between art and industry. In the age of the aesthetic capitalism or trans-aesthetic era, as the authors would call it, the multiplication of trends and spectacles points towards a certain ambiguity of the capitalism in which some beneficial results would be created.

Unlike other stages of humanity, in which art worked towards the gods (ritual artelization era), than for the royalty (aristocratic aesthetization) and for art itself (in Modernity), in the trans-aesthetic capitalism, art and market work together and, contrary to that idea that was talked among apocalyptic of the society of production and the cultural industry, instead of unidimensional men, we would have individualities with great

creative potential, based on an intense and accessible circuit of sensible experiences and artistic that only the contemporary man (concomitantly homo aestheticus and homo consumericus) would be capable of living.

Once again, Lipovetsky is on a certain duality around the good and the bad of an aesthetization of our economic system in which affection and sensibilities are disposed according to the demands of a market that is, at the same time, source and ending for fun and pleasure, or, paraphrasing Guy Debord (2003, p. 8): spectacle as “total justification of conditions and ends of the existing system”. Trait that seems significative for our discussion, since we believe there is a corporeity that molds itself in an auto-regulated or auto-organized way in this interdependent tension between work, sensibility and pleasure that seeks to conceive itself as an individual and liberal form.

This form would not imply, however, in a life goal with ends of a hierarchically superior concentrated wealth (that would mean, for Lipovetsky himself, a dated ideal and through what we imagined, for example, the image of the yuppie), but in the thesis that the capitalism artist would be based on “the order of the company projects and strategies” (LIPOVETSKY and SERROY, 2015, p. 41). i. e., instead of being stagnant within a rational calculus of economic activity around which our lives would be decided, he opens himself to the body and heart of his consumers through pleasures, dreams, challenges and emotions assumed as enterprising objects. The traditional functions of the art turn to be assumed by the business universe. Now, hyper-spectacle, entertainment and publicity become categories commonly associated with art and are elements that demand an entrepreneurial attention.

Unlike what was said by the detractors of this regime and other apocalypticals, according to Lipovetsky and Serroy, it is as if the “creepage” to the same trans-aesthetic capitalism would be democratically available to those who live it. This hedonistic and ephemeral universe of brands and companies which conduct our experiences and our own symbolic life would not be established in a desert of values or deny the potency of affectionate relations nor be condemned to an empty nihilism. This

enterprise around the sensitivity would also be a “sign of advance towards the de-traditionalization and secularization of the moral sphere” (LIPOVETSKY and SERROY, 2015, P. 414) in which the “lack of investment in projects of revolutionary transformation was filled by a more immediate engagement, by the protection of human life and their dignity” (LIPOVETSKY and SERROY, 2015, p. 415).

Paraphrasing Alexis de Tocqueville, the two authors end up endorsing that one of the consequences of the individualistic democratic culture would be the development of a general compassion by the human species capable of generating an imaginary participation in the other people’s disasters, even if it was through “fleeting and epidermal” emotions. In short, the beautiful, good life would not be in the mere compulsory consumerism of distractive sensorial-bodily pleasures, but in the opening of this liberal individual for the perfecting and enrichment of self, especially through a careful transition between a capitalist paradigm of quantity over a capitalist paradigm of quality.

... to the capture of the monsters of uncanniness

The conciliatory tone is fought by authors who we can classify as “new apocalyptic”, but with hegelian-lacanian tradition instead of freudo-marxist, for example, Slavoj Žižek, Alain Badiou or Vladimir Safatle. The latter was already saying that the only way in which the capitalism can conciliate norm with transgression, what can be thought of, in another key, through the pair work/pleasure, would be through the development of a dominant cynical rationality, summarized by the already known ideologic formula by Peter Sloterdijk: “they know what they do and they do it anyway”. This type of speech duplicity capable of sabotaging the perlocutionary force of a given speech and guarding the subject of the commitment with what he says (SAFATLE, 2008).

In his last book, *O circuito dos afetos*, released in 2015, the relation capitalism/body starts to be thought of in its affective and libidinal dimension. In general, the text invites to a deep discussion about the premise according to which there is no politics without body and says

that the way in which the affection circulate in society will have a direct connection with the model of politic-economical body that runs it. Therefore, Safatle brings up reflections, for example, about the unavoidable price to pay for a society based on the model of the liberal individual, that would go through the same definition of another as a type of potential invader and, consequently, in the management of fear as the most efficient political affection.

There would not be, thus, the possibility of building political bonds without a regime of aesthesis. This way, the author develops a deep discussion about the differences between fear and helplessness and the relationship between hope and enjoyment while transformers or maintainers of a given status quo.

What the author thought since *Cinismo e Falência da crítica* about the force of absorption of differences and indeterminations by the capitalism goes through a careful inquiry, in which the political economy and the libidinal economy establish a relation of commutation. In summary, the current economic system would no longer demand that the subject would safeguard their pleasure and donate all their energy to a repressive and imperative workforce, as in the times of ethos described by Max Weber, but it would finally be in consonance with the pulsional polymorphism that is common to each and every body – which includes the vicissitudes of pleasure and the ways of malaise that are established in the rut among culture, libido and instinct.

A subject developed by Safatle seems useful specifically for the development of this understanding: the notion of psychic spoliation of uncanniness (*unheimlichkeit*). It reflects well how the aesthetics of capitalism, while entrepreneurship of all spheres of existence, is capable of producing a way of neoliberal corporeity that is highly performative and functional. For uncanniness, in general, the philosopher implies that the capacity of the subject to come across with the awareness of vulnerability and exploration of the ambiguity of everything that seems familiar for, with this, confide, perhaps, to the own exercise of criticism while

being a negative construction of new principles in the interior of what it seemed, until then, well known.

In this management of the uncanniness, this power of the subject to find himself uncanny through an experience of transforming negativity should be managed by increasing chains of philosophy of entrepreneurship, of organizational psychology, the psychopharmacologic industry for, in worst case scenario, capture the conscience of vulnerability in itself, common to all of us, for the interior of a psychiatric scenario of depression, anxiety, stress, etc.

Thus, everything that can be associated with experiences as the “contingency” in Hegel, in the field of politics, or of the “helplessness” in Freud as “original biologic data”, or the “joy” of the real in Lacan while psychologic register that suspends the symbolic order, will have to praise an entrepreneurial intelligence with their promises of a successful life. In this life thought to be lived inside of offices and job agencies, all the driven excess and the existential contingency will be synonyms of abnormality, disease and, to the last extent, weakness.

It is possible to say that the power makes us melancholic and it is in this way that it submits us. This is the true violence of power, much more than what the classic mechanisms of coercion and domination by force, because it is about the violence of a social regulation that takes the self to accuse himself in its own vulnerability and paralyzing its capacity of action. (SAFA-TLE, 2015, P. 83).

It is not only to transform the vulnerability into weakness as premise that operates behind the notion of “beauty” of the neoliberal life, but to try to manage all the forms of identification of the subject with himself and with the others, including there its uncanniness. A management that, for Safatle, will invest especially in narcissistic identifications in which the ideal of self will rest in a corporeity that works as a highly fetishized type of media crossed by the flow of capital and information. That is, the great pathology or the great malaise of this time of the aesthetic capitalism will be characterized by the lack or impotence of the subject in assuming their own mechanization or cybernetization:

those who begin to be called loser. Reason for even more shame and self-punishment.

The neoliberal individualism creates narcissistic and possessive corporeities even when post-modernity has been challenging the idea of monadic subject endowed with a certain fixed identity. And this uncanniness that the post-modernity promises is praised by our economic system in the precise moment when it becomes sensitive facing this new condition in which indeterminations and mutations turn to be constant in our lives. Safatle explains that the continuous reconfigurations of the bodies in the current societies need a notion of property that is entrepreneurial and that let itself supplant by the “promise of absolute plasticity of forms of life that the same way the intensification of the performance and the performances demanded for the neoliberal economic rhythm transformed into a peculiar subjective mode of joy” (SAFATLE, 2015, P. 199). In this case, whoever does not accept facing the risk of always getting updated becomes a loser - or a “moral coward”, as the author would say.

It is interesting, therefore, to this body to maximize its performance through the internalization of a business way of experience. A shapeless body, highly flexible, willing to comply the most extreme social demands: “the neoliberal subject is much more a calculating agent of costs and benefits of what a citizen of who waits the conformation to the social norms”. This moral flexibilization translates, according to the philosopher, the violence of the pulsional polymorphic structure and, that way, organizes and prepares a type of subjectivity that is capable of dealing with what seems to be more final, namely, their relation with difference, including the one who inhabits it.

Safatle will continue a study that he performed in the 90's to explain this form of management of the uncanniness when he reflects about the mutations of body ideals in the globalized rhetoric of consumption, that was based on, until then, the hegemony of Aryan, healthy and heteronormative bodies. In the foundation of his explanation lies the idea

that a globalized imaginary of consumption could not happen through a simple massive repetition of stereotypes.

The publicity would need to put on the center of its rhetoric the fragmented and dissolved reality of the contemporary self in a way that the body, previously thought as housing of a fixed identity, could be finally thought through its infinite plasticity, of everything that would cause uncanniness: “through the mediatic cult to diets, gymnastics, cosmetics, liposuctions, and plastic surgery, a species of rhetorics of the plastic re-configuration of self at a low cost that was being consolidated as a main piece of the contemporary social discourse” (SAFATLE, 2015, p. 213).

The body becomes, thus, project, design object, an enterprise of self that goes through a series of investments that seek to optimize it in both its function and its hedonistic capacity: Entrepreneurial care that brakes heteronomies and uncanniness of the subject with the body without having a determining image to be copied, but rather an idealized capacity of reconfiguration of the notion of identity while forming the most valuable form of property. To illustrate such thesis, Safatle analyzes some social representations of body that arise as unseen reconfigurations proposed by the advertising discourse starting at the 90's.

As an example of such analyses, he appeals to the sick and morbid bodies of Benetton and Calvin Klein ads; the body as a surface or device for the development of multiple personalities, in the case of Playstation; and, finally, the body as a sexually ambivalent object in advertisings of Versace and, once again, Calvin Klein. Statements that allowed the release of ideas that were then unexpected to an advertising discourse, such as the self-destruction of the image of a body, in a purely spectacular kind of “rebellion” when, paraphrasing Debord, satisfaction itself becomes a merchandise.

In this case, would advertising, the expressive standard of aesthetic capitalism, be flirting with the negative? Supplying subjective instruments to deal with our own uncanniness? With previously protected ideas to the intimate experience of the subject with contingency, with the real, with the death drive?

It is not fortuitous that the polemic and the transgression are constantly put as rhetoric norm of advertising defiance. A type of joy that will care very little about the defense mechanisms of subject's self and that will be there as nothing more than the possibility of psychic and bodily overcoming. The shocking experience of uncanniness will be, within this logic of overcoming and challenge, being fleeced and managed by one other whose demands for acceptance, dignity and success paralyze the subject from their own existential thoughts: "Capability to face risks, flexibilization, malleability, resultant un-territorialization product of infinite processes of re engineering, all of these values compose a new ideological core" (SAFATLE, 2015, P. 264).

Characteristics for a type of corporeity that has in images such as the manager or the coach their most valuable mentors. The sensitive capitalism values the flexible and plastic shapes, shapes that can make transgression and norm coexist, shapes capable of adapting to the biggest adversities, mainly those which arise from the subject himself. Thus, the image for this system is no longer the image of an exploited man, alienated, swallowed by machines of a system of voracious Fordism, such as the image mocked by Charles Chaplin (1936), nor the iron man, the businessman, whose armor takes him to battle with a phallic war tank, for instance, the yuppie executive, but, rather, a body that adapts and overcomes himself as human; a body whose excess fall in the promise of a possible organization; a body that reinterprets itself in an infinite plasticity of libido and the violent drive towards an updated self. The body that the aesthetic capitalism dreams to capture is strangely a body without predefined form, it is a non-human body, the corporeity in itself, as the one from Odradek by Franz Kafka or from Alien by Ridley Scott.

The fascinating reading of Slavoj Žižek (2008) concerning these creatures, conceived as amorphous shapes e, consequently, as ideal images for the driven polymorphism, can teach us a lot about the attempt of the capitalism itself of "parasiting" or "colonizing" the most inaccessible places of a human being, something that turns the subject uncanny to himself. Odradek, as Kafka describes (apud ŽIŽEK, 2008, P. 158-159), is

the “broken remains [...] he is extraordinarily fast and no one could ever catch him”. A living thing that does not have where to live, But someone who is always lurking, in the cracks.

For Žižek, Odradek is a transgenerational object, without time and immortal. He understands him as the incarnated *jouissance*, the same way the famous Alien, which showed as a scary form from the movie by Ridley Scott in 1979. Paraphrasing Jacques Lacan in his seminary XX, Žižek would say that *Jouissance* is something that there's no use for anything, unattainable, but it is something we never can get rid of.

Therefore, he accepts Jean-Claude Milner (*Odradek, La bobine de scandal*, 2004) from Kafka's text, in which he says that, because he has legs and laughs, Odradek contains traces of the human being, even though he may look clearly non-human, configuring himself anguishly only as a partial object to which it does not seem to miss anything: “remains of living substance that escaped the symbolic colonization, the horrible palpitation of the headless heartbeat that remains”. It is the uncanniness incarnated in itself. Alien's monster lies in the same category: it is, for Žižek, now paraphrasing Stephen Mulhall (*On Film*, 2001), the nightmare of the incarnated nature, the personification of the animal kingdom that only wants to survive and reproduce. It is the drive that penetrates and parasites the body.

His reading of the Alien series, of the movie of 1979 until *Prometheus*, of 2012, also from Ridley Scott, performs a type of metonymic association with capitalism itself or what he calls *parallax* - his method par excellence that is configured as an exercise of perversion of objects of culture. Through endless cycles of alternation and reproduction/mutation between monsters and human beings throughout all the franchise, the philosopher advises:

This fascination for the monstrous alien should not be allowed to obfuscate the anti-capitalist side of the Alien series: Ultimately, what threatens the lonely group in a spaceship is not the aliens as is, but the way the group is used by the extraterrestrial anonymous company that wants to explore the alien form of life. The issue here is not to play with the superficial and

simplistic “metaphorical meaning” (the vampire-like monsters “actually mean” the Capital), but to conceive the bond in a metonymic level: It is how the Capital parasites and exploits the pure life drive. The pure life is a category of capitalism (ŽIŽEK, 2008, P. 163).

Final considerations

To reach the affection and the desires based on an idealized model of vital pureness is, on our point of view, the aesthetic ambition of our economic system. It is the object of its central enterprise. It is not only what makes it endowed with an intrinsically biopolitical characteristic, but rather with an advanced sensibility. Their new imperative, from the assumption of the consumption society and its acceptance of body not only as a fixed housing, but as a group of unstable drives, is that there does not have to be any separation between libido, work and pleasure anymore. There is no necessity of having uncanniness between these spheres anymore. Uncanniness does not only seem counter-productive, but also anti-aesthetic, indignant, ugly. The joyful and uncanny dimension that is proper to the human being, previously associated with the religious and artistic experiences that are contrasting to the normative social demands, is restricted to an organizational universe that begins to be inseparable to hyper-spectacle and entertainment.

The neoliberal corporeity assimilates this irresolute polymorphism, without function, but insisting in an idea of valuable property of self. This is the way that our capacity of uncanniness has been organized in this scenario. Something that unveils the sophisticated nuances of a political-economic system that is prepared to make progress with the support of institutions and governments and, more profoundly, with the admiration of their citizens/consumers. They marvel themselves, for example, with this advertising that accepts the negativity of bodies rejected by advertising itself: People who are overweight, gays, trans; they idolize a popstar that calls herself mother monster while she sells a perfume called Alien by Lady Gaga; they supply, while entertaining, algorithms

capable of calculating their most pleasant fears and memories to produce moving series, for instance what happened with *Stranger Things*, Netflix hit of 2016. It is the driven chaos that interests the system to rearrange within fascinating and fetishized packings.

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Date of submission: 02/24/2017

Date of acceptance: 04/10/2017

Lorelay Fox's digital activism: aesthetics and gender performance¹

O ativismo digital de Lorelay Fox: estética e performance de gênero

Josefina de Fatima Tranquilin Silva²

Abstract: *In this article I inquire the YouTube channel “Para Tudo” of the drag Lorelay Fox, questioning its political and communicational character, since the technologies are embedded to youth political appropriations operated in digital cartographies. The aim is to discuss how the performance and aesthetics of Lorelay Fox configure their gender activism. Ethnography is the methodology: the fieldwork is formatted by the “dense observation” of the videos and the in depth interview with Danilo Dabague – the creator of Lorelay Fox.*

Keywords: *digital activism and political nature; ethnography; drag Lorelay Fox; aesthetics and performance; youths*

Resumo: *Neste artigo, indago o canal do YouTube Para Tudo da drag Lorelay Fox, problematizando seu caráter político e comunicacional, uma vez que as tecnologias estão imbricadas às apropriações políticas juvenis operadas nas cartografias digitais. O objetivo é discutir como a performance e a estética de Lorelay Fox configuram seu ativismo de gênero. A metodologia é a etnografia: a “observação densa” dos vídeos e a entrevista em profundidade aplicada a Danilo Dabague – criador da Lorelay Fox – formatam o trabalho de campo.*

Palavras-chave: *ativismo digital e politicidades; etnografia; drag Lorelay Fox; estética e performance; juventudes*

1 Research developed in the Post-Graduation Program in Communication and Consumption Practices, under the supervision of the Professor Rosamaria Luiza de Melo Rocha and financed by Fapesp/Capes. Process n° 2014/11441-0. Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo – São Paulo Research Foundation (Fapesp).

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Lorelay Fox: political reference for LGBT youth

Lorelay Fox, memories and reencounter: I find out the existence of Lorelay Fox in 2015 through the conversations of the youth in Sorocaba, city in São Paulo's countryside. In that same year: Sorocaba's LGBT parade starts to have a new format, more political: the organizers created the "Nós Diversos"³, that, according to Kadu Nunes, media coordinator of the Parade, "it is a cycle of debates on LGBT and feminist themes that take place in Sesc Sorocaba" and has as objective "to debate subjects of the LGBT and feminist community to, in that space, break preconceptions and respect the differences, creating new knots of affection and diversity". In one of the encounters I've been in, Kadu shows the agenda and some data regarding the rise in the number of audience in each event. One of the reasons for that is the video created by Lorelay Fox supporting Nós Diversos and the Parade. When the video is shown, the audience, even though they are already aware of it, clap, excited. I realize, then, that Lorelay is more than a drag that is cited in youth chats, she is a political symbol for LGBT youth, gender activists or not, from Sorocaba.

For someone who research gender, youth, consumption practices, activism and digital net, it is an obvious reaction to be restless with this drag from Sorocaba that revolves as a youth symbol, mainly among the LGBT activists. Then, I wanted to know who Lorelay Fox was. I start a research on her Facebook page and there I find a picture of Lorelay's creator – Danilo Dabague. And what is my surprise? Danilo was my student 10 years ago, when Lorelay already existed as a performer in nightclubs in Sorocaba. I always knew Danilo "dressed" as a woman, but my memories used to go through other paths: creative, sensitive and smart young man. I quickly login on Facebook's messenger and exchange some messages with Danilo, affectionate messages filled with lot of compliments, nostalgia and complicity. It was a great encounter.

3 "Nós diversos" was idealized and organized by: group of activism Coletivo LGBT; feminist group Mandala; Study Group on Gender and Sexual Diversity Studies – UFSCar Sorocaba; Sorocaba LGBT Parade; and Sesc Sorocaba.

Through Facebook, I find his channel on YouTube with a lot of followers – today, more than ten thousand. There I unravel, immediately, the existence of a digital gender activism. Excited, because I just found a wonderful object/subject of study, I begin to avidly watch all of the videos posted in Para Tudo from Lorelay Fox, her channel, which inspires reflections and the object of this article⁴: to discuss the aesthetics and the performance of Lorelay Fox as a possibility of negotiation of meanings between her and the youth that, in her channel, make themselves visible. It is interesting to perceive that we are dealing with an aesthetic of “montage”, that gives life to a feminine character – not a woman? – protagonist of the gender activism existing in the channel.



Source: YouTube⁵

To reflect about the youth gender activisms nowadays is to understand that the political actions of the youth occur in face-to-face territories and in digital environments. Di Felice (2003, p. 54), analyzing the dimension of citizenship of digital spaces, proclaims that “this specific dimension takes us to the necessity, in the interior of the analysis of

4 This study considerably expands the discussions on communication made in two congresses: VI Congresso da Associação Portuguesa de Antropologia, Coimbra, Portugal; Comunic-Com 2016: Congresso Internacional em Comunicação e Consumo, ESPM-SP.

5 Para Tudo by Lorelay Fox. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC-NW3bCCGpu-Jm6fz-9DyXMjg>. Accessed in : Feb 12 2017.

net-activism, of deepening the meaning of social action, seeking to understand and think the quality of *net action* [...]”. As Martin-Barbero says (2008, p. 211):

The ‘place’ of culture in the society changes when the technological mediation stops being merely instrumental to become thick, dense and convert to structural. The technology sends us today not only to new apparatus, but also to new modes of “perception” and “language”, to new sensibilities and scriptures. Radicalizing the experience of dis-anchorage produced by the modernity, technology dis-localizes the knowledge, modifying both the cognitive statute and the institutional statute of conditions of knowing and figures of reason (Chartron), which is conducting to a strong dilution of frontiers between reason and imagination, knowledge and information, nature and artifice, art and science, expert knowledge and profane experience (Castells).

The youth are the protagonist of this process of cultural change, because they occupy the digital spaces and create political actions, demonstrating how technological mediations are converted into structural mediations. As Martin-Barbero says (1998), technology becomes “technicity”. In this context, youth are hereby analyzed as a “practice, whose age moment is retracted or dilated according to the participation of individuals and the contexts of social, cultural, political and economic dimensions” (PRATA, 2008, p. 223).

The methodological path was the digital ethnography (or netnography)⁶ in the perspective of the authors Amaral, Natal and Viana (2008, p. 35), that, through the ethnography of physical spaces, build the digital ethnography. For them, digital ethnography “takes into account the processes of sociability and the communicational phenomenon that involve representations of the men within virtual communities”. To Levi-Strauss (2008, p. 14), ethnography “consists in the observation and analysis of human groups considered in its particularity the reconstitution, as loyal as possible, of each one of their lives”. Thus, we trust that ethnography

6 According to the authors, while digital ethnography is made through anthropology, netnography is closer to business and marketing. In the text, these terms are used as synonyms (AMARAL, NATAL and VIANA, 2008, p. 34).

proposes ways of identifying how the digital spaces are configured; of mapping the nets of symbolic and imaginary relations; of detecting how these relations are built and, in the case of this research, of analyzing the elements that compose Lorelay Fox's activism. Therefore, the "observation" technique of the channel Para Tudo by Lorelay Fox and an in-depth interview applied to Danilo Dabague – Lorelay's creator – composes the ethnographic field work. It is important to highlight that the commentaries posted by interlocutor subjects of this channel are perceived in this research as "vocalities" (ZUMTHOR, 1987), even though, in this study, we have not done a reception research.

Urbania: experiences of corporeity and intolerable corporeities

When we research about digital networks, gender, sexuality, bodies, digital activism and, specifically, a drag queen⁷, we have as context the contemporaneity, sociopolitical-cultural moment in which the urbanities, the consumption practices and the mediatic languages are the engine for every day actions, mainly from the youth. For Martín-Barbero (2008, p. 208), we live in the "urbanias", the "new ways of being together, [seen in the] masses, tribes, groups, gangs, ghettos, ethnic, religious, gender communitarianisms, etc." For the author, in this urbanias there are "trajectories and intertwining" seen through "immigrants, dislocated, exiled, foreigners, pariahs, and also Indians, black people, Turkish people, Jewish people, women, gays, homossexuals, prostitutes, transvestites, bums, etc." that are inscribed in "palimpsests" and "hypertexts" observable through "diverse muralisms, multiple 'rockeries', esoterisms, 'santerias', orientalisms, 'rapperias', performances, etc." That way, they build 'citizenship' through 'heterogeneities', 'the project of forming the city with local memories and universal utopias'. These citizenships are reinventions, because the project of 'making politics' goes through the movement that takes the representation to the recognition,

7 I use the term drag, not crossdresser because that is how Lorelay defines herself.

going through participation and self-management” and has ‘intermediability’, the project of recreating the city with indigenous oralities, black corporeities, scholar textualities and digital visualities”. It is in this context that the subjects end up decoding the skin they live in: the bodies. “The image of the body is the effect, the result, the construction of what is produced through the subjectivation of structures that anticipate our entrance to the world” (CORTÉS, 2008, p. 125). In this sense, when we analyze corporeities and the issue of gender, we understand that there is great difficulties for the subjects to create narratives that demonstrate the acceptance of self, of the self in sync with the other and the other itself, because the bodies are evidence of the particularities of self and the unacceptable differences of the other; that who runs from cultural accessions.

In these urbanias, with so many trajectories and intertwinings, it is important to reflect about to what point the different corporalities are accepted, if the regulation and social control of the bodies are or not starting to be extinct. We ask: should the acceptance to those corporalities painted on the walls of the streets, shown on performances that escape regulation and social control of gender be recurrent? It should, but it still is not, because the urbanias are not homogeneous in all geography of a metropolis or of metropolises. The metropolitan spaces are composed by “physical cartographies” and “symbolic cartographies” (SILVA, 2001) differentiated, and that makes that certain corporalities, the shocking ones, are accepted in certain places and not in others, are written on walls, applauded in performances, but have unforgivable existences in the daily life. Thus, the “imaginary appear [then] as a strategy [...] to comprise the urbanizing processes that not only are manifestations of a city, but also, of the world [composed by me, the other, and us] that urbanizes it” (SILVA, 2001, p. 8).

Butler (2015, p. 231), in dialogue with Young, highlights that both the “rejection” that the individuals feel and the “expulsion” they practice are the foundation that materializes the “culturally hegemonic identities in axis of differentiation of sex/race/sexualities”. Thus, this

aversion takes to the expulsion of the other away from the self, as if they were “excrements”, transforming them into “vile” beings and, thus, rejected. It seems that Gagnon (2006) warns that the desire does not have gender, or, if it does, it is not what matters most in libidinous relationships. He says:

One of the deepest complications is that it is not obvious if it were gender aspects of “someone” that provoked the arising desire, or even if the desire is linked to a certain “someone”. The desire can be concentrated in someone that is successful, or someone that the others or ourselves desire by its pureness, or in someone that we can dominate, by whom we can be dominated. The “someone” of these situations can be genderless, or the gender can only be important in so far as the success, the pureness and the domination are attached to it (GAGNON, 2006, p. 203).

Thus, we evaluate that the “rejection” and “expulsion” committed by the individuals that Butler talks about are primarily centered around the body. Research elaborated by Agência Brasil shows us that, “with 600 deaths in six years, Brazil is the country that kills transsexuals and transvestites the most” (CASARRÉ, 2015). According to the same research, the most elevated index is in the São Paulo region, a place that is an example in live in the urbanias. Therefore, the subjects experience the spaces where the heterogeneity is inscribed in “palimpsests” and “hypertexts” – and these ways of writing differences contribute to the construction of new ways of citizenship” (MARTÍN-BARBERO, 2008, p. 208). However, it is also in these de-territorialities that the individuals expurgate their insanities (MORIN, 1995) that constitute themselves, expulsing the “vile” when encountering the subjects-others. These subjects, by having such diverse corporalities, send the message to those who find them that there is a body there – a gesture, an aesthetic, a representation – that breaks the social regulation and control of gender and, because of that, must be rejected and expelled.

Leite Junior (2011, p. 559), reflecting about the notion of “vile” present in Butler’s analysis, informs us that the philosopher uses the term with parsimony, but it can follow a constant line in her analyses: “the

'vile' is what, in the constitution of a socially intelligible subject, is put 'outside' this subject, creating their constitutive exterior". The representation of the body is more than a simple image, it is a code that brings us closer or farther from power, ethics, affection and morals. That is why the body is corporeity and corporality.

Butler (2015) understand gender as performative. When wondering "what is the intervening law that generates the bodily un-stabilization of gender, the representation fantasized and fanciful of the body" (2015, p. 234), the philosopher explains gender: when the culture produces the discipline of genders, ends up solidifying a false notion of stability of them, because, in reality, the bodies never were and never will be stable, and, because of that, there is no necessity of the subjects to choose being a determined gender nor having this or that gender identity. These options are necessary only in order to contribute with the sedimentation of the heteronormative regulation. Gender is, thus, a way of decoding the sense and understanding complex relations between different forms of human interaction" (SCOTT, [s.d])⁸. Thus, we can say, for example, that the sexual orientations that are not the norm "mess" the notion of gender: homosexuals and bisexuals disarrange and dis-aggregate this "regulation fiction", says Butler (2015).

In this sense, Scott (1998, p. 303) elaborates fundamental criticism to studies coming from the "orthodox history" and human and social sciences when these areas of knowledge, when saying researches about feminism, homosexuality, gender identity, etc. cannot deconstruct the core of the issue, that is the "the structure of the phallic economy" and end up promoting only the visuality of certain issues within this economy:

Not only homosexuality defines heterosexuality specifying their negative limits, and only the frontier between both is mutable, but both operate within the same "phallic economy" – an economy which foundation are not taken into consideration by the studies that seek to only make the

⁸ The article used can be found on many electronic addresses, but it was originally posted on: http://www.dhnet.org.br/direitos/textos/generodh/gen_categoria.html Accessed in: March 01st, 2016.

homosexual experience visible [...]. Theorized that way, homosexuality and heterosexuality work according to the same economy, their social institutions mirroring each other [...]. While this system builds subjects of desire, it simultaneously establishes them, and themselves, as data outside the time, of the way things work, with the way they inevitably are (SCOTT, 1998, p. 303-304).

From the moment in which many research on gender performed in history – as well as in many other fields of knowledge, such as anthropology, sociology and also communication – do not question the structure of the “phallic economy”, they reinforce the “naturalization” or “naturalness” of the gender category and, thus, contribute for certain groups to continue to be unwanted, at least in public spaces. However, contradictorily, the living presence of these unwanted bodies evidences the pusillanimity of the model of gender. “the ideal regulator is, then, denounced as norm and fiction that is disguised as law of development when regulates the sexual field that they are proposed to describe” (BUTLER, 2015, p. 234).

Reflecting about non-representable bodies and gender as a dramatic, pusillanimous, random in meaning and, therefore, performative edification, there are many bodies, among which we leave those who crossdress, mainly drags. For Butler, “the drag’s performance plays with the distinction between the anatomy of the performer and the gender that is being performed”. That is because the drag carries “three contingent dimensions of significant corporeity: anatomic sex, gender identity and gender performance” (BUTLER, 2015, p. 237).

Danilo understands that Lorelay can be a victim of disgust of others: “when I’m in drag, I usually am in an environment that is favorable, right? [...] I know I can be a victim of people’s hatred [...]”. Danilo reveals, in an extroverted way, that Lorelay had already suffered violence when she was not a youtuber. “I was a victim of something violent when I worked as a hostess in a nightclub, the people who drive around were very aggressive... They use to egg us, throw a variety of things at us... It was fun [...]”; and demonstrates that, after social media, the reality

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is very different: “Nowadays, I am no longer assaulted... It must be because of the respect I received with the channel”.

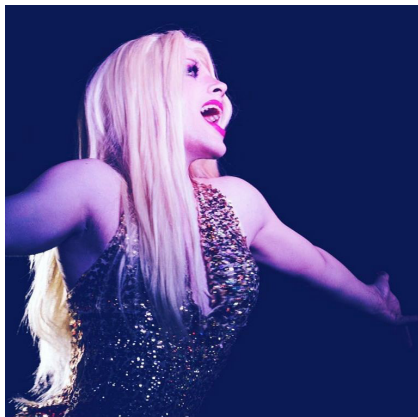
We see, then, that Danilo, when bringing Lorelay Fox to life, - 10 years ago – accept the role of being “the other”, the “vile”, the non-represented body that suffered violence and can still be a victim of hatred, caused by the “disgust” and “expulsion” of the subjects who feel and do this for the other. From that, some questions become important for the reflection: if drags can be considered this vile other, how can Lorelay have over 10 thousand followers/interlocutors, including those who don't identify as LGBT? I wonder if the fact of Lorelay being a youtuber today makes her a representable body, even if her performance plays with the distinction between the anatomy of the performer and the gender that is being performed? With that, Lorelay can give visibilities and “vocalities” (ZUMTHOR, 1987) to other non-representable bodies in this culture of visualities?

If our analysis has as focus the body, the corporeity; the corporality, we find in aesthetics, in Lorelay's performance, one of the main elements that interrogate the relations between anatomic sex, gender identity and gender performance (BUTLER, 2015): The representable bodies.

Usually blond female representation, but can be metamorphosed into a red head or a brunette; flamboyant make up; earrings, necklaces, tiaras, bracelets and broches compose her aesthetic for the channel. Outside of it, she has clothes filled with strong, vibrant colors; fishnet tights; false and thick ass and breasts.

Looking at her – in physical spaces or in her channel – we've got an appropriation and new uses of the female aesthetics coming from mediatic cultural products, that aesthetic created by movies from the 50's and that still today continues to make sense: the femme fatale, the woman-object, the woman-subject, the virgin, the saint, the seductive, the vamp, the whore.

Looking over some comments, we notice that the passion of her interlocutors is built from her pop mediatic aesthetic – because that is how she offers herself – present in mediatic products that are quoted in their

Source: Facebook⁹Source: Facebook¹⁰Source: Facebook¹¹Source: Facebook¹²

9 Picture extracted from Lorelay Fox's timeline on Facebook. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1760867794128772&set=pb.100006167057857.-2207520000.1486929370.&type=3&theater>. Accessed in: Feb. 12th, 2017.

10 Picture extracted from Lorelay Fox's timeline on Facebook. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1730294080519477&set=pb.100006167057857.-2207520000.1486929371.&type=3&theater>. Accessed in: Feb. 12th, 2017.

11 Picture extracted from Lorelay Fox's timeline on Facebook. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1785221498360068&set=pb.100006167057857.-2207520000.1486929337.&type=3&theater>. Accessed in: Feb. 12th, 2017.

12 Picture extracted from Lorelay Fox's timeline on Facebook. Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1710054929210059&set=pb.100006167057857.-2207520000.1486930083.&type=3&theater>. Accessed in: Feb. 12th, 2017.

videos, such as TV series, pop songs, Hollywood movies, best-seller literature. Let's see how Lorelay's author talks about her aesthetic:

From the beginning, I looked for references in the pop world, in songs, series, movies... On things that are for the young... Lorelay is modern, she is a diva, she is a muse, she is drag. You should have seen my last concert when I sang "O tempo não para", by Cazuza... It was awesome... I thought about the political moment we live nowadays and decided: now it is the time to rock... I did the concert wearing the Brazilian flag... It was beautiful... The crowd went nuts!

For her interlocutors, she is a "diva", "beautiful", "wonderful". We are, then, facing an aesthetic that comes from visualities and that proposes visibilities? We agree with Rocha (2012) when he says that "assuming our particular analytical focus, we think of culture through visualities and politics from visibilities." For Rincón (2006, p. 203), "a fleeting and ephemeral look to our artificial landscape allows us to verify that we inhabit a proliferation of images, that images have the gift of ubiquity and that we inhabit a weird fascination for the visual reproduction" (our translation)¹³. Danilo takes to his male body a female aesthetic: the aesthetic of montage. Therefore, there are marks of culture in the body: this culture that is mediatic, that creates mediatic bodies, recognizable, identifiable. In a complementary, interdependent and contradictory way, the marks of culture on Lorelay's body are inserted in a performance that mocks, laughs, plays with the differences between Danilo's male anatomy and the female gender that is being performed.

In the 60's, Morin (1969, p. 77) already told us that "mass culture is, without a doubt, the first culture in the history of the world to be fully aesthetics." That means that the daily life reveals an imaginary force. Images invade the world. The imaginary world is not consumed in forms of rites, cults, religious myths, sacred parties in which spirits reincarnate, but also inform of spectacles, of aesthetic relation" (MORIN, 1969, p. 78-79).

13 "Una mirada fugaz y efémera a nuestro paisaje artificial nos permite constatar que habitamos una proliferación de imágenes, que las imágenes tienen el don de la ubicuidad y que habitamos una extraña fascinación por la reproducción visual."

We note that the aesthetic references from Lorelay belong to the youth universe beyond the LGBT world, i. e., in her interview and in Lorelay's videos, Danilo shows us there is an aesthetic daily life – of consumption – that is shared with the youths – interlocutor of her channel or not – those who are the “heirs or the 21st century [...] the child of electronic and digital images: a universe where the video is god, memory and future [...]. The video has set us free and allows us all to babble remains of visual thoughts.” (RINCÓN, 2006, p. 207, our translation)¹⁴. That means, as the author greatly puts it, that “the mediatic communication produces a culture that is characterized for being more narration and affection than content and arguments” (RINCÓN, 2006, p. 18, our translation)¹⁵. We watch, then, a performance that, at once, is inserted into a symbolic representation system of wide participation and subjective singularities.

In this context, it is extremely easy for the youth to give visibility to their bodies/images and, thus, through narratives and affections, build visibility policies in the digital territories. Analyzing the gay activism, Nussbaumer (2012)¹⁶ highlights that the “cyberspace [...] emerges as a place of boosting the multiplicity the gay culture can comprise”. In this sense, we agree with Reguillo Cruz (2000, p. 18) that says: the cultural industries [the mediatic culture] have opened and de-regularized the space for inclusion of youthful aesthetic and ethical diversity” (our translation)¹⁷.

14 “Los herederos del siglo XXI [...] los hijos de las imágenes electrónicas y digitales: un universo donde el vídeo es dios, memoria e futuro [...] El vídeo nos há liberado, ya nos permite a todos rasguños de pensamientos visual.”

15 “La comunicación mediática produce una cultura que se caracteriza por ser más de narraciones y afectividades que de contenidos y argumentos.”

16 Available at: <http://www.portcom.intercom.org.br/pdfs/83579368593431225515764769104416433682.pdf>. Accessed in: May 7th, 2016.

17 “Las industrias culturales han abierto y desregularizado el espacio para la inclusión de la diversidad estética y ética juvenil.”

Visibility policies and digital gender activism: representable bodies?

A transformed body already breaks cultural conventions of the representable bodies. Lorelay Fox's body in full drag, made visible in the channel – and visualized in other social medias such as Facebook, Instagram, etc. – already tell us that Lorelay participates of other less traditional ways of “political-making”: the politics of visibilities, the “policies” (ROCHA and TRANQUILIN-SILVA, 2016, p. 38) common between the youth in the contemporaneities and urbanias. As Aguilera Ruiz tells us (2014, p. 37, our translation)¹⁸:

To express, manifest, make visible. Notions that brings us to the way in which a group of youngsters appear in front of us doing something: we see them, they are there, they are present, they make themselves visible through a set of languages and strategies that brings us to the cultural characteristics that present juvenile groupalities to the shape and content that the society goes on building and constituting the different social groups that live there.

This set of languages and strategies are clearly put on Lorelay's playlists of her channel. When I told Danilo that I did not select a specific playlist to analyze Lorelay's activism, since I saw activist actions in the entirety of her videos, he asked: “but even in the make-up videos? When I teach how to do it?” When I explained that the aesthetics of the drag is directly related to a specific body that will be metamorphosed and the fact that Lorelay shows the steps on how to do make-up already puts her as an activist – “as being part of a historical movement in course” (Angela Davis)¹⁹, that who fights for the end of a heteronormative power that supports the binomial man and woman -, Danilo thinks and answers “thinking through that point of view, I guess so... Because a lot of

18 “Expresar, manifestar, visibilizar. Nociones que remiten a la forma en que aparecen frente a nosotros un grupo de jóvenes haciendo algo: los vemos, están allí, se hacen presentes, se visibilizan a través de un conjunto de lenguajes y estrategias que remiten tanto a las características culturales que presentan las grupalidades juveniles como a la formas y contenidos con que la sociedad va construyendo y constituyendo a los distintos grupos sociales que en ella conviven.”

19 Available at: <https://www.Facebook.com/SSEXBBOXDoc/?fref=ts>. Accessed in: Feb. 16th, 2016.

people come asking me in the make-up videos: I am a woman, can I do this make-up? And then I say: Go on, have fun, make-up is not for one or the other, it is for everybody”. That already demonstrates how Lorelay breaks gender stereotypes through these videos. Danilo continues: “I think that, if we think like that, maybe I am an activist all the time, but it is not an intentional thing, it must be fluid, that happens without me planning it. I think it is inside me, right?”. So much so that her aesthetic is mixed to consumption practices, that Avon, famous brand of cosmetics, through an ad celebrating diversity, publishes on its website a tribute to Lorelay Fox²⁰:



Source: Facebook

Queen of the stages and of the speech, Lorelay Fox is a drag queen and an important figure in the debate of many subjects around the LGBTQI universe. Using her voice, talent and channel to clarify and bring a lot of good messages, she uses makeup as a tool for her art and reinforcement

20 As I have come to know this campaign through Lorelay's Facebook page, I've collected information in her page: <https://www.Facebook.com/avonbr/photos/p.10154266085436195/10154266085436195/?type=3&theater>. Accessed in: Dec. 30th, 2016.

of her beautiful message of empowerment. It is not only about a beauty that we admire, but a beauty that teach us, that break all preconception.

Lorelay/Danilo, now understanding the amount of political meanings her make-up videos carry and the make-up itself he uses to transform himself into a woman, says: “make-up [...] is my art, it is where I make my imagination flow [...]. The expression of my political contestations, of the angsty with the prejudice and my dreams of glamour and beauty”, and ends talking about gender: “make-up is beyond gender and labels.”

For Danilo, Lorelay is really a great militant in the playlist “Reflections”: “the ‘Reflections’ videos have a very well-done screenplay, almost to every speech [...]. I research a lot”. It is noticeable that, beyond the title “Reflections”, Danilo, graduated in Marketing, researches about the subjects he will talk about and has a “professional” process of creation. These elements already show us the objective of transforming the drag Lorelay – that already existed only in shows – in an activist youtuber of gender issues. Danilo continues his speech about “Reflections”, now in relation to the prejudice that exists even within the LGBT movement: “within the gay movement, there is a lot of prejudice with more feminine gays [...], I think the video of effeminate gays was a hit because of that”; he criticizes science when he says that “many prejudice against the gays come from people without literature”; and finishes the talk saying: “I’m sure I help LGBTs coming out. They say that. In that playlist I consider myself a real gender activist... I think I am, even for women, not only for LGBTs, Don’t you think?”. Based on the assumption that bodies are unstable in regard to gender, the gender identities are moveable, the culture solidifies the heteronormative regulation and, because of that, the category gender is performative, we can say that Lorelay Fox is a “post-gender” feminist, that, as gender activist, takes

[...] as politics the own terms in which the identities are constituted, which would lead us to think beyond the gender category as social, but to understand the power of the materiality of bodies as something that embarrass the sexual difference as binary, that would not resolve in the attempt of construction of new sexual and gender identities that can go

beyond the pair male/female (RODRIGUES and HEILBORN, 2013, p. 7).

Thus, Lorelay makes herself visible through a set of languages and cultural strategies that define the juvenile belongings.

Danilo, talking about Lorelay's "power", is pretty clear about how her aesthetics is an element of negotiation of meanings between her and her interlocutors: "Lorelay has the power that every art does [...], of touching people's feelings [...]. From the moment drag is art, she always causes a commotion, right?". Yes, that is to make visible the self and the other. I think this was the first step for this success in the social media: being a drag, an artistic form speaking, not being Danilo, first person talking, you know? [...] if it were only Danilo talking I would not be so heard, for sure!" It is the body of a young drag negotiation meanings, feelings and affections. Thus, Lorelay's aesthetic, her performance and "vocality" produce and socialize tendencies of taste and feelings" (RINCÓN, 2006, p. 203, our translation)²¹.

Therefore, Lorelay, the drag who mocks gender identity and has a non-representable body in the daily life, when she is in the digital space and the face-to-face places – events and concerts – becomes a representable body, at least in certain spaces, looks and hearings. Obviously, that accomplishment does not eliminate the conflicts between "self" and the "other" based on the "rejection" and "expulsion", however, Lorelay builds negotiations and assemblies with the structure of power. In this sense, we are sure that the digital territories "play [...] new forms of sociability, identity and political and social behavior." (SILVEIRA, BRAGA and PENTEADO, 2012, p. 5). So, we can say that, at the same time, Lorelay's performance and aesthetic are perspectives of construction of subjectivities, symbols of communication and juvenile politicities.

21 "Las tendencias estéticas e los modos del gusto y de sentir."

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44 o ativismo digital de lorelay fox: estética e performance de gênero

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Date of submission: 01/05/2017

Date of acceptance: 01/21/2017

Digital consumption as sociotechnical performance: Analysis of the uses of the game streaming platform Twitch

Consumo digital como performance sociotécnica: Análise dos usos da plataforma de streaming de games Twitch

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Abstract: *This article discusses the interrelations between performance, digital consumption and interface features on the game streaming platform Twitch. Theoretical considerations on the three subjects are compared to the responses of 177 Brazilian Twitch users to an online questionnaire. Results indicate that, despite their importance for Twitch as social media, interfaces do not facilitate social interactions. The implied hierarchical relations between streamers and viewers is not only based on the expertise of the former group. Digital consumption demands that they demonstrate other abilities, such as the “entertain” performance. Twitch itself places additional technical and cognitive challenges on streamers and viewers, but its user base appears to be self-motivated enough to overcome those system obstacles.*

Keywords: *Digital consumption; Performance; Twitch; Interface; Affordance;*

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Resumo: *Este artigo tem como objetivo discutir as interações entre performance, consumo digital e condicionantes de interface na plataforma de streaming de games Twitch. Considerações teóricas sobre os três aspectos são comparadas às respostas obtidas através de um questionário online, respondido por 177 usuários brasileiros do Twitch. Os resultados indicam que, a despeito da importância do aspecto de mídia social para o Twitch, as interfaces não facilitam a interação social. As relações hierárquicas implícitas entre os streamers e o público não resultam apenas da expertise dos primeiros. O consumo digital demanda que eles demonstrem outras habilidades, como a performance “entreter”. O próprio Twitch coloca desafios adicionais para os streamers e viewers, de ordem técnica e cognitiva, mas a base de usuários parece ser auto-motivada o suficiente para superar esses obstáculos do sistema.*

Palavras-Chave: *Consumo digital; Performance; Twitch; Affordance; Interface;*

Introduction⁵

Game streaming is a recent phenomenon, but it already involves thousands of people that stream and watch games by specific platforms, among which we will discuss about Twitch. With over 100 million monthly viewers and 1.7 million unique streamers (Twitch, 2016), in addition to having the fourth largest internet traffic in the United States (The Wall Street Journal, 2015), Twitch is a social, mediatic and cultural phenomenon that is worthy of attention. However, the bibliography about Twitch is still restricted in number and it is concentrated in specific phenomena, such as the social experience Twitch Plays Pokémon⁶ (AMARO; FREITAS; 2016; GARROCHO; JOSEPHSON; 2014; LEITE; TESSAROLO, 2014; PAZ, 2015). We did not find Brazilian papers focused on the approach we developed in this study.

Starting from the perception of analyzing interactions in terms of concepts of performance (SCHECHNER, 2003; EHRENBERG, 2010), as well as the digital consumption (MONTARDO, 2016), we consider relevant to investigate the conditions of performance in social network websites (MONTARDO; SILVA, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c) in the streaming game platform Twitch, which theme is digital games. In relation to this platform – in which users (or streamers) have the option of showing themselves playing or being the audience to these players – we ask: how does the users identify performance on *Twitch*? To whom and to what they attribute this perception? In what way the type of electronic game or streamer profile influence this understanding? And, how does the platform itself interfere with this identification? This article has the objective to discuss the performances made on Twitch through the point of view of the users of the platform. In order to do that, we created an online questionnaire that received 177 valid responses from Brazilian users.

5 Study originally presented to the Work Group Communication and Cyberculture of the XXV Encontro Anual da Compós, at the Universidade Federal de Goiás, Goiânia, which took place in June 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th, 2016.

6 It was about an experimente whose creator remains anonymous, in which IRC (Internat Relay Chat) commands were used in Twitch's chat, enabling that the audience controlled the game Pokémon Red that was being streamed.

Before the presentation and analysis of the results, we want to clarify in the next sessions that the ideas that theoretically support the concept of consumption the sociotechnical performance and the approaches of affordances in interfaces of social network websites, as well as the reflections inherent you these theoretical articulations.

Digital consumption as performance in social media websites

Montardo (2016) articulated the concepts of consumption, performance and social media websites and proposed the concept of digital consumption from an interpretation of consumption through practice theory. This movement represented advances in relation to studies such as Warde (2005), to whom consumption is done within and in relation to practices, in a way that these require the consumption of certain products and services to be possible, as well as certain knowledges of who conducts it. According to the author, possible gratifications would be arising from practices that inspire the consumption of something, and not the other way around; in a way it is not the consumption that offers satisfaction, but the inherent performance to practices that, in turn, require possession or access of certain goods and services to be effective. Transposing this conception to the digital communication, we understand that the digital consumption is what makes the online socialization possible. Digital consumption is that the consists in the access, production, availability and sharing of any type of digital content (verbal text, visual text, animations, images, videos, etc.), involving or not the allocation of financial resources, in case we can identify the actors in interaction and, consequently, their performances on certain spaces (MONTARDO, 2016).

In relation to performance, it is understood with Ehrenberg (2010) that the current context implies important peculiarities that need to be considered. Among them, it is highlighted the constitution of identity, that goes from inheritance, in Antiquity, to a construction that consists in a project towards the future dependent of an individual performance.

In turn, Schechner (2003) understands that performance are restored behaviors, a type of different pieces learned that are active in the flow of time. All and any action can be analyzed as performance, since they are observed in a determined cultural context, says the author. In this paper, the cultural context is *game streaming*, where performance will be analyzed by the following categories: entertainment, making something beautiful, marking or changing identity; making or stimulating a community; healing; teaching, persuading or convincing; dealing with the sacred and the devilish. Schechner (2003) explains that these classifications are not always unitary, since it is possible to identify more than one type of performance in a certain observed action.

Among the papers in which digital consumption was identified in different social network websites in these terms, we highlight three studies whose relations support this reflection (MONTARDO; SILVA, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c). One of these publications (MONTARDO; SILVA, 2015a) created a concept that is interesting to this study, which is the thematic social network, with which are designated digital environments projected to support online socialization around specific consumption objects. With that, we noticed the importance of the analysis of social capital allocated in interactions in thematic social media websites, with the care of considering the factors that influence the main motivation of participating of these environments.

Montardo and Silva (2015b) searched in the concept of social capital a support to systematize social relations. Recuero (2009) emphasizes that this concept enables analyses of relations between the actors of a network and the consequences of these actions in the structure of social networks, considering not only the connections of a network, but also the content of social exchange. The author brings the categorization of Bertolini and Bravo (2001), that proposed the understanding of social capital in two levels, each one of them with subtypes, being the first level the relational, normative and cognitive level and the second level the trust in the social and institutional environment. Once identified one of the first types of analysis of social relation, we can analyze it in terms of

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configuration of the second type, according to the appropriations made by the authors in social media websites (MONTARDO; SILVA, 2015b).

In a third study, Montardo and Silva (2015c) verified an inversion regarding the previous observations of Revuero (2009) about the allocation of social capital in social media websites. The results indicate that the types of first level social capital (cognitive, relational and normative) come from the actions between the users of the websites (emerging relationships), while the second level ones (trust in the social and institutional environment) are strongly influenced by the system that supports the interactions. Therefore, the trust in the social environment is guaranteed by the fact of being a website designed to restrict to a certain theme. This result was obtained due to the study being focused in the analysis of thematic social network websites, which were designed to sustain the socialization around a unique theme. However, the issue that the first level social capital emerges from the relation between users, and the second level one is more influenced by the system, could also be extensible to other social situations mediated around specific themes, such as the creation of pages and groups on Facebooks, or the old communities on Orkut, or, yet, some types of online games (FRAGOSO, 2006, 2008, 2015).

Sociotechnical approaches of affordances in interfaces of social network websites

Characteristics with a seemingly more technical than social character of social network systems usually are considered themes for other areas of knowledge rather than Communication. However, as Fragoso (2014) points out, the technical and social aspects of an artifact are inseparable. For the author, it is not enough to study them conjointly: we need to understand them as one condition. To delimitate our option through this approach, we will prefer to use the expression “sociotechnical” instead of social or technical. We will take care, however, to avoid distortions that already became common due to the excessive use of the expression. After all, Fragoso (2014) also warns us that studies that seek to identify

and discuss relationships between forms of use and interaction and characteristics of design in digital artifacts take a serious risk of degenerating to the determinism, either technical or sociologic. That comes from form of putting the issue, that, initially already differentiates technical from social. However, as Castells (1998, p. 25) puts it, “society cannot be understood or represented without their technological tools” and, in this sense, “technology is society”.

Precisely because social and technical are not two identities is that the combination or juxtaposition of technology and society are not enough to encompass the complexity of the sociotechnical character of artifacts. In this study, the expression “sociotechnical” will not be used to designate relations between a social system and a technical system, but, in convergence with Molina (1998) and Klein (2014), to designate aspects of one system. This understanding keeps safer the adoption of a structure of analysis based on the concept of “sociotechnical affordance”, proposed by Fragoso, Rebs and Barth (2012) that studied the relationship between affordances in the interfaces of social media websites and practices that occur in these websites, having as example microblogging platforms. In this study, the authors highlighted the importance of retrieve the original concept of affordance in Gibson (1977), according to whom affordances are about the behavior of specific animals (in this study, humans). Affordances exist regardless of the capacity of the animal has to perceive them. However, as Gibson (1977) emphasized, affordances are nor objective, nor subjective, because it is at the same time about the environment and the observer. For this reason, Fragoso, Rebs and Barth (2012) disagree with Norman (2006) and affirm that the real characteristics of an interface are more important than those the users seem to perceive in a certain moment. For them, the users of an interface of a social network website or software are not really affordances, but they induce to the perception of certain affordances, while hide others. The authors adopt the position of Hartson (2003), according to whom the distinction between real and perceived affordances, popularized by Norman (2006), must be put back in terms of physical and cognitive

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affordances. This movement allows them to go beyond the concept of affordances as visual or textual representations on screen. For Hartson, cognitive affordance is “a design element that helps, supports, facilitates and allow to think or know about something” (2003, p. 319). The role of the interface designer is to pick and distribute cognitive affordances, emphasizing certain physical affordances (real possibilities offered by the system) and making others less visible. This vision of interface design surpasses the idea that it is the designer’s responsibility to know what the user needs and inform him about the best ways to achieve their objectives, allowing or denying interactions.

It is important to highlight, yet, that, in its return to Gibson (1977), Frago, Rebs and Barth (2012) converge with the notion of sociotechnical artifact that we previously presented. Having based their concept of affordance in studies of animal behavior, Gibson defined him as reciprocal relationships between the environment and the animal. In the human condition, however, that corresponds to the recognition of the association between technological and sociocultural aspects for the definition of significations and the uses of technology. For the authors, what the users do is not only enjoy interfaces’ affordances, because they play an active role in establishing these affordances. Once the affordances are more related to action and less to perception (GAVER, 1991), they must be studied as such. That means that is not only reasonable do analyze a digital artifact (website, app, game) isolating the elements of its interface from the way they are understood and the uses that are given to them, or vice-versa.

In the context of social network websites and other forms of web “face app”⁷, all analysis should take into account the technical and social aspects in an integrated way. For that, it is important to undertake a differentiation between the interactions with the technological artifact (strictly interactions with the sociocultural device that are materialized in the artifact) and the interactions with other individuals that also

7 By “face app” we are referring to the functions that take part of the web infrastructure to perform actions and uses closer to the software universe than the availability and access to information. The argument is inspired by Garrett (2011).

are appropriated in that artifact. Special care is needed not to go back to the detachment from the technical and social faces of artifact and interaction.

Twitch and Audience

Twitch is a website/live video platform dedicated to streaming matches of electronic games for the gamer niche. What started as a niche in an online streaming website quickly surpassed the audience of other segments and became a giant in audience, being bought by Amazon in 2011.

Thus, Twitch stands out from the competitors by its popularity, a certain character of pioneering and by being capable of moving business in the game and technology industry. The slogan “social video for gamers” highlights Twitches approach, which consists basically on streaming. The word can be translated as transmission and it is basically the function of Twitch: allowing that the users livestream their game sessions. The streaming can be performed by computers or videogames with internet connection⁸. On the other hand, viewers can watch through many devices connected to the internet. It is not necessary to be a registered user to watch the streaming sessions, however, to enjoy all the tools available on twitch, it is necessary to be registered.

Each streamer adopts personal dynamics for their channel, in an attempt of entertaining and maintaining the audience interested. Each choice, since the game to be streamed to forms of interaction with the audience, reflect on the type of audience the channel is going to attract. Streamers are as much videogame fans as professional players, who participate in championships, or gamers that are already famous for their dedication to streaming. Among Twitch’s channels, there is the specialized in streaming championships and videogame competitions (e-sports), and others, about creative techniques for game developing,

8 We will avoid technical detailing that will not be necessary for the issues we will deal in this study. However, the most used platform by streamers is PC, that demands the installation of third party softwares for the video capture. Twitch itself enables some links for downloading these softwares.

for example. We can see that Twitch is linked to a vast array of interests in the game industry.

We are calling audience these users of Twitch that watch the sessions and interact with the game only through chat (written communication). To them, it is not possible to follow the games through the video player embedded in the streamer's interface, which implies that, except the exceptions, (as we've seen in Twitch Plays Pokémon), they cannot establish direct control over the game. They form a community that capitalizes the website, not only with paying in cash to have access to some restricted possibilities, but while supplying Twitch the social capital that allows them to create partnerships with sponsors and game producers.

The streamer's experience is very different from the audience's. Firstly, because the sociotechnical possibilities Twitch offers to the broadcasters are different from those available for the audiences. The most popular broadcasters take advantage of that unbalance creating practices of audience management (creating promotions and offers of special items for their followers), through, for example, the use of ads.

The characteristic that set apart streamers from viewers is the fact that, before taking the role of the emitter, the streamer is necessarily a player, i. e., a gamer. Even when there is no streaming, the gamer is one of the most active parts of the construction of the message, of meaning and of the digital game itself (SOMMERSETH, 2007). In fact, the role of the player only exists when the subject is, in fact, involved with the cognitive and bodily process of playing (HUIZINGA, 2010). When leaving the game, their characterization – and function – as player ends.

Therefore, even though the participation of a viewer of Twitch through chat interferes in the streamer's actions, that does not equal their agency to the broadcaster. The audience has many possibilities of influence upon the player, however, only the streamer has the control of the avatar in the "game world" and, therefore, he is the only one who could interact with the elements that compose that world. That way, the actions of the streamer have direct consequences in the space of the

game, and the viewers gather around those actions, most of the time, with the purpose of appreciation.

Taking as a loan the idea of the magic circle (HUIZINGA, 2010), we can say that, while engaging to the game, the player accepts participating of another reality, in which he can exercise the agency (FALCÃO, 2010). The type of interaction enabled by the digital game modifies the experience and the potential of the message. The possibility of controlling the events imply in responsibility by what happens (or does not happen) in the game. Because of that, even in environment as Twitch, in which who watches the game can directly interact with the player and he responds, potentially altering something in his mode of playing, the act of playing is still fundamentally different from watching a game and commenting it. Simply remember that if the player chooses not to act, there will be no session, not even a game. The viewers, on the other hand, can choose just to watch, not interacting in the chat, or even by not watching without influencing the continuity of the session.

Evidently, these differences in interactions of streamers and the audience demand differences in the interfaces used by both groups. While the viewer is limited to Twitch's interface, the streamer uses a set of different interfaces during streaming, most of which are not available for the viewer. Beyond Twitch, streamers need to use other software, specific for capturing and transmitting image and audio of the game; transmission of his image in the webcam; and audio, by the microphone.

In Table 1, some examples of interfaces can be seen, in which the streamer must use to perform the streaming. Among all the interfaces and screens, the broadcaster must concentrate most of his attention to the interface of the game, since the intention is to make his performance public during a game session, in real time.

It is important to highlight here that the streamer player has a different performance from the one he would assume in a private game situation. The existence, or even the desire of having an audience, evokes, directly and indirectly, abnormal conditions of attention, altering the gameplay. The fact that the streamer plays to show his ability, as

TABLE 1. Comparative between available functionalities for the viewer and for the streamer player.

	Interface of Twitch's game session	Interface of the Dashboard	Interface of the streaming software	Game	Written Chat	Mic (for communication)	Webcam (for communication)
Viewer	Uses	-	-	Watches	Reads and writes	Listens	Watches
Streamer player	-	Uses	Uses	Plays	Reads and writes (plug-ins, dashboard or another screen)	Speaks	Is filmed

Source: The authors.

well as the availability of his own image through a webcam, would be enough to change the experience of the game regarding a traditional session. However, another modification of experience comes from the necessity of sharing the attention between the game and the messages sent by the viewers, interacting with both simultaneously, as monitoring the signals of the streaming in a series of different interfaces from those of the game.

Finally, we point out that, as any other viewer can perceive, the streamers already understood that the mastery as players is not the only way to attract the audience to follow their channel. That has been taking the streamers to adopt other strategies of attraction, inexistent in situations without the public character. In this movement, they become mediatic “entertainers” of a more habitual kind, because, if the player’s experience does not depend of spectacularization, the audience seem to be attracted by the spectacle.

Method and Results

In the previous sections, we present the bibliography, from which arise the theoretical vectors of analysis (digital consumption, performance, cognitive and physical affordance); and the documental analysis about

Twitch. To complete our table of analysis, we will describe the questionnaire applied to the users of Twitch and the answers we've received.

The purpose of the online questionnaire was to identify the perception of the audience on the possible performances on Twitch. The instrument was available between 2/12/2015 and 21/01/2016 and was responded by 177 users. It was composed with 40 questions, 35 closed questions and 5 open questions, divided into parts that comprised:

- A. The profile of the respondents, platform and its users;
- B. Preferred characteristics regarding the streamers;
- C. Relationship between users.

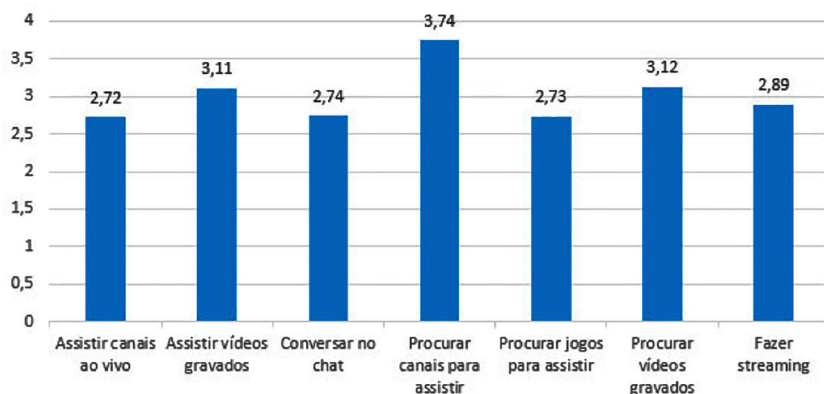
The starting points of disclosure were personal profiles of the researchers on Facebook and Twitter. In addition to that, there was also disclosing in groups and communities dedicated to games and streaming, as the group Twitch Brasil on Facebook and the network of streamers EGL Network.

When the process is finished, we can say that the profile of the respondents was young (between 18 and 25 (59%) or between 26 and 35 (29% and the vast majority (88%) was male. Almost half of the respondents are undergraduates (41%), while 23% have graduated High School and 16% have graduated from college. Their residence is divided into the south (38%) and southeast (37%) region of Brazil. Almost everyone (96%) play videogames frequently, mainly on the PC (95%). The mobile devices (32%), PlayStation 3 (23%) and Xbox 360 (17%) are the following platforms that are chosen to play. More than one third of the users (34%) told to be a user of Twitch since 2013, 18% since 2014 and the other 18% since 2012. The respondents also informed that they access Twitch every day (61%) or more than once a week (25%), during two or three hours (54%), four hours or more (25%) or even one hour (21%). During this time, most users follow three or more channels (67%), while 30% watch two or three streaming sessions and 3% prefer only one channel⁹.

9 It is important to highlight that our study did not have statistic pretensions, which would demand a sample of thousands of people answering and a careful demographic distribution. Although some parameters are similar to what is disclosed by Twitch itself, the profile that we describe has the intention of portraying those who answer our questionnaire.

When we question them about the activity they take the most time doing on Twitch in a crescent order, we got the result that is presented in the first image.

FIGURE 1.¹⁰



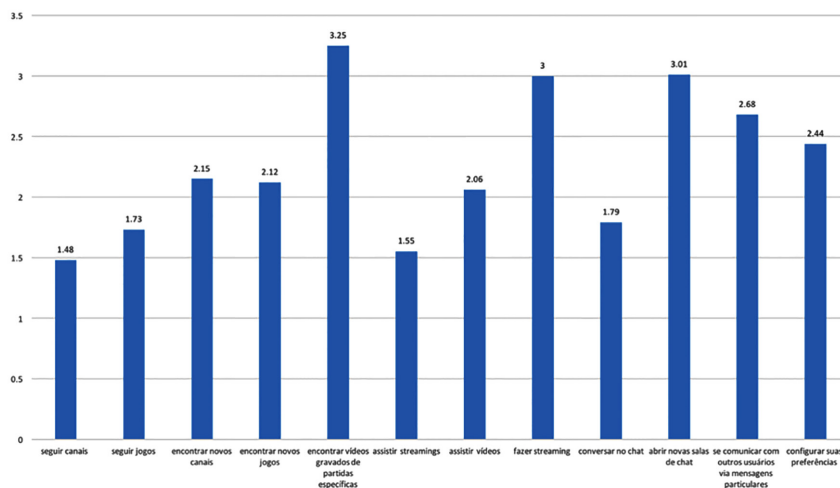
Source: The authors.

According to these data, three activities present a bigger frequency than make streaming; watching live channels, talking on the chat and looking for games to watch, which already show us that most part of the respondents act only as viewers.

Among the uses that are considered more joyful and intuitive, Twitch was compared to other platforms (YouTube and Livestream, for example). The best results were reached by watching e-sports championships and watching games being played live, with 76% of the answers, followed by following professional players (70%), learning new techniques/abilities of games (59%) and interacting with other users (37%). These preferences indicate that Twitch is right in its option to give support hosting championships, because this is an important factor for the interests of the audience. It becomes evident the direct relationship between

¹⁰ In order to interpret the data, it is necessary to take into consideration that the value closest to 1 represents what the answerers spend the biggest amount of time doing.

FIGURE 2.



This time, the value closest to 1 indicates a bigger easiness to perform this action. In this case, watching streaming and following channels are the easiest actions of performing, according to the respondents, while finding taped video of specific sessions is the hardest task.

Source: the authors

watching live games and the interest in the performance of professional players in these situations.

In relation to the uses considered less pleasurable or intuitive on Twitch, when compared to similar platforms, watching saved videos of specific sessions (39%), participating in the communities (34%), followed by interacting with other users (27%) and having access to information about games (27%). When we analyze this information conjointly, the answers of this question and the previous one, leads us to believe that Twitch is a good game streaming platform, but is not considered so good in its role of a thematic social media website. What hinders this aspect seem to be the low intuitiveness of the interfaces of interaction amongst players, since 75% of the respondents said they use the chat to talk, mainly about the game that is being streamed (45%), but also about subjects that are not directly related to games (humor and

technology, for example) (34%). The ability of the streamers was subject of preference of 22% of the answers.

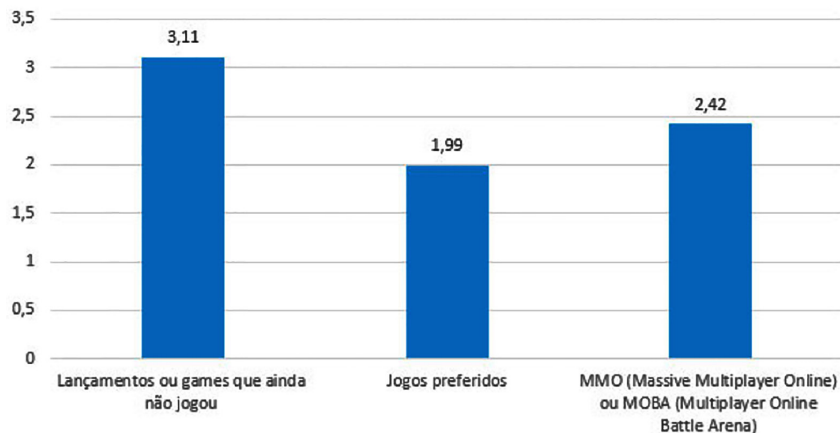
Watching channels livestreaming games is the use declared in 99% of the answers of Twitch's users, while watching saved videos shows as practice in only 13% of the users, which could indicate the less intuitive aspect of the platform in that area.

When the users are questioned about what type of channel they watch, 49% of the users answered e-sports, while 40% said information and entertainment. Another 7% said speedrunning¹¹ and 5% walkthrough¹².

Only 35% of the respondents said they perform game streaming. The other 65% are only audience. Among the streamer respondents, 78% declared that they do not have their channels associated with a host, which would guarantee that the games would be retransmitted in other channels, while 22% answered they did.

About the types of games they watch more, the following data was gathered from the respondents (FIG. 3):

FIGURE. 3.¹³



Source: The authors.

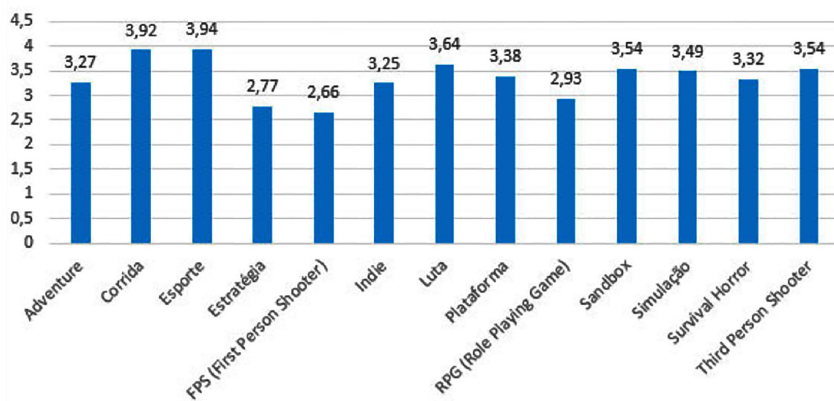
11 Mode in which the main objective is to finish the game as fast as possible.

12 Didactic mode, in which the main objective is to teach the audience how to finish the game.

13 The value closest to one represents the types of game that are the most watched.

In an identical issue to the third image, however this time the respondents must rate which genre of single player games they watch the most, we've received the fourth image:

FIGURE. 4¹⁴



Source: The authors.

Later, the respondents rated the genre of multi-player games they watch the most.

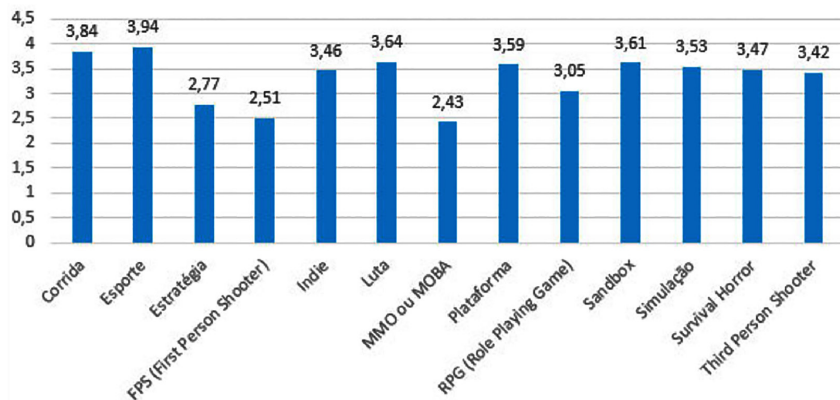
71% of the users follow their favorite games and 86% the channels they access. On average, the respondents follow 27 channels. About subscribing to their favorite channels, 54% say they do it and 46% don't. For the users that subscribe to the channels, paying a US\$ 4,99 fee per month, the main advantages include to support and to bond with the streamer, to receive benefits on the chat and in promotions and to have the opportunity to participate in groups and multi-player sessions only to people who subscribed to the channel.

Charisma and the capability of entertaining the audience are the most appreciated characteristics by the respondents on the streamers they like to watch, constituting the preference of 53% of the users. Game ability

14 The value closest to one represents the types of single player games that are the most watched.

(26%) and the ability to narrate the game (11%) are next in the list of preference. It is interesting to notice that, when it is about streaming games, in the perception of Twitch's users, the preference lies over the ability in streaming when compared to the ability to play.

FIGURE. 5 ¹⁵



Source: The authors.

82% of the respondents follow their favorite streamers in social media websites, especially on Facebook (90%), YouTube (73%) and Twitter (60%). This result can be related to the less intuitive aspect of Twitch regarding user interaction and community participation, that we previously acknowledged. However, it was in Twitch that 67% of the respondents said they met their favorite streamers, while the other 33% already knew them from other platforms.

In the opinion of 66% of the respondents, the streamer is the most important element on Twitch's channels, followed by the game (33%). On this issue, the chat appears as the option of only 1% of the respondents. However, the chat is considered very important in Twitch by 44% of the respondents regarding the question that asks directly about the

¹⁵ The value closest to one represents the types of multiplayer games that are the most watched

relevance of this tool. For 34.5% of them, the chat is mildly important and for 21.5% of them, it is not important, data that can indicate that many users only watch the game, without interacting with the streamers.

Both the documental research on Twitch and the analysis of the questionnaire, allow us to find that, along with the functions of performance proposed by Schechner (2003), “to mark and change the identity”, “to stimulate a community”, to teach, persuade and convince”, for the first time it is identified, on the research, the function of “entertaining” that did not appear on previous studies referred in the section 2 of this text. This function seems to indicate a verticalization in the issue of performance on twitch facing the previous analyses, in the sense of pointing towards the centrality of the role of the streamer in the platform in relation to the viewers. Even in relation to functions of performance foreseen by Schechner (2003) and identified in previous studies, we perceive that both streamers and viewers exercise the perception of themselves and the construction of their identities, feel like as being part of a community and express themselves in different ways, according to the type of game and the channel in which the game is streamed on Twitch, the streamers during livestreams and in recordings subsequently available, as well as by the possible interactions between two types of users on the chat.

However, the difficulties pointed in terms of interaction between users in the platform, and a certain discrepancy in the answers with regards to the chat, reinforce the perception of verticalization of the performance of the streamer on Twitch. Another point that favors this understanding is that most of the respondents acts only as viewers (65%), condition that does not necessarily demands the use of this resource.

The preference to watching live games reinforces, on the streamer, the importance of the talent to entertain, while he plays, through the interaction of voice chat, and maybe, restricting, at least during the streams of the game sessions, the ability of interaction of these players with most part of the audience. In this aspect, it seems to reside the perception of a certain asymmetry between the performance attributed by

the respondents to the streamer, which is inherent, at the same time, to the way Twitch was projected and what is encouraged to be performed in terms of interactions created in this space. With that, it becomes evident that the existent opportunities, both of performing and having their performance appraised on Twitch, favor the act of the streamer in this context, suggesting the emergence of the function of performance to “entertain”, associated to this by the respondents and by the observance of the platform.

Final considerations

Taking into account that the digital consumption is a constitutive aspect of the practice of online socialization, and that implies the action of the actors in mediated spaces, through the manipulation of resources available, through various performances, we conclude that the sociotechnical aspects identified on Twitch depend on the streamer’s performance, without which the platform would not exist. If the broadcaster needs the audience, that, in turn, is maintained more by the broadcaster’s ability of entertain than actually playing, it is not surprising that the efforts performed by the users to surpass the limitations of interfaces. For the viewers it includes, among the benefits of subscribing to the channels, for a little less than five dollars a month, the proximity and the support to the streamer, through interaction, which raises the chances of audience performance in the space.

Another issue that highlights this asymmetry is that the performance of the streamers can be analyzed both live and in recorded videos, while the performance of the viewers, identifiable by written conversation, can be object of analysis only in the first case.

In comparison with the literature, we find that, while in other thematic social network websites, the users can have their performances analyzed by written text later than the exchanged interaction, on Twitch the preference of the respondents point to the following of livestreaming game sessions, and the conversations between users are lost even in the recorded video of these sessions. Thus, we highlight the streamer’s live

performance in relation to its audience, in a way that chat interactions include the participation of the viewer in the conduction of the own transmission, through which the broadcaster considers interesting in the sense of giving him popularity.

Therefore, if the users have an active role on establishing affordances in digital artifacts, Twitch demands special efforts. These are different if the user acts as a streamer or a viewer. In the case of this analysis, this condition directly affects the use of resources employed on the interactions, demanding efforts of overcoming difficulties of the system in favor of the streamer's performance, a player that, to be popular on Twitch, must charm people at least by the ability of playing than the ability of showing themselves playing.

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Date of submission: 11/30/2016

Date of acceptance: 05/24/2017

The X-Files: an analysis of the social TV strategies of the @thexfiles profile

The X-Files: uma análise das estratégias de social TV do perfil @thexfiles

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Abstract: *The social TV marks the convergence of television experience with social media. The phenomenon refers to content sharing through social networks and second screen apps simultaneously to television broadcasting. In this context, this article aims to discuss the features explored by Fox during The X-Files 10th season to engage the interacting viewers with social TV. We analysed the dialogue between the fictional universe of the series and the backchannel through a monitoring of @thexfiles profile postings on Twitter during the exhibition of series episodes.*

Keywords: *social tv; television; Twitter; The X-Files*

Resumo: *A social TV marca a convergência da experiência televisiva com as novas mídias. O fenômeno se refere ao compartilhamento de conteúdos por intermédio das redes sociais e dos aplicativos de segunda tela de maneira síncrona ao fluxo televisivo. A partir desse contexto, este artigo tem o objetivo de refletir sobre as ações de social TV adotadas pela Fox durante a 10ª temporada de The X-Files. Analisamos as postagens da página (@thexfiles) gerenciada pelo canal no Twitter a fim de entender como contribuem para o aprofundamento e a compreensão do universo ficcional da série. Concluímos que as estratégias de engajamento da emissora reforçam o laço social, estimulam a participação dos telespectadores interagentes e ampliam os arcos narrativos de The X-Files.*

Palavras-chave: *social tv; televisão; Twitter; The X-Files*

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Introduction

Although it is a recent phenomenon, the discussions around social TV started in the beginning of the 2000's. According to Fechine (2016), the reflections initially were linked to the field of digital interactive television, known as iTV. Later, with the popularization of multimodal networks and mobile devices, social TV began to be designated to describe the convergence between television and social media (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012). In this context, the phenomenon refers to the sharing of contents (comments, memes, videos, photo-montage, pictures, etc.) and through the second screen applications³ (TV Showtime, TV Tag, Viggie, etc.) in a synchronized way with the television flow (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012; BORGES and SIGILIANO, 2016).

However, even though it is set in a convergence environment, social TV is characterized by aspects that always integrated the television experience. According to Wolton (1996), TV is a conversational object, because, regardless of time, this mean bring up subjects and stimulate the dialogue between viewers. The author says that “[the] television is a formidable instrument of communication among individuals. “The most important aspect is not what was seen, but the fact that people talked about it” (WOLTON, 1996, p. 16). The capacity of the instrument of instigating the debate goes beyond the constitution of a public sphere. According to Summa (2011, p. 9), “[...] Television is not only a big influence upon society, but a driving force for social interaction” The process of reception itself enables the interlocution of the viewers:

[...] TV, unlike the cinema, admits a conversation while the program is broadcast. If a viewer talks aloud in the cinema, they would probably be warned by someone in the same environment. With the television, however, it is common to make comments during the exhibition (CANNITO, 2010, p. 59).

³ Refers to the paralel, synchronized interaction with the television experience through mobile devices (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012).

However, on social TV, the comments, that previously were restricted to the living room, to the group of friends, family and coworkers, are shared to the social network and the second screen apps, enabling new appropriations, subversions and amplifications of the water cooler effect⁴. In this sense, the intermediation of conversation through digital platforms changes the significance of the viewer's interlocution.

Another aspect of television ambiance that gains new developments on social TV is the collective experience. According to Wolton (1996, p. 15), television is capable of gathering individuals and audiences even though everything cooperates to their separation and offers them the possibility of participating individually of a collective activity". The aggregating factor of television and this connection with the plurality that surrounds the mean, is related to what Anderson (2008) calls imagined community. The discussions of the author help us reflect on how the collective consumption of the same cultural product enables the construction of community and identity bonds. The imagined community formed by the exhibition of a television show evokes, even if in a fanciful way, the notion of belonging to a nation, connecting the individual to the planetary. In this sense, the collective experience materializes a symbolic collectivity when it gathers different viewers around the same television content (SILVERSTONE, 1994).

However, with the fragmentation of audience caused by the popularization of services on demand and by new forms⁵ of distribution, the viewer is distancing himself from the appointment television⁶. Thus, as social TV is characterized by the sharing of content in a synchronized way to the television flow, the phenomenon brings back the collective experience. As pointed out by Jost (2011, p. 102),

4 In the United States, the habit of socializing with friends, family and coworkers through an informal discussion about the television schedule is called water cooler effect. The term makes an allusion to the office environment, where people would gather around the water cooler to comment on what they've watched the night before (BENTON e HILL, 2012)

5 Such as the availability of episodes through YouTube, recording shows through devices supplied by signature TV operators and HDs of Smart TVs.

6 TV by appointment, watching a show at the time it is originally on.

Nowadays, social network websites allow the guarantee that we see the same thing, in the same time that, due to the multiplicity of channels, cannot be naturally said. [...] Finally, social network contribute to elaborate these imagined communities which television had been habituated us and were on the verge of extinction.

The viewer can even watch the show individually, but, when he accesses social network and second screen apps, he will be connected to a variety of viewers that, just like him, are also watching, at that time, the same show.

Twitter: The digital watercooler

According to Nielsen (2016), Twitter is the most used social network between American interactive viewers⁷ in the posting of contents related to the television schedule. In 2015, 68% of the 310 million active users of the microblogging twitted about what they were watching at the time (TV SEASON, 2016). Wolk (2015, p. 67) says that the strong popularization of the social network in the field of social TV is not fortuitous: “Twitter always has been an obvious platform for social TV. It is public, succinct and easy to organize posts around a topic using the hashtags”

The aspects highlighted by the author can be observed in the main characteristics of the informational architecture of Twitter. The social interaction of the microblogging is based on the ‘always on’ temporality, [...] in which the past is less important, the future arrives quickly and the present is omnipresent” (SANTELLA and LEMOS, 2010, p. 61). In this sense, the social network enables the instant sharing of information, in which only the “now” matters. According to Santella and Lemos (2010), this instant temporality is an exclusive characteristic of the social network which makes the postings to quickly spread around the web. “The conversation and discussion of ideas in real time are the main differences in the use of this media” (SANTELLA and LEMOS, 2010, p. 79).

7 According to Primo (2003, p. 8) the interactive viewer is the one who “[...] pour the idea of interaction, i. e., the action (or relation) that happens between participants”.

In the social TV, this rapid dynamic of Twitter meets the unilateral and regular flow of television. Cannito (2010, p. 49) says that the language of the TV is characterized by the uninterrupted reproduction of content independently from the viewer. In this sense, social TV gathers two present continuous: the ‘always on’ temporality of Twitter and the form of distribution of TV. The user can even talk about previous events in the microblogging or recording a show to watch in the schedule that is more convenient to them, but that does not lose the specific language of these means. As social TV refers to the sharing of contents in a synchronized way to the exhibition of the show in the TV schedule, Twitter is the platform that best suits this factor, because the interactive viewers can reverberate their impressions in real time.

Another characteristic of the informational architecture that contributes so that the microblogging becomes the central platform of the phenomenon and the focus of social interaction. Unlike social networks as, for example, Facebook or the late Orkut, the connections “[...] on Twitter are not based on preexisting bonds, but rather the individual penetration of flow of ideas, open collective flows of ideas shared in real time, that are in continuous movement” (SANTELLA and LEMOS, 2010, p. 91). In other words, on Twitter, the social interactions are not restricted to family, professional and friendship bonds. According to Recuero, (2014, p. 132), this aspect makes Twitter enable the formation of asymmetric connections, those that do not essentially depend on the reciprocity of the creation of interactions. Thus, it is possible to “follow” a user without them “following” you back. The focus of the social interaction on Twitter contributes to the plurality of the back-channel⁸: when accessing the microblogging, the interactive viewers can reverberate the show which is on air with interlocutors that go beyond their personal contacts. In this sense, the informational architecture of Twitter reinforces not only the temporality of social TV, but amplifies the conversation around the television schedule.

8 Secondary channel of sharing content (text, image, vídeo, etc.) formed specifically during the exhibition of a show (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012).

Social TV in the field of American serial fictional narratives

American channels⁹ started to use massively Twitter in 2008; initially, the social network had the function of publicizing the shows on schedule and work along with the websites (WOHN, 2011). In 2009, however, MTV and CNN started to stimulate backchannel during the exhibition of their shows. Nevertheless, social TV was only popularized in the television field in 2011 (PROULX and SHEPATIN, 2012).

Considered by Proulx and Shepatin (2012, p. 11-12) the starting point of the phenomenon, the edition of the Video Music Awards fed the dialog between Twitter and appointment television. It was the result of a big marketing action that involved a partnership with GetGlue¹⁰ and exclusive content for the social network, the award generated, during its exhibition, on August 28th, 2011, 5.482.861 million of tweets (STATE OF THE MEDIA TRENDS, 2011). In the presentation of the singer Beyoncé alone, there was an influx of 8.868 thousand comments per second, reaching a record at the time (STATE OF THE MEDIA TRENDS, 2011). All the buzz¹¹ generated during the event made the American channels notice the relevance of the phenomenon in the audience engagement.

In the field of American serial fictional narratives, the actions of social TV go beyond the simple stimulus for appointment television. The strategies enable the expansion and the deepening of fictional universes and the participation of interactive viewers (ANALYSIS, 2015-2016). According to Colletti and Materia (2012, p. 97-108), series such as, for

9 In Brazil, the popularization of social TV began through the telenovela *Avenida Brasil* (Rede Globo, 2012). The story mobilized thousands of interactive watchers on Twitter – in the last episode alone, there were 108 thousand tweets in the social network. Nowadays, the actions developed by the national channels to stimulate backchannel explore from second screen apps to partnerships with Twitter Brasil in the creation of directed strategies (BRANDÃO et al, 2015, p. 409-411; SIGILIANO and BORGES, 2016). According to Kantar Iboop Media (2015), 42% of the Brazilian viewers share content in the social media in a synchronic way to the exhibition of the show. Amongst the most commented formats on Twitter are the reality shows, game shows and telenovelas.

¹⁰ Second screen app.

¹¹ According to Trinta (2015, p. 4-5) in the current ecosystem of connectivity, buzz means contents that propagate vertiginously through the web.

example, *Grey's Anatomy* (2005-, ABC), *The Walking Dead* (2010-, AMC) and *Pretty Little Liars* (2010-2017, ABC Family), promote live chats on Twitter during the exhibition of the episodes. Besides commenting the main events of the season, the screenwriters and the cast answer questions sent by the interactive viewers. The profiles of the shows on social media also offer complimentary content such as videos, photos and emojis¹² and stimulate audience participation through posting comments, memes and photo-montages about the story.

Through this context, this study has the objective of reflecting about the actions of social TV adopted by Fox during the 10th season of *The X-Files* – i.e., how the posts of the page managed by the channel on Twitter contribute for the deepening and understanding of the fictional universe of the series. In order to discuss these issues, we are going to analyze the tweets posted, synchronically to the exhibition of the episodes on the profile (@thexfiles)¹³ of the series on the social network.

The X-Files revival

Around the 90's, Fox was trying to establish themselves in the American television industry. While NBC, CBS and ABC were worried about the fragmentation of audience caused by the popularization of cable TV, the channel invested in the enlargement of their attractions. As Johnson says (2005, p. 61), “[...] Fox was a new channel, their strategies were different from the strategies adopted by other channels that were already established for some time”. After reaching significant ratings with the series *Simpsons* (1989-currently), *Married...with children* (1987-1997) and *Beverly Hills, 90210* (1990-2000), the American channel was searching for a drama series to attract the audience between 18-49 years old (MITTELL, 2010). According to Reeves, Rodgers and Epstein (1996), Fox aimed at reaching the age group of the shows *Roseanne* (1988-1997, ABC), *Home Improvement* (1991-1999, ABC) and

12 The emojis are unlocked when the interactive viewer uses a certain indexation proposed by the channel. See Sigiliano, 2015.

13 Available at: <https://twitter.com/thexfiles>. Accessed in: March 17th, 2017.

Mystery Science Theater 3000 (1988-1999, Comedy Central); however, the formats of these productions demanded costs that were beyond the channel's budget.

After a long process of pilot season¹⁴, Fox decided to produce two shows, *The X-Files* (1993), from Chris Carter and *The Adventures of Brisco County* (1993), from Jeffrey Boam and Carlton Cuse. The shows competed directly with the group of sitcoms from ABC, shown on Fridays by 8 PM (JOHNSON, 2005). Even though both series showed elements of science fiction, *The Adventures of Brisco County* was cancelled by Fox right after the exhibition of the first season due to low ratings. *The X-Files*, on the other hand, called the audience's attention right from the start: The pilot episode was watched by 12 million viewers (PORTER and PORTER, 2010, p. 15-21).

The plot of the *X-Files* revolves around the FBI agents Fox Mulder (David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson). The characters investigate cold cases involving paranormal activity and/or phenomena without scientific explanation, known as the X-files. However, as the investigations go further, Mulder and Scully discover a conspiracy net involving the American government. The series was produced until 2002, totalizing nine seasons with 201 episodes produced. The fictional universe of the show has also been expanded through comic books, books, videogames, movies – *The X-Files: Fight The Future* (1998) and *The X-Files: I Want to Believe* (2008) –and the spin-off *The Lone Gunmen* (2001).

In July, 2013, Comic-Con invited the main characters of *The X-Files* and the screenwriters Vince Gilligan, Howard Gordon, Darin Morgan, John Shiban, James Wong, David Amann, Glen Morgan, and Chris Carter to join a panel celebrating the 20 year anniversary of the show (FOUTCH, 2013). The event took place in San Diego, California, put the show in evidence again and ended up calling Fox's attention. "I got a call from the CEOs of the channel, Dana Walden and Gary Newman,

14 According to Bennett (2014, p. 64-68), the pilot season is a system of annual pitch in which creators, producers and series screenwriters gather with channels and studios to pitch their projects.

talking about their thoughts on producing the show again”, says Chris Carter (CARTER, 2016)¹⁵.

The channel’s idea was to follow the steps of production and distribution adopted on 24: Live Another Day. Produced by Fox in 2014, the story of Jack Bauer (Kiefer Sutherland) showed a development logic from cable TV, i. e., instead of having a season composed by 24 episodes, there were only 12 produced. The format made the return of the X-Files viable and attractive to the cast and crew.

During an annual convention of shows in March 2015, 13 years after the series finale¹⁶, Fox announced the return of the X-Files. The 10th season of the show, available at the United States between January and February 2016, was composed by six episodes.

Monitoring and analysis of the engagement actions of The X-Files on social TV

Before we analyze the actions on social TV performed by Fox on the 10th season of the X-Files, it is important to detail the market approach of monitoring used in this study. The collection of twits posted by the profile @thexfiles during the exhibition of the episodes My Struggle, Founder’s Mutation, Mulder and Scully Meet the Were-Monster, Home Again, Babylon and My Struggle II consisted in a combination of procedures of observation and mining of data generated on Twitter in a synchronic way to the schedule (ZUELL and PRERADOVIĆ, 2013; SIGILIANO and BORGES, 2016). In this context, what is pertinent is the qualitative analysis of these publications, since the quantitative would indicate, for example, the number of comments, sharings, etc.

Weekly, between January, 24th and February 22nd, 2016, the monitoring of the Twitter profile of the show was performed. The posts made by the X-Files page were projected on the Tweet Deck¹⁷. The app native of the microblogging enabled the capture of the twits by the soft-

¹⁵ Transcription from the áudio of the DVD Arquivo X – Uma série de casos (CARTER, 2016).

¹⁶ Last episode of the show

¹⁷ Available at: <https://tweetdeck.twitter.com/> Accessed in: March 17th, 2017.

ware Snagit¹⁸. That way, each post made during the exhibition of the episodes was saved.

Later, we performed the mining of the 463 twits generated by Fox. The individual filter of publications indicated that, out of the total, 372 posts were mentions to other pages in the social network and 91 were twits without mention. From this mining, we limited the corpus of analysis of 463 postings and correlated the publications with the narrative arcs shown on the episodes of the 10th season of *The X-Files* and with the fictional universe of the show.

While the 10th season was on air, the profile of the *X-Files* on Twitter developed many actions of social TV, such as the publication of twits that highlighted the social bond and encouraged the propagation and production of content, the exchange of messages between interactive viewers and a chat with the cast of the show. The strategies of Fox had also comprised the posting of twits that, beyond emphasizing and creating new meanings to the fictional world, stimulated the attentive reading of the audience.

The contents generated by @thexfiles during the episodes reinforced the collective experience and stimulated the backchannel. With Sentences such as “let’s watch together”, “we’re all watching the *X-Files* together”, “watching with us” and “all together”, the publications in the profile called attention to the social bond, reinforcing the meaning of presence in the group. Wolton (1996) says that the notion of social bond was formulated by Durkheim and by the French school of sociology. According to the author, the discussions around the concept had a perspective towards the institutionalized social practices (work, education, family, etc). Later, the notion of social bond was used and expanded by the cultural anthropology, and, in this field, television is one of the main examples.

Wolton (1996) says that the generalist TV constitutes a social bond in both senses. The first refers to the fact that “[...] the viewer, while watching TV, adds to this potentially immense and anonymous audience

18 Available at: <https://www.techsmith.com/screen-capture.html>. Accessed in: March, 17th, 2017.

that watch the show simultaneously, establishing thus, as him, a type of invisible bond” (WOLTON, 1996, p. 124). This silent bond creates a common knowledge between the viewers and between the different communities that constitute the society. The second meaning points towards the TV being the “mirror of society”. In this context, “[...] Television creates not only an image and a representation, but offers a bond to all of those who simultaneously watch” (WOLTON, 1996, p. 124).

However, even though it arises in the environment of convergence, social TV potentializes the silent, invisible bond of television when it crosses the ‘always on’ temporality of Twitter and the television flow. That is, if Wolton (1996), the phenomenon reinforces this aspect of television, so weakened by the individual consumption and by the fragmentation of the audience. In this sense, while highlighting the collective experience of twits, Fox reinforces the social bond.

To help the propagation of content, the page asks the interactive viewers to retwit (RT) the message with the saying: “this person is watching The X-Files”. Thus, the audience not only disclosed in their timeline that the show as on, but they could, even indirectly, influence their followers to turn on the TV.

The stimulus to backchannel surrounded the engagement actions on Twitter on all the episodes of the 10th season of the show. As the scenes were being shown, the profile @thexfiles encouraged the interactive viewers to share memes, photos, videos and, mainly, comments while they watched the show.

However, one of the most relevant points of strategy on social TV in @thexfiles was the dialogue the profile could establish with the audience. Instead of only stimulating the conversation around the show, the webpage exchanged messages with the interactive viewers about different subjects. In addition to informing the schedules of re-runs and details from the synopsis, @thexfiles answered questions related to the narrative arcs and future events in the story. The publications were made in real time and in a personalized manner, i. e., each mention contained a different text, distancing themselves from mechanical, scheduled posts.

Image 1. The official profile of The X-Files reinforces the collective experience in television and stimulates interactive viewers to share their impressions during the exhibition of the episode.

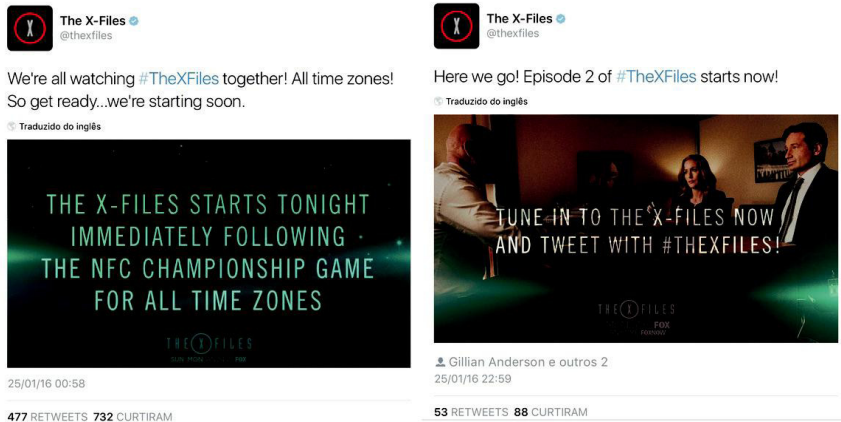
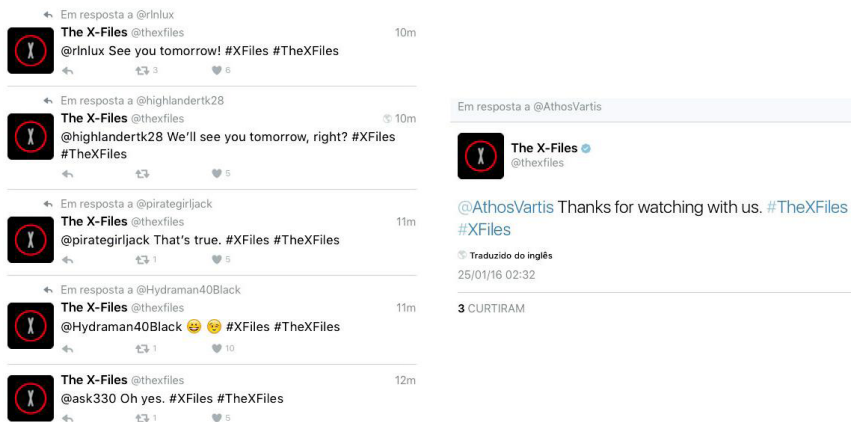


Image 2. the official profile of the TV series The X-Files exchanges tweets with interactive viewers during the exhibition of episodes of the 10th season.



Source: Research data (2016).

The actors Gillian Anderson¹⁹, David Duchovny²⁰, and Mitch Pileggi²¹ also contributed to the plurality of the watercooler effect of *The X-Files*. Through their personal accounts in the microblogging, the cast talked with the followers about the new season. In this sense, the action of Fox not only established a dialogue with the interactive viewers, but stimulated the appointment television. Therefore, the audience can even choose to watch the show in the schedule that is more convenient to them, but would lose the opportunity of exchanging tweets with the cast and solving doubts about the show

In addition to distancing themselves to a unilateral communication, the profile of the show on Twitter valued the participation of the audience. During the exhibition of the six new episodes, some postings of the interactive viewers were retweeted. The publications included compliments to the show and memes²² involving the themes of the story.

With a complex plot, *The X-Files* had their fictional universe detailed in the second screen. The contents that integrated the actions of social TV of the show helped the understanding of the plots²³ from *My Struggle*, *Founder's Mutation*, *Mulder and Scully Meet the We-re-Monster*, *Home Again*, *Babylon* and *My Struggle II*. During the exhibition of the episodes, the profile of the show on Twitter highlighted the main arcs of the plot through pictures, GIFs and polls.

The pictures were always followed by lines and/or dialogues of the scenes – in this context, the sentence highlighted by @thexfiles reproduced an important moment of the story that would influence directly in the development of the narrative. The GIFs called attention to the main plots of the season, such as, for example, the reencounter of Mulder (David Duchovny) and Scully (Gillian Anderson), the whereabouts of William the details of the investigations and even the elements that are typical of the fictional universe of the *X-Files*. Therefore, recurring moments of the

19 Available at: <https://twitter.com/GillianA>. Accessed in: March 19th, 2017

20 Available at: <https://twitter.com/davidduchovny>. Accessed in: March 19th, 2017.

21 Available at: <https://twitter.com/MitchPileggi1>. Accessed in: March 19th, 2017.

22 According to Gleick (2013, p. 17), a meme is “a replicator and a propagator – na idea, a fashion, a current of correspondence”.

23 Story of the show or season linked to the main narrative arc.

show that always integrated the episodes, as the opening theme, the flashlights, the sentences “Mulder, it’s me”, “But Scully, aliens” and the pencils in the office ceiling. The postings worked as a type of guide for the interactive viewer, indicating the most important events of the show.

Another strategy adopted by the profile was the presentation of new characters of the 10th season. Each appearance of Tad O’Malley (Joel McHale) and Sveta (Sheila Larken) in *My Struggle* and *My Struggle II* was highlighted by the @thexfiles. The tweets contained the picture and the name of the character in scene and helped the audience familiarize with the new arcs of the show. Polls were also created to reflect about the nature of Tad and Svete, whose options called attention to the reasons that made these characters take some decisions and helped with the understanding of the interactive viewer.

However, the actions of social TV created by Fox for the 10th season of the X-Files were not limited to the fictional world of the story. Some scenes were re-signified by @thexfiles – the profile highlighted an image that was on air, but putting it into another context. Such as, for example, the tweet published during the exhibition of *Founder’s Mutation*.

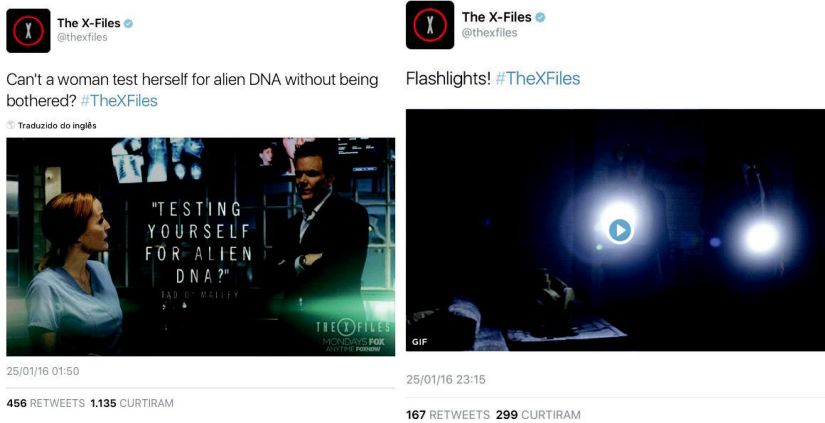
The post showed Sanjay (Chris Logan) having a mental breakdown; however, if, in the episode, the character was a victim of a genetic experiment, in the meme, the profile made an analogy to an overdose of caffeine. With the sayings: “Us after too much coffee”, the page made jokes about Sanjay’s (Chris Logan) behavior when relating his agitation to the effects caused by the overconsumption of caffeine.

The use of memes helped in the propagation of the profile’s tweets when they explored daily situations, such as a stressful routine of work, the traffic jam in big cities and the excess of coffee. The publications also called the attention of users that were not related to the show, but related to the context.

In addition, The X-Files page on twitter stimulated the attentive reading of the interactive viewers. The narrative arcs of the show were surrounded by references to the fictional world and the intertextualities.

In this context, the profile of the show asked the audience to share the easter eggs²⁴ present in the episodes.

Image 3. Posts of the official profile of The X-Files highlight a dialogue between Scully (Gillian Anderson) and Tad O'Malley (Joel McHale) arc that is presented in the episode My Struggle and directly influences the season finale of the show – and the emblematic flashlights from the FBI agents, respectively.



Source: Research data (2016).

The engagement strategy of the channel enabled, even indirectly, the formation of informational frameworks around these elements of the story. When someone clicked on the tweet of the profile of the show, it was possible to see all the answers sent through the publication of @thexfiles. That way, interactive viewers had access to new perspectives in the 10th season. Although they were not fundamental to the understanding of the episodes, easter eggs expanded the meaning of the scenes. For instance, in Mulder and Scully Meet the Were-Monster, when Mulder (David Duchovny) gets near a grave with Kim Manner's ID. Within the plot, the name does not change the course of any event, but the intertextuality was

²⁴ Easter eggs are little references, allusions, information, jokes and/or contents shown in an occult way in softwares, TV shows, movies, videogames, etc. (CLARKE, 2010).

a homage to one of the directors of The X-Files who passed away in 2009. The same could be seen in the ending of Babylon, in which there is an analogy to the last scene of the film *I want to believe*, released in 2008.

Image 4. X-Files profile re-signify the scene of the episode Founder's Mutation.



The X-Files 
@thexfiles

Us after too much coffee. #TheXFiles



25/01/16 23:03

95 RETWEETS 193 CURTIRAM

Source: Research data (2016).

In short, the actions of social TV developed by the profile of the show, @thexfiles, during the 10th season of The X-Files go beyond a simple stimulus to appointment television. The publications reinforce the collective experience and sharing of contents on Twitter in a synchronic way to the exhibition of the episodes, contributing to the plurality of

backchannel. Another important issue in the strategies adopted by the channel was the dialogue with the interactive viewers, that is, each mention to the profile was answered right away.

Tweets also helped the understanding of the fictional world of the series. As the episodes aired, @thexfiles highlighted important scenes and dialogues in the unfolding of narrative arcs. Some moments of the episodes were re-signified, giving birth to memes that satirized daily situations. Finally, the show's profile on the microblogging website encouraged the attentive reading of the audience, highlighting easter eggs that surrounded the story.

Image 5. The X-Files profile asks the viewers to share easter eggs present in the episode. When you click on the tweet, it is possible to access the answers from the audience.



Source: Research data (2016).

Thus, the actions of the channel in the field of social TV potentialize the social bond, calling attention to an imagined community formed through the television flow, in addition to contributing to the deepening and expansion of The X-Files' fictional universe. In this context, the engagement strategies stimulated the buzz around the episodes: During the exhibition of the show, about 85 thousand tweets were posted and the indexation #thexfiles got to the worldwide trending topics three times. Generally, the contents shared by the interactive viewers reverberate the scenes that aired, reflected about the unfolding of narrative arcs and highlighted the main themes approached in the episodes through memes, photo-montages and GIFs (SIGILIANO, 2017).

Final considerations

The publications made by the Fox channel during the 10th season of The X-Files highlighted the social bond; in this sense, by following the tweets, the interactive viewers felt as being a part of a collective activity. Another important issue in the channel's strategy is the profile @thexfiles stimulated and aggregated contents produced by the audience. This cooperative posture of the page not only propelled the backchannel, but also enabled that the fictional universe were approached through many perspectives.

To encourage the appointment television, the cast of the show promoted live chats on Twitter. The actors Gillian Anderson, David Duchovny and Mitch Pileggi exchanged messages with the interactive viewers and commented the show. The dialogue has also been extended to @thexfiles: during the episodes, the profile of the show answered the audience's questions about the narrative arcs, schedules for re-runs, special appearances, etc. However, every tweet sent by the page were different, i. e., the answers did not consist in pre-programmed texts, on the contrary, the interaction varied according to the interlocutor.

The actions of social TV of Fox for the 10th season of The X-Files contributed directly for the understanding of the episodes of the show. As the scenes were being shown, the profile highlighted specific issues

of the story with pictures, GIFs, texts and also presented new characters of the show. In this senses, the contents worked as a type of guide for the complex and intricate narrative arcs of the show. The page of the show on Twitter also re-signified events of the episodes, creating memes that mocked some daily habits. Finally, the story's profile stimulated the attentive reading of the interactive viewers, asking for the audience to send easter eggs present in the sequences of the show.

From the analysis of the social TV strategies developed for the 10th season of *The X-Files*, we conclude that Fox channel went beyond a simple encouragement to appointment television. Therefore, each tweet had a function on backchannel, either on the comprehension of the complex fictional universe, on the loyalty of the audience through live chats or the deepening of the story. The posture of the channel not only meets the environment of mediatic convergence and participative culture, but reinforces the importance of the second screen in the field of serial fictional narratives.

In this context, social TV starts working as a support for the dense fictional aspects of post-network television when establishing that synergy with the narrative arcs of the 10th season of *The X-Files*. The second screen works as an extension of the show on air, contributing for the deepening and detailing of the story. However, it is essential that the tweets that reinforce and detail the fictional universe do not distance the interactive viewers from the cognitive exercise of breaking these stories down. After all, the depth of narrative arcs and the way they demand an attentive reading of the audience are central aspects of the contemporary series.

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Date of submission: 04/07/2017

Date of acceptance: 04/27/2017

Plataformas virtuales: ¿Herramientas para el aprendizaje?

Las diferencias entre ADAN y EVA

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Resumen: *Este artículo analiza las apropiaciones⁵ de Internet que establecen los universitarios de la Facultad de Comunicación de la Universidad de la República de Uruguay (UdelaR), así como sus prácticas y usos en las plataformas virtuales educativas. Se observa: a) la participación; b) la colaboración; y c) la gestión compartida de recursos que hacen los estudiantes de las plataformas ADAN (creada por ellos) y EVA (creada por Udelar). El estudio es exploratorio⁶ e incorpora técnicas cuantitativas y cualitativas que cubren una encuesta a los estudiantes, entrevistas en profundidad a los profesores, la observación de ambas plataformas y análisis de datos secundarios. El artículo concluye con la discusión que sitúa las prácticas y las lógicas de la red como un espacio que resignifica e interpela a sus actores y a las lógicas centralizadas y jerarquizadas universitarias.*

Palabras clave: *plataformas virtuales; Internet; estudiantes; participación; trabajo colaborativo*

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5 Nos referimos al conjunto de procesos socioculturales que intervienen en el uso, la socialización y la significación de las nuevas tecnologías en diversos grupos sociales.

6 Martín Motta, docente en Comunicación Social de la Facultad de Información y Comunicación (Udelar) actuó como investigador colaborador en el estudio exploratorio.

Resumo: *Este artigo analisa as apropriações⁷ que os universitários da Faculdade de Comunicação da Universidade da República do Uruguai estabelecem com a internet, assim como suas práticas e usos nas plataformas virtuais educativas. Observamos: a) a participação; b) a colaboração; c) a gestão compartilhada de recursos que os estudantes fazem nas plataformas ADAN (criada por eles) e EVA (criada por Udelar). O estudo é exploratório e incorpora técnicas quantitativas e qualitativas que abrange entrevista com os estudantes, entrevistas em profundidade com os professores, observação de ambas plataformas e análise de dados secundários. O artigo conclui com uma reflexão que situa as práticas e as lógicas da rede como um espaço que ressignifica e interpela seus atores e as lógicas universitárias centralizadas e hierquizadas.*

Palavras-chave: *plataformas virtuais; internet; estudantes; participação; trabalho colaborativo*

7 Nos referimos ao conjunto de processos socioculturais que intervêm no uso, na socialização e na significação das novas tecnologias em diversos grupos sociais.

Introducción

Partimos en este artículo del supuesto que estamos ante un nuevo escenario, uno hipertextual, reticular, lleno de nodos. En ese escenario, el sistema educativo formal comenzó a sentirse interpelado, en gran parte por un cambio de paradigma en cuanto a las formas de apropiación del conocimiento. El rol del docente y estudiante, los tipos de conocimientos impartidos y las formas de aprender están en constante cuestionamiento. Un importante protagonista de los cambios en ese contexto es Internet, un sistema digital que se caracteriza por una arquitectura descentralizada, por una multiplicación de fuentes de emisión, disponibilidad ininterrumpida de datos, sonidos, imágenes y utilización simultánea en interacciones singulares. Denis de Moraes (2007, p. 2) entiende que Internet habilita redes que “se distinguen como sistemas organizacionales con estructuras flexibles y colaborativas basadas en afinidades, objetivos y temáticas comunes entre los miembros”.

Las redes en Internet, como explica de Moraes, descentró la relación docente-estudiante dentro del sistema educativo que aún se sostiene en el esquema clásico de enseñanza universitaria y en el cual el saber conserva un doble carácter: centralizado y personificado. En palabras de Martín Barbero (2007, p. 12) “la escuela está dejando de ser el único lugar de legitimación del saber ya que hay una multiplicidad de saberes que circulan por otros canales, difusos y descentralizados”.

Autores como Darling-Hammond (2001) sostienen que el rol del docente en la sociedad actual adquirió una mayor complejidad, que ya no alcanza con dominar la especialidad que se imparte. El compromiso del profesor, con las TIC trasciende la transmisión de un saber concreto, lo que le supone estudio, valor y esfuerzo para poner en juego todas las capacidades de crear, cooperar e innovar en sus prácticas pedagógicas.

La revolución tecnológica introdujo en nuestras sociedades, como apunta Castells (1997), más que una cantidad inusitada de nuevas máquinas, un nuevo modo de relación entre los procesos simbólicos (que constituyen lo cultural) y las formas de producción y distribución de los bienes y servicios, un nuevo modo de producir asociado a un nuevo

modo de comunicar. El *lugar* de la cultura en la sociedad cambia cuando la mediación tecnológica (ECHEVERRÍA, 1999) de la comunicación deja de ser solo instrumental para densificarse y volverse estructural. La *tecnología* no debe ser vista como nuevos aparatos sino como nuevos modos de *percepción* y de *lenguaje*, sensibilidades y escrituras, nuevas formas de relacionamiento y aprendizaje. Si acordamos que existe una transformación en los modos de circulación del saber, tal como sugieren diversos autores (RIFKIN, 2000; CASTELLS, 1997; FISCHER, 2001), podemos plantear entonces que comenzamos a atravesar una profunda transformación social.

Este artículo pretende avanzar en el conocimiento sobre los sentidos y significados que adquieren para los estudiantes y los docentes el uso de las plataformas virtuales de aprendizaje en el ámbito de las asignaturas de la Facultad de la Información y Comunicación de la UdelaR. Para ello partimos de las siguientes preguntas de investigación: ¿Las plataformas de aprendizaje en Internet son simplemente un nuevo instrumento que agiliza, refuerza y permite hacer mejor las tareas que ya se realizaban? ¿O el conjunto de los cambios expuestos que encarnan esas plataformas en Internet estarían provocando la ruptura con muchos de los sistemas clásicos de enseñanza en los que se basa la educación y la intermediación administrativa en el campo de la gestión del conocimiento? ¿Cuáles son las dimensiones, la profundidad y cambio que generan estas plataformas en la intermediación educacional? ¿La lógica de la red interpela las lógicas tradicionales, centralizadas y jerarquizadas de la institución educativa y de sus actores?

Para explorar las relaciones que habilita Internet dentro de la educación superior y en la gestión del conocimiento se observan dos plataformas que funcionan de forma virtual: EVA (Moodle), gestionada por la UdelaR desde 2008, y ADAN (Wordpress) desarrollada y gestionada por los propios estudiantes del Instituto de Comunicación de la Facultad de Información y Comunicación (FIC) desde 2015.

La Universidad de la República (UdelaR) es la principal universidad pública uruguaya y la que concentra la mayor parte del estudiantado

universitario: de una matrícula total de 107.666 estudiantes universitarios para el 2014, 85.905 pertenecen a la UdelaR (MEC, 2014). La enseñanza se ha desarrollado históricamente de manera presencial y con una marcada tendencia a las estrategias expositivas, tradición que aún sobrevive en el aula. Si bien desde finales del siglo pasado hubo intentos de generar políticas que tiendan a la incorporación de tecnologías en las aulas y a la diversificación de modalidades de cursado alternativas (semi-presencialidad, educación a distancia) fueron las políticas desarrolladas a partir de la ejecución del Proyecto “Generalización del uso educativo de las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación en la Universidad de la República” (TICUR), ejecutado entre 2008 y 2010, las que lograron colocar el tema en la agenda. Con este proyecto se logró, por ejemplo, el desarrollo de una red de Entornos Virtuales de Aprendizaje (EVA) que utilizan Moodle como plataforma educativa. La plataforma EVA, a la cual tienen acceso todos los estudiantes universitarios de la UdelaR, fue implementada con el fin de integrar a las TIC en la enseñanza universitaria:

La plataforma ofrece varias funcionalidades que sirven de apoyo a las estrategias de enseñanza, investigación y extensión, entre las que se destacan: creación y gestión de cursos, creación de espacios para grupos de trabajo, comunicación, creación colectiva, gestión de usuarios, aprendizaje colaborativo y herramientas de evaluación” (Universidad de la República (Uruguay). Comisión Sectorial de Enseñanza, 2012)⁸

El sitio permite: a) acceder a los materiales de estudio en sus diferentes formatos (texto, audio, multimedia, etc.) y b) la interacción entre estudiantes y docentes a través de correo electrónico, chat, foros, etc. Además, desde el mes de julio de 2014, incorporó una Sala Multimedia del Programa de Entornos Virtuales de Aprendizaje (ProEVA) que cuenta con un estudio de grabación de video, un repositorio multimedia y un sistema de grabación de clases. La idea de estas herramientas es incentivar la generación de recursos virtuales por parte de los docentes

8 Las negritas son nuestras.

y otorgar un marco de formación y de accesibilidad de infraestructura adecuados.

La plataforma ADAN fue desarrollada por los propios estudiantes en 2015 (su nombre es un juego irónico en relación a la plataforma universitaria EVA), cuyo propósito es fomentar el vínculo y la articulación de los estudiantes a partir de la gestión compartida de recursos, de manera colaborativa e intergeneracional. Dentro de ADAN también hay docentes de la FIC que poseen una cuenta de usuario, algunos de ellos se registraron por invitación de los mismos estudiantes para participar y colaborar, y en ocasiones puntuales los mismos profesores utilizaron las salas virtuales para reunirse en el marco de sus investigaciones. ADAN tiene normas y reglas identificables dentro de su comunidad que le permite gestionar diversas herramientas tecnológicas⁹ “para que los estudiantes puedan compartir y producir conocimiento colectivo y prácticas pre-profesionales”, sostienen sus administradores.

Plataforma estudiantil: ADAN

El 21 de septiembre de 2015 un profesor del Instituto de Comunicación (IC) de la FIC envió un mail a la lista docente informando:

Estimados colegas, reenvío un aviso que está circulando en Facebook entre nuestros estudiantes a los efectos de estar informados: ‘Para la vida universitaria no alcanza solo con EVA, por eso surge ADAN, una plataforma colaborativa para que los estudiantes compartan propuestas de parciales y exámenes de la Facultad de Información y Comunicación.

Los comentarios de los docentes del IC en la cadena de mails dejaban al descubierto que el pacto comunicacional profesor-alumno, que proponía la plataforma EVA, estaba sufriendo alteraciones y generando una nueva configuración donde los estudiantes estaban participando de otros espacios virtuales no institucionales. Los alumnos parecían generar

⁹ TeamSpeak, Wordpress, gestores de proyectos, herramientas para diseño, edición y animación, capturadores de pantalla para tutoriales, google drive, programación, manejo de hosting a través de Cpanel, software para transmisiones en vivo de eventos o repases, etc. Incluso la misma plataforma EVA.

otras lógicas y estrategias colaborativas, participativas y de intercambio, a partir de la utilización de recursos tecnológicos, dentro del proceso educativo y por afuera de las herramientas propuestas en EVA para los mismos fines. Las lógicas participativas de los estudiantes del IC, organizados en la plataforma ADAN, interpelaba así a los docentes y a la misma UdelAR sobre los procesos de enseñanza tradicional dentro de la Universidad.

Los diversos dispositivos TIC, en mano de los estudiantes, parecían *descentrar* la relación del sistema educativo virtual y presencial oficial de EVA, subvirtiendo la premisa que se sostenía en el esquema clásico de enseñanza universitaria: el saber está centralizado y personificado en la figura del docente. Internet, a partir de la plataforma ADAN, permitía a los estudiantes, en principio, participar, cooperar e intercambiar, de forma horizontal entre sus miembros, en un espacio virtual y propio, poniendo en común dudas y consultas de exámenes. Investigar si las prácticas y usos de ADAN eran percibidas como transformadoras o “mejoristas” entre los docentes y estudiantes fue uno de los objetivos principales de este trabajo.

Es importante aclarar también que la idea de creación colectiva o aprendizaje colaborativo que desarrollan los estudiantes en la plataforma ADAN y/o EVA no es novedosa. El filósofo tunecino Pierre Lévy, uno de los referentes del campo de la *cibercultura*, explicaba en 1997 que el término *Inteligencia colectiva* refería a la capacidad de las comunidades virtuales de estimular el conocimiento y la pericia de sus miembros, a menudo mediante la colaboración y deliberación a gran escala. Lévy concibe la inteligencia colectiva como una nueva forma de poder. Un poder que cuestionaría la esencia misma del funcionamiento tradicional universitario y descentraría el poder del saber.

En la siguiente sección se presenta la metodología y luego los hallazgos más relevantes. Finalmente, en la conclusión, se sitúan las prácticas y las lógicas de la red como un espacio que resignifica e interpela las lógicas tradicionales universitarias, centralizadas y jerarquizada que ponen en tensión a los actores, docentes y estudiantes.

Metodología

El objetivo general de la investigación es avanzar en el conocimiento sobre los sentidos y significados que adquieren para los estudiantes y los docentes el uso de las plataformas EVA y ADAN en el ámbito de las asignaturas de la FIC. Para ello se establecieron los siguientes objetivos secundarios:

- Identificar las potencialidades de uso de la plataforma EVA y ADAN.
- Describir los usos de las plataformas por parte de los estudiantes y docentes.
- Identificar las interacciones que se presentan en los usos de las plataformas EVA y ADAN.
- Analizar las normas y/o reglas por las que se rigen dichas interacciones.

Se optó por un estudio exploratorio, con un diseño metodológico de carácter cuantitativo y cualitativo, construido a partir de la combinación de cuatro procedimientos para la recopilación y constitución del corpus de análisis: a) se aplicó una encuesta on-line a estudiantes usuarios de la plataforma ADAN de la FIC, durante el período de 1 mes (de un universo de 1748 usuarios respondieron de forma voluntaria 191-formularios válidos) cuyo análisis se realizó con la versión 19 de SPSS; b) entrevistas en profundidad¹⁰ a siete de los doce docentes de la FIC que participaron en la cadena de mails opinando sobre la creación de la plataforma estudiantil ADAN (el resto estaba fuera del país al momento de realizar las entrevistas), al secretario académico, un docente que no utiliza EVA y a dos expertos¹¹ de la plataforma EVA (realizadas en el período abril y mayo de 2016) que trabajan directamente con recursos abiertos en la UdelaR; c) observación del dictado de cuatro asignaturas

10 Las entrevistas pretenden indagar en los sentidos y significados que desarrollan los docentes en el uso de las plataformas EVA y Adán. Las categorías propuestas para el análisis son: 1) Espacio para el aprendizaje; 2) Participación; 3) Trabajo colaborativo; y 4) Percepción de Adán.

11 Las informantes calificadas fueron Virginia Rodés, Coordinadora del Programa de Entornos Virtuales de Aprendizaje de la Universidad de la República (ProEVA); y Patricia Díaz, integrante del Núcleo Interdisciplinario sobre Recursos Educativos Abiertos y abogada de Creative Commons Uruguay.

en la plataforma EVA12 para ahondar en las prácticas y dinámicas que los docentes realizan en los espacios virtuales de clase; d) análisis de datos secundarios de la plataforma ADAN (Google Analytic: dispositivos utilizados; interacciones con el sitio web; duración media de la visita; los flujos de la visita, etc.).

Las entrevistas permitieron reconstruir el discurso de docentes y expertos de la gestión oficial de la plataforma EVA que constituyen y construyen una argumentación que involucra la actividad de nombrar y clasificar, además de vincular contextos sociales y culturales, y que pueden excluir prácticas o formas de pensar alternativas.

Finalmente, las dimensiones de análisis sobre las que se trabajó fueron: a) inteligencia colectiva, como la capacidad de las comunidades virtuales de estimular el conocimiento y la pericia de sus miembros, a menudo mediante la colaboración y deliberación a gran escala; como una nueva forma de poder (LÉVY, 1997); b) participación, entendida como la negociación de las interacciones colaborativas en las cuales el individuo no impone su visión, participa argumentando su punto de vista y justifica, negocia e intenta convencer a sus pares; 3) bienes comunes¹³, compuestos por tres elementos: los recursos, las comunidades que comparten dichos recursos y las normas desarrolladas por dichas comunidades con el objeto de hacer sostenible todo el proceso.

Resultados

En el siguiente apartado se da cuenta de los resultados en relación a los sentidos y significados de las prácticas desarrolladas en las plataformas ADAN y EVA. Para ello se construyeron dos categorías de análisis: 1) Espacio para el aprendizaje y la Participación; y 2) Dinámica de intercambio: EVA-ADAN. En este apartado se da cuenta de los principales

10 En el caso de EVA se seleccionó la observación de cuatro asignaturas en base al criterio de los estudiantes, quienes nos comentaron sobre los docentes que más actividades realizaban dentro de esa plataforma.

11 Son características de los bienes comunes: a) los sistemas de gobernanza o de gestión compartida de recursos, b) los sistemas desarrollados por determinadas comunidades y c) los sistemas que tienen normas y reglas identificables.

hallazgos en cada categoría a partir de los cuatro procedimientos metodológicos propuestos.

Espacio para el aprendizaje y la Participación

Rol de las TIC en la enseñanza y el aprendizaje

La mayoría de los docentes entrevistados consideran a las TIC como una herramienta cada vez más relevante dentro del ámbito de la educación, pero señalan que deben ocupar un lugar complementario dentro del sistema educativo, como un apoyo didáctico y no como el centro de atención.

En este sentido, la integrante del Departamento de Apoyo Técnico Académico, Comisión Sectorial de Enseñanza, Virginia Rodés, subraya en la entrevista que el papel de las tecnologías -como un accesorio para acompañar, ampliar, propiciar, favorecer las enseñanzas y aprendizajes- no arregla la enseñanza ni mejora el aprendizaje: “la incorporación de la tecnología es un instrumento para, pero lo que estructura y define es el uso que se les da”. Para ella significa un “espacio de integración, de participación voluntaria (...) una plataforma educativa (...) que comparte identidad institucional” (RODÉS *et al.*, 2009, p. 6).

Mientras que algunos docentes manifiestan en las entrevistas que la implementación de la plataforma EVA fue casi impuesta, verticalmente, por la UdeLaR y la FIC. Para otros pocos, las plataformas responden más a una moda que a un apoyo didáctico y se corre el riesgo de subutilizar la herramienta.

La plataforma EVA, por más que se propuso como un espacio de integración, aún no logró que los estudiantes ni los profesores se *apropiaran* de la misma, y por tanto no hubo un cambio en las prácticas culturales ni de participación estudiantil.

En cambio, la implementación de ADAN por parte de los estudiantes, en el espacio virtual de las plataformas educativas, interpela a la Universidad a pensar en la reconfiguración de las prácticas culturales de los sujetos que integran las comunidades académicas, particularmente,

sus estudiantes. La apropiación de los estudiantes de ADAN comporta un proceso que muestra las formas por medio de las cuales los estudiantes hacen suya la tecnología y la incorporan creativamente al conjunto de sus actividades cotidianas.

Prácticas educativas con TIC: EVA-ADAN

La plataforma EVA, según se desprende de las entrevistas, se utiliza esencialmente como repositorio de materiales. Algunos docentes consideran que EVA ha sido fundamental para democratizar el acceso a ciertos materiales de estudio. Tales percepciones se confirman en los datos del censo realizado a estudiantes de grado y posgrado en 2012 por los mismos coordinadores de Pro-EVA, donde la descarga de materiales es mencionada en el 98% de los casos. En palabras de Rodés “(...) Entonces lo que tenemos es que los docentes lo que hacen es crear repositorios y los estudiantes lo que hacen es descargar material”.

En otras palabras, una herramienta Moodle tan potente como EVA estaría siendo sub-utilizada, tal como se desprende de las asignaturas observadas para este estudio y de las entrevistas a los docentes, así como de la percepción de los propios administradores de la plataforma EVA. También existe entre los docentes la percepción de que EVA funciona como un canal de información y que facilita el intercambio de novedades, preguntas y notificaciones. Los estudiantes confirman que utilizan EVA como repositorio de materiales, y a la plataforma ADAN como un lugar complementario para acceder a clases grabadas y pautas de examen, por ejemplo. ADAN también funciona como repositorio de materiales, pero generados por los propios estudiantes y muchos de ellos trabajados de forma colectiva en ese espacio virtual. Según la encuesta, un 75,4% perciben a ADAN como un espacio de intercambio con otros estudiantes donde se puede aprender y aportar. Las prácticas de los estudiantes en ADAN estarían mostrando un nivel de apropiación y participación, pertenencia y compromiso que no logró la plataforma EVA, a saber: dominio de un objeto cultural que involucra el reconocimiento de la actividad que condensa la plataforma y con ella los sistemas de

motivaciones, el sentido cultural del conjunto y prácticas específicas que implica su uso culturalmente organizado.

Plataforma virtual y roles docente/estudiante

La mayoría de los docentes entrevistados son categóricos en este punto y señalan que la relación profesor-estudiante no se reconfiguró ni transformó por las incidencias de las plataformas virtuales, como tampoco la participación de los estudiantes en los espacios virtuales o en el aula. Para ellos, el estudiante activo en el aula también lo es en EVA. Afirman que no depende de la creación de nuevos espacios, sino de las actitudes de los estudiantes. En otras palabras, algunos docentes no estarían de acuerdo con la idea de que un estudiante pasivo en clase luego sea activo en las aulas virtuales de la plataforma EVA. Sin embargo, otros profesores sostienen que el comportamiento activo o pasivo del estudiante depende de las características de cada curso, por ejemplo: si son clases masivas o no, si corresponden al ciclo de graduación u otro, etc. Los estudiantes encuestados perciben, en su mayoría, que su participación es en general “pasiva” (62,3 %), mientras que un 30% de estudiantes se consideran “activos”.

El docente sigue manteniendo una relación vertical con el alumno en ambos espacios de aprendizaje, en el aula y en EVA. Para Rodés, coordinadora de EVA, “no hay y no sé si debería haber un desdibujamiento de los roles docente-estudiante, creo que es una percepción que tuvimos en algún momento de desconocer la asimetría intrínseca que existe entre los roles docente-estudiante, una visión un poco idealista de la pedagogía”.

Sin embargo, Salinas (2004) entiende que el profesor debe dejar de ser fuente de todo conocimiento y pasar a actuar como guía de los estudiantes, acentuar su papel de orientador y mediador, facilitarles el uso de los recursos y las herramientas que necesitan para explorar y elaborar nuevos conocimientos y destrezas. Las nuevas formas de alfabetización digital, sostiene Alcoceba Hernando, parecen haber generado un desajuste y confusión dentro del profesorado sobre el uso de las TIC y las transformaciones en los modelos de enseñanza-aprendizaje:

El modelo educativo basado en soportes expresivos escritos (libros) y en el principio de autoridad del profesorado (como acumulador y difusor de conocimiento) se ha transformado radicalmente en otro en que la información fluye de forma accesible a través de múltiples cauces y soportes: donde el alumnado no se limita a memorizar y acumular conocimiento, sino que debe seleccionar y ordenar la información de forma crítica; y donde el profesorado ya no aparece como un mero depositario del conocimiento, sino que se debe convertir en un gestor u orientador de los procesos de enseñanza a partir de los recursos tecnológicos (ALCOCEBA HERNANDO, 2013, p. 195).

La plataforma ADAN, integrada en su génesis mayoritariamente por estudiantes, constata transformaciones en los modelos de enseñanza, aún en estado germinal, donde se observa un nivel de participación diferencial al de la plataforma EVA. Son los estudiantes quienes se preocupan de que los materiales estén a disposición de todos, discuten conjuntamente respuestas y textos, responden de forma inmediata dudas de otros estudiantes que ingresan por primera vez. No existe en la plataforma una relación formal de profesor-estudiantes, sino una relación solidaria entre iguales en la cual los bienes no son individuales (apuntes, grabaciones, textos, etc.). La propiedad compartida de los bienes comunes hizo que los estudiantes desarrollaran formas innovadoras de organizar y trabajar los materiales de todo el colectivo creando al mismo tiempo un espacio basado en la amistad, intereses, prácticas y zonas compartidas, cuyos intercambios están sujetos a un estatuto común. Los estudiantes encuestados perciben que en ADAN se realizan actividades de estudio colaborativo (60%) y que son escuchadas sus dudas y sugerencias (34%). Se desprende de estos resultados que la plataforma ADAN estaría generando un sentido de pertenencia dentro del colectivo, a partir de nuevas formas de relacionamiento, donde el encuentro con amigos y colegas se re-configura y pasa a ser esencial para ser un sujeto integrado a un círculo o grupo de referencia.

Interacción y gestión de las plataformas

Los profesores perciben una escasa interacción entre los propios estudiantes en la plataforma EVA y señalan que la interacción entre docentes y estudiantes es difícil debido a la gestión del tiempo, el esfuerzo y la dedicación que se requiere para aprovechar ese espacio virtual. En el caso de un curso semipresencial, por ejemplo, el docente no solo debe realizar un mayor seguimiento, sino también estimular a los estudiantes para que participen en la plataforma y dar cuenta de una rápida respuesta a las demandas de los alumnos.

Cuando se le pregunta a los docentes si tienen interés en obtener más provecho de EVA señalan que el tiempo y la dedicación que exige no están a su alcance. Algunos docentes también apuntan que los cursos del primer ciclo, donde la masividad de las clases es señalada como un gran problema, la gestión del tiempo para dar respuesta a todos los estudiantes es prácticamente inviable. Apuntan que, finalmente, los grados docentes más altos descargan las tareas en los grados más bajos, quedando en éstos últimos con la responsabilidad de gestionar y administrar las tareas e interacciones en la plataforma EVA.

En el caso de ADAN la gestión no recae sobre un estudiante sino sobre una comisión administradora de alumnos de la plataforma, quienes pueden hacer un rápido seguimiento a las demandas de sus pares porque gestionan tiempo y “bienes comunes” (SUBIRATS, 2012, 2013; BARBIERI, 2014; HOLDER; FLESSAS, 2008; OSTROM, 1990; BENKLER, 2006) en beneficio de la comunidad. Barbieri (2014, p. 111) esquematiza la idea de los bienes comunes como:

En primer lugar, debemos entender que los bienes comunes no son ni espacios ni objetos. Los bienes comunes están compuestos por tres elementos: unos recursos, unas comunidades que comparten dichos recursos y unas normas desarrolladas por dichas comunidades con el objeto de hacer sostenible todo el proceso. Es decir, los bienes comunes son: a) sistemas de gobernanza o de gestión compartida de recursos, b) sistemas desarrollados por determinadas comunidades, y c) sistemas que tienen normas, reglas identificables. Esto quiere decir que hemos aprendido a

mirar los bienes comunes menos como sustantivos (el bien común) y más como adjetivos (lo común).

Se desprende de los datos que la plataforma EVA tendría un modelo de políticas de acceso (democratizar la información), con docentes y técnicos de la universidad que ejercerían un rol administrativo, vertical, de mando y control. Por lo tanto, la tarea que asume EVA sería la de promover una interacción de tipo racional instrumental. En cambio, el modelo de política de los bienes comunes es más próximo a la plataforma ADAN, donde los estudiantes se reconocen como interdependientes, horizontales, cooperativos, comunitarios y desarrollan, al mismo tiempo, instrumentos para promover la colaboración y la implicación.

Las nuevas formas de socialización de los estudiantes necesitan espacios más flexibles y dinámicos. La transformación en las formas de relación entre pares, horizontal, a partir de la irrupción de las TIC, supuso un cambio importante en el ámbito de la sociabilización de los jóvenes estudiantes. Las relaciones mediadas tecnológicamente en entornos virtuales como ADAN parece que reconfiguró nuevas formas de interacción que entran en tensión con las formas tradicionales, como las que se replican en la plataforma EVA, y que generan lazos de pertenencia y corresponsabilidad colaborativa.

Las formas tradicionales de aprendizaje dentro del sistema educativo universitario deben pensarse desde un enfoque diferente para entender los nuevos modos de relación entre los estudiantes y la apropiación del conocimiento. Una perspectiva que permita escapar a los esquemas clásicos de enseñanza y dé cuenta de las nuevas prácticas y estrategias de inteligencia colectiva -en la idea de Lévy- por parte de los estudiantes a partir de la flexibilidad de la red, de su capital cultural y simbólico en relación con la figura del docente como dinamizador y organizador del conocimiento.

Dinámica de intercambio: EVA-ADAN

La mayoría de los docentes están al corriente de la existencia de ADAN, pero no todos conocen exactamente su funcionamiento. Algunos profesores afirman haber ingresado en la plataforma (deben registrarse con un usuario y una contraseña), pero dicen no haber navegado en ella. Los expertos de EVA expresan una visión positiva de la plataforma ADAN, y apuntan que la misma surgió en respuesta a necesidades estudiantiles que no fueron resueltas institucionalmente.

Para algunos profesores ADAN no es diferente a las prácticas de intercambio que los estudiantes realizaban antes de Internet. Sin embargo; opinan que el potencial de las prácticas en la plataforma desafía el trabajo docente. Se refieren al intercambio de las pautas de evaluación elaboradas por los profesores para los parciales/exámenes y que los estudiantes “cuelgan” en ADAN para discutirlos de forma colectiva, así como los audios de las clases grabadas en formato digital. La grabación de las clases abrió un debate dentro de la comunidad docente sobre: a) la privacidad, la ética de registrar sin consentimiento las clases, b) los derechos de autor y c) la propiedad intelectual de lo que se registra en las clases, entre muchos otros. Para algunos profesores existe una violación a la confidencialidad mientras que para otros el problema es difundir el audio “fuera de su contexto”. Los pactos comunicacionales, explican los profesores, no son los mismos dentro del aula que fuera de ella, por lo que el sentido puede quedar sesgado.

Los docentes, en principio, estarían de acuerdo con las prácticas realizadas en ADAN, pero cuando se profundiza en las entrevistas sobre temas puntuales, como las clases grabadas sin consentimiento o la publicación de las pautas de examen, surge la discusión sobre la libertad de expresión e información y la regulación de ciertas prácticas en la plataforma estudiantil. Para algunos profesores la regulación puede atentar contra tales libertades. En cambio, otros docentes entienden que se necesitaría algún tipo de reglamentación que garantice, por ejemplo, el derecho de autor o la libertad de cátedra. A pesar de ello creen difícil e inviable la normativización y preferirían abrir un debate conjunto entre

estudiantes y docentes para discutir las incidencias de ciertas prácticas y el alcance ético de las mismas.

Es en este punto, a partir de las subjetividades de los docentes, donde se visualiza uno de los conflictos y tensiones más importantes en la gestión de ambas plataformas. Por un lado, uno de los objetivos principales de EVA es generar un modelo de políticas de acceso (democratizar la información) y cuando los estudiantes de ADAN llevan adelante tal política de acceso, para los docentes es percibido como un problema. Sin embargo, los docentes no tienen inconvenientes en subir a EVA textos, películas, capítulos de libro, libros enteros, etc. Tal práctica no es auto-cuestionada por los docentes ni entra en contradicción con los dilemas éticos y/o legales como la propiedad intelectual o los derechos de autor que mencionaban respecto a la plataforma ADAN.

Conclusión

Este trabajo pretende abrir un diálogo con otras investigaciones que aborden las TIC en relación a los procesos de apropiación, circulación y producción de conocimiento, poniendo en tensión las formas tradicionales de pensar la enseñanza y otras formas de participación estudiantil que interpelan las mediaciones y las lógicas centralizadas, verticales y jerarquizadas del sistema universitario.

El estudio muestra que un porcentaje importante de los estudiantes estarían aprovechando sus conocimientos individuales en pro de metas y objetivos compartidos en el sentido que advertía Lévy, nadie lo sabe todo, todo el mundo sabe algo. Los estudiantes organizados en la plataforma ADAN trabajan de forma colectiva para acceder a un saber al que no podrían llegar por ellos mismos. Esa organización les deja generar una comunidad de conocimientos, término también usado por Lévy, que les permite discutir, negociar y lograr un desarrollo colectivo y colaborativo, además de estimularlos de forma individual para buscar nueva información en pos del bien común.

Es importante señalar que los estudiantes que conforman ADAN en ningún momento cuestionan la figura del docente y siguen buscando

en ella la orientación y organización del conocimiento. A cambio les demandan a los profesores la legitimación de sus prácticas y los invitan a participar de un espacio en el que ellos, de forma autónoma, gestionan y administran unos bienes comunes que comparten de forma colectiva. No se desprende de los datos de las encuestas que los estudiantes busquen en sus prácticas en red reemplazar al docente ni el espacio tradicional de la clase universitaria. Al contrario, los estudiantes que integran ADAN pidieron a los docentes que participaran en sus debates, que corrigieran los apuntes que compartían de forma colaborativa de sus asignaturas y que organizaran el material de sus clases. Además, en sus prácticas de estudios acaban generando una lista de dudas que se trasladan al profesor en los espacios de consulta generados a tales efectos. Los sentidos y significados de las prácticas de lecturas colaborativas en ADAN, en última instancia, terminan siendo validadas por el docente en el aula o en dichos espacios.

El desafío de la gestión del sistema universitario es entender los modos de relación, apropiación, los procesos de referencialidad y la creciente complejidad comunicacional que se tejen en esas plataformas virtuales entendidas como nuevos espacios tecnológicos, geográficos y sociales. Las posibilidades abiertas por las TIC en la construcción colectiva, colaborativa y horizontal del desarrollo de la inteligencia conectiva (a partir de la interacción estudiantil con los sistemas modernos de comunicación, con características autonómicas y con un modelo de producción y gestión sostenido en el bien común), nos obliga a reflexionar sobre el modelo tradicional educativo. Modelo, este último, basado en el esquema clásico de enseñanza universitaria y en el cual el saber conserva un carácter jerárquico, centralizado en el espacio-tiempo y personificado en figuras concretas.

El sistema universitario no puede quedar ajeno a estos cambios que permiten hoy, como nunca antes, que los estudiantes tengan cada vez más control de la producción del campo simbólico, de su propia narrativa y modelo de representación, ya que pasaron de consumidores a creadores culturales. Los estudiantes son protagonistas en la era de

Internet, se apropiaron de las transformaciones comunicacionales que trajeron las TIC en la conformación de un nuevo orden mediático, renunciaron a ser sólo espectadores para hablar, decir y representar. La universidad deberá innovar en sus modelos de enseñanza y participación para favorecer la calidad de la intervención estudiantil en el marco de un nuevo círculo virtuoso de enseñanza y desarrollo.

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Fecha de envío: 09/01/2017

Fecha de aceptación: 24/04/2017

Youth cultures, identities and lifestyle: meanings of the “alternative” in Baixo Augusta/São Paulo¹

Culturas juvenis, identidades e estilo de vida: sentidos do “alternativo” no Baixo Augusta/São Paulo

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Abstract: *We present in this article aspects of the research that has been carried out on processes of identity construction linked to an “alternative ethos” among young people in Baixo Augusta region in São Paulo. Articulating consumer practices (in their production and reception logics), music scenes, fashion and lifestyles, we seek to understand these juvenile experiences and imaginaries (through ethnography) that build identities and ways of consuming alternatives to mainstream and to hegemonic culture. Thus, notions of youth resistance are re-established and resemantized, which are outlined not only by confrontation, but by negotiations between the dominant logics and everyday astuteness, demonstrated in political aesthetic and performative actions.*

Keywords: *alternative; youth cultures; lifestyle; consumption; Baixo Augusta*

Resumo: *Apresentamos neste artigo aspectos da pesquisa que vem sendo realizada sobre a construção de identidades ligadas a um “ethos alternativo” entre jovens frequentadores da região do Baixo Augusta em São Paulo. Articulando práticas de consumo (em suas lógicas de produção e recepção), cenas musicais,*

1 A summarized version of this article was presented in the GT “Comunicação, Consumo e novos fluxos políticos: ativismos, cosmopolitismos, práticas contra-hegemônicas” (communication, consumption and new political flows: activisms, cosmopolitisms, counter-hegemonic practices) at COMUNICON 2016.

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moda e estilos de vida, buscamos compreender estas experiências e imaginários juvenis (por meio de etnografia) que compõem identidades e formas de consumir alternativas ao mainstream e à cultura hegemônica. Com isso, reposicionam-se e ressemantizam-se noções de resistência juvenil que se esboçam não apenas pelo enfrentamento mas por negociações entre as lógicas dominantes e as astúcias cotidianas, perfazendo-se em ações de teor político, estético e performativo.

Palavras-chave: *alternativo; culturas juvenis; estilo de vida; consumo; Baixo Augusta*

The contributions coming from the debates about urban culture, consumption practices, youth and lifestyle help us understand about juvenile identities that are made and remade in the cities, where territorialities are built around day to day practices, distinctive lifestyles, uses of the urban space and ways of consumption.

If on a certain period (70's until 80's) the discussion around these axes was concentrated in notions of subculture, resistance and counter-hegemony, emphasizing issues of class and race (HEBDIGE, 2004; HALL; JEFFERSON, 1993), from the 90's onwards, this debate had incorporated the theme of consumption (in its material and symbolic aspects) as a fundamental element for the understanding of youthful culture, as well as fashion, style and urban territorialities involved in musical practices consistent with the concept of scene (STRAW, 1991), repositioning notions of resistance (FREIRE FILHO, 2005, 2007) that come into play when we reflect about urban youth in its daily actions inserted in the mediatic and consumption culture. Other meanings of resistance, thus, begin to get attention and be analyzed, expanding the scope to think not only the direct and explicit forms of facing the mainstream or the hegemony, but also the subtle and negotiated forms that conjugate diverse and contradictory logics of incorporation and repulse.

This study presents aspects of a research that is being performed in Baixo Augusta⁴ (São Paulo/SP) in which we prioritize aspects of an “alternative culture” or an “alternative ethos” that seems to be one of the main characteristics of part of the goers of this region of the city that is being studied. To understand the senses of this “alternative” is the main objective of this text, that also presents a theoretic/conceptual discussion about the youth, lifestyle and consumption practices, as well as data from the ethnography that is being performed in Baixo Augusta's nightlife.

4 Part of Rua Augusta located between the crossing of Avenida Paulista and downtown São Paulo. This area is known as Baixo Augusta by its goers and residents because it is different from the other parts of the same street, in which the emphasis lies on the bohemian, juvenile, alternative, underground nature. We use in this research the notion of territoriality (HAESBERT, 2002) to approach this area in the city.

The investigation works through three main axes that help to explain and understand how this “alternative culture” came to be in this region. The first one is fashion, that comprises clothing, uses and appropriations of different styles, mixing and matching or creating new meanings for objects, concepts and trends in clothing, accessories, hairstyles and other symbols that help building identities that are present in these groups. The second axe is around the scene (JANOTTI; SÁ, 2013) and musical scene (HERSCHMANN, 2013), that seem to be a fundamental element helping define styles and sense of belonging of these groups, showing matches, confluences and conflicts between different music genres. This axe is also important when we analyze music being capable of putting together (or apart) groups of people that listen and consume the same genre/music style, being a strong reference that helps defining styles, tastes, alliances and identities, articulating it to clothing, attitude, places.

The third axe that holds the other two together is based on the notion of “lifestyle” (GIDDENS, 2002; FEATHERSTONE, 1995), talking about choices that individuals and groups must perform facing the variety of possibilities opened by (Post-)Modernity linked to consumption and to the constitution of an identity. Add that to the notion of distinction (BOURDIEU, 2007) that guarantees symbolic capital and shows itself as an important aspect when we think about these groups that are constituted in Baixo Augusta by being what constitutes characteristics that bring prestige and differentiation from the others in a social environment. This intricate construction of identities linked to the consumption of clothes, accessories and music in specific scenes and places is that we perceive the conformity of a way of being and living or an “alternative-ethos” that is outlines in the confluence of different lifestyles also as a form of resisting to the mainstream culture at the same time it embodies elements of it giving different uses, with an ability of negotiation that we will explore later. Even if we have as main focus to analyze the clothing and musical consumption of these youngsters, we understand this “alternative ethos” as something wider that incorporates

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forms of consumption (food, information, leisure, etc.), political and behavioral postures that are considered alternative to the norm and the hegemonic.

We remember that, along with the notion of lifestyle and distinction that reflect on this “alternative ethos” that we researched, there is what Feixa (1996) calls “juvenile culture”, that is, the way in which the social experiences of young people are expressed collectively through the construction of distinctive lifestyles, located fundamentally in their free time and or in interstitial spaces of institutional life, putting on the center of the debate questions of identity, daily life and protagonisms of these actors. We add that the notions of youth and juvenile culture must be thought of taking into consideration the fluid and permeable character of the groups, in which we highlight the diversity and plurality of social experiences.

We seek to understand the existing articulation between these three axes (fashion, music scene and lifestyle) in juvenile culture, not separately or autonomously, but in their processes of articulation and conflict that conform this alternative ethos in their way of experiencing the city and the consumption culture (materially and symbolically).

Subcultural, resistant, alternative

Bastos (2016) thinks of Rua Augusta as an urban referential pole analyzing their construction of imaginary for their residents and goers and the mutual influences between subjects and the imaginary of Rua Augusta: consuming references coming from Rua Augusta feeds the imaginary about this urban region. The author perceives the expressive presence of signs and materials related to vintage and retro as something being exploited by the mass culture to supplement an existential deficit of representation of the “alternative” imaginary.

Although we recognize that there is market strategies of fashion, gastronomy and music feeding from this desire of distinction that is present in the logic of juvenile and urban culture currently, we postulate an understanding of these cultural and consumption practices without our

will. That is, without disregarding the strategic logic of production in the formation of niche markets outside the culture of masses, we seek to understand the ways of appropriation that young users of this universe elaborate in the logic of uses giving a new meaning for these element from above. In this logic of uses, identities and lifestyles are drafted outside the pattern of mainstream and of the massive hegemonic culture, creating non-hegemonic habits of cultural and material consumption, ways of experiencing the city, forms of diversified socialities and aesthetics, created or appropriated by these goers of Baixo Augusta's nightlife. When thinking about fashion, music and lifestyle of these groups, it is possible to perceive the existence of a diversity that allows a constant flow of exchanges and matches between a variety of references. We obviously don't ignore the action of a market that is modified and adequate constantly to fill the need present there. However, there are forms of negotiation, in which these youngsters are appropriating products, services and imaginaries offered to this market through different uses.

We guide ourselves through the Gramscian perspective of culture as battlefield, disputes, appropriations and negotiations present in the consideration of British Cultural Studies (ESCOSTEGUY, 2001). Such concept helps us realize and analyze the conflicted negotiations that exist between different social groups and the hegemonic/mainstream culture. In this notion of negotiation, notions of cultural resistance are repositioned, seen as something autonomous or as a pure battle against the hegemonic to give space to a notion of resistance that is done daily, in the details, in the unexpected and non-programmed appropriations of the juvenile groups facing the logics of production, as we have perceived among the youngsters analyzed.

Freire Filho (2007) understands the concept of resistance in his historical dynamic and in the search for reflecting on how this notion can be thought about when we deal with young cultural groups. As an ever-changing concept, for the tradition of British Cultural Studies to resist, it would mean a frontal and explicit contestation of the British young worker class (such as punks) and other subcultural formations

against the hegemony; for the young post-subcultural studies, on the other hand (FREIRE FILHO, 2005), the notion of resistance was expanded to incorporate ways of negotiation of identities linked to the culture of consumption. A notion of resistance, thus, that can handle the volatility of styles, fashion and identities, as well as the sensibilities and multiplicities of references involved in juvenile practices, evaluating once again the relationship between youngsters, music, fashion, lifestyle, identity and media.

The Certeauian notions of tactics and strategies (CERTEAU, 1994) are useful for the analysis of cultural processes and consumption logics. As outlined plans by/in the market and/or social institutions, strategies are rational actions for those who detain power. Tactics, in turn, are the daily astuteness of social groups and individuals that break the rules that are imposed to them in a sub-ruthless and subliminal way. The relation among the young groups analyzed in Baixo Augusta and the market that care for them is a constant negotiation between marketing strategies that try to fit these groups into a market niche and the uses and tactics created by these groups to break, subvert or resist to this system, constantly creating new trends to be explored by the market, giving different uses and appropriating in new ways. Beyond that, there is the diverse logic of incorporations, seductions and different ways of resistance, without reducing these practices to dichotomic oppositions of “integration” or “confrontation”.

This constant conflict is what creates negotiations that compose this scene of Baixo Augusta in fashion, music and lifestyle of these young groups, being present in products and services offered by this market in constant change: in bars, restaurants, food trucks, night clubs, clothing stores, accessories, objects of decoration and design, beauty parlors, among other many possible segments that the market in Baixo Augusta creates for those who go there.

In this sense, aligned with the Bourdian concept of distinction, the notion of cultural omnivorism (PETERSON; KERN, 1996) helps us understand the consumption practices of the youth in Baixo Augusta.

This omnivorism refers to an eclecticism of tastes articulated with global cultural logics that value tastes and consumption of what is exotic and different, and not only what is considered classic in occidental patterns, in an assimilation of the new and different that is gaining space and legitimacy.

An alternative ethos?

A debate about the “alternative” in culture and in the means of communication has its history in discussions about press and “alternative” communication in the 70’s, when it was a synonym of “popular”, “engaged”, “communitarian”, “independent”. In the dictatorial context lived in Brazil at that time, the alternative gained strong colors of autonomy and contesting status quo, being a channel of info-communicative expression to the commercial or state-owned hegemonic media groups and to institutions in general. With the redemocratization of the country, in the late 80’s, the “alternative” linked to communication becomes communitarian, linked to the social movements, NGOs, radio-schools, university press, etc. (PERUZZO, 2008).

However, the notion of “alternative” that we work here through the studied group deals with lifestyles and consumption that aspire to be alternative as a possibility of being another – suggested by the own etymology of the word. In this perspective, an alternative ethics of life would be, as we’ve observed, in conscious and critic consumption, in a way of acting around the massifying mainstream in fashion and musical tastes, in more tolerant and inclusive ways in behavior. Anyway, a notion of invention and performativity of identities in juvenile cultures.

A way of being and living in the alternative, however, that is not necessarily autonomous and independent from the massive media and logic of production, but which negotiates and creates its ethos in the daily subtexts. We take into account here the prestige that the minority and the exclusive have to those who consume it, something that belongs to dynamics present in juvenile subcultures linked to the aesthetic and performative in fashion and music (THORNTON, 1995). Another

aspect to be considered, at least in terms of music and contemporary musical scene is that, if even in the 90's it was easier to perceive a vivid separation between majors and indies, this separation is not so clear today, with a big net that involves differently the big and small producers and musicians (HERSCHMANN, 2011). The notion of “alternative” (PEREIRA; BORELLI, 2015) arises as a nomination for these mediatic, cultural and consumption practices that involve contemporary juvenile culture made of negotiation and present in identities that the youngsters that frequent Baixo Augusta seem to have.

This way, the “alternative” is admitted here as a concept “under erasure”, as Stuart Hall (2000) suggests when thinking about identities. “Under erasure” is a denomination given to a process that is maintained always under construction or re-structuration, without making it static. We admit this “alternative” as something of contingency and always relational, not having the same meaning in any group that is analyzed. Hall (2000) thinks of identity in a process of constant fluidity and, along with the author, we see this “alternative ethos” as a way of dynamic representation that is maintained by a “suture point” (HALL, 2000) between hegemonic elements in negotiation with other forms of consuming and experiencing culture. An “alternative”, thus, that becomes a cultural manifestation articulating distinctive lifestyles that build their identities in a selective and architected way, bringing multiple shapes of socialities and ways of being and living built by these juvenile groups.

Being the identities a “suture point” and in constant negotiation between normative, institutional and hegemonic elements in conflict and seam with more inventive ways of being, aestheticizing and subjectivating, the elaboration and articulation of juvenile identities in Baixo Augusta becomes a complex and important task, once their outlines are not uniform and are very dynamic, always in a process of change. We see there a constant search for building an “alternative” imaginary identity; an imaginary that aspire to be non-hegemonic, minoritarian,

non-massive, but which dialogues with symbols and aesthetics of hegemonic and market culture⁵.

When we comprehend them as alternative, we seek to reflect about the meanings of this name in Baixo Augusta in multiple forms of tactical resistance in negotiation with mainstream elements and not only by pure coping. Furthermore, we highlight here the political meanings of such “alternative” actions and imaginaries either in ways of appropriating and experiencing the city, or in the astute use of elements of fashion and mass culture, or creating lifestyles that other corporalities and socialities are articulated. An alternative, thus, that is created in negotiation and building non-hegemonic forms (not necessarily counter-hegemonic) of consuming, living and socializing. An analytical challenge, that way, when we perceive that the alternative is not totally separated from the market and institution, but dialogues and negotiates with these elements, giving them other meanings.

In the streets of Baixo Augusta

The field research performed with ethnographic background involved participation observation and interviews with people who frequent the area and workers of Baixo Augusta. We had as focus the nightlife of the region, its main circuits of alternative music practices, bars, restaurants, nightclubs, shopping centers and stores seeking to articulate the possible relations between their consumption habits of fashion, music, food to a certain “alternative ethos” that we seek to interpret.

Magnani (2002) considers Urban Anthropology a field of research directed towards the study of social groups present in the circuits of urban centers and their practices. In an approximation of the complexity of these dynamics. An investigation that seeks to interpret “from within” the reality of a group, trying to access the values, symbolic brands,

5 We perceive this, for example, in the nightclubs that were widely analysed in this research: the Espaço Desmanche, Inferno Club and Beco 203. In these three clubs, there is the mix of elements of pop culture with symbols and sounds linked to kitsch, exotic or underground, in a negotiation of references, styles and identities expressed in parties, clothing of goers and music genre used by live groups or DJs.

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classification and distinctive systems, tastes, habits, world view, feelings of belonging and the way this is lived in the day to day life. Thus, one of the areas of research that seems to be the most important in the urban anthropology is the study of neighborhoods, streets, locations, regions and areas of the city, where the socialities of the urban groups take place (VELHO, 2009). In a dialogue with this field of studies we have as a method an analysis of practices of sociality and the construction of identity of the groups studied.

We remind you, however, that this research was observation participation with an engaged hearing and seeing in the perception of field and in free conversations with people who frequent that region, without making formal interviews. Nunes (2016) suggest the *flânerie* as a methodology (inspired in the propositions of Peter McLaren) and the *flâneur* as a post-modern ethnographer that, escaping the fixed categories of analysis, dives into the hectic and dynamic city in search for “capturing narratives through reading human and special conformation, fixating them more freely in acts of writing, following the narrative engagement” (NUNES, 2016, p. 145). This methodologic proposal was very adequate to capture these signs and indications of an alternative lifestyle that we try to interpret in urban juvenile cultures as dynamic and without specific or neo-tribal outlines. Without a previous delimitation of number of interviewees or even a structured script for questions, we followed the “sensual flows and energies of the space and the subjective configurations” (NUNES, 2016, p. 145) on the streets, stores, bars and night clubs, paying attention to gestures, clothing, attitude, narratives and performances that were present in these spaces.

In addition to these main circuits of the night in Baixo Augusta, other spaces of the region were important by concentrating this spirit of the streets, in form of dynamic and multiple socialities: the streets by the *Shopping Center 3* and the streets of Rua Peixoto Gomide; the *Espaço Itaú de Cinema* and the street vendors selling pirated alternative movies; the stores in *Village, De tudo um Pouco and the Espaço Endossa*; the food truck *Calçadão Urbanoide*; the restaurants that range from gourmet

cooking and different nationalities; to the typical “casa do norte” with food from the northeast regions of Brazil.

The research incursions at Baixo Augusta were made between the years of 2015 and 2017, mostly at night, always on the weekends (usually Fridays and Saturdays) that are the days which the region receives a bigger influx of people. As one of the main axes of the research dealt with the mapping of diverse musical scene/circuit that composes the region, we had as focus the perception of sound landscape that constitutes sounds that are present and echo in a certain environment. The sound landscape becomes something to be sensorially perceived, contemplating each and every sound/noise that composes a certain “urban orchestra” (that does not aspire to be harmonious, but rather conflictive and dissonant) formed by every audible manifestation. Thus, the objective was to walk around the streets and perceive the different sound references beyond music, incorporating environmental sounds and what is commonly identified as noise.

One of the main characteristics that we could observe/listen, thinking about the sound present when walking around Baixo Augusta and its vicinities was the constant change of musical genres. When walking from one street to another, the rock that we heard became ambient sound to a Brazilian funk that was predominant in that space, and if we kept walking, the predominant music we would hear was not funk anymore, but indie. The sounds came from different sources: from a bar, a nightclub, a passing car, someone’s cellphone.

When thinking about the space as an urban territory symbolically delimited beyond its material existence, we have the presence of a circuit constituted by many elements that transmit meanings that can be read and interpreted in many ways. The processes of territorialization and reterritorialization (ROLNIK, 1992; HAESBERT, 2002) from the urban scene through the daily life of the groups that experience the environment in question becomes an important element in the comprehension of uses of the space – becoming an appropriate and lived territory – articulated to the identities and lifestyles that the material and symbolic

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consumption are created. That way, the territory that contemplates the vicinities of Baixo Augusta in its diverse cultural references in coexistence, starts composing a mosaic of superpositions and intertwining that conceive multiple/hybrid identities in confluence and conflict.

In addition to these aspects, the sounds that echoes on the streets of the region sometimes surprises us, taking us to different times through the sounds found in nightclubs specialized in a certain type of music, for instance, classic rock that is not a musical genre that is present in the massive means of communication. This characteristic of Baixo Augusta of mixing different temporalities is also present in the clothing/style of the people that go there, in the objects that décor the many places of stores, bars, nightclubs, etc. The different temporalities existing in each cultural formation proposed by Williams (1979) are present here. Dominant, residual and emergent arise as temporal elements in fight for the hegemony and in a constant dynamic inside the cultural circles like the ones we analyzed. According to Williams, among the residual elements, we verify that these elements of the past, recognized as old, but that also are present in the contemporaneity; among the emergent we have what is new or potentially new in a culture, pointing to innovative or even counter-hegemonic shapes, values, aesthetics; and between the dominance we have what is hegemonic in a culture with elements with strong predominance. These three elements are found in constant dynamic and struggle for space, bringing the diachronic component of culture and exchanging positions of dominance at every time. In this fluidity that articulates elements of the mass culture until those more innovative and outside the norm (in fashion, in lifestyle or in music) creates the “alternative ethos” among the juvenile groups of Baixo Augusta.

In fashion and music present in the region, there are many influences of vintage and retro, mixed and matched with current elements that allude a consumption of the past and a seduction to the old in contemporary juvenile groups as a clue of a certain presentist and nostalgic regime of temporality (PEREIRA; BORELLI, 2015). In this mixture of references so diverse is where Baixo Augusta’s “alternative ethos” comes

to be, which maintains a conflicting relationship with market logics and mass culture in form of incorporation and resistance.

Such characteristic mentions something that seems to motivate that “ethos”: a desire to be one of a kind and to build unique identities, which, even though they may become a trend and be appropriated by the mass culture, are re-elaborated in a dynamic matter by these groups, changing them again and taking aside certain trends, appropriating new ones, and, many times, creating new meanings to old trends in order to differentiating themselves from the hegemonic culture when creating new and multiple senses that come from the masses, performing their bodies and identities. These superpositions of new styles present in forms of dressing up and even in attitudes can be seen in many goers of the region.

This way, it is possible to understand that the fashion market formed around the region of Baixo Augusta is favored by these characteristics and matches, seeking to fulfill desires and trying to segment them into niches of market. A dynamic of the marketing logics of production built constantly molding themselves through marketing strategies to better provide for their audience, renewing strategies in dialogue with the tactical appropriation of the users in a constant and conflicting functioning of cultural and consumption processes linked to juvenile and urban cultures⁶.

These characteristics are more explicit when we observe the stores that sell a variety of clothes/accessories and decoration with an inspiration in vintage, retro, avant-garde, classic and modern styles, mixing these references together that compose the styles of these consumers. Another point of reference are the restaurants and food trucks specialized in foods of different origins in the world, always with a gourmet

6 An aspect to be explored is the fact that these youngsters who go to Baixo Augusta are also actors of the fashion and music market of this place, where the fixed divisions between production and reception need to be resized and reconceptualized. Young entrepreneurs of culture (“trendys” or “trendsetters”) (GARCIA CANCLINI et al, 2012), in many cities across the globe, they are actors of alternative circuits in which they have protagonism in setting trends in fashion and styles, producing and receiving in different moments.

aspect that adds monetary value to the market and distinctive value to the consumer.

On another hand, even though alternative groups that consume this market built to fill their diverse lifestyles make use of these services and products, they do not absorb and assume completely this type of fabricated alternative “mold”. Even though markets are protected with all types of strategies and constant changes in order to adapt and adequate themselves to groups and services destined to these consumers, such groups reinforce their “alternative” characteristics giving new uses and appropriating in different ways to what the market offers them, trying to get away and break standardized models to what is “alternative” in music, fashion, consumption habits and lifestyles.

A young visitor of the region told us she does not see herself as “alternative” because she sees that the market tries to build an alternative lifestyle through the segmentation of indie music, standardized to be sold as a music genre. We can perceive that the constant market strategies of trying to fit these groups are so clear to some youngsters that are aware of these processes that, therefore, end up creating tactics of constant negotiations and articulations on both sides.

Other youngsters we talked to in the field research also did not call themselves as alternative, even though they have a non-hegemonic lifestyle and fit in many of the definitions of what can be understood as an “alternative-*ethos*” in Baixo Augusta. When they do not define themselves in that label, they always use the same reason: the conviction that that would be a lifestyle molded by the market, losing, thus, its prestige, legitimacy and distinction.

However, many youngsters that visit the region call themselves alternative. They ignore the attempts of the market to standardize them and they aim only at the characteristics which they want to have, either with the intention of creating alternative identities from the hegemonic standards, or by the simple fact of absorbing references of different styles/concepts/tendencies and add them to their lifestyles (materialized in

their fashion strategy and musical consumption), having as criteria their personal and shared tastes.

Final Considerations

The narratives of these youngsters, along with the field observation, helps us understand the meanings drafted by this identity category of “alternative” as something made in the fabric of hegemonic elements, market and also identity and subjective, where young people use the category “alternative” (even those who shun away from this label) as a way of seeking building lifestyles that are critical and with a high degree of performativity through the anesthetization of the body, of life, of experiences and affection. Well, political senses are drafted there in these forms of consumption and identity building (ROCHA, 2012), in juvenile narratives that build some meanings to their trajectories and from what they want and seem to be.

García Canclini (2010) suggests that the notions of resistance are often emptied in meaning or impoverished when they are located in fixed and excluding dichotomies as resistance versus domestication, given the diversity of behaviors that arise seeking alternatives. It becomes important, thus, to interrogate about the meanings of political and resistance in times where change and alternative forms of living and acting are found diffused in diverse forms of action. In the multiple, reflexive and dynamic relation in which young people deal with many modalities of media are constituted new subcultural or alternative groups that have nuances and diverse internal contradictions, being impossible to reduce them to one narrative of “integration to the system” or, antagonistically, univocal “resistance”.

The intercultural negotiations become one of the bases that contribute to the formation of groups in modern days. Janotti Jr. (2003) proposes to think of sociality as a part of the process of producing meanings in groups/subjects and their interactions, which are also present in the territorialities and imaginaries involved in the communities of meaning. Thinking of the socialities built by the “alternative” groups of Baixo

Augusta, it is important to remember that there is a constant exchange of references, concepts and styles. Such exchanges can be observed, for example, in the mix of different music genres that these youngsters begin to consume, going to places linked to very distinct genres, in a mix of pop and versions of indie. This mix and match are manifested in their identity characteristics, projecting themselves in the aesthetic created in fashion and in attitudes and habits present in their lifestyles and driven by the musical consumption. In uses and appropriations of this constant flow of different references of identity is where different styles are created, through hybridisms and new meanings.

For this reason, we seek to reflect about the ways in which young groups signal forms of sociality and ways of being together, creating other ways to use and give meaning to the city, build identities and belonging in tactics that can have political meanings in so far as they create other forms of living, consuming and existing.

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Date of submission: 11/29/2016

Date of acceptance: 06/03/2017

Goûts et imaginaires cosmopolites des jeunes Français

Gostos e imaginários cosmopolitas de jovens franceses

Cosmopolitan tastes and imaginaries of young French people

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Sylvie Octobre²

Résumé: *En France, les jeunes sont les acteurs majeurs de la globalisation de la culture, à la fois parce qu'ils sont très engagés dans les consommations culturelles, mais également parce qu'ils sont issus des générations les plus multiculturelles dans leur composition, et les plus socialisées aux injonctions de mobilité (voyageuse, étudiante, professionnelle...). La recherche « Le cosmopolitisme esthétique chez les jeunes » se penche sur le rôle de la consommation esthétique-culturelle – à travers les séries, les films, les lectures, les musiques, les jeux vidéo, les usages des réseaux sociaux, etc.- dans l'émergence d'un rapport au monde de nature cosmopolite et dans la formation d'un goût du monde.*

Resumo: *Na França, os jovens são os principais atores da globalização da cultura, tanto porque eles estão muito envolvidos no consumo cultural, mas também porque eles vêm das gerações mais multiculturais em sua composição e mais socializadas nas injunções da mobilidade (viajante, estudante, profissional...). A pesquisa «O cosmopolitismo estético entre os jovens» examina o papel do consumo estético-cultural - através de séries, filmes, leituras, músicas, vídeo jogos, os*

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usos de redes sociais, etc.- no surgimento de uma relação com o mundo de natureza cosmopolita e na formação de um gosto do mundo.

Abstract: *In France, young people are the main actors in the globalization of culture, both because they are very involved in cultural consumption, but also because they come from the most multicultural generations in their composition and the most socialized ones to the injunctions of mobility (traveler, student, professional...). The research “Aesthetic cosmopolitanism among young people” examines the role of aesthetic-cultural consumption - through series, films, readings, music, video games, uses of social networks, etc. - in the emergence of a relationship to the world of a cosmopolitan nature and in the formation of a taste of the world.*

Bien qu'ayant au fil des années renouvelé le modèle analytique de la distinction de Pierre Bourdieu sur lequel ils se sont au départ adossés (DONNAT, 1994, 2005; COULANGEON, 2011; GLEVAREC, 2013; OCTOBRE, 2014), les travaux sur les consommations culturelles en France traitent encore rarement de la globalisation et de ses effets, alors même que la culture figure au rang des premiers facteurs de globalisation, notamment les industries culturelles, qui constituent des média-scapes (APPADURAI, 1996). Le plus souvent, cette globalisation de la culture a été considérée négativement, comme porteuse d'un risque structural d'homogénéisation – c'est la "McDonaldization" de Ritzer (1993), la "Cola Colonization", de Wagneleitner (1994) ou le "flat world", de Friedman (2005) et ce, même si d'autres voies s'élevaient au niveau international pour souligner le potentiel créatif de la globalisation culturelle, que ce soit de manière défensive pour promouvoir des identités culturelles (CASTELLS, 2013; TOMLINSON, 1999) ou par hybridation des cultures (AMSELLE, 2013; PIETERSE, 2009).

Mais dans tous les cas, ces travaux empruntent une vision anthropologique des cultures nationales, et privilégient une analyse des dynamiques culturelles en elle-même, fort différente de l'approche par les pratiques culturelles, préoccupée des comportements individuels et de leur stratification sociale.

L'approche retenue ici renoue avec la logique de la sociologie des pratiques culturelles mais en se centrant sur les média-culture les plus globalisées pour interroger l'aptitude des consommations culturelles à façonner des imaginaires culturels du monde ainsi qu'un rapport au monde. Nous présentons des résultats et analyses tirés d'une enquête sur le cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel des jeunes en France, articulant données quantitatives et qualitatives. Dans le contexte français, nous nous penchons sur le rôle de la consommation esthétique-culturelle non pas pour considérer les sous-cultures qu'elles engendrent et leurs dynamiques propres (ce à quoi de nombreux travaux de recherches se consacrent déjà), mais pour appréhender sa contribution à la construction d'un goût du monde et d'un rapport au monde à travers l'émergence

d'une nouvelle figure juvénile, celle de l'amateur cosmopolite (CICHELLI; OCTOBRE, 2017).

1. Une approche originale

1.1. Le modèle théorique: une approche par les consommations, les imaginaires et les récits du monde

Si la notion de cosmopolitisme esthétique ou culturel a été discutée théoriquement (HANNERZ, 1990; URRY, 1995), elle reste peu explorée empiriquement, à l'exception de quelques travaux qualitatifs (REGEV, 2013; BOOKMAN, 2013) ou des exploitations secondaires d'enquêtes ne portant pas initialement sur cet objet (COULANGEON, 2017). Nous avons donc envisagé un double protocole original, articulant une enquête quantitative et une enquête qualitative entièrement consacrées au cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel issu des médias-cultures juvéniles.

L'approche retenue ici appréhende le cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel à partir de deux types d'ouvertures:

1. Premier type d'ouverture: l'ouverture à des esthétiques étrangères dans les répertoires culturels des média-cultures. Cette approche entend ne pas réduire l'analyse à la saisie des degrés d'internationalisation des consommations culturelles, en considérant - également les modalités de consommations, dont Pierre Bourdieu (2002) lui-même soulignait l'extrême importance dans les stratégies de distinction (élément qui a été souvent sous-évalué dans les travaux quantitatifs sur l'omnivorisisme qui ont adopté une vision comptable des consommations), et dont Michel de Certeau (1990) soulignait l'importance dans la constitution des rapports à la culture. Nous distinguons donc les effets structuraux de la globalisation du développement d'une sensibilité cosmopolite: si la grande majorité des jeunes français sont exposés à des flux culturels divers et intenses, il est en revanche plus rare qu'ils développent des curiosités proprement cosmopolites: ces curiosités passent en effet par des

appropriations linguistiques, autorisent à s'interroger sur les codes esthétiques des œuvres et sur leur capacité à évoquer la culture dont elles seraient l'expression, à exprimer éventuellement des intérêts plus éthiques et politiques pour le sort des autres et de l'humanité. Notre approche articule donc consommations, préférences et modalités de consommations (au rang desquelles le choix de la version originales joue un rôle majeur). Ce dernier choix mérite d'être expliqué, car il renvoie à un trait spécifique au contexte français. La tradition linguistique française est centraliste et jacobine et, historiquement, la construction de la nation s'est faite par et via l'éradication des langues locales au profit de l'hégémonie du français comme langue commune – et d'ailleurs l'article 2 de la constitution n'affirme-t-il pas que “la langue de la République est le français”³. Par ailleurs, l'intégration des migrants se fait par “abandon” relatif de la langue d'origine et usage du français à titre principal (HERAN ; FLIHON ; DEPRESZ, 2002; RIANDEY ; SIMON ; TRIBALAT, 1996). Enfin, le système d'enseignement français, même s'il semble accorder une place aux langues (deux langues sont enseignées obligatoirement au collège et l'apprentissage de la première langue étrangère débute au primaire) ne traite pas les langues sur le même plan (l'arabe, première langue d'immigration n'est pas enseignée, et l'enseignement concerne principalement l'anglais, l'allemand, l'espagnol, l'italien, et marginalement le chinois et le russe) (SAUZET ; PIC, 2009). L'efficacité de cet apprentissage en matière de communication n'est pas excellente: comme l'indiquent les comparaisons internationales, le niveau en langues étrangères des jeunes français n'est pas très bon (LEGENDRE, 2003). Enfin, s'agissant des produits audiovisuels étrangers, la France a mis en place une politique de doublage importante: seules les chaînes du câble ou les chaînes internet proposent des produits sous-titrés. De même, dans le secteur du livre, les traductions sont nombreuses et bénéficient de

3 Disponible em: <http://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/conseil-constitutionnel/root/bank_mm/constitution/constitution.pdf>. Acesso em: jun. 2017.

soutiens financiers publics (SAPIRO, 2009). Choisir de consommer un produit étranger dans sa langue originale relève donc d'un choix stratégique, sauf dans le domaine de la musique enregistrée, qui s'écoute dans la langue de production, sans médium de traduction, et où la domination de l'anglais est forte.⁴

2. Second type d'ouverture: l'ouverture à des imaginaires globaux. Le cosmopolitisme des répertoires ne suffit pas à lui seul à fonder une ouverture cosmopolite: il faut encore que des imaginaires, issus de la circulation globale d'images culturelles, façonnent un rapport au monde. L'exploration de cette dimension du cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel repose sur une distinction entre "représentation du monde" et "imaginaire du monde". Si ces deux notions renvoient toutes deux à l'articulation entre la connaissance (par expérience ou par information) et l'attachement, la représentation est supposée être constituée d'images vraisemblables sinon vraies, fondées sur des faits pouvant être vérifiés, éprouvés, sédimentés dans des processus de connaissance, et issus de la confrontation à l'expérience objective d'une "réalité". L'imaginaire renvoie en revanche aux perceptions de la réalité largement alimentées par ses formes médiatisées, fondées sur des affects autant (sinon plus) que sur des savoirs. C'est bien donc d'imaginaire du monde qu'il est question ici: la plupart des jeunes font certes preuve de grandes capacités de rapprochement entre des éléments géographiquement éloignés, dont ils peuvent être familiers, mais néanmoins à partir d'une connaissance souvent approximative, parfois stéréotypée, voire fausse.
3. Ces deux types d'ouverture autorisent une mise en récit du monde. Nous nous intéressons ici, non pas aux messages des œuvres et contenus culturels, mais à ce que les jeunes en font - les individus eux-mêmes élaborent des modes de réception qui peuvent échapper à ce que les producteurs et programmeurs avaient imaginé

⁴ Il faut noter qu'un certain nombre de groupes ou de chanteurs/chanteuses français à succès choisissent de le faire en anglais (c'est le cas par exemple du groupe de rock français Shaka Ponk, ou des Daft Punk). Il n'y a donc pas recouvrement entre nationalité et langue d'usage.

(Lessig, 2008) - , c'est-à-dire à la manière dont se développe un rapport esthétique au monde, à partir des consommations et imaginaires média-culturels, de manière réflexive et par aller-retour (MACE, 2010). Les média-cultures développent des apprentissages cognitifs et émotionnels, parfois de manière cohérente, parfois non, de manière itérative et réversible, et donnent notamment à la fiction une place particulièrement importante pour générer des visions du monde (WINCKLER, 2012). Elles génèrent un travail interprétatif, qui “malmène et refaçonne le texte pour servir ses propres objectifs” (RORTY, 1982, p. 151). Nous mobilisons alors le concept d'amateur cosmopolite (CICHELLI ; OCTOBRE ; RIEGEL, 2016) pour saisir ce travail réflexif et interprétatif de construction d'un rapport au monde médié par les consommations et les imaginaires des média-cultures.

1.2. Données

Pour saisir ces diverses dimensions, on a associé:

1. D'une part, une enquête par questionnaire réalisée en face à face en 2015 en France auprès d'un échantillon représentatif d'un peu plus de 1600 jeunes âgés de 18 à 29 ans, conçue pour appréhender la façon dont les jeunes s'approprient des œuvres et des produits culturels à large circulation internationale. Puisque l'ambition de l'enquête était de vérifier dans quelle mesure le cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel était socialement stratifié ou largement répandu, l'échantillon de jeunes interrogés a été constitué pour être représentatif des jeunes de 18 à 29 ans résidant en France métropolitaine, et stratifié par la méthode des quotas sur les variables suivantes: sexe, âge, taille d'unité urbaine, situation d'emploi, PCS du chef de famille.

Plus précisément, le cosmopolitisme esthétique des consommations est défini à croisement de deux dimensions:

- A. la morphologie des répertoires culturels en termes ethno-nationaux
- la part de produits étrangers dans les consommations (quatre modalités: exclusivement ou principalement français, autant français qu'étranger, principalement ou exclusivement étranger, ne consomme pas)
 - la préférence pour les langues originales (six modalités: en français exclusivement, en français majoritairement, à égalité en français et dans une autre langue, majoritairement en langue étrangère, exclusivement en langue étrangère, ne consomme pas)
 - la préférence pour les produits selon leur nationalité (trois modalités: préférence française, préférence étrangère, pas de préférence).
- B. la morphologie des imaginaires transnationaux en matière esthétique et culturelle.

Les imaginaires sont saisis sur la base de listes d'artistes et de monuments nationaux et internationaux. Les listes proposées ont été constituées pour respecter une diversité géographique, historique, esthétique et culturelle, sans évidemment, tenter d'être représentatives de l'entière diversité des cultures, des lettres ou des arts. La liste de monuments inclut les Pyramides d'Égypte, la Grande Muraille de Chine, le Taj Mahal, la Statue de la Liberté, la Tour de Pise, la Basilique Sainte Sophie, le Christ du Corcovado, le Mont Saint-Michel, le Pavillon d'Or, le Mur des Lamentations, l'Opéra de Sydney et La Mecque. La seconde liste est constituée des artistes suivants: Adele, Salvador Dalí, Alexandre Dumas, Frédéric Chopin, Cesária Évora, Gabriel García Márquez, Federico Fellini, Keith Haring, Hayao Miyazaki, J.K. Rowling, Steven Spielberg, et Andy Warhol.

On articule trois dimensions concernant ces listes:

- les niveaux de connaissance: pour chaque item de chaque liste, on a demandé aux jeunes s'ils les connaissaient (soit directement ou pas), (connaît =1, ne connaît pas =0);
- les niveaux de goûts: on leur a ensuite demandé s'il l'aimait ou pas (aime =1, n'aime pas =0);

- les registres de valeur associés: on a demandé aux jeunes la valeur qu'ils attribuent en général, aux artistes et aux monuments (de 0 à 5) selon des registres qui renvoient à quatre usages des imaginaires globaux: registre esthétique (le beau, le génie), registre culturel (la construction de sa vision du monde), registre national (emblème d'un pays), registre universel (patrimoine de l'humanité). On obtient ainsi des scores individuels de connaissance et de goût pour les artistes et les monuments (compris entre 0 et 12), que l'on a regroupé de la manière la plus proche de quartiles, ainsi qu'un score de valeur sur chaque dimension retenue (de 0 à 5).

Par ailleurs, on a également interrogé les jeunes, et de la même manière, concernant des listes de scientifiques, de personnages historiques ou de sportifs, ces derniers étant souvent supposés être des contributeurs des imaginaires globaux (LECHNER; BOLI, 2005)⁵. Ce faisant, on peut comparer la contribution des artistes et des monuments et celles des scientifiques, personnages historiques ou sportifs dans la construction des imaginaires du monde.

Par ailleurs, on dispose d'une batterie d'informations concernant le profil socio-démographiques du jeune et de sa famille, ses compétences linguistiques, sa mobilité, ses centres d'intérêts dans le monde.

2. D'autre part, une enquête par entretiens auprès de 43 jeunes de mêmes âges afin de procéder à une mise en récit des thèmes abordés

5 Ces listes, qui se sont données une contrainte de diversité géographique forte, comportaient les noms suivants:

-Pour les personnages historiques: Martin Luther King, Che Guévara, Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi, Mère Teresa, Aung San Suu Kyi, Mao, Yasser Arafat, Yitzak Rabin, Mickhaïl Gorbatchev, Charles de Gaulle, Margaret Thatcher. Le choix de ces noms obéit à une lecture historique des zones d'influences françaises ainsi que des grands enjeux contemporains.

-Pour les scientifiques et inventeurs: Kwame Anthony Appiah, Jane Goodall, Stephen Hawking, Albert Einstein, Youri Gagarine, Marie Curie, Amartya Sen, Christiaan Bernard, Louis Pasteur, Mark Zuckerberg, Neil Amstrog et Steve Jobs. On y trouve donc des sciences variées (sociales et physiques), des inventeurs récents et des acteurs de l'exploration de l'espace... qui correspondent aux divers visages de la science.

-Pour les sportifs: David Beckham, Laure Manaudou, Katarina Witt, Nadia Comaneci, Jonah Lomu, Rafael Nadal, Diego Maradona, Usain Bolt, Mohamed Ali, Jessie Owens, Serena Williams, et Michael Jordan. Là encore on a choisi de représenter des sports de nature variés: collectif/individuel, confidentiel/spectaculaire... mais dans tous les cas, ces sports existent de par le monde.

dans le questionnaire et une exploration fine des dynamiques cognitives et émotionnelles liées aux consommations culturelles en régime de globalisation de la culture. Les entretiens ont été réalisés auprès de 43 jeunes de 18 à 29 ans: 23 garçons et 20 filles, 21 sont encore en études et 22 travaillent ou sont en recherche d'emploi. Principalement urbains, ces jeunes sont issus de milieux variés (cela a été un critère de leur recrutement). De manière complémentaire à l'enquête quantitative, les entretiens s'attardaient sur la réflexivité et le caractère ouvert, contradictoire, réversible de la construction d'un rapport cosmopolite au monde.

1.3. La France, sa jeunesse et la globalisation

En France, les jeunes sont apparus comme des acteurs majeurs de la globalisation, qu'il s'agisse de métissage des populations, de mobilité, ou d'exposition aux flux culturels globaux, trois indicateurs souvent mobilisés.

Les jeunes constituent la part la plus multiculturelle de la population française: 20% des jeunes en France sont issus de l'immigration, les flux migratoires sont stables (autour de 8%) et la proportion d'union mixte croît depuis le milieu de siècle dernier (SIMON ; RIANDEY ; TRIBALAT, 1996), ce qui augure d'une augmentation durable du multiculturalisme: les descendants d'immigrés sont en France plus nombreux que les immigrés ce qui constitue une spécificité française, avec une part importante des descendants d'immigrés d'Afrique Sub-Saharienne (BOUVIER, 2012).

Par ailleurs, la mobilité fait partie de la représentation du monde chez les jeunes français, particulièrement les étudiants, qui développent un esprit cosmopolite et considèrent la confrontation avec l'altérité culturelle comme une expérience formatrice de la jeunesse (CICCHELLI, 2012).

Enfin, les flux culturels en France sont nombreux, corrélés avec des facteurs linguistiques, historiques (notamment liés aux régions de la colonisation française ou à l'axe américano-britannique), géographiques

(les échanges sont plus intenses avec les pays les plus proches), (Culture étude 2007-2) tout en restant ouvert à des influences autres, comme en atteste la vague asiatique qui a déferlé depuis les années 2000 sur la France, voyant se succéder la percée du manga, puis des animés japonais et enfin la vague de “hallyu” (coréenne), particulièrement prisés des jeunes. Il est aujourd’hui bien difficile pour un jeune en France d’avoir échappé aux vagues des produits culturels anglo-saxonnes – de *Harry Potter* à *Hunger Games* en passant par *Games of Thrones* - ou asiatique - du *Gangnam Style* au manga ou aux *animé* japonais – pas plus qu’ils n’ignorent totalement, la samba brésilienne ou le cinéma bollywoodien indien.

Dans le même temps, les politiques de soutien à la création et à la diffusion de créations françaises (aide à la production, défiscalisation, quotas pour la diffusion dans le domaine de l’audiovisuel par exemple) laissent une place importante aux produits nationaux dans les divers marchés culturels, y compris les plus globalisés comme celui de la musique enregistrée ou du cinéma (LEVY-HARTMANN, 2011). La France s’est ainsi caractérisée par une politique défensive dans les négociations internationales, à travers le concept d’exception culturelle (REGOUD, 2004), dont une partie a été construite contre un impérialisme - principalement nord-américain” (MARTEL, 2010) - et une homogénéisation supposée, tandis que l’argument de la diversité culturelle venait promouvoir des objets et contenus culturels issus d’aires géographiques plus périphériques sur le plan géopolitique. Cette posture est ancienne et a été réactivée après la seconde guerre mondiale: dès l’accord Blum-Byrnes de 1946, prévoyant un quota fixe de films américains projetés dans les salles de cinéma françaises, la critique de l’hégémonie culturelle américaine s’est développée – critique qui a justifié des politiques de soutien à la production et à la diffusion de produits nationaux (par des quotas, par des aides fiscales, etc.). Et cette politique défensive a souvent pris les jeunes comme alibi puisqu’il s’agissait de les protéger contre les effets délétères d’une paupérisation culturelle. Un rapport du Sénat

français titrait ainsi en 2008 “*Les Nouveaux Médias: des jeunes libérés ou abandonnés ?*” (ASSOULINE, 2008).

2. Méthodologie

Une analyse statistique multivariée a été réalisée. Pour la construire, nous avons procédé en deux étapes:

- A. d’abord, en réalisant une classification conjointe appliquée aux grands tableaux de données mixtes (numérique et qualitatives) (NAKACHE ; CONFAIS, 2005; WONG ; 1982), stratégie de classification adaptée au regroupement en classes d’ensemble de données de nature mixte (à la fois continu, ordinal nominal et binaire). Cette stratégie comprend plusieurs phases: d’abord, l’homogénéisation des données en vue d’utiliser une seule notion de ressemblances entre les individus à classer (distance euclidienne) et un seul critère d’agrégation (perte d’inertie minimale, critère de Ward); ensuite, l’utilisation conjointe de deux techniques de classification dont les principes sont différents (classification ascendante hiérarchique et méthodes des centres mobiles); et enfin, la description des classes obtenues et le positionnement des centres des classes sur un plan factoriel pour avoir une idée de l’orientation et de la dispersion de ces classes. Autrement dit, on réalise d’abord une analyse en composante multiples (LE ROUX ; ROUANET, 2010; LEBART *et al.*, 1995; BENZECRI, 1992), puis une classification hiérarchique des individus repérés par leurs composantes factorielles et une partition autour des centres mobiles pour déterminer des groupements stables, soumis ensuite à une classification hiérarchique que l’on consolide en effectuant à nouveau une partition (centres mobiles) à partir des centres des classes. La classification que nous avons ainsi réalisée prend en compte 26 axes de l’analyse en composantes multiples, soit 50 % de l’inertie totale.

B. ensuite, une régression - modélisation logistique polytomique (NAKACHE ; CONFAIS, 2003)- prenant comme variable à expliquer la classe d'appartenance (on a pris le groupe le plus nombreux comme groupe de référence) et comme variables explicatives les variables présentées ci-dessus. L'analyse est basée sur les odds ratio significatifs au seuil de 0,05 %.

Pour ce qui concerne les matériaux qualitatifs, une retranscription intégrale puis une analyse thématisée systématique de l'ensemble des entretiens, assortis de descripteurs socio-démographiques individuels, ont été réalisées. Les deux types de matériaux sont mobilisés ici de manière complémentaire.

3. Résultats

3.1. Au delà de l'internationalisation des répertoires culturels

En France, la majorité des jeunes consomment de nombreux contenus, œuvres et produits culturels venus de l'étranger (Tableau 1) et les contours de cette internationalisation suivent les contours de l'offre et des capacités de réception des jeunes en France: la télévision reste très nationale, de même que la radio et la presse et dans une moindre mesure la consultation de sites webs, parce que certains sujets qui y sont traités le restent (l'actualité politique et sociale, l'humour, les people, etc.) alors que les marchés, plus globalisés, des films, des séries de la musique et des jeux vidéo façonnent une internationalisation des consommations plus importante.

Pourtant, cette mesure de l'internationalisation des consommations ne constitue pas en elle-même un indice de cosmopolitisme: celui-ci se saisit mieux à travers les préférences pour les produits étrangers ou nationaux, ou les modes de consommations, en version originale ou française. Ainsi, non seulement les jeunes sont-ils de forts consommateurs d'œuvres et de produits culturels étrangers, mais ils affichent une nette préférence pour ceux-ci (Tableau 2), notamment en matière de

Tableau 1. Part des consommations culturelles selon leur origine*

	Séries	Films	Musique enregistrée	Jeux vidéo	Livres	Bandes dessinées	Réseaux sociaux	Sites webs/ Blogs	Télévision	Radio	Presse
Etrangère exclusivement	14	3	3	12	2	3	0	1	1	0	0
Etrangère principalement	54	52	37	25	16	7	5	2	1	1	1
Autant étrangère que nationale	15	30	46	13	25	6	7	8	4	2	4
Nationale principalement	5	8	11	2	12	4	53	21	9	4	12
Nationale exclusivement	6	6	2	5	9	12	25	58	80	73	66
N'en consomme pas	6	1	1	43	36	68	10	10	5	20	17

*Note de lecture: Pour les réseaux sociaux, il s'agit de la proportion de contacts/amis résidant en France ou à l'étranger, et pour les sites webs et les blogs, de la consultation en français ou en langue étrangère.

Source: élaboré par les auteurs.

séries, de cinéma et de musique, tandis que la préférence nationale est la règle pour la télévision. Notons néanmoins qu'il est fort probable qu'une grande partie des programmes télévisuels considérés comme nationaux par les jeunes soient en réalité des déclinaisons nationales de formats internationaux, qui ont fait le bonheur des *prime time* depuis le tournant des années 2000: *La nouvelle Star*, *The Voice*, *Loft Story*, *Koh Lanta*, *Master chef*, *FearFactor*⁶, etc.

Malgré cette présence forte de produits étrangers et de préférences étrangères, le mode de consommation culturelle le plus fréquent chez les jeunes se fait en français (tableau 3), du fait de la faiblesse des

6 Respectivement télé-crochet de chanson (*La nouvelle star* sur M6, *The Voice* sur TF1, déclinaison de *Pop Idol*, émission britannique et de *The Voice Holland*, émission hollandaise), jeux d'aventure (*Koh Lanta* et *Fear Factor* sur TF1 adapté de *The Survivor*, émission britannique et du programme américain *Fear Factor*), émission de cuisine (*Master Chef* sur M6 adapté de l'émission britannique du même nom) ou de télé-réalité (*Loft Story* sur M6, déclinaison de l'émission hollandaise *Big Brother*).

Tableau 2: Préférence des jeunes et origine des œuvres et des produits culturels

	Film	Série	Télévision	Musique enregistrée
Préférence étrangère	56	69	6	51
<i>Dont anglo-saxonne</i>	50	61	<i>np</i>	41
Préférence pour les œuvres et produits culturels nationaux	8	5	66	19
Préférence régionale			3	1
Pas de préférence	29	20	21	29
Ne consomment pas	1	6	5	1

Source: élaboré par les auteurs.

compétences linguistiques des jeunes: dans notre enquête, 80% des jeunes ont une mère et 70% un père qui les a élevé en parlant français, 64% déclarent avoir appris deux langues durant leur scolarité mais seulement 53% des jeunes déclarent maîtriser au moins une autre langue que le français. La structuration des marchés culturels joue également un rôle puisque la part des contenus doublés (pour les films et les séries) ou traduits (pour les livres, les Bd et la presse, et tous les sites internet ou réseaux sociaux) est importante du fait des politiques de soutien à l'exception culturelle. Lorsque les consommations de produits culturels étrangers existent, celles-ci se font donc majoritairement en langue française (doublage pour les films et séries, traduction pour les livres), ce qui rend plus significatif encore le fait de choisir la version originale. Les entretiens indiquent que le choix de la version originale tient à une norme de "bon goût" générationnel, valorisant l'authenticité des sons, des voix et des ambiances plutôt que la pleine compréhension linguistique. L'adhésion à cette norme peut faire que certains jeunes regardent des films, ou des séries dans des langues qu'ils ne connaissent pas du tout, en se satisfaisant du sous-titrage, parfois amateur: c'est le cas par exemple pour les films indiens ou asiatiques ainsi que pour les séries coréennes.

Tableau 3: Langues de consommation

	Série	Film	Livre	Jeux vidéo	Musique enregistrée	Bande dessinée
En français uniquement	54	53	52	36	24	27
En français majoritairement	11	19	7	11	31	3
A égalité en français et dans une ou plusieurs autres langues	9	10	2	8	26	1
En langue étrangère majoritairement	13	13	2	2	14	1
En langue étrangère exclusivement	7	4	1	0	4	0
Ne consomme pas	6	1	36	43	1	68

Source : élaboré par les auteurs.

3.2 . Les imaginaires culturels

Les modes d'appropriation des contenus culturels en fonction de leurs caractères ethno-nationaux ne disent pas tout du cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel. Les média-cultures y contribuent également puissamment en diffusant des images du monde et en favorisant une familiarité avec l'inconnu via la construction de certains imaginaires du monde. De la même manière que l'Obélisque de la Concorde familiarise avec l'Égypte antique en plein cœur de Paris, les films de Steven Spielberg, les chansons d'Adèle, les romans de J K. Rowling, et les peintures de Salvador Dali, ou les images iconiques de monuments souvent utilisés pour localiser des films fonctionnent comme des repères culturels et esthétiques dans le monde globale: ils localisent – car ils sont d'un lieu ou d'une culture nationale dont parfois ils incarnent le génie ou la spécificité, à la manière du Golden Bridge pour la baie de San Francisco – et ils globalisent à la fois – car ils sont connus de la majorité des jeunes

consommateurs de certains produits culturels à travers le monde et sont appropriés par eux dans leurs imaginaires du monde.

Ainsi, la contribution des monuments et des artistes à la constitution du stock des références globales dont disposent les jeunes est de 76 % pour les monuments et de 56% pour les artistes. De même, ils contribuent à l'attachement des jeunes puisqu'en moyenne, les monuments recueillent un taux d'adhésion de 74% et les artistes de 71%.

Les monuments dont les jeunes ont le plus l'expérience sont français, plus faciles d'accès et plus liés au récit national transmis par l'institution scolaire (le Mont Saint-Michel), loin devant les monuments européens (La Tour de Pise) et américain (La Statue de la Liberté). Les connaissances plus lointaines complètent cette géographie des imaginaires globaux: on sait le lien que les Français entretiennent depuis la campagne napoléonienne et l'œuvre de Champollion avec l'imaginaire historico-culturel égyptien (Les Pyramides d'Égypte). On discerne également une Europe des monuments (La Tour de Pise, encore), ainsi des imaginaires probablement issus de vagues migratoires (La Mecque) et des nouveaux acteurs de la géopolitique mondiale (La Grande Muraille de Chine, le Corcovado du Brésil). À l'inverse, certaines régions du monde restent à l'écart de cet imaginaire générationnel, alors même que: a) certains monuments font partie d'une histoire architecturale largement intégrée dans le patrimoine artistique européen (c'est le cas de l'ancienne basilique byzantine de Sainte Sophie à Istanbul); b) certains autres sont issus de pays considérés comme de grands foyers de la culture juvénile contemporaine: le *Pavillon d'or* est ainsi inconnu de près de 9 sur 10 des jeunes de 18-29 ans, alors que le manga a trouvé une place dans les loisirs d'une partie d'entre eux (56%) et que d'après les entretiens, nombre de jeunes indiquent connaître un large pan du passé culturel du Japon – par exemple le Bushido, le code de l'honneur des samouraï.

Pour les artistes, les choses sont un peu différentes puisque le contexte générationnel et ses modes viennent favoriser des niveaux d'expérience directe importants pour des artistes étrangers issus des industries culturelles (S. Spielberg dans le domaine du cinéma, Adèle dans le domaine

de la musique, et dans une moindre mesure, J. K. Rowling pour la littérature), qui font partie des répertoires culturels des jeunes, bien plus nettement que les artistes nationaux classiques. On notera alors qu'un écrivain à succès comme Alexandre Dumas, pourtant récemment entré au Panthéon, publié dans la Pléiade et auteur de romans dont plusieurs ont été portés au cinéma en France, recueille moins les suffrages des jeunes.

On l'aura compris: la consécration artistique et culturelle ne suffit pas à entrer dans le panthéon des jeunes. Ainsi Gabriel Garcia Marquez, célèbre écrivain colombien prix Nobel de littérature, est inconnu des trois quarts d'entre eux, de même que Cesaria Evora, chanteuse cap-verdienne, Federico Fellini, grand maître du cinéma italien apprécié des générations précédentes, ou Hayao Miyazaki, réalisateur de films d'animation japonais. En effet, les contours des imaginaires juvéniles en matière d'artistes obéissent à trois logiques: d'abord celle de la proximité géographique et historique (la France et ses anciennes colonies, puis l'Europe); ensuite, celle du niveau de diffusion des pratiques (la relative faiblesse de la lecture parmi les jeunes interrogés explique que les écrivains soient peu connus); enfin, celle de la dimension générationnelle des goûts (qui explique que Fellini cède la place à Spielberg).

Les imaginaires ne sont pas seulement faits de connaissance. L'adhésion qu'ils supposent se forge aussi sur un goût ou sur le partage de valeurs que les monuments ou les artistes sont censés représenter. Les trois quarts des jeunes déclarent aimer les monuments proposés dans la liste et 71% les artistes, et ils sont nombreux à déclarer des goûts pour des lieux qu'ils ne connaissent pas directement.

Plus intéressant encore, ce sont les monuments qui contribuent le plus fortement à la construction d'imaginaires sur le monde, puisque les personnages historiques, les scientifiques ou inventeurs ou encore que les sportifs, obtiennent des taux de connaissance moyens et d'adhésion moyens inférieurs (respectivement 73% et 59%; 53% et 71% et enfin 69% et 72%). C'est dire la force de l'esthétique et du culturel des médias-cultures dans la construction de la globalisation chez les jeunes.

Tout cela contribue à construire un répertoire de références culturelles accessible à une grande partie de la jeunesse contemporaine qui contribue à façonner un rapport au monde, saisissable à travers les valeurs (Tableau 4). La comparaison des diverses contributions indique que les imaginaires culturels (artistes et monuments) tiennent une place clivante dans la construction des rapports au monde des jeunes: les monuments contribuent fortement à la construction de la beauté et du génie (comme les scientifiques) mais nettement plus à la construction d’emblème nationaux ou universaux que les autres éléments des imaginaires globaux (même les personnages historiques par exemple). Les artistes semblent fournir des contributions moins importantes: ils contribuent principalement au registre esthétique du beau, avant que d’être mobilisés sur les autres registres.

Tableau 4: Centres d’intérêts et imaginaires cosmopolites des jeunes

	Monuments	Artistes	Personnages historiques	Scientifiques, inventeurs, explorateurs	Sportifs
Beauté/charisme/génie	3,9	3,6	3	4	3,3
Vision du Monde	3,1	2,7	3,1	3,3	2,1
Emblème national	4,2	2,8	3,2	2,9	3,1
Valeur universelle	4,1	3,0	3,1	3,5	3,1

Source : élaboré par les auteurs.

2.3. Un continuum de cinq configurations

Si l’on combine éléments précédents, on parvient à distinguer cinq configurations de cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel chez les jeunes. Ce dernier constitue donc un *continuum* de configurations plutôt qu’un idéal-type qui servirait d’étalon de mesure au “vrai” cosmopolitisme.

L’analyse factorielle est structurée par une double opposition. Sur l’axe horizontal, les individus qui ont des connaissances sur les artistes

fortes et qui déclarent les aimer (à droite) s'opposent ceux qui ont des savoirs faibles sur les artistes comme sur les monuments et déclarent peu les aimer (à gauche). Sur l'axe vertical, ceux qui présentent une consommation de contenus étrangers forte (films étrangers et jeux vidéo étrangers notamment) et qui ont une représentation des artistes et des monuments comme étant centrée sur l'esthétique plus que sur le monde ou l'humanité (en haut) s'opposent à ceux qui affichent une préférence culturelle nationale forte (notamment en matière de films et de séries) et qui ancrent les artistes dans une représentation du pays ou du monde (en bas).

Nous avons ainsi distingué cinq configurations qui correspondent à trois types de réponses à la globalisation.

La première réponse correspond à la simple exposition à la globalisation de la culture: dans ce groupe de jeunes, les répertoires culturels portent la trace de l'internationalisation des échanges culturels, mais les modalités de consommations pas plus que les aspirations ne présentent d'ouverture *volontaire* à l'altérité. Cette première forme, dite "cosmopolitisme involontaire", la plus répandue, concerne 34% des jeunes. Ces derniers consomment des produits étrangers et des produits nationaux, mais déclarent une préférence pour les films et les séries étrangères tandis qu'ils maintiennent un équilibre en matière de musique. Néanmoins, ils ne déploient pas des modes d'appropriation cosmopolites et privilégient les versions doublées des films et des séries plutôt que les versions originales. Ils ne lisent pas de livres étrangers ni ne consultent de médias étrangers. Leur cosmopolitisme est également involontaire car il ne s'accompagne pas de la structuration d'un imaginaire du monde à travers les artistes ou les monuments. Peu d'entre eux expriment le désir d'apprendre une langue étrangère ou déclarent un intérêt pour un pays étranger. Ce groupe est composé plutôt de jeunes hommes, souvent d'origine rurale ou de petites villes, et peu diplômés. On pourrait dire que les membres de ce groupe ne disposent pas des capitaux (linguistique, éducatifs, voyageurs) qui leur permettrait de se saisir de la globalisation et de développer un intérêt cosmopolite nourri par leurs

consommations culturelles: 61% ne maîtrise que le français malgré les apprentissages scolaires de langues étrangères et 44% répond que le cadre national est celui auquel ils s'affilient le plus.

La deuxième réponse à la globalisation est une réponse d'ouverture qui connaît deux formes: une forme "sectorielle" – les jeunes de ce groupe sont ouverts dans le domaine de la lecture en particulier et expriment leur intérêt pour l'altérité via le livre et la littérature – et une forme "princielle" – les jeunes de ce troisième groupe font preuve d'une ouverture tous azimuts dans leurs répertoires culturels. Rassemblant 32% des jeunes, le groupe du cosmopolitisme "sectoriel" est caractérisé par une ouverture aux produits étrangers, notamment en matière de télévision, de séries, de films, de musique, mais également – et c'est sa spécificité – en matière de livres, même si leurs lectures se font plus souvent en versions traduites qu'originales. Ces jeunes développent un imaginaire fort du monde, fondé sur des artistes et des monuments, qu'ils connaissent et qu'ils aiment tout à la fois. Ils déclarent également que les valeurs esthétiques et culturelles comptent dans la construction de leur vision universaliste du monde. Plutôt composé de femmes, ce groupe est également caractérisé par un niveau d'éducation plus élevé, des compétences linguistiques développées (seuls 28% ne maîtrisent que le français) et une forte curiosité voyageuse (plus de 90% ont voyagé) et un sentiment d'affiliation supra national (1/3).

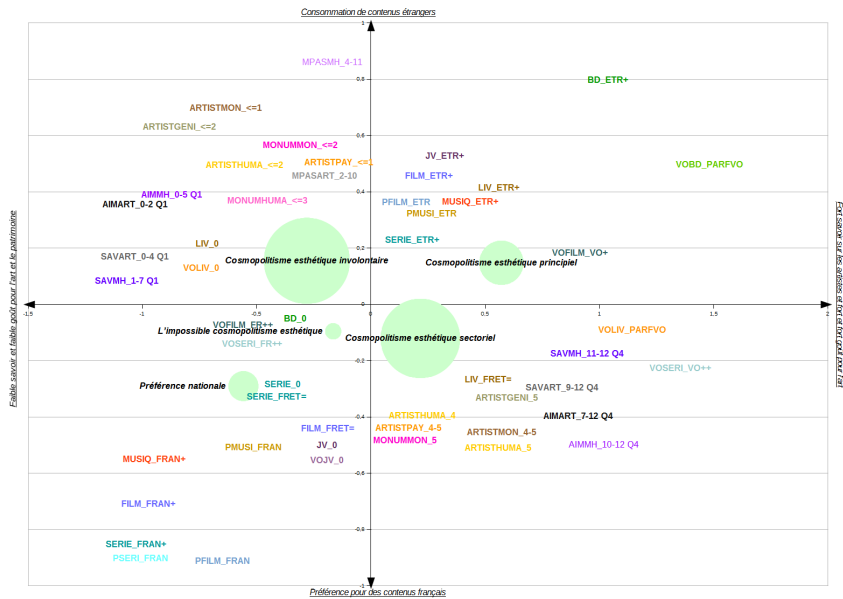
Moins nombreux, les cosmopolites "princiels" (17% des jeunes) sont ceux qui consomment le plus de produits étrangers et qui déclarent le plus souvent une préférence pour ces derniers. Ils regardent le plus souvent en version originale des séries et des films et consultent le plus souvent de sites webs en langue étrangère et emploient des langues étrangères quand ils jouent aux jeux vidéo. Leurs imaginaires sont particulièrement développés, articulant forte familiarité mais aussi fort attachement aux artistes et monuments internationaux: ceci est au fondement d'une appréhension du monde où la dimension esthétique et culturelle est prégnante. Ce groupe est composé plutôt d'hommes, diplômés, et urbains, qui sont particulièrement mobiles (certains sont

nés ou ont vécu à l'étranger, et la plupart voyagent fréquemment): ces jeunes possèdent donc un fort capital de mobilité internationale (c'est eux qui déclarent le nombre moyen de pays visité le plus élevé: près de 7), ils ont des compétences linguistiques développés (puisque la quasi-totalité déclare maîtriser ou une plusieurs langues étrangères). Leurs capitaux sont accompagnés d'aspirations fortes à apprendre de nouvelles langues étrangères (3/4 le souhaitent) et à voyager dans de nombreux pays (voire à s'expatrier pour certains). C'est dans ce groupe que le sentiment d'appartenance supra-national est le plus fort (40%).

Ces deux réponses à la globalisation sont le fait de jeunes qui tirent parti des opportunités qu'elle leur apporte sur le plan esthétique et culturel.

Bien différente est la troisième, puisqu'il s'agit d'une réponse de repli. Bien qu'exposés à la globalisation, les jeunes de ce groupe la refusent et mettent en place des préférences nationales fortes. Cette réponse, bien que minoritaire (11% des jeunes) n'en est pas moins intéressante tant elle révèle une posture qui fait de la globalisation un danger contre lequel se prémunir: ces jeunes déclarent systématiquement préférer les films, les séries, les musiques françaises, et passent toujours par la traduction pour consommer des produits étrangers, ou bien les évitent totalement (par exemple, les émissions de télévision étrangères ou les livres étrangers). Seule la musique internationale leur parvient dans sa langue de production, faute de traduction possible. Les jeunes de ce groupe, plutôt composé de femmes, ont un faible niveau de diplôme et proviennent des milieux populaires. Mais ce qui surprend, c'est que leurs ressources ne sont pas minces – c'est dans ce groupe qu'on trouve le plus de jeunes d'origine étrangère, entretenant un lien avec un pays ou une communauté d'origine, ayant été baignés dans un environnement plurilingue: mais dans leur cas, ces ressources ne se sont pas transformées en compétences (leur maîtrise linguistique est faible, qu'il s'agisse du français ou d'une langue étrangère, ou faiblement valorisée quand il s'agit de l'arabe) et l'on observe plutôt une "destruction de capital" puisque ces compétences ne créent aucune aspiration qui leur permettent de tirer

Graphique 1: Morphologie des répertoires, morphologies des imaginaires: cinq configurations de cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel



Source : élaboré par les auteurs.

parti de la globalisation. Enfin, leur sentiment d'appartenance est principalement national (46%).

Notons enfin qu'un dernier groupe ne propose pas de réponse à la globalisation de la culture, se tenant à l'écart des consommations culturelles. Ce groupe, le plus petit en taille, puisqu'il rassemble seulement 6% des jeunes, présente un faible niveau d'engagement dans la culture. Quand ils consomment des produits culturels, les membres de ce groupe marquent une préférence culturelle nationale (notamment pour les films et la musique) même s'ils sont plus ouverts en matière de séries télévisées, d'émissions de télévision et de journaux. Ils connaissent peu d'artistes, de même que peu de monuments internationaux, et ne mobilisent pas les ressources culturelles ou esthétiques pour se construire une image du monde. Ce groupe est composé plutôt de jeunes hommes, d'urbains, issus des classes populaires et possédant un itinéraire de

mobilité (naissance à l'étranger, vie à l'étranger ou voyages nombreux), un environnement moins exclusivement francophone (mais là encore, on distingue des compétences linguistiques faibles, en Français comme en langue étrangère, ou faiblement valorisées dans le cas de l'arabe), et de jeunes issus de familles peu diplômées.

3. Discussion:

Les éléments présentés permettent de répondre à quelques-unes des questions posées par la littérature sur la sociologie des pratiques culturelles comme du cosmopolitisme.

- A. Une norme de bon goût générationnelle. Plus de 80% des jeunes en France sont concernés par une forme de cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel et utilisent les média-cultures pour habiter le monde. C'est dire qu'il ne s'agit plus d'un phénomène marginal mais d'une nouvelle norme de bon goût générationnel, qui prend pour critères l'ouverture et la curiosité et fonctionne de manière inclusive et exclusive à la fois, tout comme la connaissance des marques globales, pour créer un "cosmopolitan cool" (BOOKMAN, 2013), devenu un nouveau marqueur d'appartenance. Il faudrait désormais étudier les zones d'ombre de cette nouvelle norme juvénile et les formes d'exclusions spécifiques qu'elle implique.
- B. Une logique différente de celle de l'omnivorisme. Si le cosmopolitisme connaît des effets de stratification sociale, ses variations semblent différentes de celles connues pour l'omnivorisme dans la mesure où le lien entre ressources et capitaux ne semble pas stabilisé. Alors que pour l'omnivore, l'élévation du niveau de diplôme est positivement corrélée avec l'intensification de l'engagement culturel, pour le cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel, la détention de compétences linguistiques n'est pas linéairement liée à un engagement croissant. La différence tient dans le fait que les compétences culturelles de l'omnivore sont transformées en capitaux par l'institution scolaire, qui les valide, tandis que certaines

ressources linguistiques ne sont pas transformées en compétences (et donc pas en capitaux) par l'école en France: c'est le cas de l'arabe, dont il n'est fait quasiment aucun enseignement et qui ne procure donc aucun avantage sur le marché des capitaux culturels. Nos résultats questionnent le lien supposé automatique entre détention de ressources cosmopolites et capitaux cosmopolites, en l'absence d'une éducation proprement cosmopolite. Les jeunes qui se saisissent le plus des ressources esthétiques et culturelles pour transformer leur rapport au monde de manière très volontariste ne sont pas forcément toujours les plus dotés en capitaux et certains des plus dotés vivent parfois le cosmopolitisme comme une épreuve complexe. Ainsi les jeunes d'origine étrangère, bien que disposant de ressources linguistiques et de mobilité, sont souvent incapables de les transformer en capitaux face à la globalisation de la culture. Et ceux qui sont les plus dotés en capitaux culturels sont parfois les plus critiques à l'égard du cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel, qu'ils jugent trop superficiel.

C. Une transformation de la médiation du monde. La forte dimension émotionnelle du capitalisme global des industries culturelles est indissociable de la montée en puissance d'un rapport d'appropriation "global" plus que savant du monde. La transnationalisation des références rend probablement moins nécessaire une connaissance fine des codes nationaux que la maîtrise, au moins de surface, de codes venus d'horizons divers, codes que les média-cultures, y compris de manière "non authentiques", contribuent à faire largement circuler. Ce trait interroge les politiques éducatives: que faire de ces savoirs parcellaires mais pourtant puissants que les média-cultures juvéniles produisent sur le monde et la manière d'y habiter?

D. Un lien aux autres formes de cosmopolitisme non évident. Y a-t-il un lien entre ce cosmopolitisme esthético-culturel et d'autres formes de cosmopolitisme plus éthique et politique? Les entretiens

indiquent qu'il n'y a pas de cheminement unique et linéaire entre ces deux pôles, mais plutôt des aller-retours, partiels et réversibles. La consommation de produits étrangers peut favoriser des émotions cosmopolites sans parvenir à générer des intérêts éthiques ou politiques pour l'altérité. On peut adorer les mangas et tous les produits japonais mais ne jamais désirer aller au Japon; écouter du raï, passer ses vacances au Maroc et voter pour des partis xénophobes, etc. Dans la plupart des cas que nous avons analysés, le cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel paraît ambivalent, voire incertain et sous tensions. Ainsi, l'ouverture vers les autres semble le plus souvent disjonctive chez les jeunes en France, tant les orientations cosmopolites esthétique-culturelle et éthico-politique ne vont pas toujours de pair.

Conclusion

Cet article a tenté de mettre en évidence les logiques du cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel en France chez les jeunes, en mettant en évidence la manière dont les consommations et les imaginaires média-culturels favorisent un travail interprétatif qui façonnent divers rapports au monde qui vont de postures d'engagement actif, à des postures de repli ou de refus, en passant par une posture d'acceptation tacite mais sans intention spécifique. Il a également montré que ces configurations de cosmopolitisme esthétique-culturel sont traversées par des effets de stratification sociale, elles constituent néanmoins une norme de bon goût générationnel largement répandu, même si selon des modalités diverses. Il a enfin souligné le double aspect du travail interprétatif auquel se livrent les jeunes - travail cognitif et émotionnel, parfois disjonctif – et surtout souligné le fait que, dans ce travail, les jeunes ne bénéficient d'aucun soutien institutionnel qui viendrait accompagner faciliter le passage des imaginaires à des représentations du monde, qu'on pourrait souhaiter partagées afin qu'émerge une conscience commune du monde et de ses enjeux contemporains. Ces réflexions ouvrent à de nouveaux sujets de recherche qui porterait tant sur les tensions de l'ouverture au monde

que sur les manière d'aider les jeunes à structurer les ressources qui sont les leurs pour habiter un monde commun.

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Date de soumission: 04/01/2017

Date d'acceptation: 03/03/2017

Dissident communication in stand-up comedy: the case of Arab and Muslim countries

A comunicação dissidente na comédia stand-up: o caso dos países árabes e muçulmanos

Jacques A. Wainberg¹

Abstract: *This study is a content analysis of jokes produced and presented by stand-up comedians that in various parts of the world deal with a common theme, the inclusion of the Arab and the Muslim communities in modernity. This kind of humor became popular in many countries of the Middle East and Africa, similar to what is occurring in other continents. Countries like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Egypt nowadays tolerate, to some degree, the dissident humor proposed by such humorists. Seeing the Arab and Muslim societies laugh at themselves is a new and startling occurrence, since it breaks with the stereotypical image that they are unable to bear the satire and irony for being dominated by fear and conservatism.*

Keywords: *Stand-up comedy; Humor; Joke; Dissidence*

Resumo: *Este estudo analisa o conteúdo das piadas produzidas e apresentadas por comediantes stand-up que, em várias partes do mundo, tratam de uma temática comum, a inserção do árabe e do muçulmano na modernidade. Este gênero de humor se difundiu em vários países do Oriente Médio e da África, à semelhança do que ocorre em outros continentes. Os governos de países como Arábia Saudita, Bahrein e Egito toleram hoje em dia, em algum grau, a dissidência proposta por tais humoristas. Ver a sociedade árabe e muçulmana rir de si é ocorrência nova e surpreendente, pois rompe com a imagem estereotipada de que ela é incapaz de suportar a sátira e a ironia por estar dominada pelo medo e o conservadorismo.*

Palavras-Chave: *Comédia Stand-Up; Humor; Piada; Dissidência*

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Three exceptional ways have been used in the Middle East to face the liberal wave that defies the survival of many authoritative regimes in the region. The first one is civil war, as in what is occurring in Syria since 2011. The second one is the distribution of ‘gifts’ to the people. This measure of ‘buying’ the opposition was successfully applied in Saudi Arabia. This country’s government distributed to the population a total of US\$ 139 billion in benefits between the months of February and April 2011. This attitude made the Day of Wrath, scheduled for March 2011, to fail. The third way is to tolerate, to some extent, the competition of ideas, something that happens through YouTube, Facebook and Twitter in many countries of the region.

In the case of Saudi Arabia, the religious establishment makes an effort to shoot down the liberal desire of a significant amount of young people. For that reason, they are opposed to the governmental initiative of sending every year thousands of students to eastern universities². The traditionalists perceive that when they return to the country, many of them vindicate some alteration in the strict patterns of habits of the country. That is, the intercultural experience has been contributing to the social, religious and political dissidence of a part of the youth. There are many signs of this tension in the current Saudi Arabia. A total of 46.18% of the 27 million Saudis were in 2015 below 24 years old. In that year, the average age of their population was 26.8 years old.

Therefore, youth unemployment and their ambition became the reason of a deep political concern of the authorities. An example of that was the dissident campaign promoted through YouTube for the right of Saudi women to drive³. The theme of the women’s position in society belongs now to the considerations created in the document “Saudi Vision 2030”. This document produced by the Prince Mohammed bin Salman (known as MBS), the young Secretary of Defense of the country (he is 31 years old), and second in the line of succession, is the strategic plan of Saudi Arabia for the next decades. Finally, the petitions sent to

2 The amount was 199.285 in the academic year of 2012-2013.

3 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sowNSH_W2r0

the authorities of the government requiring liberal measures is another unexpected situation of the new times.

The reactions of the Saudi authorities to these tensions are ambiguous and include, at times, repression. The blogger Hamza Kashgari, for instance, was arrested between 2012 and 2014, after being convicted for apostasy. His crime was to post messages with doubts about the divine nature of Mohammed. The activist for human rights, Muhammad Fahad al-Qathani, on the other hand, was convicted, due to his militancy, to ten years in prison in 2013. The clergy Qassim al-Ghamdi also has defied ultra-orthodoxy when he says that faith allows social interaction among men and women, as well as listening to music and group prayer.

The tension amongst liberals, autocratic governors and their conservative supporters is characterized for what is agreed to be called the Kings dilemma (OTAWWAY; DUNNE, 2007). This concept, created by Samuel Huntington, implies in pointing the doubt that shakes up all absolutist monarch about how democratizing without losing political control over the country⁴. In Egypt, for example, the rebellion at the Tahrir Square resulted in an incapability of Hosny Mubarak's regime to see that their attitude "could corrode, instead of consolidating, his power" (AL-SAYYID, 2013). In case of the former Soviet Union, the experience of communications was a decisive factor to dismantle the communist experience (SHANE, 1995). In the classic case of France in 1789, the king Luis XVI, an enlightened monarch, became a victim of the process of political opening that he himself started.

For the purpose of this study that deals with stand-up comedy as a way that Saudi youngsters found to make social criticism, it is important to emphasize the fact that the relative liberalization of communication in this country, especially on social media (Twitter, Facebook and YouTube), is another example of initiatives created by the authority in order to calm down the population. The use of Twitter by almost three million Saudis (the biggest number on Middle East and 40% of the users of this media on the Arabian world), even though it is surveilled, has allowed

4 See his book 'Political Order in Changing Societies', 1968.

an ample diffusion of ideas and opinions in this country. Almost 32% of the 16.2 million of their internet users are active on Twitter and 18.26% have Facebook accounts. A total of 91% of their youngsters with ages between 18 and 24 years old are Internet users. Saudi Arabia is also the biggest consumer of YouTube in the world, reaching 90 million views every day. That is explained by the fact of having a lack of entertainment. That is, this schedule contributes to break the social boredom that exists in this country. That also happens with the help of videoclips produced by independent journalists⁵.

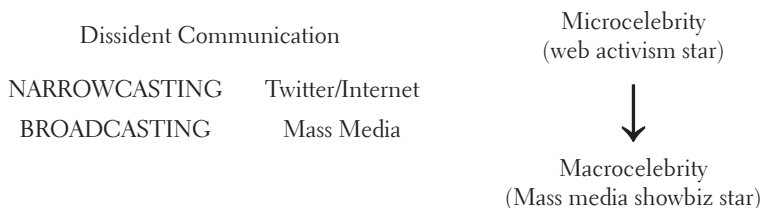
Among the Saudi dissidents that use new media is, for example, Salman al-Awdah, a moderate critic of the Saudi regime and wahabism. He has 1.6 million followers on Twitter. His book, *Questions of Revolution*, banned by the government, is available online. In the book, the author makes a summary between sources of Salafism and celebrated authors of the west, among them, Karl Marx, Karl Popper and Franz Fanon. Other examples of dissidents are the clergy Salman al-Qudah, a free-thinker televangelist that, in December 2013, had 3.9 million followers, and @Mujtahidd, whose real identity is unknown. In 2012, the Great Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Abdul-Aziz ibn Abdullah Al Shaykh, tried to silence his postings that denounced corruption, financial scandals and extravagance of the royal family. Also highlighted are Walid Abu al-Khayr and Muhammad al-Bijadi, two young human right activists.

Twitter became a preferential way of fight for the Saudi conservatives. The clergy Muhammad al-Arifi is one of the most popular ones. He has seven million followers. His predicament usually includes anti-Semite diatribes against Shia and in favor of women's subjugation. Ayed al-Qanee, on the other hand (five million followers), usually warns his sympathizers on the danger of western values, specially their materialism.

5 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SlSBqgW5xx0>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G7yuRNL37XU>

Humor and Comedy

In this context of uncertainties and social and political transformation, comedy became a popular vehicle for expression in current Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries. A new generation of comedians knew how to use the new platforms of communication to spread their social, cultural and political critique. The Saudi YouTube stars ended up calling the attention of the mass media. This type of celebrification (DRIESSENS, 2012) happens when the ‘microcelebrity’ (TUFEKCI, 2013) conquers their space in the schedule of TV channels thanks to the success he gets on the web (WAINBERG, 2016). Rafinha Bastos is, in Brazil, a clear example of this occurrence.



Saudi comedians are young people educated in foreign universities who brought from abroad the experience of stand-up comedy to their country. Among them is, for example, Khalid Khalifa⁶. Wonho Chung⁷, a Saudi whose father is Korean and mother is Vietnamese, is another stand-up star who lives in Jordan. Many of these comedians are bilingual, were born and/or live abroad, and their success in the West reaches all the Middle East. They break social stereotypes and contribute to the improvement of the collective humor of the region. They express in their monologues, songs and programs many of the ideas that circulate in young environments of the region. They also do a creative synthesis between western and Arabian culture. One example of that is *No*

6 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wG-7UhQHurM>

7 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Pd0hSAYPVo>

Woman, No Drive, from Fahd Albutairi⁸, the first Saudi comedian to act professionally in the country. His song is a parody of Bob Marley. The lyrics satirize the argument, common in Saudi Arabia, that the health of women's ovaries would be in danger when a woman drives a car. He says: "No woman, No Drive/Say, Say/ Say I remember when you used to sit/In the family car, but backseat/Ova-ovaries all safe and well/So you can make lots and lots of babies." In another excerpt, he warns women not to touch the steering wheel of the car: "No woman no drive/Hey little sister don't touch that wheel/No woman, no drive" he says, ironically, that "queens do not drive", but they can cook and make "my dinner". The argument against which he sweetly protest is "Your feet is your only carriage". Fahd Albutairi also plays with his hair, long and disheveled, an unusual aesthetic pattern in Saudi Arabia; he ironizes the fear of cursing on TV on his country; denounces racism and makes a social critique when he shows the inauguration of a new Arts Department – in an abandoned and crumbling building.

His show, *La Yekthar Show*⁹, produced to be shared on YouTube, became one of the most popular channels in the country. In its third season, it reached one million subscribers. Another similar show called *3al6ayer Show*¹⁰ turned his mentor, Omar Hussein, another YouTube celebrity. The fact that a good part of the arab and muslim comedian's work on the West explains why the ethnic and religious theme is present in its monologues. Maz Jobrani, an Iranian-american comedian, defines his role as educational. His ironic jokes aim to break ethnic and national stereotypes.

Theories

It is important to emphasize the fact that comedy is a professional activity that aims, through jokes and sketches, to make people laugh. The

8 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aZMbTFNp4wI>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nk7kveb88nQ>

9 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V2p7j7ipPLc>

10 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZn2MvLdYHo>

theme of laughter (usually defined as ‘smiling showing the teeth’) and of what is laughable (ALBERTI, 1999) is object of study of the gelotology (PROVINE, 2001). That is, every comedy implies in humor, although not all the humor implies in comedy.

This concept can be treated as an intra-psychical occurrence, as originally proposed by Freud (1905). That is why it is common the reference to good humor and bad humor of somebody. The state of mind is malleable and can change according to the circumstances¹¹. It is worth mentioning that according to the classic definition by Hypocrites, someone’s temper is a result of the balance and the combination of four humors: sanguineous, phlegmatic, choleric and melancholic.

Even though there are over one hundred theories that try to explain the properties of the humor, we highlight here the Theory of Benign Violation (MCGRAW; WARREN, 2010) to describe and explain not only humor, but also what happens in comedy¹². Other relevant theories are, for example, the one that enhances the capacity of humor of presenting an unexpected perspective to a determined situation (Theory of Incongruence, LATTA, 1998; BOYD, 2004); the theory of superiority (the laughter expresses this sensation from the audience); the deprecating humor (the one who bullies and offends the target of the joke); the humor as a defense mechanism, (usually used by weak people to get back at the humiliation suffered from the strong people), adaptation and relief¹³. Linguistic theories on humor were proposed by Victor Raskin (Theory of the Semantic Script of Humor)¹⁴; by Victor Raskin and Salvatore Attardo (General Theory of Humor)¹⁵; by I. M. Suslov (Neuro-Computational Theory of Sense of Humor (1992)¹⁶ and by P. Marteson (Ontic-Epistemic Theory of Humor, 2006) among others.

11 See <http://www.oocities.org/hotsprings/Villa/3170/Slavutzky.htm>

12 <http://www.iep.utm.edu/humor/>

13 See the main theories on humor in the Chapter 8 of <http://facstaff.uww.edu/shiblesw/humorbook/h8%20theory.html>(Chapter

14 <http://www.ufjf.br/revistagatilho/files/2013/05/O-Humor-e-a-Sem%C3%A2ntica-de-Frames1.pdf>

15 http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0102-44502003000300009

16 <http://arxiv.org/abs/0711.2058>

Because it is a type of benign communication, humor is an efficient social lubricant. Borge Rosenbaum (1909-2003), a pianist, known for his artistic name Victor Borge, a pioneer in stand-up comedy, used to say that “laughter is the smallest distance between two people”¹⁷. The comedian Ahmed Ahmed says something similar. “We are all the same when we laugh, despite our differences”. Beyond connecting people, laughable sentences also allow the dissident communication of the comedian. According to this interpretation, the laughable occurs when the joke breaks some expectation of the audience and violates a norm or a belief of the audience. It also occurs when the situation of interlocution between the comedian speaker and the listening audience is non-threatening (a *soft* context) and when the perception of these two conditions by the audience occurs simultaneously¹⁸. This is the case in which the comedian plays with human identities, including his identity. In the case of the comedian defying social and cultural stereotypes, he brings people closer and facilitates the intercultural communication.

The show of the Egyptian Khaled Khalafallah does precisely that. He plays with the difficulty that the westerners have to pronounce his name and with the stereotypes that the Arabs hate. He says, “everyone is nervous around arabs”. In his meetings with western audiences he also makes comparisons about the methods of discipline used in both cultures. Russell Peters, a comedian born in Canada with hindu descendance, also makes ethnic jokes¹⁹. This content is also typical from what is conventional to call jewish humor²⁰.

The benign humor happens when the comedian is not committed with the ‘foul’ practiced or because he is personally distant from the violated norm in his elocution (that happens when the violation does not affect the comedian directly, when it happened a long time ago or because the foul practiced does not appear to be something real). The

17 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LWqFaGwNCMU&list=PLrAlz0YmXl9N0tlhwxcwX-vmjiFz2mxBq>

18 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PpVt1POOHvQ&nohtml5=False>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83guK7V7_5M&nohtml5=False

19 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gvlXQ9_4lgE&nohtml5=False

20 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5V4zYe23QLg>

violation is also benign when there is an alternative explanation for the norm violated, which allows to turn it acceptable somehow. Sometimes, a malignant violation becomes benign when the observer gets closer to the violated norm. This happens in the 'situational comedies', common in the schedule of TV channels. Sitcoms usually enhance what is wrong in daily occurrences of a person.

According to McGraw and Warren (2010), purely benign situations and purely malignant situations are also not funny. It is the case when someone falls down the stairs and gets hurt. When there is not a break of a certain expectation of how reality should be, there is no humor. The bigger the incongruence, the bigger would be the humor performed. Said in another manner, it is not funny to see someone trying to tickle themselves, but it is funny to see someone trying to tickle another person.

At times, the result of the humoristic elocution surprises the comedian. That happens because he (as any emitter of any message) is not capable of controlling the reception of his elocution. That is, a part of the audience can interpret certain statement as a benign violation while other can treat it as malignant violation. When that happens, the result is the generation of negative emotions in the audience. To surpass this type of impact, the listener shall necessarily understand the violation as being something acceptable (funny). It is the case of a friend that falls down the stairs (breaking the expectation), but doesn't get hurt (something benign). The result is that the humor should be understood as the judgement that a person does of a situation, of their emotional response and their behavior (with the generation of smile and laughter, for example).

According to the thesis of Krichtafovitch (2006), humor is inept to primates and other animals. The laughter is an expression of the joy it causes. As mentioned before, humor is also obtained due to the sensation of superiority that the joke eventually causes on the listener, or due to the sensation of triumph that the person feels when solving an enigma proposed by the joke (relief). The audience reacts better to the joke when they are receptive of it (that is what happens in a stand-up

event). Humor is also a social phenomenon and an intellectual weapon that works as a defense of the weak against the strong. In its “aggression”, the comedian usually uses satire, sarcasm and irony.

Unexpected

The Saudi case mentioned in this study is laboratorial and works to document these theories. It is a country which social norm limits the usual *laissez-faire* of the costumes of liberal societies. Therefore, considering the Saudi authoritative context, the proliferation of stand-up comedians in the country is an unexpected social phenomenon. What calls our attention is the amount of popular enthusiasm that these comedians bring up to the audience. This is a consequence of the content of programs that, in general, defy themes that are taboo. It is the case, for example, of the Broadcast Show²¹.

Something similar happened in Egypt with the show Al-Bernameg presented by Bassem Youssef. Starting in 2011, this cardiologist turned into a showbiz star after posting on YouTube his satirical postings. His sharp content against the Muslim Brotherhood brought up feelings of sympathy and hatred, simultaneously. Initially, he used his small apartment for the production of The B+ Show. Then, he got the mass audience replicating on Egypt the American format of the American show The Daily Show with John Stewart²². Al-Bernameg had his show until 2014, when his show was finished due to political pressure.

The popularization of the stand-up genre²³ has been interpreted as an additional facet of the cultural Americanization of the world (SJÖBOHM, 2008)²⁴. In the United States, the list of comedians who have international fame due to the stand-up comedy is enormous. Among them, there are Bob Hope, Ed Sullivan, Mort Sahl, Dick Gregory, Woody Allen, Lenny Bruce, Richard Pryor, Johnny Carson, Robin

21 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UQvIk7EPi-g&list=RDUQvIk7EPi-g#t=21>

22 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYCF_rppZCY

23 <http://www.theworldstandsup.com/>

24 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_stand-up_comedians

Williams, Jerry Seinfeld, Whoopy Goldberg, Ellen DeGeneres, Sarah Silverman and Louis C. K.

When this type of show is enjoyed by different peoples, it gets adapted to different environments. That happens because humor is hardly translatable, a fact that explains why certain comedy shows produced in certain countries do not work on other countries. What is common is the general characteristics of a stand-up. Among them there is the presence on stage of a comedian in a solo act, standing up, without props or scenarios, who talks to the audience in a direct manner with quick jokes, involving wordplay, metaphors, parodies, malapropisms and insults that violate cultural, linguistic, social, political, moral and religious norms. His preferential style is satire. In the environment where the show happens, in which the audience willingly and selectively go to, the comedian makes his social and cultural criticism using a language that would not be possible to use on another context. The content of his jokes is generally fictional, but oftentimes the comedian uses real situations and characters. In general, this type of show is an opinionated, sharp and funny chronicle of reality.

The origins of stand-up are multifaceted and ancient. In Jewish communities of the Middle East, the presence of these type of comedians was frequent. The mission of badhan or badran (term that derives from the verb entertain and that in the Yiddish pronunciation sounds like *badchen*)²⁵ was to amuse guests to an event such as a wedding, with their acting, songs and anecdotes²⁶. Other influences are the vaudeville theatre, the music hall, burlesque art and commedia dell'arte. Later on, TV talk-shows popularized the genre even more. International festivals ended up giving stand-up a global status²⁷.

25 <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Badkhonim>

26 It is the case of Yoel Lebovits. See <https://www.youtube.com/user/aroundthevelt>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ra0eDSXNmhE>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xR5Q-FffltM>

27 Among them, are: Dave's Leicester Comedy Festival – Leicester & Leicestershire, England; Kilkenny Cat Laughs Comedy Festival – Kilkenny, Ireland; Melbourne International Comedy Festival – Melbourne, Australia; Just for Laughs International Comedy Festival – Montreal, Quebec; Edinburgh Festival Fringe – Edinburgh, Scotland; New Zealand International Comedy Festival – Auckland,

In Brazil, the genre was recently popularized with the acting of a new and numerous generation of comedians equally influenced by the north-american experience²⁸. However, it is important to emphasize that shows similar to stand-up were made in a recent past. The generation of national pioneers includes José Vasconcelos²⁹, Chico Anysio³⁰, Jô Soares and Juca Chaves, among others. In these shows, the comedian breaks the silence that protects certain themes and truths to be told. The political correctness is not popular in this genre. That always implies a certain aggressiveness, stereotyping and vulgar language from the comedians. They usually say that they would rather lose the friend, but not a good joke. A comical situation is always original and results from the creative effort. Stand-up comedians also say that they don't make humor to be loved. It seems that this tendency to transgression is what attracts the audience to the show.

Each one of them have a style. At times, the humor exorcized by the comedian aims at producing empathy (causing on the audience an emotion that is similar from the speaker). At other times, he aims at doing self-critic and with their mockery producing a sensation of self-deprecation to the audience. The audience, in turn, expects that the comedian makes a show, that is, serial acts capable of producing laughter. And, as said, in this type of meeting, the audience comes to the show open to laugh easily (FREUD, 1905).

Study and Conclusions

The Saudi case is exceptional and that is why it deserves to be analyzed. As previously pointed out, humor as social criticism found, in this country, a specific form of expression and a technological channel of fun and

New Zealand; Woman in Comedy Festival – Boston, USA; and the CMW Comedyfest – Ontario, Canadá. See www.worldcomedy.club

28 Among them, are: Rafinha, Danilo Gentili, Diogo Portugal, Fábio Rabin, Fábio Porchat e Marcela Leal <http://lista10.org/humor/10-stand-up-comedy-que-valem-a-pena-ver-na-internet/> See also <http://www.standupcomedy.com.br/>

29 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_yaToH29IcQ

30 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8u3lwQp8IuM->

entertainment, one of the few that are accessible to the population. For your comprehension, it is important to consider the surveilled and conservative social context to what these messages are shared. Therefore, in this study is necessary to do a content analysis of the presentations of 13 of these comedians. Such shows are available on YouTube and were selected for analysis through a list available on the web. This list presents 20 Arab and Muslim comedians of 10 different countries³¹. This study integrates a wider research project about the properties of dissident communication. The method used included the following steps: (a) each joke was registered and (b) their content, catalogued. They were then (c) inserted in categories capable of pointing out the general nature of these presentations. The result is in Table 1 below.

The choice of these people is explained by the prominence of Islam and the Arab world started to have in international politics, especially after the Al Qaeda attacks in the United States in 2001. It is relevant to observe the humor that emerges from this ethnic and cultural community, considering the context of distrust and animosity that exists in current international relations. It is surprising the role of comedy in facilitating intercultural communication and in the diffusion of a social, political and religious critique in Middle Eastern countries where usually is impossible for comedy to exist.

It is clear that the comedian elaborates a complex and critic speech about different aspects of social life. In the speeches of the comedians we researched about there is not any vulgar language, something that happens more frequently with Brazilian comedians. There are no direct attacks to political and religious personalities and there is no explicit aggressiveness. The choice of topics depends on the audience. That is, the stand-up comedian always takes into consideration in his script and on improv the psychosocial environment of the audience.

We can see that the Arab and Muslim comedians have a common link that is creating humorously about the theme of the Muslim and

31 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_stand-up_comedians

TABLE 1. The content of stand-up comedy in shows of Arab and Muslim comedians.

Comedian	Themes of the jokes	Content
Omar Hussein (Saudi comedian, host of the 3al6ayer Show).	Family habits	Uses and habits
	Love	Arab women
	Women's condition in Arab society	
	Seduction of women by men in Arab society. The use of alcoholic beverage in Arab society.	
Omar Ramzi (Sudanese Muslim whose mom is Scottish and whose father is Sudanese. Known as WS – White Sudani).	The dilemma of being a white sudani.	Human identity
	Trying to explain at the checkpoints in Arab countries: he is white, but he is also Sudanese.	
Fahad Albutairy (He is the first stand-up comedian in Saudi Arabia. Hosts the La Yekthar Show on YouTube).	Criticizes public security habits in Arab society.	National Security
	Ironizes flight routine.	Social habits
	Ironizes common day-to-day habits.	
Imran Yousuf (British Muslim of hindu descent born in Kenya)	Muslims living in England	Social stereotypes
	Criticism to the royal family	Human identity
	Disdain to the poor	Social criticism
Ali Fingerz (Comedian in Bahrein)	Multiculturalism	
	Ironizes people's interest in politics	Politics
	Ironizes the mood of insecurity	National security
	Criticize women's situation in Arab society	Women in Arab society
	Ironizes the size of his country	
	Criticize the divisions of class existing in airplanes, something he calls 'walk of shame'	Geopolitics
	Criticizes Iranians and praises the Philipinos	Social status
	"Being arab in a Brazilian beach": the nudity of Brazilian women is something frightening	Friends and enemies
	Cultural shock	
Russell Peters (Canadian who lives in the United States of Hindu descent)		Social stereotypes
		Human identity

TABLE 1 (continuation)

Comedian	Themes of the jokes	Content
Azhar Usman (Muslim comedian who lives in Chicago).	Makes ironic sketches of how americans say 'salam'. Plays with his appearance of a practicing Muslim in an American society.	Cultural shock
Ahmed Ahmed (Comedian from Egypt).	Ironizes his situation of having to travel with a name that is similar to the names of terrorists included in names of security services.	Human identity Ethnic stereotypes
Rami Salameh (Comedian from Lebanon).	Marriage Traffic rules Marketing of Ikea Shopping malls Mother	Consumption and the woman
Maz Jobrani (Iranian-American known as Persian Pink Panther).		Ethnic and national stereotypes
Nemr Abou Nassar (Lebanese)	Makes a well-humored chronicle of uses and habits in today's Lebanon: seduction between men and women; the way people talk on the phone; the difference between men and women; ironizes Lebanese accent abroad	Identity
Imran al Aradi		National identity of a Bahrein citizen
Amer Zahr (Palestinian/American)	Palestine/Israel conflict	National identity
Ray Hanania (Palestinian/American)		Social stereotypes Identity Self-criticism
Ali Al Sayed (United Arab Emirates)		Ethnic and national identity

Arab identity nowadays. To a great extent, there are, in all of them, a communion of interest, of fighting against islamophobia and against anti-Arab stereotypes cultivated in the West. Group identity is a theme that is used equally in comedians of other origins. That is the case, for example, of Samson Koletkar, a Jewish Hindu from Mumbai belonging to the group Bnei Israel³².

There are only few specific cases in which there are opening engagement in favor of some political cause. It is the case of Ray Hanina, a Palestinian man married to a Jewish woman. He creates his show about peace between both peoples. This is also the attitude of Dean Obaidallah, co-creator of Stand-Up for Peace. In this event, he and many other Arab and Muslim comedians act along with Jewish comedians, among them, Scott Blakeman³³. When the target of the comedy is the internal group, what is important is the conflicts, the contradictions and the myths of the collective imaginary to which the own comedian belongs to. Even in tumultuous environments, as the Palestinian territory is, comedy has been serving to the public catharsis of local political problems³⁴.

As previously mentioned, the reviewed literature proposes the idea that comedy is an intellectual weapon available to the comedian (KRICHTAFOVICH, 2006). And as proposed, his transgression is benign by occurring in a special situation, that is created by the voluntary participation of the audience of a show. But what characterizes the comedian's speech is his deviant character (BERGSON, 1980). When he escapes the established norm, he surprises people, something that creates laughter. That is why the joke of the satire permeated by sarcasm can be called subversive (CABRAL, 2007).

The amicable context protects the comedian and makes the message palatable which in another context would be received sharply by a good amount of the audience. A classic example of this type of manifestation is the act of the American comedian George Carlin (who died in 2008).

32 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUAEBEsQjUQ>

33 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tcE5nLymJLs>

34 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mA95W9FKR9o>

His presentations were philosophical reflections filled with irony about the common sense. Frequently, his black humor was polemic in an acid way about themes that were taboo, something that even got him arrested in the 70's³⁵. In Brazil, a similar character would be Juca Chaves. His jokes make him famous in showbiz. Since 1955, he makes political satire. In his solo shows, he used to criticize uses and habits as well as national characters³⁶. One example of that was his song called "Brazil goes to war", created in 1960, but release one year after that³⁷.

Final Considerations

In the examined sample we can consider, as previously mentioned, the content of the jokes produced by this diverse set of comedians that act in different parts of the world with a similar theme, that is, the insertion of the Arab and Muslim community into modern days and the values cultivated by them. The main themes of these shows are the ethnic stereotype; the identity and group self-esteem; the dilemmas of intercultural interlocation; the cultural shock and the values of the Arab, Muslim and Western society.

Humor allows these comedians to spread in a mitigated way critical messages (WAINBERG, 2015). Among them are, for example, a sharp criticism to the women's condition in Arab society and the other would be Western societies that stereotype Muslims in a hostile way. Therefore, comedy performs the role of a mediator and a facilitator of a conversation among civilizations. In conclusion, it is an instrument of collective education.

We can also say that the stand-up comedy show is a therapeutic space in which the comedian elevates the audience's self-esteem allowing them to laugh at something that before was presented as untouchable, holy and/or dogmatic. The context of interlocation is amicable by being

35 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kyBH5oNQOS0>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMyDvqnwIm4>

36 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cDlxQJNemEo>

37 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8POa5mdXLBQ>

a space of freedom, something inexistent in other formal and surveilled environments of social living. It differs from the interactions in which communication is tense and the shrewd criticism of the speaker is responded in an aggressive way by the listener. In a stand-up comedy show, contained emotions bubble up by the audience, and the silence imposed by cordiality, by political correctness and the fear of social ostracism is broken.

Ultimately, in the researched shows, predominates the theme of difference, either between men and women, between western and Arab/Muslim, between social classes, between friends and enemies, between habits, and between cultures. The difference allows contrast, and through it, the comedian is capable of emphasizing polemic singularities.



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Date of submission: 09/13/2016

Date of acceptance: 01/31/2017